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The interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilizations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sinā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilization as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam’s Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilization in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria used to select individual books were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from
another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today’s world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees
ABOUT THIS SERIES

This series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

Readers will therefore see that this series includes a variety of works in the purely Islamic sciences, such as Qur’án, hadith, theology, prophetic traditions (sunna), and jurisprudence (fiqh). Also represented will be books by Muslim scientists on medicine, astronomy, geography, physics, chemistry, horticulture, and other fields.

The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important rôle in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Mohammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.
Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.
2. Director-General of the Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO).
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9. Professor Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Director, Sira and Sunna Research Centre, University of Qatar.
10. Chairman, Arab Historians Union.
11. Professor Cesar Adib Majul, Professor at the American Universities.

Following are the names of the late prominent Muslim figures who (may Allah have mercy upon them) passed away after they had taken vital roles in the preliminary discussions of the Center's goals, work plan and activities. They are:

1. Dr. Kamal Naji, former General Supervisor, Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, Qatar (7 October 1997).
3. Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector, University of Qatar.
5. Muhammad al-Fasi, former Honorary Chairman, Islamic University Rabat, Kingdom of Morocco.
6. Dr. Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani, former Deputy Rector, University of Cairo, Arab Republic of Egypt.
7. Senator Mamimatal Tmno, former member of the Philippino Congress and Muslim leader in the Philippines.
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INTRODUCTION

The work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fidāʾ Imād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr,1 and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muhammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qurʾān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr’s own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr’s chief work, his opus on history, the al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya.2 He argues that the sīra section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muhammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the al-Bidāya. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it al-Sīra al-Nabawīya li Ibn Kathīr.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Maliki jurist Abū Musā al-Qarāfī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Harrānī.

Ibn Kathīr’s was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his

1. According to R. Y. Curtis, Authoritative Interpretation of Classical Islamic Tafsīr: Critical Analysis of Ibn Kathīr’s Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAzīm (unpublished dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1989) (21), classical bibliographers have cited Ibn Kathīr’s name in more than one way. Al-Dhahabī for instance, in the supplement to his bibliography, Dhayl Tadhkīrat al-Huffāz, gives Ibn Kathīr’s name as Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr b. ʿAbd b. Kathīr b. Zār. Other versions have been given, however, such as appear in al-Zirikli’s al-ʿAṣlām (1: 320) and ʿAbd al-Ridā Kāhñā’s Muṣṣam al-Muʿallīfīn (1: 28).

2. According to C. Brockelman in his Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Bīrūnī’s chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).
colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzi, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣālihiyya.³

Ibn Kathir, true to the pre- eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the muḥaddith, the scholar of ḥadīth traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the ḥadīth literature and the sīra; the Qurʿān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of ḥadīth material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, “followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of ḥadīth, and that of the tribes (i.e. the ayyām anecdotes as narrated by the akhbārīs and the ruwāt), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. “These two lines”, he explains, “reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life.”⁴ According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʿān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of ḥadīth traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, “a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the ḥadīth which flourished in the second and third centuries.”⁵ A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

³. Curtis, 23.
⁴. Professor Duri’s article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls “the tribal type of history”. See in this regard ‘The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century’, in Historians of the Middle East, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).
rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized
nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (jīţa), whereupon
sources were no longer regarded, prima facie, as trustworthy, but were instead
increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate
伊斯兰 system where every ḥadīth was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text
(matn) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of trans-
mitters (sanad) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such
information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathīr’s method in this particular work is more that
of the ḥadīth scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more
so, al-Baḥaqqī, Ḍā’īd b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nu’aym thus feature more promi-
nently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Ishaq, Ibn
Ḥishām or Tabari. But, as Abd al-Wahid rightly points out, Ibn Kathīr, on
occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even
that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Masa b. Uqba, and the
al-Rawād al-Anf of al-Suhayli are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Ḥishām,
are Ibn Kathīr’s copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been
taken from Muḥammad b. Ishaq’s biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with
a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of
Ka’āb b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his
subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, Bānū Suʻād;
there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the
haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Ḥishām, when he speaks so movingly of his
virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the
evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thābit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and
his Companions.

Ibn Kathīr, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of ḥadīth
methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars
such as Ibn Ishaq, but also, at times, the very ḥadīth material he so often quotes.
He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with
works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes
searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the
sahīh of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. Abd al-Wahid offers two possible reasons
for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the
other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathīr was simply quoting from
memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be
that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis
is, I believe, somewhat disingenuous for it requires, amongst other things, that
Ibn Kathīr possessed not one, but an entire set of ḥadīth works unique to his
library alone!
The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabari, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathir’s efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of hadith literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, “If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the sira material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth.” Not that the method of Ibn Kathir is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for sira studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathir’s sira are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., sira material contains, in the first instance, virtually “nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet.” And so, “when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muhammad”, Rudi Paret warns, “we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way.”

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of “sacred biography”, and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathir’s, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer’s “quest of the historical Christ” would be appropriated by

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the sīra seems to betray a casual disregard for the Sitz im Leben of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former’s mission — if it can be described as such — is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article “The Quest of the Historical Muhammad” points out, that “even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear.”

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Iṣḥāq, Ibn Ḥishām and more importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to “holy orders”. Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was “not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system.” As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era “so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheat and corruption.” Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars vis-à-vis the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, The true nature of imposture fully display’d in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex’d

12. Ibid., 300.
13. Ibid., 300.
for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age. Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored The History of the Saracens, a “much more solid contribution to historical knowledge” as Holt puts it, but one that none the less did “not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muḥammad in his first line, as ‘the great Imposter’ and then describing the Arab conquests as ‘that grievous calamity’.” The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muḥammad, La vie de Mahomet. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: “With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muhammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his.”

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel “the historical person of Muhammad”, Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating “the possibility of the critical analysis of the sira”. Lammens’ efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muhammad per se, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. “Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam’s obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence.”

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the hadith traditions as well as the sira material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the hadith material was but a “pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (isnad) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the ‘Companions’ who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

15. Ibid., 311.
INTRODUCTION

in pertinent ways.”18 Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the isnād of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that “hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards.”19 From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: “that the bulk of the sīra . . . consists of second century hadiths has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded.”20

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht’s conclusion. He thus maintains that “In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a ‘tendential shaping’ of the material . . .”21

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of hadith criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the isnād and the mutān of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into hadith and sīra works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.22 He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical hadith studies. His findings, which were first published under the title “al-Ahādith al-Da‘ifah wa al-Maudū‘ah” in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamāddun al-Islami*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Ahādith al-Da‘ifah wa al-Maudū‘ah*.23

23. Ibid., 6.
Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on hadith literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early hadith literature has attempted to show that hadith literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him

"In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'As recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the hadith narrated by 'Amr b. Shu'ab (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr's books. Urwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period." 24

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam." 25 "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon - Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles." 26

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable solution intermédiaire, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship." 27 For him therefore, the hadith traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'." 28

25. See in this regard the introduction to her work, Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity (Cambridge University Press, 1980).
28. Ibid., 7.
Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*, "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."  

Ahmed Fareed  
*Reviewer of Volume I*

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.
TRANSLATOR’S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathir repeats anecdotal ahadith with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathir’s objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific ahadith; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing — of which this work is essentially a record — would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted
have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial ‘readership’ of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathir’s preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as Ḥabī and surat – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial hamza, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathir himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that ‘to err is human’. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 1997
In the name of God, the most Benefcent, the most Merciful

It has been said that all Arabs trace their origins to Ishmael, the son of Abraham; upon them both be peace, salutation, and homage. However, what is well known to be true is that the 'arab al-'Ariba (the original Arabs) came before Ishmael. Among them were the peoples of Ād, Thamūd, Ṭasm, Jabīt, Umaym, Jurhum, and the Āmalqīt, as well as others known only to God. Also, these peoples both came before and were contemporaries of al-Khalīl. Yet the 'arab al-musta'riba (the Arabized Arabs), the Arabs of the Hijāz, were descendants of Ishmael, son of Abraham; upon both of them be peace.

The Arabs of the Yemen, the Ḥimyar, are well known to have been from Qāṭīn, whose name was Muhzam, as Ibn Mākūlā said. It has been stated that they were a group of four brothers; Qāṭīn, Qāhir, Muqīt, and Fālīgh. Qāṭīn was the son of Hūd; it is also said that he was Hūd, or that Hūd was his brother or one of his offspring. Qāṭīn is also said to have descended from Ishmael, as Ibn Ishāq and others relate it. One authority stated that Qāṭīn was the son of al-Hamaysa, son of Taymūn, son of Qaydhar, son of Nabīt, son of Ishmael. And there are other genealogies tracing him back to Ishmael; but God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī treats this in his chapter on tracing the ancestry of Yemen back to Ishmael. He states that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yahyā, from Yazīd b. Abī Ubayy, and also Salama — God be pleased with him — as follows, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went out and confronted a group from Aslam who were fighting one another with swords. He said to one of the two sides, ‘Combat, O sons of Ishmael, I am with the so-and-so tribe.’ So they stopped fighting. ‘What’s wrong with you?’ he asked. ‘But how can we combat if you are with the so-and-so tribe?’ they replied. ‘Go on, combat,’ he insisted, ‘I’m with all of you.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this tradition. In one of his versions the tradition goes, “Combat, O sons of Ishmael. Your forebear was a skilled marksman. Combat; I’m with Ibn al-Adra.” And when they stopped fighting, he said, “Go on, combat; I’m with all of you.”

Al-Bukhārī states, “And Aslam b. Afsā b. Ḥāritha b. ‘Amr b. ‘Amir is from the tribe of Khuzā‘a.” He means the following: that Khuzā‘a was one group of those who were split off from the tribes of Saba’ when God sent on them the flood of al-‘Aram, as will be explained later. And the Aws and the Khazraj tribes

1. al-Khalīl is an epithet of Abraham, which literally means in Arabic “the true friend” or “companion”. Here this honorific connotes “the true follower of God”.
were from Saba' also. The Prophet (SAAS) had said to them, "Combat, O sons of Ishmael." By so saying he was pointing out that they were from Ishmael's line of ancestry. Others interpret his words as meaning the entire Arab race, though that interpretation is far-fetched, since it contradicts without proof the apparent meaning. But the overwhelming view is that the Qahtâni Arabs, whether they were from Yemen or somewhere else, were not from the line of Ishmael.

Most consider that all the Arabs are divided into two strains, those of Qahtân and those of 'Adnân. Those of Qahtân consist of two peoples: Saba' and Ḥadramawt. Those of 'Adnân are also from two peoples: Rabî'a and Muđar, the two sons of Nizar b. Ma'ad b. 'Adnân. A fifth people, the Qudā'a, are the object of dispute. One theory asserts that they are from 'Adnân; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr reports that the majority so believes. This theory is related from Ibn 'Abbâs, Ibn 'Umar, and Jubayr b. Muţîm. It is also preferred by al-Zubayr b. Bakkâr, his uncle Muş'ab al-Zubayrî, and Ibn Hîshâm. According to Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and others, the name "Qudâ'a son of Ma'ad" appeared in a hadîth but this is incorrect.

In addition it is said that Qudâ'a continued to trace the ancestry back to 'Adnân, both before and after the coming of Islam. But by the time of Khâlid b. Yazid b. Muqâwiya, some of them being maternal uncles of his, they were tracing back to Qahtân. In that regard A'shâ b. Tha'lâba composed the following verses:

"Inform Qudâ'a in the letter that but for the vicars of God's people, they would not have been embraced (into Islam).

Qudâ'a has said, 'We are among the fortune blessed.'

And only God knows if they have been honest and spoken true.

They claimed a father who never had their mother;

They may know, but they are fearful (to tell the truth)."

Abû 'Amr al-Suhaylî has also mentioned unique Arab poetry which reproaches Qudâ'a for attributing their descent to Yemen. But God knows best.

The second theory is that Qudâ'a has descended from Qahtân; Ibn Ishâq, al-Kalbi, and a number of other genealogists subscribe to this view.

Ibn Ishâq gave his genealogy as being Qudâ'a b. Malik, b. Ḥimyar, b. Saba', b. Yashjub, b. Ya'rub, b. Qahtân.

A certain poet of theirs, 'Amr b. Murra, a Companion of the Prophet to whom two hadîths are attributed, composed the verses:

"O caller, summon us and rejoice;

Be of Qudâ'a, stand not aloof in shame.

We descend from the noble and handsome"

2. A play on Yemen, pronounced "yaman" in Arabic, a word meaning "success", "happiness", "luck".
Qudā'a, son of Malik, son of Himyar.
The line is well-known and fault-free,
Engraved in the stone beneath the pulpit.”

One genealogist gave the line as follows: Qudā'a b. Malik, b. 'Amr, b. Murra, b. Zayd, b. Himyar.

Ibn Lahi'a stated, on the authority of Ma'rūf b. Suwayd from Abū 'Ushaba Muḥammad b. Mūsā, from Uqba b. 'Āmir, that the last-mentioned said, “I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whether we were descended from Ma‘ad. He replied that we were not. So I asked who we were. He replied, ‘You are descended from Qudā'a b. Malik b. Himyar.’”

Abū Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr said the following: “People do not dispute that Juhayna b. Zayd b. Aswad b. 'Amr b. 'Imān b. al-'Āraf b. Qudā'a is the tribe of Uqba b. 'Āmir al-Juḥani. Accordingly, Qudā'a would be in Yemen in the tribe of Himyar b. Saba'.”

Some genealogists combine these ancestries, as in the report of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and others to the effect that Qudā'a was a woman of the Jurhum who was married to Malik b. Himyar, from whom she gave birth to Qudā'a. Then, she married Ma‘ad b. 'Adna', while her son was still small; some even claim that she was pregnant with Qudā'a prior to her marriage (to Ma‘ad). Thus, Qudā'a was ascribed descent from his mother’s husband, as was frequently the custom in such cases. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Sallām of Basra, the skilled genealogist, said, “The Arabs came from three strains: 'Adnān, Qaḥṭān, and Qudā'a.” When he was asked who were the more numerous, the descendants of 'Adnān or those of Qaḥṭān, he replied, “It depends on Qudā'a; if they related to Yemen, then Qaḥṭāns are more numerous; if to Aden, then 'Adnāns are more.”

All this points to Qudā’a’s inconsistency in relating their descent. However, if the aforementioned hadith from Ibn Lahi’a is true, then it proves their being from Qaḥṭān. But God knows best. And God Almighty did state: “O people, we have created you from a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes, that you may know one another. Truly, in God’s sight it is the most pious of you who are the most noble” (sūrat al-Hujūrāt, XLIX, v.13).

Genealogists indicate that their taxonomy has the following order: shu‘ūb (peoples); qabā'il (tribes); 'amsār (tribal confederations); buṭān (sub-tribes); afkhāḏāt (small divisions of a tribe); fasā’il (extended kinsfolk); and 'ashā'īr (extended families). And the last refers to those closest to a man, and there are no more terms thereafter.

Let us begin with mention of the Qaḥṭān, then the Arabs of the Ḥijāz who are the 'Adnān, and discussion of the jāhilīyya era (before Islam, that is) as a way of leading up to the biography of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). All this if it be the will of God, in whom there is trust.
Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter, *An Account of Qahtān*, as follows: “ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh told us, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Thawr b. Zayd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet (S.A.W.) said, ‘Judgement Day will not come until a man from the Qahtān goes forth driving the people before him with his stick.’ Muslim also relates it in that way, from Qutayba, from al-Darāwardī, from Thawr b. Zayd.”

Al-Suhayli said that Qahtān was the first to whom were spoken the phrases *abayta al-laʿna3* (i.e. “you have scorned the malediction”) and *anʿim sabāḥan* (i.e. “have a happy morning!”).

The Imam Ahmad said, “Abū d-Mughira related to us, from Jarīr, and Rāshid b. Saʿd al-Muqraʿī told me, from Abū Hayy, from Dhū Fajar, that the Messenger of God (S.A.W.) said, ‘This status once belonged to Ḥimyar, but God withdrew it from them and placed it with Quraysh and *ww*, *yy*, *ʿayn*, *ww*, *dāl*, *alif hamza*, *lām*, *yā*, *hā*, *mīm*.’ ʿAbd Allāh said, “This was in a document of my father, and as he related it to us he spoke it out directly as meaning the words, *wa sayaʾādu ilayhim*, meaning ‘it will return to them.’”

The Story of Sabaʿ.

God Almighty said, “For Sabaʿ there was indeed a sign in their dwelling-place: two gardens, on the right hand and on the left. ‘Eat of the bounty from your Lord, and render Him thanks.’ Good was the country, and forgiving the Lord. But they turned away, so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-Lārim, and changed their gardens into ones of bitter fruit, tamarisks, and a few lote trees. Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish? And We placed between them and the villages We had blessed other settlements, easily seen, well spaced for journeying, (saying) ‘Travel in them in safety by day and night.’ They responded, ‘O God, extend the distances between our travel stops.’ They harmed themselves, and We made of them tales to be told and scattered them asunder. In that there are signs for all who are truly patient and thankful” (*sūr ah Sabaʿ*, XXXIV, v.15–19).

The genealogists, including Muḥammad b. Ishāq, give the name as Sabaʿ ʿAbd Shams b. Yashjub b. Yaʿrub b. Qahtān; they say that he was the first of the Arabs who *sabaʿ* and that that was why he was called Sabaʿ. He was also called al-Raʾīsh (“the philanthropist”), because he gave to the people from his own wealth.

3. A salutation made to kings in the pre-Islamic era, meaning “your deeds are too impeccable to deserve malediction, O king.”

4. The word lends itself to various interpretations. Thus A. Guillaume, in his translation of Ibn Ishāq’s *The Life of Muḥammad* (Oxford, 1955, p.4) renders it “to take captives”. Dictionaries give other meanings that might also fit this context. For example, in E. W. Lane’s *Arabic-English Lexicon* we find *sabaʿ* as “to renege on an oath” or “to imply God’s abandonment of a person”.


Al-Suhayli said, “It is related that he was the first person to be crowned.”

Some stated that he was a Muslim and that he wrote verses predicting the advent of the Messenger of God (SAAS). In that poetry are the lines:

“He will control after us a mighty domain,
A prophet who will give not licence to evil.
After him, other kings from among them will hold sway
Ruling all men, with no dishonour nor disgrace.
After them, rulers of ours will control
And our kingdom will be fragmented.
After Qahtān a prophet will rule,
Pious, humble, the very best of mankind.
He will be named Aḩmad, and I wish
I could be given to live a year after his coming
To support him and award him my aid
With all fully-armed warriors and all marksmen.
When he appears, become his helpers and let
Him who meets him pass on my greeting.”

Ibn Dihya related this in his book al-Tanwīr fi Mawlid al-Bashir al-Nadhir (Illuminating the Birth of the Messenger, the Herald).

Imām Aḩmad stated that Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Lahī’a, on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh b. Hubayra al-Sabāʾī, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Wa’la, that the last-named said that he heard ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās say that a man once asked the Prophet (SAAS) who or what Sabāʾ might signify, whether a man, a woman, or a territory. He replied, “Certainly he was a man who gave birth to ten children. Six of them dwelled in Yemen and four in Syria. Those in Yemen were Madḥij, Kiuda, the Ḍzār, the Ash‘āris, Anmār, and Ḫimyar, all Arabs; in Syria they were Lakhm, Judhām, ‘Āmila, and Ghasān.”

We related in our Taṣfīr (Exegesis) that it was Farwa b. Musayk al-Ghuṭayfī who asked about that; also therein we analysed the lines of transmission and the phraseology of this tradition. And all praise be to God!

What is meant here is that Sabāʾ encompasses all these tribes. Among them there used to be [kings] in the lands of Yemen called the tabāḥqa; tubbaʾ in the singular. Their kings would wear crowns during their reign, as also did the Chosroes, the kings of the Persians. The Arabs used to apply the word tubbaʾ to each king who rules Yemen, along with al-Shahr and Ḥadramawt, just as they applied qaṣār to kings ruling Syria and the peninsula, kisrā to those ruling Persia, farūn to Egypt’s rulers, al-najāshi to those over Abyssinia, and baṭlaymūs to India’s kings. Balqīs was one of the Ḫimyarite rulers of Yemen. They used to be in a state of great felicity, with abundant prosperity and a plenitude of local fruits and pro-

5. Balqīs is identified as the Queen of Sheba who married King Solomon.
duce. However, they lived in rectitude, propriety, and right guidance. But when they replaced God’s blessings by disbelief, these kings brought their people to ruin.

Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated from Wahb b. Munabbīh, “God sent to them 13 prophets.” And al-Suddī claimed that he sent 12,000 prophets to them! But God knows best.

What is implied here is that they deviated from the true guidance into error and bowed down to the sun apart from God. That was so in the time of Baḥṣīs and beforehand as well, continuing up to when God sent the flood of al-ʿArim upon them. As the Almighty said, “But they turned away, so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-ʿArim, and changed their gardens into ones of bitter fruit, tamarisks, and a few lote trees. Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish?” (ṣūrat Sābāʾ, XXXIV, v.16–17).

A number of former and contemporary scholars on the Qurʾān commentaries and others have related that the Maʿrīb dam was constructed where waters flowed between two mountains; in ancient times they built an extremely strong dam there so that the water-level reached these mountain tops. On those mountains they planted many fields and orchards with elegant and highly productive trees. It is said that Sābāʾ b. Yaʿrīb built it and that it was fed by 70 valleys with 30 outlets for the water from it. But he died before it was completed and so Himyar finished it after him. It was one farsakh long and one farsakh wide. People lived there in great felicity, prosperity, and ease. So much so, that Qaṭāda and others related that the orchards gave fruit of such quantity and ripeness that a woman could fill a large basket on her head from the fruit dropping in it as she passed below. It is said that there were no fleas or dangerous beasts there; the climate being wholesome and the land excellent, as the Almighty stated, “For Sābāʾ there was indeed a sign in their dwelling-place; two gardens, one on the right hand and one on the left. ‘Eat from the bounty of your Lord, and render Him thanks—a fair land and a much-forgiving Lord’” (ṣūrat Sābāʾ, XXXIV, v.15). And He also stated, “And so your Lord proclaimed: ‘If you give thanks, I give you increase thereof; but if you show ingratitude, then is my punishment severe indeed’” (ṣūrat Ibrāhīm, XIV, v.7).

Then they worshipped other than God and were discontent with His bounty; after He had made their travel stages close together, made good their orchards, and secured their roads, they asked Him to extend their travel stages, to make their journeys difficult and tiresome, and to replace good by evil. They did just like the Israelites when they requested that He exchange manna and quails for vegetables, cucumbers, garlic, lentils, and onions. And so they nullified that great blessing and common good by despoiling the land and scattering the people, then, as the Almighty said, “they turned away and so We sent down upon them the torrent of al-ʿArim” (ṣūrat Sābāʾ, XXXIV, v.16).

6. Parasang, an ancient Persian measure of length, equal to about 3½ miles.
More than one source related that God dispatched rodents against the base of the dam, that is, large rats, or, it is said, moles; and when people knew of this, they set up nets. But, it having been so decreed, these efforts did no good and their precautions were useless. When the destruction at the base was well advanced, the dam fell and collapsed and the water flowed out. Thus the streams and rivers were cut off; all those fruits were lost and all the produce and trees perished. Afterwards they were replaced with inferior trees and fruits, as All-powerful and Almighty God has stated, “and we changed their gardens into ones of khāmt and athl (bitter fruit and tamarisks)” (ṣūrat Sābā’, XXXIV, v.16).

Ibn ‘Abbās, Mujāhid, and others stated that khāmt is the arāk tree which gives a fruit known as the barir, whereas the athl is the farfāq, the tamarisk, or some such similar tree that produces wood without fruit. The Qur’ān verse continues, “and a few lote-trees”. This refers to the fact that when the nabaq, the “Christ’s thorn” tree, gives fruit it does so in very small quantity despite the profuseness of its thorns. The proportion of its fruit is similar, then, to what the proverb implies, “like the meat of a scrawny camel high on a rock-strewn mountain”, not an easy path to be climbed, nor a nice fat meal to be attained. This, then, is why the Almighty states, “Thus We punished them for their disbelief, and is it not the disbelievers alone whom We punish?”

That is, He only metes out such severe punishment to those who disbelieve in Him, give the lie to His messengers, disobey His commands, and defile His sanctuaries.

The Almighty also said, “We made of them tales to be told and scattered them asunder.” In fact, when their wealth was gone and their lands were in ruin, they were forced to depart. So they scattered into the lower areas and into the higher reaches of the country, in all directions, ayyī Ṣābā’ (in disarray that is) as the common idiom goes. Some of them settled in Ḥijāz, the Khuzā’i tribe among them; they migrated to the suburbs of Mecca, with the consequences that we will relate later. Others went to what is now Medina, being the first to settle there. They were later joined by three tribes of Jews: Banū Qaymuqṣ, Banū Qurayṣa, and Banū al-Naḍīr. These made a pact with the tribes of Aws and Khazraj and stayed with them, as we will relate. Other groups from Sābā’ moved to Syria and it was later they who became Christian; these were the Ghassān, Āmilā, Bahrā’, Lakhm, Judhām, Taḥūk, Taḥlib, and others.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Abū ‘Ubayda told him that al-ʿAšā b. Qays b. Ṭhaʾlabah, also known as Maymūn b. Qays, spoke the verses:

“In that there is a moral for those who seek morals, 
Marble, built for them by Ḥimyar, 
Which did not budge when the raging billows came.
Its water irrigated the crops and the vines
Far and wide, since it was decreed
Then they were scattered and could not
Give drink to a child when just weaned."

Muḥammad b. Išḥāq, in his biography of the Prophet (SAAS), indicated that the first man to leave Yemen before the flooding of al-‘Arim was ʿAmr b. ʿAmir of the Lakhm tribe. Lakhm was the son of ʿAdī b. al-Ḥārīth b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. Hamaysaʿ b. ʿAmr b. ʿArib b. Yashjub b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Sabaʿ. Lakhm’s genealogy has also been given as Lakhm b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. Sabaʿ, as Ibn Hishām states.

According to Ibn Išḥāq, "The reason for his departure from Yemen was, as Abū Zayd al-ansārī related to me, that he saw rodents burrowing into the Maʿrib dam which held back the water which they distributed over their land as they pleased. He realized that the dam would not last, and so he decided to emigrate from Yemen. So he tricked his people, as follows. He ordered his youngest son to stand up to him and strike him back if he should berate and strike him. His son did as he was told and ʿAmr then said, 'I will not remain in a land where my youngest son has slapped my face.' So some of Yemen’s tribal leaders said, 'Let’s take advantage of ʿAmr’s anger and buy up his properties.' Then ʿAmr moved with his sons and grandsons. The Azd tribe then stated that they would not remain behind after ʿAmr; so they sold their properties and left with him. They journeyed until they reached the land of ʿAkk, crossing to and fro across their territory. So ʿAkk attacked them, their battles favouring first one side, then the other. On this fighting, ʿAbbas b. Mirdās spoke the following verses:

‘And ʿAkk b. ʿAdnān were those who toyed with
Ghassān until they were completely expelled.’

‘ʿAmr’s people therefore disengaged from them and dispersed in different directions. The family of Jafna b. ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir went to Syria, while the Aws and the Khazraj settled in Yathrib and Khuzāʿa went to Marra.7 The Azd al-Sarāt went to al-Sarāt, the Azd Ummān to Ummān. Then God dispatched the torrent down upon the dam and destroyed it, concerning which event God revealed these verses in the Qurʾān.” Something close to this account was also related from al-Saddī.

According to Muḥammad b. Išḥāq in this account, ʿAmr b. ʿĀmir was a soothsayer. Others say that his wife, Ṭarīfā daughter of al-Khayr, the Ḥimyarite woman, was a soothsayer and that she told him of the imminent doom of their country. Apparently they saw proof of that in the rats being given control over their dam, and that was why they acted as they did. God alone knows best.

7. Known as marr al-Zahrān, on the road to Mecca.
I have given a lengthy account of 'Amr's story, from 'Ikrima, as related by Ibn Abī Ḥātim, in my *Tafsir* (Exegesis).

**Division**

Not all of Saba' left Yemen when they were afflicted with the torrent of al-'Arīm; the majority of them remained. The people of Ma'rib, who had the dam, moved into different parts of the country. That is the gist of the previously mentioned hadith coming down from Ibn 'Abbas to the effect that all the tribes of Saba' did not leave Yemen, but four went to Syria while six remained. These were Madhējī, Kinda, Anmār, and the Ash'arīs. Anmār was the father of Khath'am, Bajila, and Ḥīmyar; so these were the six tribes from Saba' who remained in Yemen. They continued retaining the rights of power and the *tabābā'ī* kingship until the king of Abyssinia took that position from them through the army he sent under his two generals Abraha and Aryāt. The Abyssinian rule lasted some 70 years until Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥīmyarite regained control, and that was a short time before the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This we will recount in detail shortly, God willing, and upon Him is all trust and dependence.

Later the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent 'Aḥī and Khālid b. al-Walid to the people of Yemen, then he sent Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Mu'ādh b. Jabal. They were calling people to worship God and making clear to them matters of doctrine. After that al-Aswād al-Anṣāf gained control over Yemen and he expelled the deputies of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When al-Aswād was killed, the power of Islam became firmly established over Yemen, during the rule of Abū Bakr “the trusting”, God be pleased with him.

**The Story of Rābi'a b. Naṣr b. Ābu Ḥarīthah b. 'Amr b. Āmir.**

The man referred to in the above heading was of the Lakhm tribe; this is what Ibn Ishaq related. Al-Suhaylī stated that the genealogists of Yemen give his name as Naṣr b. Rābi'a; but he was really Rābi'a b. Naṣr b. al-Ḥārīth b. Namāra b. Lakhm. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkar gave his genealogy as Rābi'a b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Sha'wadh b. Mālik b. Ājam b. 'Amr b. Namāra b. Lakhm. Lakhm was the brother of Judhām; he was named Lakhm because he had lakhmed his brother on the cheek, i.e. he had struck him there. The brother bit his hand in return so jadhaming it; hence he was called Judhām.

Rābi'a was one of the *tubba*₃ kings of Ḥīmyar, and about him is told the tale of his contacts with the two soothsayers Shiqq and Ṣatīḥ, and how they warned him of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ṣatīḥ was named Rābi' b. Rābi'a b. Mas'ud b. Māzin b. Dhī' b. 'Adī b. Māzin Ghassān. Shiqq was the son of Ṣa'b b. Yashkur b. Ruhm b. Afrak b. Qays b.
'Abqar b. Anmār b. Nizār. Some say that Anmār was the son of Irāsh b. Liḥyān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghawth b. Nābit b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Kaḥlān b. Sābā'. It is said that Saṭīḥ had no limbs but was like a waterskin, with his face in his chest. When he got angry he would puff up and sit. Shiqq was one-half a man. And it is said that Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī was of his progeny. According to al-Suḥaylī both Shiqq and Saṭīḥ were born on the same day when Ṭarīfa, daughter of al-Khayr, the Ḥīmyarite woman, died. It is said that she spat into the mouth of each of them, each therefore inheriting the gift of divination from her. She was the wife of ʿAmr b. ʿAmr, previously mentioned. But God knows best.

Muḥammad Ibn Išāq said that Rabīʿa b. Naṣr was king of Yemen and of the true line of the tubbaʿ kings. He saw a vision that awed and terrified him. So he gathered every single soothsayer, magician, bird prognosticator, and star foreteller in his kingdom and told them, “I have seen visions that amazed and scared me. Tell me what they were and how to interpret them.” They replied, “Relate them to us and we will interpret them.” He responded, “If I do tell you what they were I won’t feel secure with your explanation; the only one capable of interpreting them will be someone who knows what they were before I tell them.”

One of the wise men then suggested, “If that is what the king wants, then he should send for Shiqq and Saṭīḥ. No one is more knowledgeable than they; they will tell him what he asked for.”

So the king sent for them, and Saṭīḥ arrived before Shiqq. Their conversation went as follows:

The king: “I have seen visions that amazed and scared me; tell me what they were, and if you are right you will interpret them correctly.”

Saṭīḥ: “I will do so. You saw fire emerge from the darkness, fall on low ground, and consume every living being with a skull.”

The king: “You’ve not made a single error, Saṭīḥ. So how do you interpret them?”

Saṭīḥ: “I swear by all the snakes between the two stony plains, that the Abyssinians will descend upon your land and will surely reign over all between Abyan and Jurash.”

The king: “That, Saṭīḥ, angers and hurts me greatly; will that occur in my time or later?”

Saṭīḥ: “Later, by your father I swear, some time later, after more than 60 or 70 years have passed.”

The king: “And will their dominion endure or be cut short?”

Saṭīḥ: “It will be cut down to some 70 years, and then they will be killed and expelled in flight.”

The king: “Who will then follow, after their killing and expulsion?”

Saṭīḥ: “Iram Dḥu Yazan will follow, emerging from Aden to fight them, and he will not leave one of them in Yemen.”
The king: “And will his era endure or be cut short?”

Satîth: “It will be cut short.”

The king: “Who will do this?”

Satîth: “A prophet, pure, to whom revelation comes from the All-high.”

The king: “And from where will this prophet come?”

Satîth: “He will descend from Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr. And the rule will be with his people till the end of time.”

The king: “Does time end?”

Satîth: “Yes, on that day when the first and the last shall all be assembled and the good will be happy, the evil mortified.”

The king: “Is this really true, what you’re telling me?”

Satîth: “Yes, by the twilight, the dark of night, and the spreading dawn, what I told you really is the truth.”

Then Shiqq arrived and the king spoke to him as he had to Satîth but hid from him what he had foreseen to establish whether they would be in agreement or not. Shiqq told him, “You saw fire emerge from the dark, fall down between a meadow and a hillock, and eat up every breathing creature there.”

When Shiqq said this, the king knew that they were in agreement and saying one and the same thing, except for Satîth’s words being “fall on low ground and consume every living being with a skull”, while Shiqq’s were “between a meadow and a hillock and eat up every breathing creature there”. So the king told him he had it right and asked his interpretation.

Shiqq: “I swear by all the men who live between two stony plains that the blacks will descend upon your land, oppress all your young, and reign over all between Abyan and Najran.”

The king: “By your father, Shiqq, that angers and hurts me greatly; will that occur during or after my reign?”

Shiqq: “No, it will be in a later period. And then a great man will emerge to save your people and inflict on your enemies all disgrace.”

The king: “And who will this great saviour be?”

Shiqq: “A young man who is guilt-free and faultless and will emerge from the line of Dhū Yazan.”

The king: “And will his reign last long?”

Shiqq: “No, it will be brought short by a messenger dispatched, who will bring truth and justice, and come from a people of religion and virtue in whom power shall reside until the Day of Separation.”

The king: “What is the Day of Separation?”

Shiqq: “A day when the pious shall be rewarded, when calls shall be made from the heavens that the living and the dead shall hear, and men shall be gathered to the appointed place. Then the pious shall receive victory and rewards.”
The king: “Is it really true what you predict?”

Shiqq: “Yes, by the Lord of the heavens and the earth and of all high and low between them both, what I have informed you is all true and doubt-free.”

Ibn Ishāq stated that the soothsayers’ prediction had great impact on Rabī’a b. Naṣr and so he provisioned all his family and relatives for departure to Iraq. He wrote for them to a Persian king called Sabūr b. Khurzād who settled them in al-Ḥira. According to Ibn Ishāq, the progeny of Rabī’a b. Naṣr included al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir, son of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr b. ʿAdī b. Rabī’a b. Naṣr. This al-Nuʿmān was viceroy over al-Ḥira for the Persian kings; and the Arabs used to send delegations to him and gave him praise. This, then, is what Muḥammad b. Ishaq said about al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir being of the line of Rabī’a b. Naṣr, according to most people. Ibn Ishāq related that when the sword of al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir was brought to the Commander of the Faithful, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, he asked Jubayr b. Muṭṣim from whom it had come. He replied, “From the remains of Qanāṣ b. Maʿṣd b. ʿAdnān.” Ibn Ishāq commented that it was unclear who that person was.

The Story of Ṭubbāʿ Abū Karib Tubbān Asʿad, king of Yemen, with the people of Medina; how he wished to raid the Holy Sanctuary at Mecca. Then he dignified and venerated it and covered it with cloth; thus he was the first to do so.


According to Ibn Ishāq, Tubbān Asʿad Abū Karib was he who went to Medina and led two Jewish rabbis to Yemen and refurbished and covered with cloth the holy sanctuary. His reign preceded that of Rabī’a b. Naṣr. He had routed his return journey from a campaign in the east through Medina. First he had passed there without bothering its inhabitants and left among them a son of his who was treacherously killed. He advanced against it, determined to destroy it, wipe out its people, and cut down its date-palms. So this clan of the anṣār

8. The Medinan followers of the Prophet Muḥammad who granted him refuge after his emigration from Mecca.
joined up against him, their leader being 'Amr b. Talla, the brother of Banū al-Najjār and also one of Banū 'Amr b. Mādhūl. Mādhūl's name was 'Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, and al-Najjār's name was Taym Allāh b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. al-Khazraj b. Hārith b. Tha'laba b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir.

Ibn Hishām stated that 'Amr b. Talla was 'Amr b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, that Talla was his mother and that she was the daughter of 'Āmir b. Zurayq al-Khazrajīyya.

Ibn Ishaq's account proceeds: "A certain man of Bana 'Adi b. al-Najjar, called Ahar, attacked and killed one of the followers of Tuhhāc whom he found cutting down date clusters off one of his date-loaded palm trees, saying, 'Dates belong only to those who pollinate them.' This added to Tubbāc's animosity towards them and fighting broke out.

"The ānṣār claimed that they would fight against him by day and host him by night; their saying this surprised Tubbāc who would say, 'Our people, by God, are certainly generous!'"

Ibn Ishaq related about the ānṣār that Tubbāc's anger was directed only against the Jews and that they, the ānṣār, protected them from him. Al-Suhaylī stated that Tubbāc only came to give victory to the ānṣār, his cousins, against the Jews who had taken up residence with them in Medina on certain conditions that they had not kept, and because they were behaving arrogantly. God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq's account relates that while Tuhhāc was engaged in this fighting against them, two Jewish rabbis came to him; they were both deeply learned men from Banū Qurayṣa. When they heard how he intended to destroy the city and its inhabitants, they told him, "O king, do not do this. Unless you adopt a different course from that you intend, you will be prevented from accomplishing it, and we will not be able to save you from swift retribution." Tubbāc asked why this was so, and they replied, "This is where a prophet will migrate; he will go forth from this holy sanctuary from Quraysh in times to come and this shall be his home and his abode."

So Tubbāc changed his plan; he recognized the learning they had and was intrigued by what he had heard from them. He therefore departed from Medina and adopted the rabbis' religion. According to Ibn Ishaq, Tubbāc and his people had idols whom they worshipped.

Tubbāc then set off towards Mecca on his way to Yemen. When he arrived between Usfān and Amaj he was approached by some men of the tribe of Hudhayl b. Mudrika b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nīzār b. Ma'ād b. 'Adnān. They asked him, "O king, may we lead you to an ancient treasury overlooked by kings before yourself, in which there are pearls, chrysolite, sapphires, gold, and silver?"

"Certainly you may," he replied. They said, "It is a building in Mecca whose people worship it and offer prayers there."
Actually the Hudhaylis sought to destroy him by this, since they knew that any king wanting this or being disrespectful there would perish.

After agreeing to their suggestion Tubba' sent word to the two rabbis asking their advice. They replied, "Those people wished only your death and the destruction of your army. We know of no other building than that in the land that God Almighty and Glorious has taken for Himself. If you do as they suggest, you will perish, as will all those with you."

Tubba' asked what he should do when he approached the building and they said he should do the same as those who lived there, that he should circumambulate it and venerate and honour it, shaving his head and acting with humility before it until he left it.

The king then asked, "What is it that prevents you both from doing the same?" They replied, "It certainly is the house of our father Abraham, on whom be peace, and it is as we told you, but the people there have created a barrier between us and it by the idols they have set up about it and the blood they shed there. They are unclean and polytheists." This was the gist of their words.

Tubba' saw the good of their advice and the truth of their words and so he summoned the men from Hudhayl, cut off their hands and feet, and continued to Mecca. There he performed the circumambulation of the building, made sacrifice, and shaved his head. He remained in Mecca for six days, so they say, providing sacrificial feasts for its people and giving them honey to drink. In a dream he was shown that he should cover the building, so he clothed it with palm fronds. Then, in another dream, he was shown that he should clothe it in something better, so he dressed it with a Yemeni tribal fabric. Again he had a vision that he should clothe it even better, so he covered it with fine sheets and striped cloth. People claim that Tubba' was thus the first to clothe the building. He ordered its guardians from the Jurhum tribe to clean it thoroughly and to prevent any blood, dead bodies, or menstruating women from coming close to it. He also made for it a door and a key.

On this subject Subay'a, daughter of al-Ahabb, spoke the following verses for her son Khalid b. 'Abd Manaf b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Taym b. Murra b. Ka'b b. Lu'ayy b. Ghalib, telling him to avoid sinning in Mecca and reminding him what Tubba' had done there:

"O my son, in Mecca neither do wrong to the young nor to the old. Preserve its sanctity, my son, and let not conceit confuse you. Whoever sins in Mecca, my son, meets extreme disaster. His face, my son, shall be beaten, his cheeks consumed by fire. I have tested this there, my son, and found those harming it perish. God made it secure, though no towers are built in its courtyards. God made its birds inviolate and also the white-footed crows on Mt. Thabir. Tubba' raided it, but dressed its buildings with new, smooth cloth.
My God humbled his power there, so he made proper sacrifice, 
Walking barefoot towards it, in its courtyard, 
And offering two thousand camels, 
Well-feeding its people the flesh of Mahry camels and cattle, 
Giving them strained honey and barley-water to drink. 
And God destroyed the army of the elephants, casting rocks amongst them, 
Ending their rule in far distant lands, in Persia and Khazir. 
So hear when this is told, and understand how things ended.”

Ibn Ishāq continued: “Thereafter Tubbaʿ left for Yemen, taking his armed men and the two rabbis with him. On his arrival he asked his people to adopt the religion he had embraced, but they refused until it should be put to the test of fire as was the custom in Yemen.”

He went on: “I was told by Abū Malik b. Thaʿlabab. Abū Malik al-Quraṣṭhat he heard Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Talḥa b. Ubayd Allah say that when Tubbaʿ reached the outskirts of Yemen, Himyar intercepted him and denied him entry. They told him, ‘You shall not enter our land; you have abandoned our faith.’ So Tubbaʿ called on them to embrace his new religion, proclaiming it to be better than theirs. They asked whether he would agree to put the issue between them to the test of the fire, and he agreed.”

He continued: “There was in Yemen, as Yemenis assert, a fire they would employ to adjudicate differences; it would consume wrongdoers but not harm the innocent. And so Tubbaʿ’s people and the two rabbis walked to the fire site. His people took their idols and carried their sacrificial offerings, while the rabbis wore their sacred books around their necks. They all sat near the spot from which the fire would emerge. When it raged towards them they drew away and avoided it. The onlookers berated them and ordered them to endure it, and they did so until it enveloped them and consumed their idols and sacred objects and those men of Himyar who carried them. But the two rabbis emerged safe, with their holy books around their necks, unharmed though their foreheads were sweating. Thereupon the Himyarites adopted their religion; and this was how Judaism began in Yemen.”

Ibn Ishāq continued to report that one authority told him that the two rabbis and the men of Himyar approached the fire only seeking to force it back, for it was said that truth lay with him who could do this. The Himyarites approached the fire bearing their idols to force it back, but it closed on them seeking to consume them. So they drew away and were not able to force it back. Later the two rabbis approached it and began reciting the Torah. The fire withdrew from them and so they forced it back to where it emerged. Thereupon the Himyarites adopted their religion. But God knows best which report is true.

Ibn Ishāq went on: “They had a temple called Rām which they venerated and where they made sacrifice; there they received oracular messages while
engaged in their polytheistic practices. The two rabbis told Tubbaʿ, ‘It is just a devil who is deceiving the people that way; let us deal with him.’ Tubbaʿ agreed and the rabbis, so the Yemenis say, forced out from it a black dog which they killed. Then they destroyed that temple; and its ruins — so I have been told — still to this day bear traces of the blood shed on it.”

In our new *Tafsir* (Exegesis) of the Qurʾān we have told of the tradition coming from the Prophet (SAAS) wherein he said, “Do not curse Tubbaʿ; he had become a Muslim.”

Al-Suhayli stated that Muʿammar related from Humām b. Munabbih from Abū Hurayra that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Do not curse Asʿad the Himyarite; it was he who first clothed the *kaʿba*.” According to al-Suhayli, Tubbaʿ spoke the following verses when the two rabbis told him about the Messenger of God (SAAS):

> “I do testify that Ahmad is a messenger from God, guiltless his soul,
> If only my life were extended up to his, I would have been a helper, a cousin to him,
> I would have fought his enemies with the sword and cleared all cares from his breast.”

These verses continued to be handed down and memorised among the *ansār*; they were with Abū Ayyūb al-ansārī, may God be pleased with him and bless him. Al-Suhayli stated that Ibn Abī al-Dunyā indicated in his *Kitāb al-Qubūr* (Book of Graves) that a grave was dug up at Ṣanʿā in which two females were found and along with them a silver tablet on which was written in gold, “This is the grave of Lamis and Ḥubba, two daughters of Tubbaʿ, who died declaring, ‘There is no God but God alone and without peer,’ and before them the righteous had died saying the same.”

Later, rule passed to Hassān b. Tubbān Asʿad, and he was the brother of al-Yamāma al-Zarqāʾ who was crucified on the gate of the city of Jaw, which from that day on was named al-Yamāma.

Ibn Ishaq continued that when Tubbaʿ’s son Hassān b. Abī Karib Tubbān Asʿad became king, he set out with the people of Yemen, wishing to subdue the lands of the Arabs and the Persians. But by the time they were somewhere in Iraq, the Himyarites and the Yemenites disliked going further with him and wanted to return to their own countries and families. So they spoke to a brother of Hassān named ʿAmr, who was there with him in the army, as follows: “Kill your brother Hassān and we will make you king over us and you can take us back home.” He said he would, and there was agreement about this except in the case of Dhu Ruʿayn the Himyarite. He urged ʿAmr against this, but ʿAmr disagreed. So Dhu Ruʿayn composed a poem containing the following two verses:
“Whoever would exchange insomnia for sleep? Happy he who sleeps in peace. Though Ḥimyar has betrayed in treachery, Dhū Ruʿāyn has God’s forgiveness.”

This poem he then entrusted to ʿAmr. When the latter did kill his brother Ḥassān and returned to Yemen, he was deprived of sleep and suffered insomnia. When he asked physicians, astrologists, soothsayers, and diviners what was wrong, they told him, “No one has ever killed his brother or relative unjustly without losing his sleep and suffering insomnia.” Thereupon he set about killing all those who had encouraged him to murder his brother. Finally, he came to Dhū Ruʿāyn who told him, “I have cause for you to spare me.” When ʿAmr asked why, he drew attention to the document he had entrusted to him. ʿAmr then took out the verses, read them and realized that Dhū Ruʿāyn had advised him well. ʿAmr perished and Ḥimyar’s state fell into disorder and disarray.

USURPATION OF THE THRONE OF YEMEN BY LAKHNIʿA DHŪ SHANĀTĪR.

He ruled there for 27 years.

Ibn Iṣḥāq continued that a Ḥimyarite not of the royal lines then took control of Yemen, a man called Lakhniʿa Yantūf Dhū Shanātīr. He murdered the most prominent Yemenites and abused the country’s royal families. He was, moreover, a most depraved man, behaving as had the people of Lot. He would send for a royal prince and attack him in an upper chamber he had constructed for that purpose; this was to prevent the prince from ruling after him. Eventually he would look down from his high chamber to his guards and soldiers below and place a tooth-cleaning stick in his mouth to show them that he had finished with the prince.

One day he sent for Zurʿa Dḥū Nuwaṣ b. Tubbān Asʿād, the brother of Ḥassān, who had been a small boy when Ḥassān was murdered. He had grown up to be a fine, intelligent, and handsome young man. When a messenger came to fetch him he realized what was in store for him, so he hid a thin metal blade between his foot and sandal. When they were alone and Lakhniʿa attacked him, Dḥū Nuwaṣ fought back and stabbed and killed him. Then he cut off his head and placed it in the window out of which Lakhniʿa had looked below. Having placed a tooth-cleaning stick in his mouth he then went outside. The guards called to him, “Hey there, Dḥū Nuwaṣ, fresh and moist, or all dried out?” He told them in reply to ask the head of “Hell-bent” there in the window, and they saw that Lakhniʿa’s head had been cut off. They then caught up with Dḥū Nuwaṣ and implored him to be their king now that he had spared them from the evil tyrant.

So they made him king, and Ḥimyar and the tribes of Yemen united under him. He was the last of the kings of Ḥimyar. He took the name Yūsuf and ruled for an extended period.
In Najrān there were still some remnants of followers of the religion of Jesus, son of Mary, on whom be peace. They were people of goodness and virtue and their leader’s name was ʿAbd Allah b. al-Thāmir.

Ibn ʿIshaq then related how the people of Najrān adopted Christianity due to the influence of a man named Faymiyūn, a Christian from Syria. He was a man whose prayers were answered and was accompanied by a man named Ṣāliḥ. They spent each Sunday in prayer, while Faymiyūn worked the rest of the week as a builder. He said prayers for the sick, the crippled, and the disabled, and their ills would be cured. Eventually he and his friend were taken prisoner by bedouins and were sold in Najrān. The man who bought Faymiyūn was astonished to see that when he began his prayers in the house at night it would fill with light.

The people of Najrān worshipped a tall palm tree, bowing down before it and festooning it with their wives’ jewellery. Faymiyūn said to his master, “If I were to say a prayer to God against this tree and it were destroyed, would you recognize that your religion is false?” His master agreed that he would, and gathered all the people from Najrān together. Faymiyūn then went into his prayer-room and asked God to destroy the tree. So God sent a storm that tore it up by the roots and threw it flat on the ground. Thereupon the people of Najrān adopted Christianity and he encouraged them to follow the Gospel until they were overtaken by the same events that affected the Christians all over the world.

That was how Christianity came to Najrān in the Arab lands.

Then Ibn ʿIshaq related the story of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Thāmir when he adopted Christianity at the hands of Faymiyūn and how Dhū Nuwās killed him and his companions and dug the ukhdūd, the trench, for them. According to Ibn Hishām that ukhdūd was a long trench in the ground like a ditch. Dhū Nuwās kindled fires in it and burned these people with them; he also killed many others, to the total of almost 20,000, as is examined at length in the study of sūrat al-Burāj (LXXXV) in our Tafrīr (Exegesis) of the Qurān. And all praise be to God!

An Account of how rule in Yemen passed from Himyar and was transferred to the black Abyssinians.

The aforementioned events support the predictions of the two soothsayers, Shiqq and Sāṭḥ. Only one of the people of Najrān survived; his name was Daws Dhū Thaʿlabān and he escaped on his horse in the desert and could not be caught. He continued travelling until he reached Caesar, the emperor of Byzantium. Since the emperor was also a Christian, as he was, he told him what Dhū Nuwās and his troops had done and asked his aid. The emperor replied

that Daws’ land was very far, but that he would write a message to the king of Abyssinia who was also of the same religion and whose country was closer at hand. The emperor then wrote such a message asking him to provide help and to seek revenge for Daws.

So Daws took Caesar’s letter to the Negus who dispatched 70,000 troops from Abyssinia under the leadership of one of his officers named Aryāt, along with another named Abraha al-Ashram. Aryāt crossed over the sea and reached the shores of Yemen, accompanied by Daws. Dhū Nuwās came out to meet him with his forces made up from Himyar and the Yemeni tribes under his control. When they engaged, Dhū Nuwās and his men were defeated. When he realized that disaster had befallen himself and his people, Dhū Nuwās turned his horse to the sea and beat it until it entered the water and took him through the shallows and out to the depths of the sea where he perished. Aryāt entered Yemen and took control there. At this point Ibn Ishāq records several poems by the Arabs detailing these strange events. These poems are in fine, eloquent, vivid, and elegant language, but we omit them here to avoid boring or wearying the reader. And God is our helper.

An Account of how Abraha al-Ashram rebelled against, fought, and killed Aryāt, and so assumed power over Yemen.

Ibn Ishāq stated: “Aryāt remained in control over Yemen for some years but eventually Abraha challenged him and the Abyssinian forces split into two sides. One side moved to attack the other, but when the armies approached for battle, Abraha sent a message to Aryāt suggesting that he was wrong to pit the Abyssinians against one another to the ultimate damage of all, and that they should meet alone in battle, all forces then combining under the authority of the one victorious. To this Aryāt responded with agreement.

“Abraha, a short, stocky man and a devout Christian, then went out to fight Aryāt who was tall, handsome, powerfully built, and bore a javelin. Behind Abraha was a slave named ʿAtwada protecting his rear. Aryāt struck out, aiming at the top of Abraha’s head, but his javelin hit him on the forehead and slit his eyebrow, eye, nose, and lip; that was why he was known as al-Ashram, i.e. the cleft-face. Then ʿAtwada advanced from behind Abraha and attacked and killed Aryāt. The forces of Aryāt went over to Abraha and all Abyssinians in Yemen united under him. Abraha then paid over the blood price for Aryāt’s death.

“When this news reached the Negus, who had dispatched them both to Yemen, he was furious at Abraha, for he had attacked and killed his commander without orders from himself. Then the Negus swore an oath that he would give

10. The title given to the ruler of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia).
Abraha no respite until he had trodden his land and cut off his locks. So Abraha shaved his head and filled a leather bag with Yemeni soil which he sent to the Negus with a message saying, ‘O king, Aryāt was merely your slave as I am. We differed about your command; everyone owes you obedience. But I was stronger, more effective, and more skilful than he was in managing Abyssinian affairs. I shaved my head completely when I heard of the king’s oath and have sent to him a bag of my country’s soil so that he may tread it underfoot and so keep his oath.’ This message pleased the Negus when he received it, and he sent him a message that Abraha should remain in Yemen until further orders. And so it was that Abraha did remain in Yemen.”

An Account of why Abraha attacked Mecca with elephants to put the ka'ba to waste and how God quickly destroyed him.

As God Almighty stated in the Qur'ān, “Have you not seen how God dealt with those who had elephants? Did he not defeat their scheme, sending flocks of birds which cast upon them stones of baked clay, rendering them like digested chaff?” (sūrat al-Fil, CV, v.1–5).

It was said, according to al-Ṭabari, that the first person to tame an elephant was Iffīdūn b. Ṭāhfiyān, who killed al-Daḥḥāk. It was also he who first saddled horses. The first person to domesticate and ride a horse, though, was Fāṭhamūrath, who was the third of the world’s kings. It was also said that Ishmael, son of Abraham, upon both of whom be peace, was the first to ride a horse, and it is likely that he was the first Arab to ride. But God knows best.

Some say that, in spite of their size, elephants are scared of cats. Some army commanders brought cats into the pitch of battle when fighting the Indians, and so the elephants ran away.

Ibn Ishaq continued: “Later Abraha built al-Qullays church in Ṣan‘ā‘, the like of which had never at that time been seen on earth before. He wrote to the Negus saying, ‘I built a church for you the like of which was never built for any king before you, and I will not cease striving until I divert to it the Arabs’ pilgrimage.’”

Al-Suḥayli stated that Abraha sought to humiliate the people of Yemen by building this ugly church, humbling them in a variety of ways. He invariably amputated the hand of any labourer who arrived for work after dawn. He began to transfer to it, from the Balqis palace, marble, stone, and splendid furnishings. In it he erected crosses of gold and silver and pulpits made of ivory and ebony. Al-Qullays was built very tall indeed and its spaciousness was amazing. When eventually Abraha died and the Abyssinians dispersed, spirits would inflict evil on anyone daring to take any of its building materials or furnishings. This was
because the building was undertaken in the name of two idols, Ku'ayb and his wife. The height of each of these was 60 cubits. Consequently the Yemenis left the church alone. It remained just as it had been up till the time of al-Saffah, the first of the 'Abbasid caliphs. He sent there a group of men of determination, judgement, and knowledge who demolished it stone by stone; and today its remains are completely effaced.

Ibn Ishāq continued: "When the Arabs learned of and talked about Abraha's message to the Negus, a certain intercalator of the Kināna tribe became enraged; the intercalators were the ones who would postpone a sacred month in Mecca, during which warfare would have been forbidden, when they wanted to make war. This is referred to in the Qurʾān: 'The practice of postponing (the sacred month) is merely further disbelief' (ṣūrat al-Bārāʾ, IX, v.37).

Ibn Ishāq went on: "This Kinanite then travelled to the al-Qullays church and squatted down there, that is he defecated without anyone seeing, then left and returned home. When Abraha was informed of this he demanded to know who had done such a thing. He was told: 'It was one of the people of that bayt (building) in Mecca to which the Arabs made pilgrimage. When he heard of what you said of your intention to change the Arabs' pilgrimage to this church of yours, he became angry and so defiled it, thereby indicating that it was unworthy of being a place of pilgrimage.'

"Abraha was enraged at this and he swore that he would go to the ka'ba and destroy it. And so he ordered his Abyssinian troops to equip themselves and make ready, and then he set forth with his elephant. The Arabs were highly anxious and alarmed when they heard of this and considered it their duty to do battle with him, when they learned he wanted to destroy the ka'ba, God's sacred edifice. A member of the Yemeni nobility named Dhū Nafr summoned his people and those Arabs who would support him to do battle with Abraha and prevent his destruction of the ka'ba. Some did respond and they engaged in battle. Dhū Nafr and his supporters were vanquished and he himself was taken prisoner and brought before Abraha. When about to be killed, Dhū Nafr suggested to Abraha that he might well be more useful to him alive than dead. So Abraha kept him prisoner, in chains; he was a clement person.

"Abraha continued ahead to meet further adversaries and in the area of Khath'am came up against Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khath'ami with his two allied tribes of Shahrān and Nāhis, along with other Arab supporting tribes. They did battle, Abraha won, and took Nufayl prisoner. When Abraha was about to execute him, Nufayl pleaded for his life and offered to be his guide in the Arab territory, guaranteeing that the tribes under him would be obedient to Abraha. So Abraha kept him prisoner, in chains; he was a clement person.

"Reaching Ṭaʾīf, Abraha was met by Masʿūd b. Muʿāṭṭib b. Ṭalib b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. ʿAwf b. Thaqif along with the warriors of Thaqif. They
addressed Abraha, saying, 'O king, we are your slaves, fully obedient to you; we have no dispute with you and this temple of ours is not the one you want.' By this they meant the temple devoted to the goddess al-Lat. 'What you want is the building in Mecca; we will send guides to take you there.' So Abraha passed them by unmolested.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The temple of al-Lat was one they had there in al-Ṭāʾif that they venerated almost as was the kaʾba.

"So Thaqīf sent with Abraha Abū Righāl as guide to Mecca. They travelled as far as al-Mughammis where they made a stop. It was there that Abū Righāl died and thereafter the Arabs stoned his grave; his grave is the one at al-Mughammis that people still stone. In the story of Thamūd, Abū Righāl was one of their men who would seek refuge at the sanctuary but was struck and killed by a stone as he left it. Once the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to his Companions, 'And the proof is that he was buried with two branches of gold.' When his grave was disinterred, they did find them. He was said to be known as Abū Thaqīf."

The connection between this and Ibn Ishāq's account is that the name of this latter Abū Righāl was the same as that of his ancestor and that the people stoned his grave just as they did that of the former. But God knows best. Jarir spoke the verse: "When al-Farazdaq dies, then may people stone his grave like they stoned Abū Righāl's."11

It seems evident that he was the second.

Ibn Ishāq continued: "When Abraha made a halt at al-Mughammis he sent on ahead to Mecca one of his Abyssinian men named al-Aswād b. Maqṣūd with some cavalry. He brought to him the possessions of the people of Tiḥāma, from Quraysh and others; this included 200 camels belonging to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim who was at that time the leader and elder of Quraysh. As a result, Quraysh, Kināna, and Hudhayl, and all those venerating the kaʾba decided to do battle with Abraha but abandoned this idea when they learned they had insufficient power to match him."

Abraha then sent Ḥūnāṭa the Ḥimyarite to Mecca with the following order: "Find the leader and the most noble of these people. Then tell him that the king says, 'I have not come to war upon you, but only to destroy that building (the kaʾba). If you do not engage in warfare to prevent our access to it, then I shall have no need for your blood.' If he does not want war, bring him to me with you."

When Ḥūnāṭa entered Mecca he asked after the leader of Quraysh. He was directed to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim and so passed on Abraha's message to him. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib replied, "By God, we do not want war with him and have not the power for it; this house is God's sacred house and that of His true follower Abraham, upon whom be peace." He was saying in effect, "If God does

11. Jarir and al-Farazdaq, who lived during the seventh to eighth centuries AD, are remembered chiefly for their satiric verses aimed at one another.
protect it from Abraha, then it is because it is His holy sanctuary and His house. If he abandons it to him, then, by God, there's no way for us to defend it."

 Hunāṭa then told ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that he must accompany him to Abraha in accord with his orders.

 So ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib set off along with some of his sons. Arriving at Abraha’s encampment, he asked to see Dhū Nafr, who was a friend of his. When he met Dhū Nafr, still in confinement, he asked him whether he had any solution to their predicament. Dhū Nafr replied, “How can a man have a solution when he is a king’s prisoner and is expecting to be killed at any time? I have no advice to give you, except to say that Unays, the elephant keeper, is a friend of mine. I will send him a message strongly commending you and ask him to seek permission for you to address the king. Speak to him as you see fit, and Unays will intercede on your behalf as well as he can.”

 ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib agreed and Dhū Nafr sent Unays the following message: “ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is lord of Quraysh and custodian of the well of Mecca; he feeds both men in the plains and wild animals on the mountains. The king seized 200 of his camels. So seek permission for him to see the king and intercede for him as best you can.” Unays responded that he would.

 Unays then spoke to Abraha, saying, “O king, here at your door seeking audience is the lord of Quraysh and keeper of the well of Mecca; he feeds both men in the plains and the wild beasts in the mountains. Allow him in to see you to discuss a matter with you.” Abraha let him in.

 ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the most dignified, handsome, and impressive of men. When Abraha saw him, he wanted to honour him by not making him sit below himself. But he did not want the Abyssinians to see him sitting next to himself on the throne. So Abraha descended, sat down on a carpet, and had ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib take his place beside him. He then told his interpreter to ask why he had come and he did so. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib replied, “What I want is for the king to return the 200 camels he took from me as compensation.”

 Hearing this, the king told his translator to reply as follows: “You impressed me when I saw you, but you displeased me when you spoke. You want to talk to me about 200 camels I took from you in compensation, but not about the building which is your religion and your ancestors’ religion that I have come to destroy?”

 ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib replied, “I am the owner of the camels; the building has its own master who will protect it.”

 Abraha replied, “He won’t protect it from me.”

 “Then it’s between you and Him,” ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said.

 And so Abraha returned his camels to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

 12. The reference is to zamzam, the holy well in Mecca.

These men offered Abraha one-third of the produce of Tihmā if he would withdraw and not destroy the building. But Abraha refused their offer. And God alone knows whether or not that happened.

When they left Abraha, 'Abd al-Mu<r;llib went to report to Quraysh and told them to retreat from Mecca to defensive positions in the mountains. Then 'Abd al-Mudib took hold of the metal door knocker of the kā‘ba and stood there with a group of men from Quraysh praying to God and asking His help against Abraha and his troops. As he stood holding the kā‘ba door knocker, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib recited the verses:

“O God, Your worshippers protect their homes, so protect Your building,
Let not their cross and their power vanquish Yours tomorrow
If You should leave them free with our qibla,13 then that is what You will.”

Ibn Hishām said that these were what he found to be the authentic verses of this poem.

Ibn Ishāq reported that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib then released the kā‘ba door-knocker and went off, along with his men of Quraysh, to the mountain peaks, taking up defensive positions and waiting for whatever Abraha might do.

Next morning Abraha prepared to enter Mecca, readying his elephant and equipping his troops. The elephant’s name was Mahmūd. When they directed the elephant towards Mecca, Nufayl b. Ḥabib came close to it, took its ear and told it, “Kneel down, then go back to where you came from. Here you are in God’s holy land.” Then he released the elephant’s ear and it knelt.

According to al-Suhaylī this means that the elephant fell to the ground, since it is not in the nature of elephants to kneel; although it has been said that some elephants do kneel like camels. God knows best.

Nufayl b. Ḥabib hurried off into the mountains. Abraha’s troops beat the elephant to make it stand up, struck its head with axes, and stuck hooks into its hide until it bled. But it refused to stand. Then they turned it to face towards Yemen, and it got up and moved in a hurry. When they directed it towards Syria and then towards the east it did the same. But when they turned it towards Mecca it knelt again.

Then God sent against them birds from the sea like swifts and crows, each one of which carried three stones, one in its beak and one in each claw. The stones were like chickpeas and lentils. Every soldier hit died, but not all were struck.

13. The qibla is the direction, usually indicated by a decorated niche in the wall of a mosque, to which Muslims turn in prayer, towards the kā‘ba, that is.
So they retreated in haste along the road by which they had come, calling out for Nufayl b. Ḥabib to lead them on the way back to Yemen. About this situation Nufayl spoke these verses:

"Greetings to you from us, O Rudayna. How much we have gladdened our eyes this morning! Rudayna, had but you seen, but may you see not, what we saw at Mt. Muḥassab. Then you would have forgiven and praised me, and not felt ill will at what passed between us.

I praised God to see the birds, and feared that a stone be cast upon me. While all called out for Nufayl, as though I owed the Abyssinians some debt."

Ibn Ishaq continued, "So down they scrambled by any path, dying randomly where they went. Abraha was struck on his body and they carried him away as his fingers dropped off one by one. As they fell pus and blood emerged. When they got him to Ṣanʿa he was like a baby bird. He finally died when his heart burst from his chest. Or so they say."

Ibn Ishaq went on to relate that Yaʿqūb b. Utba told him that it was reported that measles and smallpox were seen for the first time in Arab lands that year. Also that that was the first year bitter plants were observed there: the African rue, the colocynth, and the Asclepias gigantea.

Ibn Ishaq commented that when God sent Muhammad (ṢAAS) one of the actions he enumerated as God’s grace and bounties upon Quraysh was His having repelled the Abyssinians and saved Quraysh for posterity. And so God spoke in the Qur’an, “Have you not seen how God dealt with those who had elephants? Did he not defeat their scheme, sending flocks of birds which cast upon them hard stones of baked clay, rendering them like digested chaff?” (sūrat al-Fil, CV, v.1–5).

At this point both Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Hishām go into interpretations of this chapter and the one that follows it. I have dealt with this in my Tafsir (Exegesis) in all sufficiency, God be willing, and to Him is due all praise and credit.

Ibn Hishām stated that the word al-ʿabābil, flocks, means groups; the Arabs used no singular form for this noun that we know. He also stated that regarding the word al-stijjil, i.e. “hard”, Yūnūs the grammarian and Abū Ubayda told him that the Arabs used it to mean “very solid”. Some commentators claim that the latter is really two Persian words made into one by the Arabs, they being sanj and jill. The first of these means “stone”, the second “clay”, so the combination word would indicate something made of both of these. The word ʿaṣaf in the Qurʾān passage quoted above means vegetation foliage that has not been chewed. Al-Kisāʾi said that he had heard from a grammarian that the singular of the word al-ʿabābil is ʿibbīl.

Many early authorities interpreted this word al-\textit{ab\textbar}bil to mean birds that follow one another hither and thither in groups.

According to Ibn ʿAbbās they had beaks like those of birds but paws like those of dogs.

Ikrima said that their heads were like those of lions which emerged at them from the sea and that these were green.

Ubayd b. ʿUmayr said that they were black sea-birds bearing stones in their beaks and claws.

According to Ibn ʿAbbās they were similar in form to the griffins of North Africa. He also maintained that the smallest stones they had were like human heads, some as big as camels. That is what Yūnus b. Bukayr said on the authority of Ibn Ṣāḥib. It is also said they were small – but God knows best.

Ibn Abī Ḥātim said that he was told, by Ābu Zūrā, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ābu Shāyba, and Ābu Muʿāwiyah, from al-ʿAṣmāṣ, Abū Sufyān, and Ubayd b. ʿUmayr, that when God wished to destroy those with the elephant He sent upon them birds like swifts that were raised up from the sea. Each bird carried three stones, two in its claws and one in its beak. He said the birds came, lined up over their heads, screeched, and dropped what was in their claws and beaks. Each stone that fell on a man’s head exited through his behind and each stone that fell on one side of a man exited from the other. God also sent a fierce gale which struck the stones and increased their velocity. And so they were all killed.

But, as Ibn Ṣāḥib has stated above, not all were struck by the stones. Some did return to Yemen to tell their people of the disaster that befell them. And it was also said that Abrahā, God curse him, went back, his fingers dropping off one by one, and that when he reached Yemen his chest burst open and he died.

Ibn Ṣāḥib related that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ābu Bakr told him, on the authority of Āmra, that ʿAṭiṣha\textsuperscript{15} said, “I saw the elephant’s keeper and guide in Mecca, both blind and crippled, begging for food.” As mentioned above, the keeper’s name was Unays, though no name was given for its guide. But God knows best.

Al-Naqqāṣ stated in his Qurān exegesis that a torrent bore away their bodies into the sea. Al-Suhaylī said that the events of the elephant occurred on the first day of Muharrām, year 886 of the era of Dhu al-Qarnayn (Alexander the Great).

And I add that it was the same year that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born, as is generally known. It is also said, however, that these events preceded his birth by some years, as we will report, God willing, and in Him we trust.

Here Ibn Ṣāḥib mentions the poetry recited by the Arabs on this great occasion on which God rendered His sacred house victorious, wishing it to be honoured, respected, purified, and dignified through the mission of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and through the true religion He legislated to him. One of the elements of this

\textsuperscript{15} ʿAṭiṣha was the daughter of Ābu Bakr and became the wife of the Prophet.
religion, indeed one of its pillars, is prayer, the direction of which would be towards this sanctified ka'ba. What God did then to the elephant's army was not a victory for Quraysh over the Abyssinian Christians; the Abyssinians were at that time closer to it (i.e. to victory from God) than the polytheist Quraysh. The victory belonged to the sacred house and served to set the foundation and pave the way for the mission of Muhammad (SAAS).

Included in this poetry are the verses of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zibā'ra al-Sahmi:

“They fled in terror from Mecca's interior, its sanctuary undisturbed for ages past; Sirius had created no nights inviolate since not even one of the mightiest of men could ever aspire to attack it.

Ask the Abyssinian prince what he saw of it; he who has knowledge of it shall inform the ignorant.

Sixty thousand men did not return to their land, even their sick did not live after their homecoming.

‘Ād and Jurhum were there before them, but God held it high above all men.”

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat al-ansāri al-Madani also spoke verses on the subject:

“God's work it was the day of the Abyssinians' elephant; many times did they urge it on, but it didn't budge;
Their hooks were under its sides and they slashed its trunk until it tore.
They used a knife instead of a whip; when they aimed it at its back it was badly wounded.
So it turned and ran away, and those there did fail for their evil.
God sent a gale down upon them, overwhelming them as if they were dwarves.
Their priests urged fortitude but they screamed like bleating sheep.”

Abū al-Šalt Rabī'a b. Abū Rabī'a Wahīb b. ‘Allāj al-Thaqafi spoke the following verses, though Ibn Hishām attributed them to Umayyya b. Abū al-Šalt:

“Our Lord's signs are manifestly clear, only disbelievers doubting them.
He created night and day and all clear, its reckoning determined.
Then a merciful Lord makes clear the day with a sun of spreading rays.
He kept the elephant at al-Mughammis until it crawled as though hamstrung.
Kneeling down like a camel, and still, as if it were carved out of a rock from the mountain.
Around it heroes from among the kings of Kinda, eagle-like lords in wars.
They left it, then all fled in fright, each with a broken leg.
All religions except Abraham's al-Hanifa are null in God's sight on Judgement Day.”

Abū Qays b. al-Aslat said also:

“Arise and pray to your God, cleansing yourself at the pillars of His house between the rugged mountains.
From it you had a certain calamity on the day of Abū Yaksūm [Abraha, tr.], leader of the phalanxes:
His elite walks on the plain, his troops on their camels at the mountain heights. When you received victory from the Owner of the Throne, hosts of angels repelled them, casting soil and stones. Quickly they turned in flight; and of the Abyssinians all who returned were injured.”

Also among such verses is the one of ‘Ubayd Allah b. Qays al-Ruqayyāt extolling the greatness of the ka‘ba and its protection through the destruction of those wishing it harm:

“Split-face (Abraha) attacked it, coming with his elephant, but his army turned back, defeated. Birds rained stones down upon them until he was like a man being stoned. Whoever attacks that place returns with his armies defeated, humiliated.”

Ibn Ishāq and others related that upon the demise of Abraha, his son Yaksūm assumed power, followed by the latter’s brother Masrūq b. Abraha. He was the last of their kings and it was from him that Sayf b. Dhū Yazan of Ḥimyar wrested the kingship with the aid of troops he brought from Chosroe Anūshirwan, as we shall relate. The events with the elephant occurred in the month of Muharram, in the year 886 in the era of Dhū al-Qarnayn, Alexander son of Phillip, the Macedonian, after whom the Greeks count their calendar.

Abraha and his two sons having died and Abyssinian rule over Yemen having ended, al-Qullays, the temple Abraha had built, in his ignorance and stupidity, as a substitute for the Arab pilgrimage, was abandoned and left unattended. He had constructed over it two wooden idols, Ku‘ayb and his wife, each one 60 cubits high. These idols were invested by spirits, and consequently anyone chancing to take anything from the temple building or its furnishings would come to harm. This continued to be the case until the time of al-Saffah, the first of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs. When he was told about it and all its marble and furnishings that Abraha had brought from the Balqis castle in Yemen, he sent people to disassemble it stone by stone and to take away all its contents. That is how al-Suhayli related it; God knows best.

An Account of the reversion of the kingship from the Abyssinians to Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite, just as the two soothsayers had predicted to Rabi‘a b. Naṣr, the Lakhmite.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God have mercy on him, said that when Abraha died, his son Yaksūm b. Abraha became king over the Abyssinians. Abraha’s agnomen was Abū Yaksūm, i.e. the father of Yaksūm. Then, when Yaksūm died his brother Masrūq b. Abraha became the Abyssinian king over Yemen.

He made his way to the Byzantine emperor and complained to him of the state of affairs in Yemen, asking him to oust the Abyssinians and appoint him governor there. He suggested the emperor send from Byzantium whatever troops he thought necessary for this purpose and so himself would become king of Yemen. The emperor declined.

So Sayf went to al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir, who was Chosroe’s vice-regent over al-Ḥira and the neighbouring territories in Iraq, and complained to him about the Abyssinians. Al-Nu‘mān responded that every year he sent an official delegation to Chosroe, and invited Sayf to stay with him until then. Sayf agreed.

Sayf later did accompany al-Nu‘mān, who took him in to see Chosroe, seated in the chamber where his crown was kept. His crown was like a large grain bucket and was, so they say, set with rubies, chrysolites, pearls, gold, and silver, suspended by a gold chain from the dome of his audience chamber. His neck did not bear the crown; he was kept hidden by a cloth until he sat down there. Then he would put his head into his crown. When he was thus positioned on his throne, the cloth would be removed. All who saw him for the first time would kneel down in awe of him.

When Sayf entered he bowed his head down low, and the king commented, “It is really stupid to come in through such a tall doorway and bow one’s head down so low!”

When this remark was transmitted to Sayf, he responded that he had only done this out of his preoccupying distress that overwhelmed all else. He then went on to say, “O king, crows have taken charge of our country!”

“What crows?” Chosroe asked, “the ones from Abyssinia or from Sind?”

“From Abyssinia. I’ve come to ask your help; and you shall have kingship over all our land.”

Chosroe replied, “Your country is far away, and its riches meagre. I’m not going to embroil an army from Persia in Arabia. I don’t need that.”

He then presented Sayf with 10,000 pure-minted dirhams and a robe of honour. Having received these, Sayf went outside and began distributing the money to people. When the emperor heard of this he wondered why, and so sent for him and asked him why he was throwing away a king’s gift to people.

Sayf replied, “What else am I to do with your gift? Are not the mountains of my country made of gold and silver?”
He said this to arouse Chosroe's interest. So Chosroe then assembled his advisers and asked their counsel about Sayf and his mission. They reminded him of the presence in his gaols of prisoners he had condemned to death and suggested he send them with Sayf. For if they were killed that was what Chosroe had intended for them anyway, and if they triumphed his own domain would be expanded.

Chosroe therefore sent off with Sayf eight hundred men from his prisons and placed them under the command of a man named Wahriz, an elder of the highest repute and ancestry. They set sail in eight ships, of which two sank; so six ships eventually arrived on the coast of Aden.

Sayf gathered together all his own men he could to help Wahriz, saying, "My leg is with yours till we all die or all triumph." Wahriz replied that that was fair.

Masrūq b. Abraha then came out with his troops to meet them in battle. Wahriz sent his own son out to do combat and test their mettle. Wahriz's son was slain; this increased the anger and hatred the father had for them.

When the enemy troops were positioned on the battlefield, Wahriz asked his men to indicate which was their king. They pointed to a man on an elephant with a crown and wearing a ruby between his eyes. He saw him and told them not to attack him.

For some time nothing was done. Then Wahriz asked what the Abyssinian leader was doing now. They told him he was now on a horse. Again Wahriz told them not to attack him, and for long they waited. Eventually Wahriz asked after the king and was told he was now on a mule. "So", Wahriz commented, "on an ass's filly, is he? He has humbled himself and his domain. I'll take a shot at him.

If you see his companions not moving, then stay still till I give you further orders, for I will have missed the man. But if you see his people crowding around him and not advancing, I shall have hit him. In that case, you advance at them."

With that he braced his bowstring; they say his bow was so stiff only he could brace it. He then had his eyebrows tied back and let the arrow fly. He split the ruby between the king's eyes and the arrow pierced right through his head and emerged from its back. He was knocked off his mount, and the Abyssinians milled around him in confusion. The Persians charged and the Abyssinians were defeated, being killed or fleeing in all directions.

Wahriz advanced to enter Šan‘ā. When he reached its gateway he insisted that his banner could never enter in a lowered position, and that they should therefore demolish the gate. This was done and he went inside with his banner held high. Sayf b. Dhu Yazan then said:

"People thought the two kingdoms had united. If some had really believed it, then the matter would be serious and grave. We killed the general Masrūq and spilt blood on the sandhills."
The new general, Wahriz, the people’s general, swore an oath
Not to drink wine before taking prisoners and booty.”

Arabs from Ḥijāz and elsewhere came in delegations to Sayf, praising him and congratulating him that the kingship had gone to him. Quraysh sent such a delegation and its number included ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hashim. Sayf gave him the glad tidings of the coming of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and informed him of what he knew about him. Details of this will be given hereafter in the chapter related to the predictions of his coming.

According to Ibn Iṣḥāq, Abū al-Ṣalt b. Rabi‘a al-Thaqafi spoke the following verses. However, Ibn Hishām attributed them to Umayya b. Abij al-Ṣalt.

“Let vengeance seekers be like Ibn Dhī Yazan, who took to the sea and for ages sought a way to his enemies,
Going to Caesar when his journey seemed right, but finding there none of what he sought.
Then he turned after ten years to Chosroe, disregarding his life and the cost
Until he came bringing a band of free men; how quickly you sped!
What a fine group of men; I never saw their like before.
Persian braves, mighty warriors, archers, like lions raising their cubs in the forests,
Their bows shooting arrows like howdah poles, swiftly dispatching their enemies.
You sent lions against black dogs, their prey defeated and lost in the land
So drink up, enjoy your crown, and settle at the top of Ghumdān’s palace as your permanent home.
Those were fine deeds. They were not two pails of milk mixed with water and later turning to urine!”

It is said that Ghumdān mentioned here was a palace in Yemen built by Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān; it was owned after him by Wāʿila b. Himyar b. Saba’. It was reputed to be 20 storeys high. God knows best.

Ibn Iṣḥāq relates that ‘Adi b. Zayd al-Ḥīrī, of the Banū Tamīm, spoke these verses,

“What after Ṣan‘ā‘? There lived governors of abundant gifts.
Its builders raised it high to the scattering clouds, its chambers musk-scented.
Guarded by the mountains against the enemy hordes, its heights unscalable.
The hooting of owls pleasingly answered at night by the flute players.
Fate led there the army of free men, their knights in procession,
Crossing the desert on mules bearing death, accompanied by their foals,
Until the princes saw them from the castle heights, their divisions armour-clad,
The day they shouted at the barbarians and al-Yakṣīm, ‘Damn all who flee!’
A day long remembered, when a prosperous way of life ended which had been secure,
A day when the one was replaced by the many, so times change, many the marvels,
After the Tubba‘ kings came noblemen whose satraps held quiet sway there.”
According to Ibn Hishām this is what Saṭīḥ meant when he said, “Iram Dhū Yazan will follow, emerging from Aden to fight them, and he will leave not one of them in Yemen.” This is also what Shiqq meant by saying, “a young man, guilt-free and faultless, who will emerge from the line of Dhū Yazan.”

Ibn Ishāq’s account states, “So Wahriz and the Persians stayed in Yemen. And the ābna' who live in Yemen today are descendants of these Persian troops.”

The rule of the Abyssinians in Yemen, lasting between Aryāt’s arrival and the death of Masmūq b. Abraha at the hands of the Persians and the removal of the Abyssinians, was 72 years. Their dominion was passed through four rulers, Aryāt, then Abraha, then Yaksūm b. Abraha, and finally Masrūq b. Abraha.

An Account of how Persian rule in Yemen ended.

Ibn Hishām’s account states that eventually Wahriz died and Chosroe appointed his son al-Marzubān b. Wahriz over Yemen; when he died, Chosroe appointed the latter’s son al-Taynujan. Later Chosroe exiled al-Taynujan from Yemen and appointed Bādhān to the rule; it was during his reign that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was appointed to his mission.

Ibn Hishām also relates that he was informed, on the authority of al-Zuhri, that the latter said that Chosroe wrote the following to Bādhān, “I am told that a man from Quraysh has appeared in Mecca claiming to be a prophet. Travel to him and seek his repentance. If he repents, well and good. If he does not, send me his head!”

Bādhān sent Chosroe’s message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who replied, “God has promised me that Chosroe will be killed on such and such a day and month.” When this response was brought to Bādhān he came to a halt and waited, saying, “If indeed he be a Prophet, it will occur as he said.” And God did kill Chosroe on the day foreseen by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

According to Ibn Hishām he died at the hands of his son Shirawayh. Others state that his sons joined forces to kill him.

This Chosroe was by name Abrawīz b. Hurmuz b. Anushirwān b. Qabbādh. It was he who defeated the Byzantines, as referred to in the Almighty’s words in the Qurān, “A.L.M. The Romans have been defeated in the closest land” (ṣūrat al-Rām, XXX, v.1–3). This will be explained later.

According to al-Suhayli his death occurred the night of Tuesday, the tenth of Jumādā al-Ūlā, of the year 9 AH. What happened, it is thought, though God

16. The word in Arabic means “sons”. Originally it was used in this context to refer to the offspring of the Persians who accompanied Sayf b. Dhū Yazan to Yemen. Then the term became more loosely used to refer to those whose mothers were not from the same race as their fathers.
alone knows, is that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote to Chosroe inviting him to accept Islam, he became enraged, tore up the letter and then wrote his own instructions to his governor in Yemen.

Some accounts report that the Messenger of God (SAAS) replied to Badhm's emissary with the words, “This night my Lord has killed your lord.” And it was as he said, Chosroe being killed that very same night by his sons as a result of his having changed from justice to tyranny. Having deposed him they appointed his son Shirawayh in his place. But he only lived on for six months or less after he had murdered his father.

Khalid b. Ḥiqq al-Shaybānī spoke the following verses on this:

“And there was Chosroe, sliced up by his sons with swords as if he were meat.
One day fate did bring him to term; is there not a term for every pregnant mother?”

Al-Zuhrī added that when news of Chosroe’s death reached Badha, he sent word to the Messenger of God (SAAS) of the acceptance of Islam by himself and the Persians along with him. His Persian envoys asked, “To whom do we belong, Messenger of God?” He replied, “You are from us and to us, the people of the House.” According to al-Zuhrī, that was why the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the words, “Salman is of us, the people of the House.”

It seems that this was after the emigration of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Medina. He therefore sent his commanders to Yemen to inform people of what was good and to call upon them to believe in God, the Almighty and Glorious. First he dispatched Khalid b. al-Walid and ʿAlī b. Abū Taib; later Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī and Muʿādh b. Jabal followed them, and Yemen and its people accepted Islam.

Badhm died and his son Shahr b. Badhm ruled after him. It was he whom al-Aswad al-ʿAnsī killed after al-Aswad had pretended prophecy and taken Shahr’s wife, as we will report, and expelled from Yemen the deputies of the Messenger of God (SAAS). When al-Aswad was killed the authority of Islam returned.

Ibn Hishām stated that it was he whom ʿAṣī had meant by his words, “A Prophet pure to whom revelation comes from the All-high.” He was also meant by Shiqq when he said that Persian rule would be “brought short by a messenger dispatched, who will bring forth truth and justice among a people of religion and virtue, in whom power shall reside until the Day of Separation.”

Ibn Ishaq states also that there was, so they claim, a stone inscription in Yemen, from the Book of Psalms, dating from ancient times which read, “Who rules Dhamār? Himyar the Good. Who rules Dhamār? The evil Abyssinians. Who rules Dhamār? The free Persians. Who rules Dhamār? Quraysh the merchants.”
A poet's words on this subject are recorded by al-Masciidi as follows, "When Dhamar was named, it was asked, 'To whom do you belong?' ‘To Himyar the good’, came the reply. Asked to whom next, the reply came, ‘To the Abyssinians most vile.’ ‘To whom next?’ it was asked, and ‘To the free Persians’ came the reply. ‘To whom next?’ it was asked, and ‘To the merchants of Quraysh,’ came the reply.”

It is said that these verses quoted by Muhammad b. Ishq were found inscribed at the grave of Hud, upon whom be peace, when the wind exposed his tomb in Yemen. That was shortly before the time of Balqis, in the days of Malik b. Dhul Manar, brother of ‘Amr Dhul Adhar b. Dhul al-Manar. It is said also that it was inscribed on Hud’s tomb and that those were his own words.

It is al-Suhayli who related this; God knows best.

The Story of al-Satirun, King of al-Hadr

His story was related at this point by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hisham because of what certain scholars of genealogy had stated in connection with al-Nu’man b. al-Mundhir, mentioned above. They related that when Sayf b. Dhul Yazan went to al-Nu’man and asked him for help in regaining control over Yemen, it was stated that al-Nu’man had descended from al-Satirun, king of al-Hadr.

We earlier stated from Ibn Ishq that al-Nu’man b. al-Mundhir was of the line of Rabi’a b. Nasr, and that it was reported from Jubayr b. Mu’im that he was a descendant of Qanaq b. Ma’ad b. ‘Adnan. These are, then, three statements on his genealogy, and Ibn Hisham went on to tell about the king of al-Hadr.

Al-Hadr was a great fortress built by that king, whose name was al-Satirun, on the banks of the Euphrates. It was positioned high up and built tall and very spacious, its accommodations being like those of a large town. It was extremely well fortified and decorated in the utmost luxury, splendour, and good taste; it received taxes from all the surrounding areas.


Others said that he was of the al-Jarâmiqa, one of the Tawâif kings whom he used to lead when they gathered to make war against one of their enemies. His fortress was between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

Ibn Hisham went on to state that Chosroe Sabur Dhul al-Aktâf attacked al-Satirun, king of al-Hadr.

Someone other than Ibn Hisham stated that the one who attacked the king of al-Hadr was Sabur b. Ardashir b. Babik, the first of the Sassanian kings, who
humiliated the Tawāqif kings and returned control to the Chosroes. Sābūr Dhū al-Aktāf, this authority claims, came a long time afterwards. God knows best. That information comes from al-Suhayli.

Ibn Hishām’s account continues, “And Sābūr besieged al-Ḥaḍr for two years.” Others say four years.

His reason for doing this was that al-Saṭīrūn had attacked Sābūr’s territory during the latter’s absence in Iraq. The daughter of al-Saṭīrūn, whose name was al-Nadīra, looked down and saw Sābūr dressed in silk garments and wearing a gold crown studded with topaz, emeralds and pearls; and he was handsome. So she secretly sent him a message asking if he would marry her if she opened the fortress gate for him. He replied that he would.

That evening al-Saṭīrūn drank wine till he was drunk; he was always drunk when he went to bed. Then she took the fortress keys from beneath his head and gave them to a servant of hers who opened the gates. Another account states that she directed Sābūr’s people to a wide water channel through which they entered al-Ḥaḍr. Yet another version has her telling them of a spell over the fortress; they knew it would not be conquered until a grey pigeon was taken, its feet dyed with the menstrual fluid of a blue-eyed virgin, and then released. If it dropped on the walls of the fortress the spell would be removed and the gates would open. Sābūr did this, and the gates did come open.

So Sābūr went inside, killed al-Saṭīrūn, confiscated al-Ḥaḍr and then destroyed it. Then he took al-Nadīra away with him and married her. While sleeping at night in bed, she began tossing and turning and could not sleep. Sābūr had candles brought and they searched her bed, in which they discovered one myrtle leaf. Sābūr asked her if that was what had kept her awake, and she replied that it was.

Sābūr asked her how her father had treated her. She answered, “He furnished me with silk brocade, dressed me in silk, gave me the choicest food17 to eat and wine to drink.”

Sābūr commented, “And then you treated him the way you did! You’d do the same to me quicker!”

Then he tied her tresses to the tail of a horse and it galloped away until she was killed.

Aʾšā Bani Qays b. Thaqlaba composed these verses about this:

“Consider al-Ḥaḍr and its people’s ease; but do blessings last forever? Shāḥbūr kept his troops there two years, striking it with their adzes. And when he gave prayer to his Lord, and repented, He took no revenge. Did his Lord provide him extra power, and was there ever the like of his castle?”

17. In the original the text reads, “gave me brain as food to eat”. Cooked brain was considered a delicacy.
He had appealed to his people, ‘Come to your task; it is set; 
Die nobly with your swords; I see death is ordained for those so fated.’ ”

Also ‘Adi b. Zayd spoke the following verses in this regard,

“Al-Ḥaḍr was afflicted from above by a dreadful, terrible, huge calamity
Due to a maiden who did not protect her father when he was delirious and off his guard;
She gave him much evening wine, undiluted, which he drank abundantly. And wine deludes, its imbiber never quenched.
That night she surrendered her people, believing the (enemy’s) chief would marry her,
But next morning the bride’s reward was blood running in streams,
Al-Ḥaḍr was ruined and confiscated; her chamber was fired and its contents burned.”

‘Adi b. Zayd also recited the verses,

“O malicious blamer of fate, are you guilt-free and perfect?
Or has time promised you a solid pledge to be ever safe? Indeed you are stupid and conceited.
Or whom did you see fate made immortal, and who had a watchful guard lest he be harmed?
Where now is Caesar Anūshirwān, the king of kings, or where Sābūr before him?
The noble Banū Ḩabīr, kings of Byzantium, not one of them remains remembered.
And al-Ḥaḍr’s lord, built by him, with both the Tigris and the al-Khabūr rivers made to flow to it,
Of marble built and plaster adorned, with birds nesting in its heights,
Unsuspecting of misfortune, yet all state now gone, its gates deserted.
Remember the lord of al-Khawarnaq,\(^\text{18}\) who set forth one day, though right guidance requires thought.
His wealth and properties delighted him, the sea was his command, and his palace al-Sadr,
Yet his heart was converted and he said, ‘What joy for the living to death progressing,
Then becoming like leaves dried and tossed by the wind and breezes?’”

The man referred to in the verses above as the ‘lord of al-Khawarnaq’ was a king of by-gone days who had been warned by a learned man of his time about his conduct and practices. The king had exceeded his bounds, become arrogant and self-willed, and followed his own instincts unbridled. The learned man warned him by reference to the kings and states that had preceded him, how

\(^{18}\) He is referring to al-Nu‘mān, king of al-Ḥira, who owned the two palaces of al-Khawarnaq and al-Sadr. He is mentioned frequently in the poetry of the pre-Islamic era.
they had gone without a trace, and that nothing he took from others would not be transmitted from him in turn to those following him. This advice had impact and influence on him, and he was converted, giving thought to both his present and past and to the constraints of the grave. So he repented, returned to the faith and changed his ways. He abdicated, dressed himself as a mendicant, went off into the wilderness and the desert, and enjoyed solitude, shunning that pursuit of the senses and disobedience to the Lord of the Heavens followed by most people.

His story was told in extensive detail by the Sheikh and Imām Muwaffaq b. Qudāma al-Maqdisi, may the Almighty have mercy on him, in his book Al-Tawwāḥūn (The Repentants). Similarly, the ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī reported it, thoroughly documented, in his book Al-Rawḍ al-Unuf (The Virgin Meadows) which is clearly written and well organized.

An Account of the Tawāʾif kings.

Regarding the ruler of al-Ḥadr, Sāṭirūn, he was, as previously explained, considered a precursor to the rest of the Tawāʾif ('factions') kings. He lived at the time of Alexander, son of Phillip of Macedonia, the Greek. This came about when Alexander defeated the king of the Persians, Darius son of Darius. Alexander subjugated Darius's kingdom, destroyed his land, arrested the best of his people, expropriated his produce, scattered the Persians to the winds, and determined that they should never thereafter join together and unite their forces.

So he began appointing a separate king over each group of people in any given area, Arabs and non-Arabs alike. Thereafter each of these kings would protect his own area, preserve his own allotment, and exploit his own region. When one king died, he would be succeeded by his son or by some other one of his people. This system prevailed for about 500 years.

Eventually, in the time of Ardashir b. Bābik of Banū Sasan b. Bahman b. Asfandiyār b. Yashtāsib b. Lahrāsib, their kingdom returned to its former condition. Ardashir took over, rejoined the petty kingdoms altogether in one, and ended the rule of the Tawāʾif kings; so not a trace of them remained.

Ardashir delayed besieging the oldest-established, greatest, and most powerful of these kinglets, the ruler of al-Ḥadr, since he was their leader and precursor. When Ardashir died, his son Sabūr turned his attention to al-Ḥadr and besieged it until he conquered it, as told above. And God, all Glorious and Almighty, knows best.
An Account of the sons of Ishmael who were the Arabs of Hijaz, and of events of the jahiliyya period up to the time of the Mission.

We have already, in a previous work, given an account of Ishmael, upon whom be peace, along with the Prophets. It tells of how his father Abraham, upon whom be blessings and peace, bore him away with his wife Hajar and made them to dwell in the Mecca valley between the mountains of Fârân, an unpleasant and desolate place. Ishmael was still unweaned at the time. Then Abraham went away and left them there, God having commanded him to do so. Ishmael's mother had nothing except a leather bag containing dates and a skin-bottle with water in it. When that was exhausted, God made the well zamzam flow for Hajar, it being a tasty sustenance for the hungry and a cure for the sick, as is related in the long hadith of Ibn 'Abbâs recorded by al-Bukhârî, God have mercy on him.

Later, Jurhum, who were a group of the original Arabs who were descended from the ancient Arab tribes, settled near Hajar in Mecca, with no right to the water except for their own drinking and use. Hajar felt comfortable and secure with them.

Abraham, peace be upon him, kept an eye on them all the time; it is said he would ride his horse, al-Bûrâq, on his journeys to and from Jerusalem.

Later, when the boy became a youth and he would busy himself with his father, the issue of making sacrifice arose, the sacrifice being in reality Ishmael.

When Ishmael grew up, he married a woman from Jurhum, then left her and married another, the daughter of Muđâd b. 'Amr al-Jurhumî. She bore him 12 sons whose names have been mentioned before. These were: Nâbit, Qaydhar, Adhbul, Mîsha, Mîsmâ', Mâshî, Dimmâ, Adhâr, Yaṭţîr, Nabsh, Tîmâ, and Qaydhumâ. These are as given by Muhammad b. Ishâq and others using written sources. He also had one daughter whose name was Nasma; it was she he married to his nephew al-Âţîb b. Ishâq b. Abraham. From her were born to him al-Rûm and Fâris, and also al-Ashbân, in one of the two accounts.

The Arabs of Hijaz, with all their different tribes, are traced in their genealogy to Ishmael's two sons Nâbit and Qaydhar. After Ishmael, the governor and ruler-in-chief of Mecca and the custodian of the temple and of the well zamzam was Nâbit, cousin through his mother to the Jurhumites.

Later the Jurhumites gained control over al-bayt (the ka'ba), being jealous of their relatives, and ruled in Mecca and the areas around it for a long time in place of Ishmael's line. The first to gain control after Nâbit was Muđâd b. 'Amr b. Sa'd b. al-Raqîb b. 'Aybar b. Nâbit b. Jurhum.

Jurhum was the son of Qahen. His line was also given as Jurhum b. Yaqfun b. 'Aybar b. Shalikh b. Arafkhshud b. Sam b. Nuh al-Jurhumi. The Jurhumites settled in the heights of Mecca, at al-Qu'ayqiqan.

Al-Samayda', leader of Qatirra', had settled with his people in the lower part of Mecca. The Jurhumites and Qatirra', charged a tax on all who passed by them on their ways to Mecca.

Ultimately warfare broke out between the tribes of Jurhum and Qatirra'. Al-Samayda' was killed, and full power over Mecca and al-bayt thus were gained by Mudad. The descendants of Ishmael did not contend with him despite their large numbers, respected position, and the diversity of their locations throughout Mecca and its surroundings; this was due to their family ties to them and to the majesty of the sacred bayt.

After Mudad, power went to his son al-Harith and then to his son, 'Amr.

Later Jurhum acted wrongfully in Mecca and corruption there spread. People came to disrespect the sacred mosque. It is even said that one of their men, named Isaf b. Baghi, and a woman named Na'ila, daughter of Wa'il, met inside the ka'ba and that he committed fornication with her. And so God turned them into two rocks which the people set up near the temple as a warning to others. After a great deal of time had passed, these two rocks became the object of worship aside from God, during the period of Khuzaa'. This will be further explained later. These became two idols set on high and named Isaf and Na'ila.

When the misdeeds of Jurhum in the sacred land grew worse, Khuzaa', who had settled near the sanctuary, arose against them. They, Khuzaa', were of the line of 'Amr b. 'Amir who had left Yemen because of what he expected would occur with the 'Arim torrent, as we have related above. It is also said that Khuzaa' traced their descent to Ishmael's sons. God knows best.

Anyway, Khuzaa' did join together to fight Jurhum and they engaged in battle; the descendants of Ishmael sided with neither party.

Khuzaa', being the tribe of Bakr b. Abd Manan and Ghubshan, gained victory and ousted them from the ka'ba.

'Amr b. al-Harith b. Mudad al-Jurhumi, their leader, made off with the ka'ba's two gazelles, made of gold, the cornerstone, the 'black stone' that is, as well as decorated swords and other items, and buried them all in the well zamzam, which he filled with earth. Then he and his people moved out, back to Yemen.

On this subject 'Amr b. al-Harith b. Mudad composed the following:

"Her tears flowing and her eyes red and sore, in grief she said
'Its as though between al-Hajun and al-Saf there has never been a friend, and no evening pleasure in Mecca.'

So I told her, my heart made to flutter as though by a bird between my ribs:
‘Yes indeed; we were its people but changing times and evil misfortunes destroyed us.

We were custodians of the ka‘ba after Nābit, circling it around, our fine state clear.

We took charge of the temple after Nābit with dignity, the wealthy gaining no favour with us.

We had power and prestige, so be proud of our reign, no tribe there more proud than us.

Did you not marry a woman to Ishmael, the finest man I knew, so his descendants are from us, and we are his relatives.’

So what if the world turn against us? Life has its turns and tribulations

It was the king, the almighty ruler, who used his power to oust us; thus, O people, do the fates decree.

If the carefree sleep and I not rest, then I say, ‘O enthroned one, why did Suhayl and ‘Amir die?’

In exchange for them I got faces I dislike, tribes including Ḥimyar and Ṭuḥabir.

We were despised, after having been in delight, passing years thus biting us.

Tears flowed from eyes weeping for a land with a secure and sacred place and shrines,

Weeping for a place whose pigeons are left unharmed, living safe there, and sparrows too.

In it wild animals are safe and may leave it without fear – they would never be attacked.”

According to Ibn Ishaq, ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muṭāḍ also spoke as follows addressing Banū Bakr and Ghubshān who came to power after themselves in Mecca:

“0 people, move along; your end is that one day you will not be able to move.

Urge on your mounts, release their reins before your death, and do with us what you will do.

We were people as you were; fate changed us; you will become as we became.”

Ibn Hisbām stated that these verses were the ones he found to be genuine. And a certain authority on poetry told me that these verses are the first poems spoken by the Arabs and that they were discovered inscribed on rocks in Yemen, their author’s name not being given.

Al-Suhaylī recorded companion verses to this poetry, telling along with them a strange tale and peculiar chants. He said that Abū al-Walīd al-Azraqi, in his book Fadā’il Mecca (The Virtues of Mecca), added to the above-mentioned verses by ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith b. Muṭāḍ the following:

“Fate has turned against us and destroyed us through injustice there, our people plundering others.

Ask about the deeds of others before you, so that the path of disgrace be made clear.

Once before you we were kings over people, living resident in God’s sanctuary.”
The Story of Khuza‘a and an account of ‘Amr b. Luhayy and the worship of idols in Arab lands.

According to Ibn Ishaq, Ghubshān of Khuza‘a governed the ka‘ba instead of Banū Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt; the first of these new rulers was ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith the Ghubshānī. At that time Quraysh were migrants, living in small settlements and little encampments scattered about among their people, Banū Kināna.

Khuza‘a were so-named because they takhazzā‘ū, separated, from the men of ‘Amr b. ‘Amir when they came from Yemen on their way to Syria. Khuza‘a stopped in Marr al-Dhahrān and settled there.

On this subject ‘Awn b. Ayyūb al-Anṣārī and thereafter al-Khazrajī spoke the following verses:

“When we went down into the vale of Marr Khuza‘a ‘separated’ from us into small groups of people;
They occupied every valley of Tihāmā, seeking protection by their solid spears and sharp-pointed swords.”

Abū al-Mutahhir Ismā‘īl b. Rāf‘ al-Anṣārī al-Awṣī said:

“When we went down to the vale of Mecca Khuza‘a gave praise to the house of the intolerant eater
Taking residence in small villages and riding off in separate groups to all settlements in high land and low.
They ousted Jurhum from the vale of Mecca, wrapping themselves in strong-backed Khuza‘a pride.”

So Khuza‘a took control of the ka‘ba, inheriting that rule by primogeniture until the last of them, Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Salūl b. Ka‘b b. ‘Amr b. Rabī‘a al-Khuza‘ī. It was his daughter Ḥubbā who got married to Quṣayy b. Kilāb; to him were born his four sons ‘Abd al-Dār, ‘Abd Manāf, ‘Abd al-Uzza, and ‘Abd. Eventually he gained control over the ka‘ba, as I will later explain in detail if God Almighty wills it, and in Him is all trust.

Khuza‘a continued controlling the temple some 300 years; some say 500, and God knows best. Their period of rule was damned, because it was during their period that idols were first worshipped in Ḥijāz.

This came about because of their leader ‘Amr b. Luhayy, God curse him; it was he who first influenced them towards idol worship. He was a man of enormous wealth. They say he gouged out the eyes of 20 camels to show that he owned 20,000 of them.

It was a custom among the Arabs that anyone who came to own 1,000 camels should gouge out the eyes of one of them. By doing this he would avert the evil eye of malicious envy from them. Al-Azraqī was one of those who related this practice.
According to al-Suhayli, in the time of al-\(\text{ḥajj}\), the pilgrimage, he probably sacrificed 10,000 animals and awarded 10,000 sacerdotal garments per year. He would feed the Arabs, preparing for them food of dates mixed with butter and honey, and give them barley wine to drink. They say that his word and deed were like law among them, due to his generosity, and to the high regard and deep respect they held for him.

Ibn Hishām states that a learned man told him that 'Amr b. Luhayy once left Mecca for Syria on business and reached Ma'āb in the Balqā' region. There at that time lived the 'Amdiq, the sons of 'Imāq or, as some say, 'Imliq b. Lāwadh b. Šām b. Nūh. 'Amr witnessed them worshipping idols, so he asked them why. They replied that if they asked the idols for rain it came, or for victory they won it.

'Amr then asked them to give him an idol he could take to Arab lands where it could be worshipped, and they gave him one named Hubal. This he brought to Mecca and set on a pedestal and ordered the people to worship and venerate it.

According to Ibn Ishāq, people claimed that the first to worship idols were of the tribe of Ishmael. They did so because as they started to travel outside Mecca, having felt constrained and overcrowded there and seeking living-space elsewhere, they would always carry with them a stone from the sanctuary to venerate the shrine. Wherever they settled they would put down the stone and circumambulate it as they would the ka'ba. Eventually they took to worshipping any stone that pleased or inspired them, thus reverting to pagan ways and neglecting the religion they had followed.

In the \textit{saḥīḥ} collection we find a statement from Abu Raja' al-'Uṭāridi as follows: "In the pre-Islamic period, if we found no rock then we would gather up a pile of dirt, bring a goat, milk it on to the pile, and then circumambulate it."

Ibn Ishāq’s narration goes on: "And they substituted another religion for that of Abraham and Ishmael, upon both of whom be peace, worshipping idols and following the false ways of the people before them."

Nevertheless they did maintain some of the practices of the era of Abraham, upon whom be peace. These included venerating the ka'ba, circumambulating it, going there for pilgrimage and visitation, mounting the hills of 'Arafāt and Muzdalifa, making sacrifice and invoking God's name at both pilgrimage and visitation and at the same time introducing innovations.

The tribes of Kināna and Quraysh would make the cry, "\textit{Labbayka, Allāhu ma'ṣūlīn, labbayka!} At your service, O God, at your service! At your service; you have no partner except one who is yours. You rule him, he rules not."

They would affirm His unity in their invocation and then include reference to their idols as well while asserting that He had power over them. God Almighty stated to Muḥammad (ṢAAS), "Most of them do not believe in God without associating others" \((\text{sūrat Yūsuf, XII, v.106})\). This meant, "they do not state My
unity out of knowledge of My right unless they also ascribe to me some associate of My own creation.

Al-Suhayli and others state that the first to utter this prayer was ʿAmr b. Luḥayy and that Satan appeared before him as an old man and taught him that. ʿAmr would listen as he recited it, then say as he had. And the Arabs followed his lead in so reciting.

And it is established in al-Bukhāri’s sahih collection that the Messenger of God (ṣaas) would say “Qadi. Qadi”, when he heard people recite the words, “At your service, O God, you have no partner.” That meant: “Enough right there!”

Al-Bukhāri stated that Ishaq b. Ibrahim related to him, quoting Yahyā b. ʿAbd, quoting Israʾīl, from Abū Ḥāfis, from Abū Hurayra, that the Prophet (ṣaas) said, “The first person to set slaves free and also to worship idols was Abū Khuzzāʾ ʿAmr b. ʿAmir and I have seen him dragging his intestines in hell-fire.”

Aḥmad (sic) is unique in giving the account thus.

This account necessitates that ʿAmr b. Luḥayy was Abū Khuzzāʾ, all the tribe being traced back to him, as some genealogists maintain, according to Ibn Ishaq and others. Had we been left with only that one account, then it would be plain as it stands, even to be considered documentary. But other accounts exist which contradict it in some ways.

Al-Bukhāri stated that Abū al-Yamān told him that Shuʿayb told him from al-Zuhri that the latter heard al-Musayyab say, “Al-ḥāhira is the camel that is not milked by anyone, since its milk is left for the idols; and al-sāʾiba is the camel that does not carry anything since it is set aside for their gods.”

Abū Hurayra stated that the Prophet (ṣaas) said, “I saw ʿAmr b. ʿAmir al-Khuzaʿī dragging his insides in hell-fire; he was the first person who set loose the al-sāʾiba camels.”

Al-Bukhāri also relates it thus, and Muslim too, from a tradition from ʿAbd al-Wahhab b. Kisan, from al-Zuhri, from Suʿd and back to Abū Hurayra.

Then al-Bukhāri states that Ibn al-Hāḍ passed it on from al-Zuhri.

According to al-Ḥakim, al-Bukhāri meant that Ibn al-Hāḍd recounted it from ʿAbd al-Wahhab b. Bukht from al-Zuhri. That is what he stated.

Aḥmad related it from ʿAmr b. Salama al-Khuzaʿī, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Yazid b. al-Hāḍ, from al-Zuhri, from Saʿd back to Abū Hurayra, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṣaas) state: “I saw ʿAmr b. ʿAmir dragging his insides in hell-fire; it was he who first let loose the sawdāʾib (pl. of sāʾiba) and who ḥāhara, set aside the milk of, the ḥāhira camels.”

ʿAbd al-Wahhab b. Bukht was mentioned by neither of these authorities, though he was by al-Ḥakim. God knows best.

Aḥmad also said that ʿAbd al-Razzzq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (ṣaas) said:
"I saw 'Amr b. 'Amir al-Khuza'i dragging his insides in hell-fire, and it was he who first let loose the sawâ'ib."

This tradition, as given, is missing a link of transmission. The correct chain would be to include al-Zuhri as having received it from Sa'id, as above.

Use in this tradition and the previous one of the term al-Khuzâ'i in the name indicates that he was not the founder of the tribe but rather named after it. Also the use in the narration of the term Abū Khuza'a, the father of Khuza'a, as further above, is a slip of the pen by the traditionalist for Akhū Khuza'a, brother of Khuza'a, or an indication that he was given the nickname Abū Khuza'a. Use of this last term could not be intended as informing us that he was father of the whole Khuza'a tribe; God knows best.

Muhammad b. Ishaq said that Muhammad b. Ibrâhim b. al-Hârith al-Taymi related to him that Abū Ṣâliḥ al-Sammān told him that he heard Abū Hurayra say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to Aktham b. al-Jawn al-Khuza'i: "O Aktham, I saw 'Amr b. Luḥayy b. Qama'a b. Khindif dragging his insides in hell-fire and I never saw two men more alike than you and he." Aktham replied, "Maybe this resemblance to him is harmful to me, O Messenger of God?" He answered, "No; you are a believer while he is a disbeliever. It was he who first changed the religion of Ishmael, who set up idols, who set aside al-bahira camels' milk for the idols, established certain animals as free from burden-bearing, disallowed sacrifice of the male of twin goats, or considered certain stallion camels free from work."20 There are no traditions to this effect in the "books," i.e. the canon.21

Ibn Jarir related this same tradition in similar words from Hannâd b. Ṣâda, from Muḥammad b. 'Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, back to the Prophet (ṢAAS). And this tradition too is not in the "books".

Al-Bukhâri said that Muḥammad b. Abū Ya'qûb Abū 'Abd Allâh al-Kirmâni related to him that Ḥassân b. Ibrâhîm told him, quoting Yûnûs from al-Zuhri, from Ḩurâwa that 'A'îsha said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I saw hell with its denizens beating one another and I saw 'Amr dragging along his insides; it was he who first set loose the al-sâ'iba camels." Al-Bukhârî alone reported this hadîth.

What is meant here is that 'Amr b. Luḥayy, God curse him, introduced certain innovations into the religion by which he changed the religion of Abraham. The Arabs imitated him in adopting these and thus strayed far off, in ways that were deplorable and atrocious.

Almighty God had expressed disapproval of these things in various verses of His unassailable Qur'ân. The Almighty stated: "And do not speak lies with what

20. See surat al-Ma'ida, V, v.103.
21. He is referring to the canonical sources of law based on authenticated traditions.
your tongues describe, saying: ‘This is lawful’, and, ‘this is unlawful’, thus falsely attributing lies to God” (ṣūrat al-Nāhî, XVI, v.116). The Almighty also said, “God has not ordained the bahîra, the sâ'îba, the wasîla, or the hâmî. But it is those who disbelieve who falsely attribute lies to God. Yet most of them do not understand” (ṣūrat al-Mâ‘îda, V, v.103).

I have elsewhere elaborated on all this and shown how the earlier authorities differed among themselves in explaining that. Those who wish may find it there; and to God all praise and goodwill.

The Almighty also said, “And they set aside for what they know not a portion of what We have provided for them. By God, you will surely be questioned about what you have been falsely attributing” (ṣūrat al-Nāhî, XVI, v.56).

The Almighty stated as well, “And they set aside for God a portion of the crops and livestock He bestowed on them and said, ‘This is for God!’ by their assertion, and, ‘This is for our associate gods!’ So that which is for their associates does not reach God, while what was God’s does reach their associates! Evil is what they judge. Likewise, these associates have deemed appropriate for many of the polytheists the killing of their children; this is to destroy them and distort their religion. Had God not wished, they would not have done so. So ignore them and what they invent. They said: ‘These are animals and produce that are sacrosanct. None but whom we say shall taste them.’ This they claim, and, ‘These are animals whose backs are sacrosanct.’ And, ‘These are animals over whom God’s name shall not be invoked.’ These are falsehoods attributed to God and He will punish them for their inventions. And they said, ‘What is within the wombs of these animals is specifically for our menfolk and forbidden for our wives’, whereas if it be stillborn then they are all partners in it. God will punish them for their characterizations. He is wise, all-knowing. Lost are those who killed their children foolishly and without knowledge, and who proscribed what God has endowed them with, attributing falsehood to God. They had gone astray, and they were not rightly guided” (ṣūrat al-‘An‘ām, VI, v.136–40).

In his saḥîh collection, al-Bukhârî stated, in his chapter entitled: “The Arabs before Islam” that Abû al-Nu‘mân and Abû ʿAwâna both related to him on the authority of Abû Bishr, from Sa‘îd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbâs who said: “If it please you to know the ignorance of the Arabs before Islam, then read those verses coming after verse 130 in ṣūrat al-‘An‘ām: ‘Lost are those who killed their children foolishly and without knowledge and who proscribed what God has endowed them with, attributing falsehood to God. They had gone astray, and they were not rightly guided’” (VI, v.140).

We have given explanation for this verse and how they used to innovate with foolish and immoral laws, which their leader ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, God damn him,

had thought gave some benefit and kindness to animals. In this he was a liar and a cheat.

Yet despite this folly and error, those silly and ignorant people did follow his lead. In fact they followed him into errors even more grievous and serious than these, namely in worshipping idols along with God the Almighty and Glorious.

They thus brought changes into the true religion and straight path God had sent down to Abraham, His true companion, which is worship of God alone without associate, and proscription of polytheism.

They changed the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and the tenets of the religion without knowledge or proof or directives either strong or weak. In this they behaved similarly to those of the polytheist peoples who had preceded them.

They were like the people of Noah. These were those who first associated others with God and who worshipped idols. For this reason God sent Noah to them. He was the first messenger sent to turn people from worship of idols, as we learn from Noah’s story in the Qur’an: “And they said: ‘Do not abandon your gods; do not forsake Wadd, Suwāṣ, Yaghūth, Ya’qūq, and Nasr’; many did they lead astray. Give evil-doers increase of nothing but their error!” (sūrat Nūh, LXXI, v.23–4).

Ibn ‘Abbās said that these were persons of virtue from among Noah’s people; when they died people would attend their graves and eventually came to worship them. We have previously given enough information about their worship practices\(^{23}\) to obviate need for its repetition here.

According to Ibn Ishaq and others, having made these changes to the religion of Ishmael, the Arabs continued having idols. Banū Kalb b. Wabra b. Taghlīb b. Ḥulwān b. Ḥimrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā’a had an idol named Wadd. It was set up in Dūmat al-Jandal. At a place called Ruhāṭ there was Suwāṣ, idol of the Banū Hudhayl b. I’yās b. Mudrika b. Māḍar. Yaghūth was the idol for Banū An‘ām from Ṭayyīp, and for the people of Jurash from Madhhij. It was set up at Jurash. Also there was Ya’qūq in the land of Hamdān in Yemen, used by Banū Khaywān, a tribe of Hamdān. In the land of Ḥimyar was Naṣr, belonging to a tribe called Dhū al-Kulā’.

Ibn Ishaq goes on to report that Khawlān had in their land an idol called ‘Amm Anas. They would, it is said, set aside part of their crops and livestock for division between it and God. Whatever of God’s portion came into the share of ‘Amm Anas they would leave for the latter, while if any set aside for ‘Amm Anas went into the portion set aside for God, they would retrieve it for ‘Amm Anas. It was about them that God revealed, “And they set aside for God a portion of the crops and livestock which He had bestowed upon them” (sūrat al-Anṣām, VI, v.136).

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Banū Milkan b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika had an idol named Sa'd, a tall rock in open desert in their territory. One of their men took a herd of his camels to stand near by there to receive the idol's blessing, so they say. But when the camels, which were for meat and not riding, saw the idol stained with the blood of sacrifices, they shied away and scattered in all directions. Their owner became enraged and picked up a rock and threw it at the idol, saying, “May God not bless you; you caused my camels to flee from me!” Then he went off to find them and round them up. When he had done so, he spoke the verses:

“We came to Sa'd for him to put us all together, but Sa'd scattered us; so we are not of Sa'd.

Is Sa'd anything but a stone in the desert offering no prayer for anyone, whether misled or rightly guided.”

Ibn Ishaq went on to report that Daws had an idol belonging to Amr b. Ḥumama al-Dawsi. Moreover Quraysh had emplaced an idol over a well inside the ka'ba whose name was Hubal. As previously stated, Ibn Hisbām reported it to have been the first idol set up by Amr b. Luḥayy, God curse him.

Ibn Ishaq goes on to state that they adopted Isāf and Nā'ila as gods, emplaced near zamzam, where they would make sacrifice to them. He reports that they were a man and a woman who had sexual intercourse in the ka'ba, and so God transformed them into two rocks.

Ibn Ishaq went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Amr b. Hazm reported that Amra quoted Ḥā'isha as saying, “We always heard that Isāf and Nā'ila were a man and a woman of Jurhum who fornicated in the ka'ba, so God, Almighty and Glorious, turned them both into stone.” God knows best.

And it has also been said that God did not postpone their punishment until they had fornicated there, but that He transformed them before the deed and that thereafter they were set up on the mountains of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. When it was the time of Amr b. Luḥayy, he placed them both at zamzam and people began circumambulating them.

On this subject Abū Ṭalib spoke the verse:

“Where the Ash'arūn kneel their mounts, where the streams flow from Isāf and Nā'ila.”

Al-Waqīdī reported that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the destruction of Nā'ila, the day he conquered Mecca, there emerged from it a black woman with grey hair tearing at her face, lamenting and wailing loudly.

Al-Suhaylī has said that Ajā and Sulmā, which are two mountains in Hijāz, were in fact named after a man named Ajā b. 'Abd al-Ḥayy who fornicated with Sulmā, daughter of Ḥām, and that they were both turned into idols in these
mountains that were named after them. He also said that between Ajā and Sulmā Ṭayyī had an idol named Qals.

Ibn Ishaq \'s account goes on to say that the people of each house had an idol they would worship there and that if a man were to journey he would touch the idol before mounting. This was also what he would begin by doing upon his return before he went inside to his family. When God sent Muhammad (SAAS) with the message of the unity of God, Quraysh said, \"He has made the gods into one god! How very strange!\" 

Ibn Ishaq went on to relate that along with the ka\'ba the Arabs venerated tawāghit. These were buildings they honoured in much the same way as they did the ka\'ba. They had custodians and priests, and offerings would be made to them just as to the ka\'ba, along with the rituals of circumambulation and blood sacrifice. But they still recognized the precedence of the ka\'ba over them because it was the building and mosque of Abraham, God\'s true companion, peace be upon him.

Quraysh and the Banū Kināna had an idol named al-\'Uzza at Nakhla and Banū Shaybān of Sulaym were its custodians and priests; they were allies of Banū Hashim. Khālid b. al-Walīd destroyed it when he conquered them, as we shall relate.

Al-Lat was the idol for Thaqīf at al-Ṭārif and its custodians and priests were Banū Mu\'attīb from Thaqīf. Abū Sufyān and al-Mughīra b. Shu\'ba destroyed it after the people of al-Ṭārif accepted Islam, as we shall relate later.

Manāt was the idol of the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj and the people of Medina who shared their religion in the coastal region, towards al-Mushallāl in Qudayd. Abū Sufyān destroyed it also. Some say it was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalīb who did it, as we will relate.

Dhū al-Khalāṣa was an idol of Daws, Khathām, and Bajila and the Arabs in their territory of Tabālā. It was called \"the southern (Yemeni) ka\'ba\", while the one in Mecca was known as the \"northern (Syria, Shāmi) ka\'ba\". Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajī destroyed it, as we will explain.

Qals was an idol of Ṭayyī and those two nearby mountains, meaning Ajā and Sulmā, famous mountains referred to above.

Rūmā was a temple of Himyar and the people of Yemen, as above related in the story of Tūbba\'t, one of the kings of Himyar, and the story of the two rabbis when they destroyed it and killed a black dog that came from it.

Rūdā was a temple of Banū Rabīʿa b. Kaš b. Saʿd Ibn Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. About it al-Mustawghīr Kaš b. Rabīʿa b. Kaš spoke the verse:

\"I struck Rūdā so violently I left it a ruin in a black plain.
And ʿAbd Allāh helped in destroying it, and with the like of ʿAbd Allāh sins are obliterated.\"
It is said that this al-Mustawghir lived for 330 years, he being the longest-lived of all Muṭar. It was he who spoke the lines:

"I have wearied of life and its length; I have lived for years in their hundreds; One century was followed by two more, adding up the years from all the many months. Is what is left anything but like what we spent? Days and nights pass and urge us on."

According to Ibn Hishām these lines should be attributed to Zuhayr b. Janāb b. Hubal.

Al-Suhayli stated that the persons who lived longer than two or three hundred years include this Zuhayr, ʿUbayd b. Shariyya, Daghfal b. Ḥanẓala al-Nassāba, al-Rabiʿ b. ʿAbd al-Fazārī, Dhu al-ʿIsāba al-ʿAdwānī and Naṣr b. Dihmān b. Ashjaʿ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭfān. The hair of this last-mentioned blackened after it had turned white, and his back became straight after having been crooked.

Ibn Ishaq's account continues, indicating that Dhu al-ʿAbāṣīt was an idol of Bakr and Taghlīb, the two sons of Wāʿil, and Iyād at Sandād. Concerning it Aṣḥāb of Banū Qays b. Thaqāb spoke the verse:

"Between al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, Bāriq, and the temple with battlements at Sandād."

The first part of this poem is as follows:

"I have learned, even if I lived longer, that one's path is that followed by the ancients. What can I hope after the Al Muḥarriq have left their homes and after Iyād too? They settled at Anqara, where Tigris water flowed to them, coming from the lofty mountains, The land of al-Khawarnaq, al-Sadīr, and Bāriq, and the house of temples of Sindād. The winds stormed over the sites of their dwellings, as though their time were predestined, And I see that pleasure and all things enjoyed turn to decay and end."

According to al-Suhayli, al-Khawarnaq was a palace built by al-Nuʿmān the Elder for ʿAṣḥāb so that he could have his children there in it with him. It was designed by a man named Sinammar over 20 years. No finer building than it had ever been seen. Al-Nuʿmān feared that Sinammar might build a similar one for others, so he cast him down from its heights and killed him. A poet therefore spoke the following lines about him:

"He recompensed me, may God give him His worst punishment, as Sinammar was recompensed, and he was guiltless."
Except his striving on the building for twenty years with the best bricks, saffron and ceramics.

And when the building was complete and it towered like a mountain or a difficult height

He threw down Sinammār on to the top of his head; that being, by God, one of the most ignominious acts ever done."

Al-Suhayli stated that al-Jāḥiz recited it in his Kitāb al-Ḥayawān (Book of Animals). The word al-Sinammār is one of the names of the moon. What is implied here is that all such houses were destroyed when Islam came. The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched troops of his men to each of these palaces to destroy them, and he sent to those idols men who broke them to pieces. Ultimately nothing remained to rival the ka'ba, and God was worshipped alone and without associate. All this will be explained in detail in its place, if God Almighty wills it, and in Him there is trust.

An Account of 'Adnān, Forebear of the Arabs of the Ḥijāz from whom the line goes down to the Prophet (SAAS).

There is no question of 'Adnān being of the line of Ishmael, son of Abraham, upon both of whom be peace. What dispute there is relates to the number of forebears there were from 'Adnān to Ishmael according to the various sources.

At one end of the spectrum, there is the extreme view that considers there to have been forty; this is the view of Christians and Jews who adopted it from the writings of Rakhiyā, the clerk of Armiyā (Jeremy) b. Ḥalqiyyā, as we will relate.

Some authorities maintain there were thirty, others twenty, yet more fifteen, ten, nine, or seven.

It has been said that the lowest estimate given is for four, according to the account given by Mūsā b. Ya'qūb, on the authority of 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb b. Zumā' al-Zuma'ī from his aunt, and then from Umm Salama who stated that the Prophet (SAAS) said that the line was: "Ma'ād b. 'Adnān b. Adad b. Zand b. al-Yarā b. A'rāq al-Tharā".

According to Umm Salama this Zanad was al-Hamaysa', al-Yarā was Nābit, while A'rāq al-Tharā was Ishmael. This was implied because he was Abraham's son; for Abraham was not consumed by hell-fire, since fire does not consume moist earth, the meaning of al-tharā.

Al-Dāraqṯāni stated that he knew of no "Zand" except the one in this tradition, and Zand b. al-Jawn, who was Abū Dalāma the poet.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhayli and other Imāms stated that the time lapse between 'Adnān and Ishmael was too great for there to have been only four, ten, or even
twenty generations between them. That, they said, was because the age of Ma‘ad son of ‘Adnān was twelve at the time of Bukhtunāṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar).

Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭabarī and others related that Almighty God sent a revelation at that time to Armiyā b. Ḥalqiyya’ telling him to go to Bukhtunāṣṣar to inform him that God had given him rule over the Arabs. And God commanded Armiyā to carry with him Ma‘ad b. ‘Adnān on the horse al-Buraq so that they would not bear him any rancour saying, “For I shall draw forth from his loins a noble Prophet by whom I shall seal the prophets.”

Armiyā did that, bearing Ma‘ad on al-Buraq to the land of Syria where he grew up among the Jews who remained there following the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem. There he married a woman named Ma‘ṣna, daughter of Jawshin of Banū Dibb b. Jurhum, before returning to his own land. He returned after unrest had quietened down and accord prevailed in the Arabian peninsula. Rakhiyya, Armiyā’s scribe, wrote his master’s genealogy down in a document he had there which was to go into Armiyā’s library; and he similarly preserved the genealogy of Ma‘ad. But God knows best.

And this is why Malik, God bless him, did not enthuse over the attempt at tracing genealogy back to before ‘Adnān.

Al-Suhaylī commented further, “We have merely discussed tracing back these lines to accord with the school of thought of those scholars who favour and do not disapprove of it, men such as Ibn Iṣḥāq, al-Bukhārī, al-Zubayr b. Bakkr, al-Ṭabarī, and others.”

As for Malik, God have mercy on him, he expressed disapproval when asked about someone tracing his descent back to Adam and commented: “Whence comes to him knowledge of that?” When he was asked about tracing back to Ishmael, he expressed similar disapproval, asking, “Who could provide such information?” Malik also disliked tracing the genealogy of the prophets, such as saying, “Abraham son of so-and-so”. Al-Mu‘ayyītī stated this in his book.

Al-Suhaylī commented also that Malik’s viewpoint was analogous to what was related of Urwa b. al-Zubayr who is reported to have said, “We have found no one who knows the line between ‘Adnān and Ishmael.”

It is reported that Ibn ʿAbbās said, “Between ‘Adnān and Ishmael there were 30 ancestors who are unknown.”

Ibn ʿAbbās is also reputed to have said when he traced back lines of descent as far as ‘Adnān: “The genealogists have lied. Twice or thrice.” And that (skepticism)24 is even more characteristic of Ibn Mas‘ūd, whose (attitude) was like that of Ibn ʿAbbās.

Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated, “We carry back the genealogy only as far as ‘Adnān.”

24. Translator’s interpretation.
Abū Ḥanīfah b. Abī Ḥanīfah stated in his book Al-Anba' fi Ma'rifat Qabā'il al-Rawāh (Facts Concerning Knowledge of the Tribes of the Transmitters) that Ibn Lahi'a related from Abū al-Aswad that he heard Urwa b. al-Zubayr say, “We never found anyone who knew genealogy back past Ādān, nor past Qāḥṭān, unless they were using conjecture.”

Abū al-Aswad stated that he had heard Abū Bakr Sulaymān b. Abū Khaythama, one of the very most knowledgeable men of the poetry and the genealogy of Quraysh, say, “We never knew anyone with information going back beyond Ma'ad b. Ādān, whether relating to poetry or other knowledge.”

Abū Ḥanīfah said that there was a group of the predecessors including ʿAbd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, ʿAmr b. Maymūn al-Azdi, and Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quradhi who, when they recited the verse from the Qurʾān “and those after them whom no one but God knows” (sūrat Ibrāhīm, XIV, v.9) would comment, “The genealogists lied.”

Abū Ḥanīfah, God have mercy on him, stated, “We hold the meaning of this to differ from their interpretation. What is implied is that regarding those who claim to enumerate Adam’s descendants, no one knows them except God who created them. But as for the lines of descent of the Arabs, the scholars conversant with their history and genealogy were aware of and learned by heart about the people and the major tribes, differing in some details of that.”

Abū Ḥanīfah continued to state that the leading scholars regarding the genealogy of Ādān gave his descent as: “Ādān b. Udd b. Muqawwim b. Naḥūr b. Tayraḥ b. Ya'rub b. Yashjub b. Nābit b. Ishmael b. Abraham, peace be upon the latter two mentioned.” And this is how Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Yasār gave it in the Prophet’s biography.

Ibn Hīšām stated, “Ādān is said to be the son of Udd”, meaning that he was Ādān b. Udd b. Udd.

Thereafter Abū Ḥanīfah listed the remainder of the lineage back to Adam.

As for the genealogies of the other Arab tribes back to Ādān, these are preserved and well known and no two people conflict about them.

The genealogy of the Prophet (SAAS) back to Ādān is incontestably clear, as evident as the break of day. A verbatim ḥadīth marfūṭ has been reported to support that. We will give it in the appropriate place, after discussion of the Arab tribes and reporting their genealogies and how these were accurately arranged into the lines of lofty and noble descent. All this, if God Almighty wills it, and in Him we trust and depend; there is no power and no strength except in God the Powerful, the Wise.

25. This term denotes a tradition that is traceable in ascending order of authorities back to the Prophet Muḥammad. See Glossary.
Nothing could be finer than the verses stating the Prophet’s genealogy by Imām Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-‘Nāshir in the famous poem ascribed to him as follows:

“I praised the Messenger of God, seeking by praising him a plenitude of the best of rewards for myself;
I praised a man beyond praise, unique in his qualities, far beyond others far or near,
A Prophet whose light shone high in places east, his gifts apparent to the people of places west.
The prophets brought him to us before his coming, news of him spreading on all sides.
The foretelling divines began calling his name, using it to fend off the impact of misleading ideas.
Idols were given voice declaring to God their innocence of those who told the untruths.
They spoke in clear words to the unbelievers, ‘A prophet has come to you from Lu‘ayy b. Ghalīb.’
And evil spirits wanted to eavesdrop but shooting stars scattered them from their seats.
He led us to where we would never have found our way, so lengthy was our blindness to clear philosophies.
He brought evidences showing that they were signs from one Almighty in reward and punishment
One of which was the splitting of the moon in two, mountain tops then being covered as if by a turban by the moonbeams.
And another was the rising of water springs between his fingertips while no wells or pools were near.
By it he quenched the thirst of a large crowd; and the water flowed into rivulets in all directions, down to the plain land.
And a well brimmed over at his arrow’s touch, one before too dry for a single drinker’s palate.
And the udder flowed to his palm’s rub, which before when squeezed for liquid had no teat to respond to a milkman’s touch.
And there was eloquent utterance from the hand of a fortune-teller about plans of an enemy bent on attack.
And his being told of matters before their being, and of the after-effects to come when these did arise.
And from those signs there was revelation he brought, one that is expedient, to come with a multitude of wonders.
Thought could not conceive of it, and so the like of which no eloquent man could articulate, nor did it occur to the mind of any preacher.
It encompassed all knowledge, embraced all wisdom, eluding the aim of the scheming and deceitful.

26. The reference is to the revelation of the Qurān.
He brought it to us, not through a trickster's tales, a scribe's pages, or an author's description.

Revelation comes to him sometimes to answer a questioner, to respond to a solution seeker, or in the exhortation of someone who is conversing;

For the bringing of proofs, the imposition of laws, the telling of narration, or the interpretation of purpose;

For the quotation of proverbs, the proving of a case, the revealing of some disbeliever, or the suspension of a liar;

In the meeting of some assembly, in the thick of some battle, or as difficult, puzzling problems occur.

So, it came down in different ways, with straight-out meaning and flowing varieties.

Its verses confirm each other, as if their meanings were scrutinized by a watchful eye.

And the inability of man to achieve such as we have described is well known by the many who attempted (to imitate it).

For father he had 'Abd Allah, the most noble of fathers, inheriting from him the most noble of qualities.

And from Shayba, be he praised, in whom Quraysh had pride above all others of honour and high station;

He who by whose face clouds were sought to bring rain, and whose views were followed in troubled times.

And from Hashim, who built his lofty, honourable repute through brave exploits and his gracious generosity.

And 'Abd Manaf, who taught his people not to exceed the bounds of their ambitions, and how to control their desires.

And Quasyayy, whose nobility of line is at such a level as to be beyond anyone's reach;

Through him God assembled the tribes after they had been split apart by the greed of thieving hands.

And Kilab attained a fortress in the peaks of glory, beyond the reach of all, near and far alike.

And Murra, whose firmness of resolve was not dissolved by the disgrace of any fool or the evil of any sinner.

And Ka'b, whose glory was too high for any seeker of fame to follow his footsteps; and who reached the highest rank with the least of efforts.

And Lu'ayy who wiped out his enemies; thus he subdued the supercilious, the haughty, and the most victorious.

And in Ghalib was such courage that he refused for his people to be overcome by any mighty one, and repelled from them every violent enemy.

And Fihr had in Quraysh an oratory to rely upon when conflicts erupted.

And Malik was always the best of maliks (lords), the most honourable of companions, the most honourable of masters.

And al-Nadr had such elevation as to outstrip all, right on up to meet the gleaming light of the stars.
By my life, Kināna displayed even before him qualities too fine for any conqueror to attain.

And before him Khuzayma established in his honour an ancient heritage from honoured kin.

And Mudrika, no man ever yudrik (achieved) the like of what he had. He was most virtuous and most high, beyond mere base pursuits.

And Ilyās, for him al-ya's (despair) was dictated for his enemies even before the squadrons met in battle.

And for Mu'ādar the total glory had always been his whenever mounted warriors had met in battle.

And Nizār achieved among his people a leadership position, so lofty as to outstrip the gaze of anyone staring hard to see.

And Ma'ad was an 'udda (instrument) for his allies when they feared the plots of their warring foe.

And 'Ahdān is still, if his virtue be assessed, unique and above all peer or companion.

And for Udd, virtue tu'adda (was discharged) emanating from his self-resolve and an inheritance passed down from grand, wise chieftains.

And in Udad there was calm judgement adorned with sagacity, for calm judgement gains from a frowning of eyebrows.27

And Hamaysa continued to reach ever-new heights, and follow after the desired far-reaching aspirations.

And Nāt, who came from the family tree of glory had built up his lofty refuge on the towering mountains.

And Qaydār was accorded the generosity of Hātim, the wisdom of Luqmān and the determination of Hājib.

These were progeny of Ishmael, true to his vows, a man whose level of greatness could never be exceeded by others.

And God's "companion" (Abraham) who was the most noble of men ever to walk or ride upon earth.

And Tārih, whose lasting reputation for generosity had made apparent his laudable deeds.

And Nāhūr, the nahhār (butcher) of his enemies had many memorable accomplishments those accounting cannot enumerate.

And Ashra, a forest lion in battle, cutting a person to shreds with his sharp weapons.

And Arghū, a deputy to be trusted in warfare, tenacious against a mean-spirited antagonist.

And Fālīgh is not left behind his people in virtue, nor does he pass beneath them in rank.

And Shālikh and Arfakhshidh and Sām, had qualities so great as to protect them from any detractor or accuser.

And Nuh (Noah) still retains high regard with God, who counts him among good men, well-chosen.

27. The frowning eyebrows imply deep thought or sagacity.
And Lamk, his father, stood out among the finest, brave against the mailclad warrior.

And before Lamk there was yet Mutawashlikh, who drove away his enemies with tough spears.

And Idris the prophet was one with status with God beyond compare with that of any ambition.

And Yārīd was a man great among his people’s leaders, scornful of the base, clear and precise in his purpose.

And Mihlayl had understanding of virtues from which all unpleasant defects had been refined away.

And Qaynān of old acquired the glory of his people, gaining the summit of prestige by the stride of his riding camels.

And Anūsh devoted himself to glory and deemed it far above base desires.

And Shith stuck to principle, a man of virtue and nobility, free of mean faults.

All of these gained from Adam’s light and from his stem gathered the fruits of goodness.

And the Messenger of God was the most noble ever born; he emerged from the line of all these fine, distinguished individuals.

His male forebears matched his female ancestors, all clear of any taint of disgrace.

May there be upon him the peace of God on every day that dawn gives us light and at every sunset too.”

Thus did Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. Ṣāḥib al-Barr present to us this ode, as did also our Sheikh Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzi, the ḥāfiẓ, in his edition of the poetry of Abū ʿAbbās ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Nāshī, known as Ibn Sharshir.

His origins were from al-Anbār. He went to Baghdad and then travelled to Egypt, where he stayed until he died in the year 293 AH. He was a Muʿtazilī theologian, and Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿAshʿarī wrote about him in his text al-Maqālāt, in his discussion of the Muṣṭazīla.

He was an accomplished poet, to the degree that his mastery was such that he would invent verses that reversed those of others, and composed poetry to challenge other poets, devising oratorical phrases and rhetorical flourishes they could not match. Consequently some accused him of insanity and delirium.

Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī referred to him as having composed an ode in monorhyme that totalled some 4,000 verses. Al-Najīm quoted these and recorded his death, as stated above.

I comment that this ode gives evidence of his virtue, eloquence, knowledge, understanding, fine memory, diction, and masterly poetic skills. These verses on the noble lineage of the Prophet (SAAS) are precious jewels from his great repertoire of poetry. God bless him and reward him for all his activities.
An Account of the genealogical origins of the Arabs of Hijāz up to ‘Adnān.

These matters are due to ‘Adnān having had two sons, Maṣ‘ad and ‘Akk.

According to al-Suḥaylī, ‘Adnān also had a son named al-Ḥārith, and another named al-Madhhab. It is also stated that some include al-Dahḥāk among his sons. However, al-Dahḥāk is also said to have been a son of Maṣ‘ad, not ‘Adnān. It is also believed that ‘Adnān, for whom the city of Aden is named, and similarly Abyan, were named after sons of ‘Adnān. That is what al-Ṭabarī related.

‘Akk married into the Ash‘arī tribe and lived in their territory in Yemen. Their language became unified and some of the people of Yemen claimed them as their own. They give his line as ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Āzd b. Yaghṭūth; others give the line as ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān b. al-Dhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Āsad. Al-Rayth is also given as an alternative to al-Dhayb. What is true is what we have stated, that they are of the line of ‘Adnān. ʿAbbas b. Mirdās spoke the verse:

“ʿAkk b. ‘Adnān, who toyed with Ghassān until they were totally driven away.”

As for Maṣ‘ad, he had four sons: Nizār, Qudā‘a, Qanāṣ, and Iyād. Qudā‘a was Maṣ‘ad’s first-born who was commonly known by the surname of Abū Qudā‘a (father of Qudā‘a). We have earlier given a different genealogy for Qudā‘a, but it is this one that is considered correct by Ibn Isḥāq and others. And God knows best.

As for Qanāṣ, it is said that his line died out, except that al-Nuṣrān b. al-Mundhir who was Chosroes’s governor at al-Ḥira was one of his descendants, according to a number of past authorities. Another view is that he was from Himyar, as we have indicated earlier. God knows best.

As for Nizār, to him were born Rabi‘a, Muṣṭar, and Anmār. Ibn Hishām indicated that Iyād was also the son of Nizār, as was spoken in the following verse:

“[A]nd braves their faces fine, descendants of Iyād b. Nizār b. Maṣ‘ad.”

He stated that Iyād and Muṣṭar were full brothers, their mother being Sawda, daughter of ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān. And the mother of Rabi‘a and Anmār was Shuqayqa, daughter of ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān. Her name was also given as Jum‘a, daughter of ‘Akk b. ‘Adnān.

According to Ibn Isḥāq, Anmār was the father of Khathām and Bajila, of the tribe of Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajali. He added that they went to Yemen and stayed there.

They say that Muḍar was the first to use chants with camels. That is because he had a fine voice and because one day he fell off his mount and dislocated his arm. In pain he shouted, “Wāyadayāh! Wāyadayāh!” (“Oh, my hands, my hands!”) and at that the camels stretched out their necks listening.

According to Ibn Ishaq, Muḍar b. Nizār had two sons, Ilyās and ‘Aylān. To Ilyās were born Mudrika, Ṭabikha and Qama’a; their mother was Khindif, daughter of ʿImrān b. al-Ḥāf b. Qudā’a.

Ibn Ishaq stated that Mudrika’s real name was ʿAmir, and that of Ṭabikha was ʿAmr. One day they went hunting and while they were cooking their catch, their camels ran off. ʿAmir chased after them and caught them, while his brother sat cooking. When they returned to their father and related this to him, he commented to ʿAmir, “You are Mudrika” (the catcher), while to ʿAmr he said, “You are Ṭabikha” (the cook). As for Qama’a, the genealogists of Muḍar claim that Khuza’a was a son of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy b. Qama’a b. Ilyās.

In my view it is obvious that he was a descendant of theirs and not of their father, and that they were of Ḥimyar, previously mentioned. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq said that Mudrika gave birth to Khuzayma and Hudhayl, and that their mother was a woman from Qudā’a tribe. To Khuzayma were born Kināna, Asad, Asada, and al-Ḥūn.

Kināna gave birth to al-Ḥāḍir, Malik, ʿAbd Manāt, and Milkān. Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī added to these four ʿAmir, al-Ḥārith, al-Ḥāḍir, Ghanam, Saʿd, ʿAwf, Jarwal, al-Jarāl, and Ghazwān.

An Account of Quraysh regarding their genealogy, etymology, and merit. They are the tribe of al-Ḥāḍir b. Kināna.

According to Ibn Ishāq, the mother of al-Ḥāḍir was Barra, daughter of Murr b. Udd b. Ṭabikha (Ibn Hishām adds that Ṭabikha was the son of Ilyās b. Muḍar), while the rest of his sons were of a different mother. Ibn Hishām disagrees with Ibn Ishāq, having Barra daughter of Murr as the mother of al-Ḥāḍir, Malik, and Milkān. The mother of ʿAbd Manāt was Hāla, daughter of Suwayd b. al-Ghiṭrīf from Azd of Shantāʾa.

Ibn Hishām stated that al-Ḥāḍir was Quraysh; anyone born in his line is a Qurayshite, anyone not so born is not. He also said that some state that Fihr b. Malik was Quraysh, those of his line therefore being Qurayshite; those not of his line were non-Qurayshite.

These two statements have been handed down by more than one expert genealogist, such as Sheikh Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ḥarr and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Musʿab, and others.
According to Abū Ubayd and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, the majority’s view is that Quraysh derived from al-Nadr b. Kināna, based on a ḥadīth of al-Ash‘ath b. Qays. And it is this authority who was an important source for Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī and Abū Ubayda Ma‘mār b. al-Muthannā; he is a prime resource for the doctrine of al-Shāfi‘ī, may God bless him.

Abū ʿUmar, moreover, chose ʿAbbās b. Malik as the originator of Quraysh, insisting that anyone today having descent from Quraysh stems from ʿAbbās b. Malik. He then related the choice made in his statement to the authority of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Muṣṣab al-Zubayrī and ʿAlī b. Kaysān, saying, “They are the source for this, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār having stated, ‘The genealogists of Quraysh and others are agreed that Quraysh branched off only from ʿAbbās b. Malik.’ The genealogists of Quraysh whom I have consulted consider those of his line to be Qurayshites, whereas those prior to him in their line are thought not from Quraysh.”

Abū ʿUmar then effectively substantiated this view and defended it by pointing out that he and those of similar views were those most knowledgeable of the genealogy and history of their own people.

Al-Bukhārī related from the tradition of Kulayb b. Waʿil as follows: “I said to the nursemaid (meaning Zaynab, daughter of Abūl Salama) of the Prophet (SAAS) ‘Tell me about the Prophet (SAAS). Was he from Mudār?’ She replied, ‘From whom else but from Mudār of Bana al-Nadr b. Kināna?’”

Al-Ṭabarānī said, “We were told by Ibrāhīm b. Nāʿīla al-Asbahānī, by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAmr al-Bajalī, and by al-Ḥasan b. Ṣaḍīq from his father, from al-Jashīsh al-Kindī who said, ‘A group of people from Kinda tribe came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, “You are from us,” claiming kinship with him. But he responded, “No, we’re Bana al-Nadr b. Kināna; we neither contradict our mother nor refute our father.”’”

Imām Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd said, “We were told by my father and by al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū Ṣaʿīd from Ibn ʿAbbās that the latter said, ‘A man from Kinda, called al-Jashīsh, came to the Prophet (SAAS) and said, “O Messenger of God, we claim ʿAbd Manāf as one of us.” The Prophet (SAAS), turned away from him. The man came back with the same comment and again was ignored. Once more he said the same. Then the Prophet (SAAS) stated, “We are from Banū al-Nadr b. Kināna. We neither contradict our mother nor refute our father.”’”

Al-Ash‘ath commented (probably to al-Jashīsh, tr.) “Shouldn’t you have stayed silent after the first time?”

This response refuted their claim, and from the tongue of his Prophet (SAAS). And this is strange also from this viewpoint; al-Kalbī, moreover, is a weak authority. But God knows best.

Imām Ahmad said that Bāz and ʿAffān related to him as follows: “We were both told by Ḥammād b. Salama that ʿUqayl b. Abū Ṭalḥa said (ʿAffān gave his
name as ‘Uqayl b. Ṭalḥa al-Salmi) on the authority of Muslim b. al-Haysam from al-Ash’ath b. Qays, that the latter said that he came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in a delegation from Kinda. (‘Affān added the words ‘who did not consider me their best man’) and said to him, ‘O Messenger of God, we claim you to be one of us.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘We are Banū al-Naḍr b. Ḳiṇāna; we neither contradict our mother nor refute our father.’"

Al-Ash’ath b. Qays commented, “By God, I never hear anyone denying that Quraysh is from al-Naḍr b. Ḳiṇāna without whipping him to the limit.”

And thus was this related by Ibn Māja along various lines of transmission from Ḥammad b. Salama.

This line of tradition is truly fine and is authoritative in this matter. No attention is due thereafter to any opposing view. But God knows best. All praise and credit belong to God.

Jarīr b. ʿAṭīyya al-Tamīmi spoke the following verses in praising Ḥishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān:

“The mother who gave birth to Quraysh was not one as to cause doubt as to ancestry, nor was she barren;

And no stud was of more noble stock than your father, nor was there ever an uncle more fine than Tamīm.”

Ibn Hishām stated: “Here is meant the mother of al-Naḍr b. Ḳiṇāna, who was Barra daughter of Murr, sister of Tamīm b. Murr.”

The derivation of the word Quraysh is said to come from the word al-taqrarrush, which means to join together after dispersal. This relates to the period of Quraysh b. Kilāb when they were dispersed and he brought them together at the holy sanctuary, as we shall explain. Ḥudhāfa b. Ghānim al-ʿAdawi spoke the verse:

“Your father was Qūṣayy, known as ‘the gatherer’; through him God gathered together the tribes from Fihr.”

Some say that Qūṣayy was known as Quraysh. The word meant “gathering together”; al-taqrarrush meant al-tajammu’ or “joining together”, as Abī Khalda al-Yashkuri said: “Brothers who gathered (qarrasha) upon us faults, in our recent era and also ancient . . .”

It is also said that Quraysh were so named from al-taqrarrush, a word meaning business and trading. This was related by Ibn Hishām, God have mercy on him.

Al-Jawhari said, “al-garsh means ‘earning’ and ‘accumulating’ and the verbal form is garrasha in the past tense, yaqrushu in the present tense.” Al-Farrā’ stated that it was from this word that Quraysh was named, they being a tribe and their
originator al-Naḍr b. Kināna. All his descendants are Qurayshite back as far as Kināna’s son, but not before him.

Some say the word stems from the idea of *al-taḍīf*ḥ, i.e. “search”. Ḥishām b. al-Kalbī stated that al-Naḍr b. Kināna was named “Quraysh” because he would “yaqrīṣ” for what people lacked or needed, providing that with his own wealth. *Al-taqrīṣ* means *al-taḍīf*ḥ and his sons would *yaqrīṣ*ūnā, i.e. “search out” pilgrims in need and donate to them what they needed to return home. And so they were named “Quraysh” because of their engaging in this *qaṛsh*.

Al-Hārith b. Ḥillīzā made a verse to the effect that *al-taqrīr*ush meant *al-taḍīf*ḥ:

“O you who speaks and ‘searches’ (*al-maqrīṣ*ū) for us with ‘Amr, is he allowed to live?”

It was al-Zubayr b. Bakkār who related that verse.

Quraysh was also said to be a diminutive form of *qaṛsh*, a sea animal. A poet once said:

“Quraysh are those that inhabit the sea; for them the Quraysh were named ‘Quraysh’.”

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda informed him that Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Aṭī b. Ḥassān al-Mālinī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Khalīl al-Nisawī, related that Abū Kurayb told them from Waqī’ b. al-Jarrāh, on the authority of Hishām b. Urwa on the authority of his father from Abū Rakāna al-‘Āmīrī that Mu‘awiya asked Ibn ‘Abbās, “Why were Quraysh so named?” He replied, “After a sea creature, the biggest of all, that is called *al-qaṛsh*. It never passes by anything, lean or fat, without eating it.” “So recite me some verse about that,” Mu‘awiya asked, and Ibn ‘Abbās spoke the verses of al-Jumahi as follows:

“Quraysh are those that inhabit the sea; for them the Quraysh were named Quraysh, They eat all, lean or fat, not leaving a feather of any two-winged thing. Thus in the land the tribe of Quraysh eats up the land ravenously. Theirs is at the end of time a prophet; among them will he plenty of wounded and dead.”

It is also said they were named after Quraysh b. al-Hārith b. Yakhlūd b. al-Naḍr b. Kināna. He was the guide and the storeskeeper of Banū al-Naḍr. The Arabs would say, “The caravan of Quraysh” has come, instead of the “caravan of Banū al-Naḍr”. They also say that it was his son Badr b. Quraysh who dug the well attributed to him where the great battle occurred on the day of al-Furqān (“proof”, i.e. the battle of Badr) when the two armies met. God knows best.

The relative adjective derived from Quraysh is *qaṛashi* or *qurayshi*. Al-Jawhari said, “And the latter is the standard.”
A poet spoke the verse,

"Every Qurayshite (qurayshi) who is honourable, quick to fill demands for generosity and honour." 28

Muslim related in his sahih collection from a tradition of Abū 'Amr and al-Awza'î that Shaddād Abū 'Ammār related to him that Wāthila b. al-Asqa'ī told him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "God chose Kīnāna from among the sons of Isma'īl, Quraysh from Kīınā, Ḥāshim from Quraysh and myself from the descendants of Ḥāshim."

Abū 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Barr said, "Banū 'Abd al-Mu'ttalib are known as the fāṣila, the family, of the Messenger of God (SAAS); Banū Ḥāshim was his fakhīd, his tribal subsection; Banū 'Abd Manāf was his baṭn, his tribal subdivision; Quraysh was his ʿimzra, his mini-tribe; Banū Kīnāna was his qabila, his tribal confederation; and Muḍar was his sha'b, his people. May God's blessings and peace be upon him always till the Day of Judgement."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Al-Nādar b. Kīnāna gave birth to Mālik and Yakhlud." To these Ibn Hishām added "al-Ṣalt". The mother of them all was the daughter of Sa'd b. al-Ẓarib al-Adwānī.

Kuthayyir b. 'Abd al-Ra'āmīn, who is Kuthayyir 'Azza, one of the Banū Mula'yī b. 'Amr of Khuzā'ī, spoke the verses:

"Is my father not al-Ṣalt, my brothers not the finest among the noblemen of Banū al-Naḍr?
You see on us as on them the same kerchiefs of mixed weave and the same Ḥadramī waist-wrappers
So if you are not of Banū al-Naḍr, then leave the green thorn trees at the ends of the high valleys."

Ibn Hishām said that Banū Mula'yī b. 'Amr were descendants of al-Ṣalt b. al-Naḍr.


According to Ibn Ishaq, Ghalīb b. Fihr had sons named Lu'ayy b. Ghalīb and Taym b. Ghalīb who were known as the Banū al-Adam. Their mother was Salmā, daughter of 'Amr al-Khuza'ī.

Ibn Hishām states there was another son, Qays b. Ghalīb, whose mother was Salmā, daughter of Ka'b b. 'Amr al-Khuza'ī and that she was the mother of Lu'ayy and Taym.

28. Several lines of abstruse poetry illustrating Arabic grammatical concepts have been omitted from the English translation.
According to Ibn Ishäq, Lu'ayy b. Ghalib had four sons: Ka'b, Āmir, Sama, and Āwf.

Ibn Hishäm said he was also reputed to have had another son, al-Ḥārith, and that they made up the Jusham b. al-Ḥārith among Hizzān of Rabī'a. And another son was Sa'd b. Lu'ayy who came to be the bunāna among Shaybān b. Thaqāla. Bunāna was a nursemaid for them. There was also Khuzayma b. Lu'ayy who formed the Ā'idha among Shaybān b. Thaqāla.

Then Ibn Ishäq gives the story of Sama b. Lu'ayy and how he went to Umnān and lived there. That was due to a quarrel between himself and his brother Āmir. Āmir made him afraid and so he fled to Umnān, dying there as a stranger. What happened was that while he was grazing his camel a snake bit its lip making it fall on its side. Then the snake bit and killed Sama. It is said that he wrote these verses with his finger on the ground:

“Eyes, weep for Sama b. Lu'ayy, the snake has clung to Sama.
None such as Sama b. Lu'ayy have I seen, found a dead victim of a camel.
Send a messenger to Āmir and Ka'b that my soul yearns for them.
Though my home is in Umnān I am a Ghälibi who emigrated but not from poverty.
Perhaps the glass you have poured, Ibn Lu'ayy, fearing death, has not really been poured.
You aimed to repel death, O Ibn Lu'ayy, but no one so intending has power over death,
And many a silent, plodding camel you’ve left prostrate after long, intense exercise.”

And Ibn Hishäm said that he heard that a son of Sama went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and introduced himself as descended from Sama b. Lu'ayy. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, “The poet?” One of his Companions then said, “O Messenger of God, you seem to be referring to his line of verse,

‘Perhaps the glass you’ve poured, Ibn Lu'ayy, fearing death, has not really been poured.’

And he answered, “Yes indeed.”

Al-Suhaylī recorded from others that Sama had no children. Al-Zubayr said, “Sama b. Lu'ayy had Ghalib, al-Nabit, and al-Ḥārith.” Others maintained that he had descendants in Iraq who hated ʿAlī. Among them was ʿAlī b. al-Jaʿad, who used to revile his father for having named him ʿAlī. Among the descendants of Sama b. Lu'ayy was Muḥammad b. ʿAr'ara b. al-Yazīd, who was the sheikh of al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishäq said, “They claim that Āwf b. Lu'ayy travelled with a caravan from Quraysh and to the territory of Ghaṭafān b. Sa'd b. Qays b. ʿAylān. There he was delayed so the rest of his people left him behind and went off. Then Thaqāla b.
Sa'd, he being his brother by the genealogy of Banu Dhubyān, came along, detained him, arranged his marriage, and treated him like an intimate and a brother. His relationship became widely known among Banu Dhubyān.

They say it was Tha'labā who said to 'Awf the following verse when he was delayed and left behind:

"O Ibn Lu'ayy, tether your camel with me; your people have left you and you ought not to be left."

Ibn Iṣḥāq continued to indicate that either Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, or Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn told him that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had said, "If I were to claim an attachment to any Arab tribe or that they had a relationship to us, it would be to Banu Murra b. ʿAwf. We know kindred men among them and also how they treated that man." By this he meant ʿAwf b. Lu'ayy.

He went on to relate that a man he did not distrust had told him that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to some men of Banu Murra: "If you want to trace back your genealogy to your kindfolk, then trace it to ʿAwf."

Ibn Iṣḥāq added that these people were nobles of Ghatafan, their leaders and élite, with good reputation locally and in all of Ghatafan and Qays, and that they did maintain their own genealogy. If their ancestry were referred to by others, they would say, "We neither deny nor disown it. That is the ancestry we prefer." Then they would recite their verses recalling their relationship to Lu'ayy.

Ibn Iṣḥāq said that they practised the system of basl. This entailed the practice among the Arabs of considering eight months of their year as sacrosanct. The Arabs would recognize that and allow them safe-conduct in those months and they would allow them the same. Rabī'a and Muḍar, however, to my knowledge only considered four months a year as sacred, these being Dhū al-Qa'da, Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram; and concerning the fourth, Rajab, they differed. Muḍar considered that it fell between Jumāda and Sha'bān, while Rabī'a maintained it came between Sha'bān and Shawwal.

It has been established in both of the saḥīḥ collections, on the authority of Abī Bakrah, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated in his khaṭbat al-wadā', farewell address, "Time has revolved in its own fashion since the day God created the heavens and the earth, the year consisting of twelve months, four of which are sacred. Three of these are contiguous: Dhū al-Qa'da, Dhū al-Ḥijja, and al-Muḥarram, and there is also Muḍar's month of Rajab which comes between Jumāda and Sha'bān." Thus by saying this he expressed preference for the view of Muḍar and not for that of Rabī'a.

God the Almighty and Glorious stated in the Qurʾān, "With God the months number twelve, so ordained by God, (since) the day he created the heavens and the earth; of these four are sacred" (sūrat al-Tawba, IX, v.36).
This constitutes a reply to Bann 'Awf b. Lu'ayy for their considering the sacred months eight in number. In so doing they added to God's decree, introducing therein something which was not part thereof.

His statement in the hadith that "three are contiguous [months]" is a disapproval of the attitude of the al-nasr people who delayed the sacred month, making it Safar, rather than al-Muharram. Also, the phrase therein "Mudar's month of Rajab" is a refutation of Rabī'a's view.

Ibn Ishāq stated that Ka'b b. Lu'ayy had three sons, Murra, ʿAdi and Huṣayṣ. Murra also had three, named Kilāb, Taym and Yaqaza, from three mothers.

Kilāb gave birth to two sons, Quṣayy and Zuhra; the mother of both was Fāṭima, daughter of Sa'd b. Sayal, one of the al-Jadara of Ju'thumat al-Asad from the Yemen, who were allies of Bann al-Dīl b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna. Of her father a poet spoke the verse:

"We have never seen any person, of all the people we have known, like Sa'd b. Sayal
A knight who combats with both his right hand and left; if his foe stood down from battle he would dismount
A knight luring horsemen to destruction like a kestrel with partridges."

According to al-Suhayli, Sayal's full name was Khayr b. Jamāla and he was the first person who had swords plated with gold and silver.

Ibn Ishāq stated that they were known as the "al-Jadara" because ʿĀmir b. ʿAmr b. Khuzayma b. Juṯumma had married the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Muḥād the Jurhumite. The Jurhm were at that time guardians of the House of God and built a jidār, a wall, around the ka'ba; ʿĀmir was therefore named al-Jādir and his descendants al-Jadara.

An Account of Quṣayy b. Kilāb and of his part in regaining guardianship over the ka'ba for Quraysh by taking it from Khuzā'ā.

How Quraysh gathered together at the holy place which God secured for the worshippers, after having lived scattered and fragmented in the mountains and hollows.

What happened was that when his father died, Quṣayy's mother was married to Ḥubba b. ʿAbd Manāt and he took her and her son to his own country. Later, when he grew up, Quṣayy came to Mecca and married ʿHubbā, daughter of the chief of Khuzā'ā, Ḥulayl b. Ḥulshiyya.

Regarding Khuzā'ā, they say that Ḥulayl entrusted guardianship over the holy House to Quṣayy because of the large family Quṣayy had with his daughter. Ḥulayl told him, "You have more right to it than I do."
Ibn Ishaq stated that this account was heard only from Khuzā'ī. He said that others claim that he sought the assistance of his maternal brothers, their leader being Rizāh b. Rabī', and of the tribes of Kināna and Qudā'a and of some men in the Mecca region from Quraysh and others. And so he ousted them (Khuzā'ī) from the House of God and he himself assumed control over it.

This all occurred because the prerogative of the pilgrims' ījāza\(^29\) was held by the Sūfā. They were the tribe of al-Ghawth b. Murr b. Ṭābil b. Ilyās b. Muḍar. People did not throw their stones (Jimār) until they (the Sūfā) had done so, nor did they leave Mīnā before the Sūfā did; these prerogatives remained theirs until they died out.

Then Bani Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm inherited these rights from them by kinship. The first of them was Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥārith b. Shijīn b. ʿUṯārid b. ʿAfw b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. This power resided in his people until the rise of Islam in the time of the last of them, who was Karib b. Ṣafwān.

The ījāza, the descent from al-Muzdalīfā\(^30\) was the prerogative of 'Adwān until the coming of Islam in the time of the last of them, who was Abū Sayyāra ʿAmla b. al-Aʿzal. His name was said to have been al-ʿAṣ, while al-Aʿzal's name was Khalīd. He used to give people the permission while seated on a one-eyed ass he had, for 40 years moving forth on it at that station. He was the first person to establish the bloodwit at 100 camels, as well as the first to say the phrase, "Mt. Thābir shines so that we may ride forth."

That is what al-Suhaylī related.

And there was ʿAmīr b. al-Qarīb al-ʿAdwānī. In the case of all conflicts arising among the Arabs, they would come to him for adjudication and accept whatever he decided. On one occasion they asked him to resolve the matter of inheritance to a hermaphrodite. He lay awake all night reflecting on how to adjudicate this and when a slave-girl of his, Sukhayla by name, who used to pasture his sheep, saw him thus, she enquired of him, "What is wrong with you, poor thing, that you spend the night awake?" So he told her, in case she might be of help. And she replied, "Judge by where from urination comes." He commented, "Sukhayla, you've shown the way well, by God." And that was how he did decide.

Al-Suhaylī pointed out that reaching a decision by such logic constituted use of al-īstīdāl bi al-ʿamārāt wa al-ʿalāmāt, "inference from signs and indications", a method with a basis in the law. God stated in the Qurān: "And they brought his shirt with false blood upon it" (ṣūrat Yūsuf, XII, v.18) since it bore no signs of a wolf's fangs. God also stated, "If his shirt has been torn from the front, she has

29. The giving of permission to the pilgrims to descend from Mt. ʿArafāt.
30. A station midway between Mīnā and ʿArafāt where pilgrims spend the night of 9th Dhu al-Ḥijja on their return journey from ʿArafāt.
told the truth and he is a liar, whereas if the shirt has been torn from behind, then she lied and he is truthful” (sūrat Yūsuf, XII, v.26-7). And in the ḥadith, there are the words, “Wait for her; if she delivers it (the baby) as comely, light-brown, and with curly locks, then indeed it is (the child) of him whom she was accused of being with.”

Ibn Ishāq went on to state that al-nāṣr, the postponement of sacred months, was decided by the time of Fuqaym b. ‘Adi b. ‘Amir b. Tha‘laba b. al-Ḥarīth b. Mālik b. Kināna b. Khuzayma b. Mudrika b. Iyās b. Muṣṭar. He reported that the first of the Arabs to intercalate the months was al-Qalāmmas, who was Ḥudhayfa b. ‘Abd b. Fuqaym b. ‘Adi. After him came his son ‘Abbād, and then Qalā‘ b. ‘Abbād, followed by Umayya b. Qala‘ and ‘Awf b. Umayya. The last of them was Ābū Thumāmah Junāda b. ‘Awf b. Qalā‘ b. ‘Abbād b. Ḥudhayfa, the last named being al-Qalāmmas. Islam arose during Ābū Thamāmah’s time.

When the Arabs had completed the pilgrimage they would gather around him and he would address them, specifying which months were sacred. If he wanted to establish a free period, he would declare al-Muḥarram free and substitute Safar for it to accord with the number of months God had made sacred. He would state, “O God, I have made free the first of the al-Safar months, and postponed the others till next year.” And the Arabs would follow him in that. On this matter the following verses were spoken by ‘Umayr b. Qays, one of Bānū Firās b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. Kināna; ‘Umayr was also known as Jadhīl al-Ṭīfān:

“Ma‘ād have learned that my people are noble, that they have noble forebears. Which people have escaped our retribution and which have we not bridled? Are we not those who intercalate for Ma‘ād, deciding which free months shall be made sacred?”

Qūṣayy was lord and master over his people, obeyed and revered. Eventually he gathered Quraysh together from their various locations in the Arabian peninsula and gained the help of the Arab tribes that obeyed him in making war on Kuḥṣā‘a, in removing them from the House of God, and in handing over its guardianship to himself. They engaged in many battles with much bloodshed and then agreed upon arbitration. They appointed as arbitrator Ya‘mur b. ‘Awf b. Ka‘b b. ‘Amir b. Layth b. Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kināna who decreed that Qūṣayy was more fit for guardianship over the House than Kuḥṣā‘a was. He ruled that all losses inflicted on Qūṣayy by Kuḥṣā‘a and Bānū Bakr were an issue that should be “crushed underfoot”, and that what losses Kuḥṣā‘a and Bānū Bakr had received from Quraysh, Kināna, and Quda‘a should be compensated by bloodwit payment. His decision meant that Qūṣayy should be given free access to Mecca and the ka‘ba. Thereat Ya‘mur was nicknamed al-Shадhdhakh, “the crusher”.

Ibn Ishāq further related that Qusayy thus gained guardianship over the House and control over Mecca. He brought together to Mecca his people from their dwellings and acted as king over them and over all the Meccans as well; and they treated him as king. However, he confirmed the Arabs in their prior practices, considering that to be a duty incumbent upon himself that he ought not change. He thus confirmed Ṣafwān, ʿAdwān, al-nassāʿ, “the intercalators”, and Murra b. ʿAwp in their previous practices, until Islam came and God destroyed all of that.

Qusayy was the first of Banū Kaʿb who took the kingship and was obeyed as such by his people. He had rights of the ḥijāba, the saqāya, the riṣāda, the nadwa, and the liwa. Thus he controlled all of Mecca’s honours. He divided up Mecca among his people into quarters and he settled each family of Quraysh into their dwellings there.

And so I say, that thus right was done to those worthy of it, justice returning after having left. Quraysh settled in their dwellings, ended the aims and aspirations of Khuzāʾa, and regained their ancient and venerable house. Nevertheless, they kept what Khuzāʾa had instituted, including the worship of idols, setting them up around the kaʿba, making sacrifice to them, praying near them, and beseeching help and fortune from them.

Qusayy settled the Quraysh tribes in the plains and also in the heights of Mecca and they were henceforth known respectively as the “plains Quraysh” and the “highland Quraysh”.

Qusayy b. Kilāb enjoyed total authority, including being guardian and keeper of the kaʿba and the awarde of battle banners. He also constructed a building to prevent violence and resolve disputes; this he named the dār al-nadwa, the assembly house. When a conflict became serious the chiefs of each of the tribes would meet, take counsel there, and decide the issue. All contracts and marriage agreements would be made there. And that was also the only place where a girl would first wear the dara, the sleeved chemise, when she reached the age to do so.

The door to this building was facing the masjid al-ḥarām, the holy mosque. Later it became owned by Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, after belonging to Banū ʿAbd al-Dār. He sold it, during the reign of Muʿāwiya, for 100,000 dirhams. Muʿāwiya criticized him for having done so, saying, “You’ve sold your people’s honour for 100,000.”

But Ḥakīm replied, “But today nobility is measured by one’s piety. I bought it, by God, before Islam for a skinful of wine and now here I’ve sold it for 100,000. And I swear that the money will go to charity in God’s cause, so which of us had been cheated?” This was related by al-Dārquṭnī in the Asmāʾ Rijāl al-Muwāṭṭaʾ (Identities of the Men in the Muwaṭṭaʾ) (of Malik b. Anas).

31. These terms refer, respectively, to the guardianship of the temple, the provision of water for the pilgrims, the provision of food for them, the presiding over their assemblies, and the issuance of the banners carried by them.
He had the prerogative of providing drink for the pilgrims; they drank only from his cisterns. At that time, in Mecca the holy well, zamzam, was obliterated, as it had been since the time of Jurhum. People had forgotten about it because of its great antiquity and they could not locate its whereabouts. According to al-Waqidi, Qusaayy was the first person to institute lighting a fire at al-Muzdalifa to guide people coming there from ‘Arafat.

The word al-risāda means providing food for the pilgrims during the pilgrimage season until they leave to return to their own countries.

Ibn Ishaq went on to relate that Qusaayy had imposed this risāda on his people, having said, “O People of Quraysh, you are God’s neighbours and the inhabitants of Mecca and of the holy places. The pilgrims are God’s guests and visitors to His House. They have full right to hospitality. So provide food and drink for them during the pilgrimage days, until they depart from you.” And so they did. Each year they would set aside a portion of their wealth as a tribute they would pay him. He would use it to provide food for the people during the days they were at Minā. This practice was followed at his command during al-jāhiliyya, the pre-Islamic period, and it has passed on thereafter up to the present. It is the food the sultan provides for people at Minā each year until the pilgrimage ends.

My own comment is to add that this practice ended after the time of Ibn Ishaq. It was then ordered that a portion of the bayt al-mal, the general treasury, be spent to transport food and drink for wayfarers arriving for the pilgrimage. This was a good policy for reasons too many to mention. But duty dictates that this expense should come directly from the treasury as a priority; most appropriately, it should come from the masses of the dhimma, the protected non-Muslims, since they do not make pilgrimage to the ancient House. It is stated in the hadith sayings, “Regarding him who is able to make the pilgrimage but does not do so, let him die, if he wishes, a Jew or a Christian.”

One of their poets said in praise of Qusaayy and his honour among his people.

“Qusaayy was known, I swear it, as the ‘gatherer’; through him God gathered together the tribes of Fīhhr.

They filled the plain with glory and power and drove from us the satanic Banū Bakr.”

Ibn Ishaq related that when Qusaayy had finished his war, his brother Rizāh b. Rabī‘a left for his own country accompanied by his three paternal brothers, who were Ḥunn, Mahmūd, and Julhuma by name. And Rizāh spoke the following verses in responding to Qusaayy:

“When an envoy came from Qusaayy saying, ‘Respond to your friend’,

We arose to him leading our fine horses, leaving aside the slow and overweight.

We travelled with them by night till dawn, sheltering by day to survive.
They were speedy as sand-grouse to the water, as we answered Quṣāy’s messenger. We gathered men from al-SIRR\textsuperscript{32} and the two Ashmadhs,\textsuperscript{33} collecting tribesmen from each village.

What a band of horse that night, over a thousand, running free and fast. When they passed by ʿAsjar and took the quick route from Mustanākḥ, Skirting the edge of Wariqān and passing by al-ʿArj and a tribe encamped, Overstepping the pasture, not tasting it, racing on, night-long, from Marr, Keeping the colts near their dams to minimize their neighing. When reaching Mecca, we destroyed the men tribe after tribe, Switching them with our sword-blades, rendering them witless from all sides Crushing them beneath our horses’ hooves, as does the strong and mighty to the lowly.

We killed Khuzāʿa in their own home, and Bakr group by group. We banished them from the Sovereign’s land, so that they would never settle good land again, We captured them in irons and quenched our vengeance thirst from all their tribes.”

According to Ibn Ishaq, when Rizāḥ returned home, God gave him increase. He also gave Hunn increase; they constitute the two tribes of ʿUdhrā to this day. Again according to Ibn Ishaq, Quṣāyy b. Kilāb said in that regard,

“I am the son of Banū Luʿayy, the defenders; my home is in Mecca, there was I raised, And on to the plains, as Maʿad learned; with its lush pastures I was really content. I would not have conquered it, had the sons of Qaydhar and al-ʿNābit not settled there. Rizāḥ was my supporter and by him I came supreme; I fear no evil for as long as I shall live.”

According to al-Umawi, citing al-Ashram from Abī Ubayda, from Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ, Rizāḥ only arrived after Quṣāyy had expelled Khuzāʿa. God knows best.

Section.

When Quṣāyy grew old he entrusted all the prerogatives he had enjoyed – leadership of Quraysh and its honour of governing the provision of food and drink for the pilgrims, guardianship of the House, the issuance of banners, and the summoning of assemblies – to his son ʿAbd al-ʿDār, who was his oldest.

He only entrusted him with all these prerogatives because the rest of his brothers, ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd Shams, and ʿAbd had become noblemen during

\textsuperscript{32} A valley.

\textsuperscript{33} Two mountains between Medina and the town of Khaybar.
their father’s rule and had attained great power and prestige. Thus Quṣayy wished for ʿAbd al-Dār to be equal to them in prestige and so gave him alone these powers. ʿAbd al-Dār’s brothers did not dispute his action. But when they all had passed away their sons came into conflict about this and said, “Quṣayy only entrusted ʿAbd al-Dār with all that to equalize him with his brothers; we are entitled to what our fathers were due.”

ʿAbd al-Dār’s family replied, “This is a matter that Quṣayy decided in our favour, and we have the greater right.”

And so a great dispute arose among them; and Quraysh split into two factions, one giving allegiance and alliance to the family of ʿAbd al-Dār, the other to the family of ʿAbd Manāf with whom they made a formal pact. Upon making the oath they placed their hands into a deep dish containing perfume. Then they went and wiped their hands on the corners of the kaʿba. This was thereafter known as the “Treaty of the Perfumed”.

On the ʿAbd Manāf side there were the Quraysh tribes of Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza b. Quṣayy, Banū Zuhra, Banū Taym, and Banū al-Ḥārith b. Fihr. On the side of ʿAbd al-Dār’s descendants were Banū Makḥzūm, Banū Sahm, Banū Jumāḥ, and Banū ʿAdi. The tribes of Banū ʿAmir b. Luʿayy and Muḥārib b. Fihr remained separate from the rest, not allying with either side.

Ultimately they made peace, agreeing that the prerogatives of feeding and watering the pilgrims should be held by Banū ʿAbd Manāf, while those of guardianship of the kaʿba, issuance of banners, and calling of assemblies were to be held by Banū ʿAbd al-Dār. This arrangement became firm and permanent.

Al-Umawi related from al-Ashram, on the authority of AbnʿUbayda that a number of the Khwā claim that after Quṣayy had married Ḥubbā daughter of Hulayl, he (Hulayl) found the guardianship of the kaʿba onerous and passed it on to his daughter Ḥubbā, appointing Abū Ghusbshān Salīm b. ʿAmr b. Luʿayy b. Malkān b. Quṣayy b. Ḥāritha b. ʿAmr b. ʿAmir as her trustee for it. Quṣayy purchased the guardianship of the kaʿba from him for a skin of wine and a young riding camel. And so there arose the saying, “A worse deal than that of Abū Ghusbshān!” When Khuzāʿa saw this happen they attacked Quṣayy, who called for assistance from his brother; when he and his men arrived the issue was resolved as reported above. Ultimately Quṣayy passed on the prerogatives of protection and guardianship of the House, issuance of banners, calling of assemblies, and feeding and watering the pilgrims to his son ʿAbd al-Dār, as will be related in detail. The ijāza, giving permission to leave Muzdalifah, was established as a right of Banū ʿAdwān, the nasr, the right of calendar intercalation, went to Fuqaym, while the Ṣūfā enjoyed that of ijāza, that is, of the nafr, the giving of the signal to leave Minā. All this information on the prerogatives of these people has been detailed above.
Ibn Ishāq stated that Quṣayy had four sons and two daughters, the sons being ʿAbd Manāf, ʿAbd al-Ḍār, ʿAbd al-ʿUzza, and ʿAbd, the daughters Takhmūr and Barra. The mother of all these was Ḥubbā, daughter of Ḥūayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Sallūb b. Kaḥb b. ʿAmr, al-Khuzāʿī. It was from Ḥūayl that Quṣayy b. Kilāb took control over the Sacred House.

According to Ibn Hīṣam, ʿAbd Manāf b. Quṣayy had four sons, Hāshim, ʿAbd Shams, and al-Muttaḥalīb, their mother being ʿĀṭika daughter of Murra b. Hīlāl. Another son of his was Nawfāl b. ʿAbd Manāf, his mother being Wāqīda, daughter of ʿAmr al-Māziniyya.

Ibn Hīṣam stated as well that ʿAbd Manāf also fathered Abū ʿAmr, Tumāḏīr, Qulāba, Ḥayya, Rayṭa, Umm al-Akhṭam, and Umm Sufyān.

Also according to Ibn Hīṣam, Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf had four (sic) sons and five daughters. The sons were named ʿAbd al-Muttaḥalīb, Asad, and Abū Sayfī; the daughters were Nadīla, al-Shaffī, Khālīda, Daʿīfa, Ruqayyā, and Ḥayya. The mother of ʿAbd al-Muttaḥalīb and Ruqayyā was Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Labīd b. Khīdāsh b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. Ādī b. al-Najjar from Medina. Ibn Hīṣam also gave the names of the mothers of the remaining children.

He stated that ʿAbd al-Muttaḥalīb had ten sons and six daughters. The sons were al-ʿAbbās, Ḥamza, ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Ṭaḥlib (whose name was ʿAbd Manāf and not ʿUmrān), al-Zubayr, al-Ḥārith, who was the first-born of his father who was therefore accorded his name, Ḥajl (whom some name as Ḥajj), who was nicknamed al-Ghaydaq, “the liberal”, for his generosity, al-Muqawwim, Dirār, and Abū Lahāb (whose name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzza). His daughters’ names were Ṣafīyya, Umm Ḥakīm al-Bayḍaʿ, ʿĀṭika, Ummayma, ʿArwā, and Barra. And Ibn Hīṣam also gave the names of their mothers. He stated that the mother of ʿAbd Allāh, Abū Ṭaḥlib, al-Zubayr and all the girls except Ṣafīyya was Ṣāʿīma, daughter of ʿAmr b. Qīdh b. ʿUmrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaqẓa b. Murra b. Kaḥb b. Luʿayy b. Ghalīb b. Fīrār b. Mālīk b. al-Nādir b. Khīzayma b. Khuzayma b. Mudrīka b. Iyās b. Muḍār b. Nizār b. Maʿād b. ʿAdnān.

He said further that ʿAbd Allāh fathered Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the lord of all Adam’s children. His mother was Āmina daughter of Wāḥb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Kaḥb b. Luʿayy. He then gave mention of all her maternal forebears.

Ibn Hīṣam concluded that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the most noble of Adam’s children in worthiness and descent from both his father and his mother. Previously recounted is the following statement of al-Awzaʿī on the authority of Shaddād Abū ʿAmmār from Wāṭhila b. al-ʿAsqāʾ: “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘God chose Ṣāʿīma from Isḥaq’s progeny and Quraysh from Kināna, Hāshim from Quraysh, and myself from Hāshim.’” Muslim recounted this tradition.
There will follow hereafter an account of the noble birth of the Prophet (SAAS) and of the events and circumstances surrounding it. And in recounting his honoured ancestry there will be other useful information not here given, if God Almighty so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

An Account of a variety of events that occurred in the jahiliyya.

It has already been recounted how Jurhum assumed control over the House from Banū Isma‘īl out of envy for them because they were the children of their daughters. And similarly how it was that Khuzā‘a fell upon Jurhum and took over the House from them, and how ultimately its guardianship fell to Qusayy and his sons, continuing in their hands until God sent his Messenger (SAAS) and how those prerogatives became established as they were.

Section: Information about a group of men famous in the jahiliyya.

An Account of Khālid b. Sinān the ‘Absite who lived in the inter-prophet period and who some allege was a prophet.

But God knows best.

The ḥāfiz Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī stated that Aḥmad b. Zuhayr al-Tasaturrī related, quoting Yahyā b. al-Mu‘allā b. Mansūr al-Rāzī, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt, quoting Qays b. al-Rabī‘, from Sālim al-Aftās, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, and from Ibn ‘Abbās as follows, “The daughter of Khalid b. Sinān came to the Prophet (SAAS) and he smoothed out his robe for her (to sit on), saying, ‘Here’s the daughter of a prophet whose people squandered him.’”

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār reported it from Yahyā b. al-Mu‘allā b. Mansūr, from Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt, from Qays, from Sālim, from Sa‘īd, from Ibn ‘Abbās, as follows, “Someone made reference to Khalid b. Sinān in the presence of the Messenger of God (SAAS) who commented, ‘That was a prophet whose people squandered him.’”

Al-Bazzār then said, “And we have no direct reference of this hadith to the Prophet other than in this form. Qays b. al-Rabī‘ was highly respected, though he was not regarded as having been a good memorizer. He had a son who would add extraneous material into the traditions he related. But God knows best.” Al-Bazzār stated, “This hadith was also related by al-Thawrī from Sālim al-Aftās, transmitted forward indirectly from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr.”

The ḥāfiz Abū Ya‘qūb al-Mawsili stated that al-Mu‘allā b. Mahdī al-Mawsili related to him, as did Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Yūnis, from ʿAkrama and down to Ibn ʿAbbās, that a man from ʿAbs called Khālid b. Sinān said to his people, “I
shall put out from you the fire of al-Harratayn!” But one of his people responded, “O Khalid, you have only ever told us the truth; what have you to do with the fire of al-Harratayn you claim you will extinguish?”

So Khalid went forth accompanied by some of his people, including Umâra b. Ziyâd, until they reached where the fire emerged from a fissure in the mountain. Khalid then drew a line at which he made them sit, saying, “If I am delayed, do not call for me by my name.” As the fire spurted out, it looked like sorrel-red horses following one another. Khalid approached it and began beating it with his stick saying, “Badâ, badâ, badâ kullu hudâ; the son of the goatherds woman claimed I won’t come out from it bearing my clothes in my hand.” Then he went inside the fissure with the fire. When he had been gone a long time, Umâra b. Ziyâd said to Khalid’s people, “By God, if he were alive he would have come out to you by now!” Some said, “Call out to him by name.”

The account continued, indicating that others replied, “He forbade us to call him by his name.” But some did so and he emerged carrying his head, complaining, “Didn’t I forbid you to call me by name? By God, you’ve killed me, so bury me! And if some donkeys pass, one of which is bobtailed, then exhume me and you’ll find me alive.”

They did bury him and some donkeys did pass by, one of them being bobtailed. So some wanted to exhume him as he had told them to do but Umâra argued, “No don’t exhume him. By God, Muḍar won’t go around saying that we dig up our dead!” Khalid had also told them, “In my wife’s possession there are two tablets into which you must look if you should have difficulties; if you do so you will find a response to your questions. But do not let a menstruating woman touch them.” They therefore went to his wife and asked her about these tablets and she brought them out. However, she was in menstruation, and so whatever knowledge was in them had gone.

Abû Yûnus stated that Sammâk b. Harb responded that the Prophet (SAAS) was asked about Khalid and he replied, “That was a prophet whose people squandered him.”

Abû Yûnus also reported that Sammâk b. Harb said that the son of Khalid b. Sinân came to the Prophet (SAAS) who told him, “Welcome to my brother’s son!” This comment is traced back to Ibn ‘Abbâs who makes no reference to his being a prophet. The accounts that do so cannot use this comment as a proof that he was a prophet. What is most probable is that he was a pious man with certain qualities and gifts. This is because if he had indeed lived in the inter-prophet period, it was firmly established as incontrovertible in the sahih collection of al-Bukhari that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, “The closest of men to Jesus son of Mary is myself, for there came no prophet between him and me.” And if Khalid had lived earlier, he could not have been a prophet,
because God Almighty stated, “that you may warn a people to whom no Warner had come before you” (sūrat al-Sajda, XXXII, v.3).

A number of scholars have stated that God Almighty sent no prophet to the Arabs after Ishmael except Muḥammad (ṢAAS), the Seal of the Prophets mentioned by Abraham, God’s true follower, who built the venerated ka'ba which God made the direction of prayer as a law for all the earth’s people; and the other prophets announced to their peoples his coming, right on up to the last of them to do so, namely Jesus son of Mary, upon whom be peace.

And in this same way may be refuted the reports of al-Suhayli and others concerning the dispatch to the Arabs of another prophet named Shu'ayb b. Dhi Muhdhim b. Shu'ayb b. Ṣafwān, lord of Madyan. Also the story that Ḥanẓalā b. Ṣafwān was sent to the Arabs and that since both he and Shu'ayb had been disowned, God imposed Bukhtunaṣṣār (Nebuchadnezzar) over the Arabs who suffered from him killing and captivity similar to those endured by the Israelites; all this occurred in the time of Ma‘ad b. ʿAdnān.

What is evident is that these people were all good men advocating righteousness. But God knows best. We have previously given mention of ʿAmr b. Luḥayy b. Qamʿa b. Khindif in the account of Khuzā'ā following Jurhum.

An Account of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾi, a good and generous man of the jāhiliyya period.

He was Ḥātim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. al-Ḥashrāj b. Ḫurrāb al-Qays b. ʿAdī b. Ḥāzm b. Abū Ḥāzm, the name of the last being Harūmā b. Rabīʿa b. Jarwāl b. Thaʿālī b. ʿAmr b. al-Ghwath b. Ṭayy? Abū Saffāna al-Ṭāʾi. Ḥātim was the father of ʿAdī b. Ḥātim al-ṣaḥābi, “the Companion of the Prophet”. He was a generous man much praised in the jāhiliyya period, as was his son after the coming of Islam.

Ḥātim was a man of such distinction and generosity that many extraordinary events and strange accounts are associated with him. However, by these deeds he did not seek the grace of God or the hereafter but was motivated by desire for fame and recognition.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his compilation of traditions that Muḥammad b. Muʿammār related to him, as did ʿUbayd b. Wāqid the Qaysite, as did Abū Naṣr who was al-Nāji, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar that Ḥātim was referred to in the presence of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he commented, “That man wanted something, and he attained it.”

This is a curious tradition. Al-Dārquṭnī said that ʿUbayd b. Wāqid was unique in transmitting it, on the authority of Abū Naṣr al-Nāji, whose name is said to have been Ḥammād.

Imām ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hanbal stated that Yazīd b. ‘Isā al-Qurashi related to him, as did Sufyān, from Sāmzāk b. Ḥarb, from Māri b. Qatārī, from ‘Adī b. Ḥātim who stated that he said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); “My father was very generous to his kinsfolk and very active on their behalf; does he get something for that, some reward?” He responded, “Your father had sought something, and he attained it.”

This tradition was similarly reported by Abu Ya‘la, from al-Qawārīn, from Ghandar, from Shu‘ba, from Sāmzāk, in the form: “He responded, ‘Your father had wanted something, and he got it.’” By this he meant reputation. Abu al-Qāsim al-Baghwānī related it thus, from ‘Aḥmad b. al-Ja‘d from Shu‘ba.

In the saḥīḥ tradition compendium it has been established that the three kinds of people by whom the fires of hell are fed include the man who spends his money (on others) so that he will be considered generous. His pay-off is in having that said of him on earth. So, too, is it with the scholar and the warrior. And in another tradition in the saḥīḥ it tells how people asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about ‘Abd Allāh b. Judān b. ‘Amr b. Ka‘b b. Sa‘d b. Taym b. Murra, saying, “He was hospitable, freed slaves, and gave to charity; did that benefit him?” He responded, “But he never once said, ‘O God, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day.’” This man was also one of those who were famous for their generosity, who gave food in years of famine and times of destitution.

The hāfīz Abu Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by the hāfīz Abu ‘Abd Allāh, Abu Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-‘Umānī, that Abu Sa‘īd ‘Ubayd b. Kathīr b. ‘Abd al-Waḥīd al-Kūfī related to him, as did Dirār b. Śurd, and Aṣīm b. Ḥamīd, from Abu Ḥamza al-Thāmilī, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jandāb, from Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakhī who said that ‘Alī b. Abū Ta‘līb exclaimed, “Glory be to God! How many a man acts pious for gain! How strange is someone who is approached by his Muslim brother in need yet does not see his way to doing good. For even if he did not hope for reward or fear punishment he ought to make haste in acting with nobility for it is such deeds that lead to success.”

A man thereupon arose to ask him, “O Commander of the Believers, I pledge you my father and my mother, did you hear that from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?” ‘Alī replied, “Yes. And I’ve a tale even better than that. When Tā’ī’s women were brought in as captives, one of them was red-haired, cherry-lipped, smooth-skinned, slender-necked, fine-nosed, with a straight figure, raised head, full ankles, plump legs, rounded thighs, slim waist, slender sides and well-shaped body. I was much struck by her when I saw her and said I would request
the Messenger of God (SAAS) to award her to me in my portion of the booty. But when she spoke I forgot her beauty for the eloquence I heard. She said, 'O Muhammad, will you not release me and spare me the malicious gloating of the Arab tribes, for I am the daughter of the leader of my people. My father was guardian of our sacred objects, he relieved the distressed, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, gave generous hospitality, provided the best of food, spread peace abroad and never refused the request of the needy. I am the daughter of Hátim al-Ṭā'ī.'

"The Prophet (SAAS) replied, 'O girl, all that truly describes the believers. Had your father been a believer, we would certainly have been merciful to him. Release her, for her father was a man who loved to perform good deeds, and God Almighty loves good deeds.'

"At that Abū Burda b. Niyār arose and said, 'O Messenger of God, does God really love good deeds?'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'By him in whose hand is my soul, no one will enter heaven except by good deeds.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā stated that 'Umar b. Bakr related to him, from Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṭā'ī (his name being al-Qāsim b. 'Adi) from 'Uthmān; from 'Arāki b. Hulays al-Ṭā'ī, from his father, from his grandfather (who was the brother of 'Adi b. Hátim from his mother's side), that someone said to al-Nawār, wife of Hátim, "Tell us about Hátim."

She replied, "Everything about him was wonderful. Once we were afflicted with a year of utter desolation when the earth quaked, the skies filled with dust and wet nurses were too drained to suckle their children. The camels had become completely emaciated, their bones showing through, and not producing a drop of milk. And our money was all dried up.

"One interminable, cold night, with the small children writhing from hunger (their names were 'Abd Allāh and 'Adi and Saffānā), he said, 'By God, we don't have anything to pacify them with.' So he arose to one of the boys and lifted him up, while I went over to the girl to pacify her. And, by God, they only quietened down after a good part of the night had elapsed. After that we went to the other boy and rocked him until he became quiet, or almost so.

"Then we spread out a frayed Syrian rug we had and laid out the children on it, with me and him sleeping in the one room with the children in between us. Then he approached me, soothing me so I would sleep. I knew what he wanted, so I pretended to sleep. He asked, 'How are you? Have you fallen asleep?' I said nothing and he commented, 'I see that she has fallen asleep, but I'm not sleepy.'

"When the night became pitch black, the stars having almost disappeared and there was neither sound nor movement astir, the side of our tent was lifted. He called out, 'Who is there?' The person went away. At daybreak, or thereabouts, he again said, 'Who is there?' and a woman replied, 'It is your neighbour
so-and-so, Abū ‘Adī; I have no one to turn to but you. I’m coming to you from my children who are moaning like wolves from their hunger. ‘Bring them to me quickly,’ he told her.”

Al-Nawār went on, “I jumped up and exclaimed, ‘What are you doing? Lie down! Your children are writhing from hunger and you’ve no means to soothe them, so what can you do for her and her children?’ He responded, ‘Be silent; by God, I will satisfy you, if God wills it.’”

She went on, “So in she came, carrying two children and with four others walking at her side, as though she were an ostrich surrounded by her chicks. Then he went over to his horse, thrust his spear in its upper chest and struck his flint and lit a fire. Next he brought a long knife and skinned the horse after which he handed the knife to the woman saying, ‘After you.’ Then he said, ‘Now send your children.’ And she did so. Then he said (to al-Nawzr) ‘You, evil woman, would you eat something before a poor man’s children!’

“He then went all round to each one of them until they had all got up and approached the horse. Then he wrapped himself up in his cloak and stretched out to one side watching us. And, by God, he did not taste one bite himself, even though he was the most of all in need. And by next morning there was nothing of the horse left but bones and hooves!”

Al-Dāqrūnī stated that Qādī (judge) Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Muḥāmīlī related to him, as did ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Sa’d, as did Uthaym b. Thawāba b. Ḥātim al-Tā’mī from his father, from his grandfather, that Ḥātim’s wife said to Ḥātim, “O Abū Saffāna, I desire that you and I eat alone together, with no one else there.” So he gave her instructions, and she moved her tent a parasang, a couple of miles, away from the rest. He ordered food and it was prepared, and the tent curtains were let down for him and for her. When the food was cooked, he took off his head-covering, then spoke these verses,

“Do not you cook my pot with your curtains hiding it; for me, then, what you cook is forbidden.

But at that hill light the fire with heavy wood if you do light it, not with quick kindling wood.”

The narrator continued, “Then he drew aside the curtains, brought out the food and invited in the people. He and they then ate. She told him, ‘You haven’t fulfilled what you said.’ And he responded, ‘I couldn’t bring myself to do it. My spirit was too noble to bring blame on me for this, when before I have always been generous.’ He then spoke the following:

‘I oppose the miser’s spirit till I overcome it and leave alone that of the generous man, not battling it.

My neighbour woman has no complaint of me except that I do not visit her when her husband is away.”
My goodness shall attain her, and her husband will return to her, while her veils have not fallen short for her.’”

Hātim’s verse includes the following:

“If I spent the night drinking and drinking in order to get drunk, may I never quench my thirst!
If I spent the night deceiving my neighbour to cheat with his wife, hiding by the dark, may I never be unseen!
Would I disgrace my neighbour woman and betray my neighbour?
By God, that I’ll never do so long as I live.”

And also:

“It never harmed my neighbour next to whom I live that his door had no curtain;
I look down when my neighbour’s wife appears, until the women’s quarters hide her again.”

He also recited:

“It’s not of my nature to curse a cousin or to reject someone’s request,
And many an envious word I’ve heard for no wrongdoing on my part and said, ‘Let it pass and spare me.’
They blamed it on my account but it never blemished me; my forehead never sweated for it.
The two-faced finds me free but does not imitate me when he leaves.
I overcome his evil and turn from him, preserving my repute and my faith.”

And also he composed:

“Ask, O Umm Malik, the wretched and cold if, when he comes to me between my fire and larder,
I smile on him. He is the first person served; on him I lavish charity, denying him not.”

He also said:

“If you give your stomach its request, and your sexual desire too, they’ll both together reach the utmost blame.”

The judge Abū al-Faraj al-Muqafā b. Zakariyya al-Jariri said that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qasim al-Kawkabi related to him, as did Abū ʿAbbās al-Mubarrid that al-Thawri told him, from Abū ʿUbayda, that when the following verses of al-Mutalammis reached Hātim al-Ṭāʿī,

“One of little wealth you can repair and he survive, but not the man of much corruption.
And preserving wealth is better than exhausting it and wandering abroad without provisions”,
he said, "What's wrong with him, may God cut his tongue! Is he advising people to be miserly? Should he not have said,

'Generosity will not exhaust one's wealth before its going, nor stinginess increase the miser's wealth.

So don't seek wealth through living miserly; for every day there's a blessing that comes anew.

Do you not see that wealth comes and goes, and that He who gives to you is not far away.'"

The judge Abū al-Faraj commented, "He (Ḥātim) spoke well with those words, 'He who gives to you is not far away,' and if he had been a Muslim, good would have been hoped for him in the hereafter. For God stated in the Qurʾān, "Ask of God from His bounty" (ṣūrat al-Nisā', IV, v.32) and also, "If my servants ask you about me (then say) that I am nigh and that I answer the call of those who pray to me" (ṣūrat al-Baqara, II, v.186).

And from al-Waddāḥ b. Maḥbad al-Ṭāʾi comes the account that Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾi presented himself at the court of al-Nuʾmān b. al-Mundhir, who received and honoured him. Then upon his departure he gave him two camels loaded with gold and silver, as well as valued produce of his land. So off went Ḥātim, to be met by bedouins of the Ṭayyī tribe as he approached home. They addressed him thus, "O Ḥātim, you've just come from the king, whereas we have come from our people in poverty!" Ḥātim responded, "Come and take what I have, and distribute it amongst you." They rushed forward to do so, taking and distributing the gifts of al-Nuʾmān. Then his maidservant, Tiṭafa, came out to Ḥātim and said, "Both be pious and keep some for yourself; these people won't leave you a dinar or a dirham, a sheep or a camel." Ḥātim responded by speaking the verses,

"Ṭarifa said: 'You keep us no dirhams, though we are neither wasteful nor overburdened with them.'

If what we have is used up, then God will provide for us from someone else and it is not we who will provide for ourselves.

No sooner does the dirham get acquainted with our rags than it passes on over and leaves again.

If our dirhams were once to assemble together, they'd compete with one another for ways to give charity."

Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh said that Ḥātim was once asked whether any other Arab was more generous than he and he replied, "All the Arabs are more generous than me!" Ḥātim then went on to relate that once he overnighted with a young Arab, an orphan, who had 100 sheep. So he slaughtered for him one ewe and when he brought it in and offered him its brain, Ḥātim commented, "What delicious brain!" Thereupon the young Arab kept on bringing him more and more of it until he told him he had had enough. Next morning Ḥātim found out that the young Arab had killed all 100 of the sheep and had nothing at all left for
himself! Ḥātim was asked what he did then, and he replied, “However could I thank him enough if I were to do all in the world for him? But in any case, I did give him 100 of my very best camels.”

Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Kharaʾiti stated in his book Makārim al-Akhlaq (Acts of Nobility of Character), that al-ʿAbbās b. al-ʿAbd al-Rabīʿ related to him, as did Ishāq b. ʿAbrahīm, as did Ḥammād al-ʿArūḥiyā and some elderly men of Ṭayy, that it is said that ʿAntāra, daughter of ʿAṣīf b. ʿAmr b. Ḥaqayṣ, the mother of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʿī, could never hold on to anything due to her munificent generosity. Her brothers would restrain her but she ignored them. Since she was a woman of wealth they ultimately imprisoned her inside a house for a year, even feeding her there to make her change her behaviour. After a year they released her, believing she had reformed, and paid her over a portion of her money and told her to enjoy it. But a woman from ʿAwzīn who used to visit her came and asked her for money and she responded, “Take this money, for, by God, I’ve so suffered hunger myself, I’ll spare no effort not to deny anyone who asks of me.” Then she spoke the following verses,

“By my life, I have been so bitten before by hunger, that I’ll spare no efforts never to deny the hungry,

So say now to this man blaming me, ‘Spare me, and if you don’t then chew on your own fingers!’

What can you tell your sister except your blame or the reproach of those who are misers.

What you witness today is only my nature, and how, O brother, should I abandon my nature?”

Al-Haytham b. ʿAdī stated, on the authority of Mālḥān b. ʿArakī b. Ṭāʾī b. Ḥātim, on the authority of his father and his grandfather that he witnessed Ḥātim’s excessive generosity and that Ḥātim had said to him, “Now, son, I pride myself on three qualities – I’ve never exposed a woman neighbour to suspicion, never given my trust and not fulfilled it, and no one has ever come to harm from me.”

Abū Bakr al-Kharāʾiti said, “Ali b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yahyā al-ʿAdawī, quoting Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣāhib al-Kalbī, on the authority of Abū Miskin (otherwise known as Jaʿfar b. al-Muḥarrir b. al-Walid) from al-Muḥarrir Mawla Abū Hurayra, as follows: ‘A party of men from the ʿAbd al-Qays tribe passed the grave of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʿī and came near by. One of them, Abū al-Khaybarī by name, went over and began running his foot over his grave, saying, “O Abū Jaʿd14 give us hospitality!” One of his companions exclaimed, “What are you doing, talking to a decomposed corpse!” After darkness had fallen they went to sleep, but the man who had addressed Ḥātim awoke in a fright and began shouting, “Everyone, look to your mounts; Ḥātim came to me while I slept and spoke verses I’ve memorized that went:

34. Nickname of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʿī.
‘O Abū al-Khaybart, you’re a man who brings disgrace and dishonour to the tribe.
You brought your companions to seek hospitality at a grave whose corpse had perished.
Do you wish to blame me when you stay here, while around you is the Ṭayyī tribe and their generosity?
We’re ones to satisfy our guests, and delay the milking of their camels when they come to us.’”

“He (Abī Hurayra) went on: ‘And then, to their surprise, the camel of the man who had spoken to the grave began hobbling on three legs. So they killed it and cooked and ate it, saying: “By God, Ḥātim hosted us both alive and dead!”

‘Next morning they mounted their friend behind another rider and set off and were surprised to see a man waving to them as he approached on a camel, leading another behind him. “Which of you is Abū al-Khaybari?” he asked. Abū al-Khaybari identified himself and the man explained, “Ḥātim came to me in my sleep and told me he had hosted your companions with your camel, and so he asked me to bring you this mount. Take it!” And he gave it to him.’”

An Account of some matters relating to ʿAbd Allāh b. Judān.

His genealogy was ʿAbd Allāh, son of Judān, son of ʿAmr, son of Kaʿb, son of Saʿd, son of Taym, son of Murrah, lord of the Banū Taym. He was the nephew of the father of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, “the trusting”, God bless him.

He was a noble knight during the era before Islam, one of those who gave generously to the needy.

At first he was poor and deprived, mean and sinful, so that his people, tribe, kinsfolk, and family all hated him, even his father too.

One day he went off into the outskirts of Mecca, aimless and miserable, and noticed a fissure in a mountain. He thought there might be something there that would harm him, so he approached it, so that he might die and so be relieved from his sufferings.

When he drew near it, he saw a serpent coming out towards him, darting at him. He tried to avoid it, jumping away, but it was no use. But when it was upon him, he saw it to be of gold, its eyes of sapphire. So he destroyed it, picked it up, and went into the cave. To his amazement, there he found the graves of some of the kings of Jurhum, including that of al-Ḥārith b. Muḍād, who had long ago disappeared without trace. On their heads he found plaques of gold giving the dates of their death and the periods of their reigns. All about them were large quantities of jewels, pearls, gold, and silver. Of these he took what he wanted and left, after having marked the entry to the cave. When he reached his people

35. So that the guests can keep the milk of their camels for themselves.
he made gifts to them so that they loved him and then he became their leader. He would feed the people and when he ran out of valuables he would go off to the cave, get more and return. Of those who reported this were 'Abd al-Malik b. Hishâm in his book al-Tijân (The Crowns), and Ahmad b. 'Ammâr in the work entitled Rayy al-‘Atîsh wa Uns al-Wâhish (Quenching the Thirsty and Comforting the Lonely). He had a watering trough from which mounted riders would feed; the trough was so large that a boy fell in and drowned.

Ibn Qutayba and others reported that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “I used to shelter in the shade of ‘Abd Allâh b. Judân’s watering trough during the sweltering heat of midday.”

In a hadith relating to the death of Abu Jahl, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to his Companions, “Look for him among the dead; you will recognize him by a scar on his knee. I was competing with him among the crowd at a feast given by Ibn Judân. I knocked him over and he fell against his knee which broke, the damage still being visible there on it.” And they did find him just so.

People report that he used to feed people with dates and barley and with milk to drink until he heard the verses of Umayya b. Abû al-Ṣalt:

“I’ve seen doers and their deeds, and found their noblest to be Banû al-Dayyân. Wheat mixed with honey is their food, not what Banû Judân entertain us with.”

So Ibn Judân sent off 2,000 camels to Syria, and they returned bearing wheat, honey and butter. Then he had a man call out each night from the ka’ba roof, “You’re all to come to Ibn Judân’s trough.” Whereupon Umayya spoke the following:

“He has one energetic fellow summoning (people) in Mecca, while another calls out from above its ka’ba
To come to large wooden platters filled with ears of wheat mixed with honey.”

Yet despite all this, it is established in the sahih tradition collection of Muslim (b. al-Hadjdjâj) that Ā’isha said: “O Messenger of God, Ibn Judân used to donate food to eat and was hospitable to guests; will that benefit him on Judgement Day?” He replied, “No; he never once said: ‘O my Lord, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day.’”

An Account of Imrû’ al-Qays b. Hujr al-Kindî, author of one of the mu’allaqât odes.

His ode is the most magnificent and best known of them all, and it begins:

“Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling . . .”
Al-Imām Ahmad stated that Hushaym related to him, as did Abū al-Jahm al-Wāṣīṭi, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: "Imrū’ al-Qays will be the company commander of the poets on their way to hell-fire!"

A large number of transmitters related this tradition from Hushaym, including Bishr b. al-Ḥakam, al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥārūn, the Commander of the faithful al-Maʿmūn, brother of al-ʿAmin, and Yahyā b. Maʿṣūn. Ibn ʿAdī considered the transmission chain to be through ʿAbd al-Razzāq from al-Zuhri, but this would then be discontinuous and bad from another direction, through Abū Hurayra; and it would not be a reliable tradition except from the first chain of transmission.

The ḥāfīz Ibn ʿAsākir gave the genealogy of Imrū’ al-Qays as having been the son of Ḥujr, son of al-Ḥārith, son of ʿAmr, son of Ḥujr, the ʾākil al-mīrār,36 son of ʿAmr, son of Muʿāwiya, son of al-Ḥārith, son of Yāʿrub, son of Thawr, son of Murtā,37 son of Muʿāwiya b. Kinda. He was also known as Abū Yazīd, Abū Wāḥb, and Abū al-Ḥārith al-Ḵindi. He lived in the regions of Damascus and mentioned a number of these in his poetry, as for example in the lines:

"Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling at the winding ridges between al-Dakhil and Hawmal,

Tūḏīḥ al-Miqrāt; its traces have not been erased by the interweaving winds from south and north."

These are well-known places in Ḥūrān.37

He then related, on a chain of authorities through Ḥishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sāḥib al-Ḵalīb that Farwa b. Saʿīd b. ʿAfīf b. Maʿṣūr Karīb related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, that while he and others were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) along came a delegation from Yemen. They said, "O Messenger of God, God gave us life by two verses from the poetry of Imrū’ al-Qays." He replied, "How so?" They explained, "We were making our way to visit you but lost our way en route, spending three days unable to get water. So we split up at the base of an acacia and a mimosa so that we each could die in the shade of a tree. When we were at our last gasp, there was a man speeding on his camel. When one of our men saw him, he spoke the following verses, the rider hearing them:

‘And when she (the wild ass) says that the water was her desire but that the white of her veins was bloody38

She made for the well at Darīj, its green slime shading it, overflowing.”39

36. One who ate the bitter desert plant Centaurea calcitrapa.
37. Ḥūrān is a plateau south of Damascus in Syria.
38. He implies that though the animal was thirsty, it was afraid that hunters might shoot it and that its veins would bleed.
39. Darīj was near where the ʿAbd tribe dwelt. The verse suggests that the animal headed for that well to be able to hide from hunters in the thick underbush.
“So the rider asked, ‘Whose verses are those?’ He saw our state of exhaustion. We answered, ‘Imru’ al-Qays b. Hujr.’ Then he said, ‘By God, he did not lie; this is Dārīj, where you are now.’ So we looked, and there was the water about 50 arm’s-lengths away. We slowly made our way to it on our mounts and found it just as Imru’ al-Qays had said, with ‘green-slime shading it’.

Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘That’s a man who is remembered on earth but forgotten in the next world, honoured in the former but ignored in the latter. In his hands he will carry the banner of the poets, leading them to hell-fire.’

Al-Kalbi reported that Imru’ al-Qays advanced with his banners flying intending to battle Banū Asad after they had killed his father and passed by Tabālā. There was the shrine of Dhū al-Khalaṣa, an idol at which the Arabs would seek divine support. Imru’ al-Qays asked for prophecy and the arrow for negation came out. This then happened a second and a third time. At that he broke the arrows and struck them against the face of Dhū al-Khalaṣa, exclaiming: “You’d bite your father’s penis! If your father were the man murdered, you’d not impede me!” He then launched a raid against Banū Asad and engaged them in swift battle.

And al-Kalbi commented that (from then on) until the arrival of Islam, support from Dhū al-Khalaṣa was not sought.

Some say that Imru’ al-Qays gave praise to the Byzantine emperor and asked his support and assistance in certain wars but did not receive encouragement from him. Consequently Imru’ al-Qays spoke verses against him, and it is said that the emperor gave him poison to drink and so killed him. Death came to him when he was beside the grave of a woman on a mountain called ‘Asib and it was there he wrote the verses:

“Oh neighbour, the shrine is near and I rest where a mountain cleft is established.

Oh neighbour, we are strangers here and all strangers are of a common kin.”

They say that the seven mu’allaqāt, the select, displayed odes, were hung up on the ka’ba. That was because when one of the Arabs composed an ode he would exhibit it to Quraysh. If they approved of it they would hang it on the ka’ba in recognition of its worth. It is from this practice that the seven odes were gathered. The first of these, as previously noted, was by Imru’ al-Qays b. Hujr the Kindite, as previously mentioned. It begins:

“Halt here, both of you, and let us lament memory of a loved one and a dwelling at the winding ridges between al-Dakhūl and Ḥawmal.”

The second ode was by al-Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, whose given name was Ziyād b. Mu‘āwiya. He is also said to have been Ziyād b. ‘Amr b. Mu‘āwiya, who was the son of Ḏabbāb b. Jābir b. Yarbu‘ b. Ghayz b. Murra b. ‘Awf b. Sa‘d
b. Dhubyān b. Baghīd. His ode begins:

"Oh abode of Mayya at al-‘Alīyā, the mountain top; your people have gone for so long and earlier generations dwelt there."

The third ode was by Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā, also named Rabī‘a b. Riyāḥ al-Muṣannā. It begins:

"Are there still some voiceless remnants of Umm ʿAwfa’s dwelling at the plain of al-Darrāj and al-Mutathallām?"

The fourth was composed by Ṭarāfa b. al-ʿAbd b. Sufyān b. Sa‘d b. Ṭubayrā b. Qays b. Thālabā, the son of ʿUkābā b. Sa‘b b. ʿAh b. Bakr b. Waqil. It opens:

"On the rocky ground of Thahmad, there are traces still of Khawla, visible like the shadow of an old tattoo on the back of a hand."

The fifth ode was by ʿAntara b. Shaddād b. Muṭāwiya b. Qurād b. Makhzum b. Rabī‘a b. Mālik b. Ghālib, the son of Quṭayā, the son of ʿAbs the ʿAbsite. It begins:

"Have the poets left anything unsaid, or have you recognized the abode after using imagination?"

The sixth was by ʿAlqama b. ʿAbda b. al-Nuʿmān b. Qays, a member of Banū Tamīm. It opens:

"Though your heart is burdened with care, there is joy in beautiful women; soon after youth comes time for greyness."

The seventh ode – and there are some who do not affirm it to have been one of the muʿallaqāt, as, for example al-Asmaʿī and others – is by Labīd, the son of Rabī‘a b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb b. Rabī‘a b. ʿĀmir b. ʿSaʿṣa‘a b. Muṭāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Maṣṭūr b. ʿIkrima b. Khaṣṣa b. Qays b. Ayālān b. Muḍār. It begins:

"The place where she dwelt at Miṣr; its water-troughs and its mountains have been deserted."

As for the ode of unknown authorship, according to Abū ʿUbayda, al-Asmaʿī, al-Mubarrid and others, it reads:

"Is there any reply for one who asks at the ruins; or has it ever been accustomed to speak?"

It is a lengthy poem and has many fine lines.
SOME INFORMATION ABOUT UMAYYA B. ABŪ AL-SALT AL-THAQAFĪ; HE WAS A PRE-ISLAMIC POET WHO LIVED ON TO THE TIME OF ISLAM.


He was a pre-Islamic poet who went to Damascus before Islam. It is said that he was a righteous man and initially a man of the faith, but he turned away from it, and that God was referring to him in the words: “Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs, but he passed them by; so Satan followed him, and he went astray” (sūrat al-A‘rāf, VII, v.175).

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkar said that Ruqayya daughter of ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf gave birth to Umayya the poet, the son of Abū al-Ṣalt, whose name was Rabī‘a b. Wahb b. ‘Ilāj b. Abū Salama b. Thaqif.

Others said that his father was a famous poet of Ta‘if, and that Umayya was their best poet.

‘Abd al-Razzaq said that al-Thawfi stated that Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit reported to him that ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amr said that by God’s words: “Tell them of him to whom we brought our signs but he passed them by; so Satan followed him and he went astray”, Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt was implied.


Abū Ṣāliḥ and al-Kalbi said the same, and Qatāda reported it from several others.

Al-Ṭabrānī said that ‘Ali b. Abū al-‘Azīz related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allah b. Shabīb al-Rabī‘ī, quoting Muḥammad b. Maslama b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, quoting Ismā‘īl, the son of al-Ṭurayḥ b. Ismā‘īl al-Thaqafī, that his father told him on the authority of his father, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, from Mu‘āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān from his father, saying: “I and Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt went on business to Syria and whenever we stopped anywhere for the night Umayya would take out a sacred book he had and would read it to us. This went on until we stopped at a Christian village. So its people came to him, honoured him and gave him presents, and he went off with them to their houses.”
“Late in the morning he came back, threw off his two garments and took out two black ones he had and dressed in them. He then asked me: ‘Abū Sufyān, do you have access to any Christian scholar well versed in the Bible you could ask a question?’ I replied, ‘I’ve no interest in that; if such a person were to tell me something I wanted, I’d not trust him. And if he told me something I disliked, I’d certainly be very angry with him.’”

He went on, “So he went away and a Christian sheikh disputed with him. Then Umayya came in to me and said: ‘What prevents you from going to this sheikh?’ I replied that I was not of his religion, but Umayya responded, ‘So what? You’d hear and see wonderful things from him.’ Then he said: ‘You’re of Thaqif, aren’t you?’ ‘No,’ I replied, ‘but I am of Quraysh.’ ‘Well,’ he asked, ‘so what prevents you from going to the sheikh? He likes you, I swear it, and he’d counsel you.’

“Umayya then left and remained with them till he returned to us later that night; he undressed and lay down on his bed. But I swear he was restless!

“Next morning he was sad and depressed, his ‘evening drink dropping on his morning draught’ (as the saying goes) not speaking to us, nor we to him. Eventually he said, ‘Won’t you ride?’ I responded: ‘You want to leave then?’ He replied, ‘Yes.’

“So we rode away and travelled for two nights. Then on the third night he said: ‘Wouldn’t you like to talk, Abī Sufyān? I replied, ‘There’s something you want to tell? I swear, I never saw anything like the way you came back from your friend.’

“Well that’s something you’ve nothing to do with; but it’s to do with something that scared me about my munqalab (hereafter).’

“Do you have a munqalab then?’ I asked.

“Yes, by God,’ he replied, ‘I’m to die then be brought back to life.’

‘Want to take my wager?’ I asked.

‘What about?’

‘That you’ll not be brought back nor be called to account.’

“He laughed, then said, ‘Oh but yes, by God, Abū Sufyān; we certainly will be brought back, and then called to account so that one group can enter heaven and another hell-fire.’

“And which group are you in according to what your friend told you?’

“He has no knowledge of that, either in my case or his own.’

“We journeyed on for two more nights, with him wondering at me and me laughing at him, until we reached the Damascus valley. There we sold our goods, remaining there two months.

“Then we again journeyed on until we reached a Christian village, where we made a stop. When they saw him they came to him, gave him gifts and he went with them to their houses. He came back in the afternoon, put on his two garments
and went to them. He returned later that night, threw off his clothes and fell on his bed. But I swear he did not sleep a wink.

"Next morning he was sad and depressed, not talking to us nor we to him. Then he said, ‘Wouldn’t you like to move on?’

"Why yes,’ I responded. So we travelled on several nights, with him still depressed. Eventually he spoke, asking, ‘Abū Sufyān, would you like to travel on in advance of our companions?’

"‘Would you like that?’ I responded.

"‘Yes,’ he replied.

"So off we went and travelled one hour’s distance ahead of our companions. Then he said: ‘Let’s go to a rock.’

"‘What do you want,’ I asked him and he replied, ‘Tell me about Utba b. Rabī‘a; does he avoid doing wrong or evil?’

"‘Certainly, by God.’

"‘Is he held in esteem by high and low, a central figure in the tribe?’

"‘Yes.’

"‘Do you know any man of Quraysh more noble than him?’

"‘No, by God, I know of no one.’

"‘Is he financially needy?’ he asked.

"‘On the contrary, he’s a man of great wealth.’

"‘How old is he?’

"‘He’s over a hundred,’ I replied.

"‘So nobility, age, and wealth have brought him contempt.’

"‘Why should all that bring him contempt? No, by God, they benefit him.’

"‘Just so; would you like to rest here?’ he then asked.

"‘I would,’ I replied.

"So we rested till our fatigue passed. Then we travelled on till we alighted at the next rest station where we stayed. When it was night he spoke to me: ‘Abū Sufyān.’

"‘What do you want?’ I asked.

"‘Would you like to proceed as yesterday?’

"‘Would you?’ I asked.

"‘Yes,’ he replied.

"So on we went on two long-necked camels until we were ahead. He said: ‘Let’s go to a rock and talk again about Utba b. Rabī‘a.’

"‘Let’s talk of him again,’ I replied.

"‘Does he avoid wrongdoing and evil and do good and order good be done?’ he asked.

"‘Yes, by God, all that he does.’

"‘Is he wealthy?’

"‘Yes, he’s wealthy.’
‘Do you know of any man of Quraysh more central than him?’
‘No, no one.’
‘How old is he?’ he asked.
‘He is over a hundred.’
‘So his age, nobility, and wealth have brought him contempt?’
‘Certainly not, by God; if you have something to say, then do so.’
‘No,’ he replied, ‘Just remember what I said, whatever results from it.’
Then he went on: ‘What so affected me was going to that scholar and asking him some things and then saying to him, “Tell me about the prophet who is expected.”
‘He replied that he was an Arab; I responded that I knew that, and asked him from what group of Arabs.
‘He said: “He is from the people of a house to which the Arabs make pilgrimage.”
‘I said, “We have a house to which the Arabs make pilgrimage.”
‘He replied: “He is one of your brothers from Quraysh.”
‘This had an impact on me, by God, like nothing ever had before, and the success of this world and the next left my grasp. I had wanted to be him. I asked him then:
‘“If so it will be, describe him to me.”
‘“He is a man young when he entered old age; he started out avoiding wrongdoing and evil, doing good and ordering it. He is poor, respected by high and low and has a central position in the tribe. Most of his army are of angels.”
‘“What is the sign of that?” I asked and he replied:
‘“After the death of Jesus son of Mary, peace be upon him, Syria suffered 80 earthquakes, each causing a disaster. One overall quake is left which will bring several disasters.”’
Abū Sufyān went on: ‘I responded: “But, by God, that’s silly; if God sent a messenger he would only take him away in age and honour.”
‘Umayya spoke up, “But by him whose name you invoked, that’s how it is, Abū Sufyān. He is reiterating that the Christian’s statement is true. Shall we rest here?”
‘“Yes, I’d like that,” I responded.”
He went on: “So there we stayed until our fatigue left us and we travelled on till we were a two-stage or two-nights’ distance from Mecca. Then a rider caught us up from behind; we questioned him and he said: ‘After you left, the people of Syria suffered an earthquake that devastated them and caused them heavy losses.’”
Abū Sufyān went on: “Then Umayya approached me and asked: ‘So what do you think about what the Christian said, Abū Sufyān?’
‘I replied: “By God, it’s my considered view that what your friend told you was right.”’
Abū Sufyān continued: “So we arrived at Mecca where I settled my current affairs, then left for Yemen on business, staying there five months before returning to Mecca.

While there at my house people come to greet me and ask me about their goods. Eventually Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh came to me; Hind was there with me playing with her children. He greeted me, welcomed me back and asked me about my journey and accommodations, but he did not enquire about his goods. Then he rose. I commented to Hind, ‘By God, that surprises me! Every one of Quraysh who had goods with me asked me about them, but this man did not ask about his.’

‘Hind asked: ‘Don’t you know what’s going on with him?’

‘Apprehensive, I asked her what, and she replied: ‘He claims to be a messenger from God.’

‘She dumbfounded me. I recalled what the Christian had said, and I shivered. Hind asked me what was the matter and I came to myself and said: ‘This is crazy! He is too smart to say that.’

‘On the contrary,’ she explained, ‘he really is saying that and promulgating that. He also has followers in his religion.’

‘This is crazy,’ I repeated.”

Abū Sufyān continued: “I then went outside and while performing a ritual circumambulation of the kaʿba I met up with him. I said to him: ‘Your goods totalled up to so-and-so and there were profits. Send someone to receive them; I won’t be taking out the cut I charge my own people.’

“But he refused that, saying: ‘Then I won’t accept them.’ I went on: ‘Then send someone to take them and I will subtract the cut I get from my people.’ So he did send for his goods and received them, while I had from him what I would take from others.”

Abū Sufyān went on: “Soon thereafter I left for Yemen. Then I went to Ṭaʾīf, where I stayed with Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt. He said he wanted to ask me something, and I enquired what. He said: ‘Do you remember what the Christian said?’

‘I replied: ‘I do remember and it has come about.’

‘Who is he then?’ he asked.

‘He is Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh,’ I replied.

‘The son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib?’

‘Yes, the son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.’ Then I related to him what Hind had said.

‘Well, God alone knows!’ he exclaimed, and began sweating profusely.

‘Then he said: ‘By God, Abū Sufyān, perhaps it is him! The description certainly fits him. And if he has appeared while I’m alive, I’ll seek from God success from him in absolution.’
I then went off to Yemen and soon heard there of his appearance as a prophet. So I went forth until I reached Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt in al-Ṭāʾif and asked: ‘Oh Abū Uthmān, you must have heard about about what’s going on with the man.’

‘It has come to pass, by my life.’

‘So how do you stand with him, Abū Uthmān?’

‘He replied, ‘I wasn’t one to believe in any prophet coming from any tribe other than Thaqīf.’”

Abū Sufyān continued: “I went on again to Mecca which didn’t take long since it was not far, and I found that his companions were being beaten and reviled.

“So I began asking myself: ‘Where are his hosts of angels?’ And I was assailed by the jealousies that enter people.”

This (previous) anecdote was also reported by the ḥāfiz al-Bayḥaqī in the book al-Dalīl (The Signs) from a ḥadīth via Ismāʿīl b. Ṭurayḥ. But the sequence given by al-Ṭabrānī we have quoted is fuller and lengthier. But God knows best.

Al-Ṭabrānī stated that Bakr b. Ahmad b. Nufayl related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Shabīb, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, quoting Mujāshī b. ʿAmr al-Asādī, quoting Layth b. Saʿd, from Abī al-Āsādī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, from Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, who said that: “Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt had been (with me) at Ghāzā or Ỉlīya and while we were returning home Umayya asked me: ‘Abū Sufyān, would you like to go on in advance of our companions so that we can talk?’

‘Yes,’ I agreed.

“So we did.”

“Then he asked: ‘What about Utba b. Rabiʿa?’

‘Honoured by high and low.’

‘And does he avoid sin and evil deeds?’

‘Yes.’

‘Is he aged and of noble birth?’

‘Both aged and of noble birth.’

‘Nobility and age have brought him contempt!’

‘You lie; his increase in age brought him only increase in honour.’

‘Abū Sufyān, that’s a word I’ve never heard anyone say to me since I reached awareness; don’t rush to judgement before I tell you.’

“Well then do so,” I responded.

“In my books I would find reference to a prophet who would be sent from this area of ours and I thought – indeed I had no doubt – that I would be him. But when I enquired of scholars, he was to be of Banū ʿAbd Manāf. So I looked
into Bani 'Abd Manaf and the only person I found worthy of such a mission was 'Utbah b. Rabia. And when you told me of his age, I knew that it was not him, since he had passed the age of 40 and had not received revelation.'"

Abu Sufyan went on: "So destiny struck its blow and revelation came to the Messenger of God (SAAS). And I left in a party of Quraysh on a business trip to Yemen, so I passed by Umayya and commented mockingly: 'Well Umayya, the prophet you were describing has emerged.'

"'Indeed he is true, you should follow him,' he replied.

"'But what prevents you from following him?' I enquired.

"'Nothing but the embarrassment before the women of Thaqif. I have been telling them that I was him, then they would see me a follower of a young man of Bani 'Abd Manaf!'

"Then Umayya continued: 'It's to me as though, Abu Sufyan, you've defied him then have been bound fast like a billy goat and taken to him for whatever judgement he might want.'"

'Abd al-Razzaq said that Ma'mar related to him, from al-Kalbi, as follows: "Umayya was once lying down with two of his daughters present when one of them got scared and screamed to him. 'What's wrong?' he asked her. She replied: 'I saw two eagles rip off the roof of the house. Then one of them swooped down on you and split open your belly while the other perched on top of the house. The latter asked: 'Is he aware?' 'Yes,' was the response. 'Is he pure?' the eagle asked again. 'No,' came the answer.'

"He then said: 'This was good expected of your father; but he did it not.'"

This was also told from another source in another way. Ishaq b. Bishr said, from Muhammad b. Ishaq, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib and Uthman b. 'Abd al-Rahman, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyib that al-Fari'a, sister of Umayya b. Abu al-Salt, went to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) after the conquest of Mecca. She was a person of reason, intellect, and beauty, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) was much impressed by her. One day he asked her: 'Fari'a, do you know any of your brother's poetry?' "Yes indeed; and even more remarkable than that is what I've seen."

She went on: 'My brother was on a journey and after he left he appeared to me, and came and lay on my bed while I was stripping hair off a piece of hide I held. Suddenly two white birds - or what seemed like two white birds - appeared. One alighted at the high window while the other came in and descended on to him. The latter then made a split between his chest and his pubic region, put its hand inside him, drew forth his heart, placed it on its palm then sniffed it. The other bird then asked: 'Is he aware?' 'Yes, he's aware,' the second replied. 'Is he pure?' it asked again. 'He declined,' answered the second. Then it replaced his heart where it belonged and the wound was healed in the twinkling of an eye. Then the two birds were both gone.
"When I had seen that I went over to him and stirred him, saying: ‘Do you feel anything?’ He answered, ‘No, except for some weakness in my body.’

"I had been alarmed at what I had seen and he asked, ‘Why do I see you upset?’

"So I told him what had happened, and he responded: ‘Goodness was wanted of me but was averted from me.’ He then spoke the verses:

‘My cares’ distresses flowed on, blinding my eyes, my tears preceding,
From the certainty that had come to me, and I had been brought no disavowal conveyed by anyone who spoke (to me),
Will I be one of those blazed by fire surrounding them like a tent (by its smoke and flames)
Or will I dwell in the paradise promised the guiltless, its cushions piled high?
The two positions are not equal there, nor are actions equal in kind,
They are two groups, one who enter paradise, its gardens enfolding them,
And another group sent to hell, its installations paining them;
These hearts were long accustomed, whenever tending to good, to have barriers set up against them,
And these were diverted to misfortune away from the pursuit of paradise by a world which God will erase.
A slave who called for his soul and censured it, knowing that God, the acutely aware, is clearly watching,
What gives the spirit a desire for life? Even though it lives a while, death overtakes it.
One fleeing his fate will one day soon unexpectedly agree to it,
If you don’t die exultant you will die decrepit; death has a cup and man must taste it.’"

She went on: "Then he continued on his journey, but only a little thereafter he was borne along in his bier. When news of it came to me I went to him and found him laid out in his burial winding-sheet. When I drew near him he emitted a deep sigh and stared; he looked up to the ceiling and raised his voice, saying:

‘Labbaykumā! Labbaykumā! At your service, at your service both of you; here I am before you both, not with money to ransom me nor with a clan to protect me.’

"He then lost consciousness, having emitted a deep sigh. So I said, ‘The man has expired!’

"But he stared up to the ceiling and raised his voice, saying: ‘At your service, at your service both; here am I before you both. Not innocent to seek forgiveness, nor with kinsfolk to achieve victory.’

"Then he lost consciousness, but suddenly emitted a deep sigh, stared up to the ceiling and said: ‘At your service, at your service both, here am I before you both, blessed by good fortune but destroyed by wrongdoing.’"
“Then he lost consciousness, but suddenly emitted a deep sigh and said, ‘At your service, at your service you both, here I am before you both.’

“If, O Lord, you forgive, forgive en masse; what slave of yours has no pain.’

“Then he lost consciousness but soon emitted a deep sigh, and said: ‘Each life, though it may last very long, is moving on but once till when it ceases.

“Would that I were, before what appeared to me, shepherding goats in the mountain heights.’”

She went on: “And then he died. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told me: ‘O Fāri’a, your brother is like him to whom God brought his signs but he passed them by . . . ’ (to the end of the verse)” (sūrat al-Ārāf, VII, v.175).

Al-Khaṭṭābī spoke of the strangeness of this hadith.

The ḥāfiz Ibn ‘Asākir related of al-Zuhrī that he said, “Umayya b. Abū al-Šalt spoke the verse:

‘Is there not a messenger to us from us who can inform us what is the distance of our ultimate goal from the beginning of our course.’”

Al-Zuhrī went on: “Then Umayya b. Abū al-Šalt left for Bahrain and the Messenger of God (SAAS) claimed prophecy. Umayya resided eight years in Bahrain then went to Ėrab, where he asked people, ‘What is Muḥammad son of ‘Abd Allāh saying?’

“They replied: ‘He claims that he is a prophet; he is the one you were wishing for.’”

He continued: “So Umayya left for Mecca where he met him and asked: ‘O son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, what is this you are saying?’ He replied: ‘I say that I am the Messenger of God, and that there is no God but Him.’ Umayya said, ‘I would like to speak with you; give me an appointment tomorrow.’ ‘Certainly, you have an appointment tomorrow,’ came the reply. Umayya then asked: ‘Would you like me to come alone or with a group of my friends?’ ‘Whichever you prefer,’ responded the Messenger of God (SAAS). ‘Then I will come with a group, and so you too come with a group,’ concluded Umayya.

“So early morning Umayya appeared with a group from Quraysh while the Messenger of God (SAAS) came with a number of his Companions. They all sat down in the shade of the ku`ba. Umayya began by making an address, then spoke some rhyming prose, and recited some poetry. When he had finished the poetry, he said: ‘Answer me then, son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.’ At that the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the words, ‘In the name of God the beneficent, the merciful, Yā Sin. By the Qur’ān full of wisdom.’ (sūrat Yā Sin, XXXVI, v.1–2). When he had finished the chapter, Umayya arose suddenly and walked off, dragging his feet. The Quraysh men followed him, asking, ‘Well, what do you have to say, Umayya?’ ‘I bear witness’, replied Umayya, ‘that he is right.’ ‘Will you follow him?’ they asked. ‘Until I look into his case,’ he replied.”
He continued: "Umayya went off to Syria and the Messenger of God (SAAS) left for Medina. Then, following the deaths of the people at the battle of Badr, Umayya returned from Syria and stayed at Badr. He travelled on to see the Messenger of God (SAAS). Someone asked Umayya: 'O Abū al-Šalt, what do you want?' 'I want Muḥammad,' he replied. 'What will you do?' he was asked. He replied, 'I believe in him and I will throw him the keys of this affair.' Someone asked him: 'Do you know who is in the burial pit?' 'No,' he answered. He was told: 'In it are Utba b. Rabī'a and Shayba b. Rabī'a, your maternal uncle's sons, along with his mother Rabī'a, daughter of 'Abd Shams.'"

He went on: "So Umayya mutilated the ears of his riding camel and cut off its tail, then stood over the pit and spoke the verses:

'What is in Badr—Mt. 'Aqanqa but chiefs and noble lords ...
(up to the end of the ode, which we will give in full in relating the history of the battle of Badr, if God wills it.)

"He then returned to Mecca and Ta'if and left Islam."
The source then related the story of the two birds and that of his death as we have given. At his death he spoke the verses:

"Each life, though it may last very long, is moving on but once till it ceases. Would that I were before what appeared to me, shepherding goats in the mountain heights,
So keep death before your vision and beware the destruction of fate, for fate has its evil demons
Their claws attaining lions, wild bulls, and the young child with red eyes41 at a lighthouse,
And the mountain vultures, the fleeing gazelles, and the young ostrich, mixed in flock, thin."

He means in these verses that wild animals in the deserts do not escape death, nor do vultures living on mountain tops; death does not leave alone the young for their youth, nor the old for their age. Al-Khaṭābī and others have spoken of the rarity of these accounts.

Al-Suhaylī mentioned in his book al-Ta'rif wa al-Iltām (Identifying and Informing) that Umayya b. Abū al-Šalt was the first who said, "bismika Allahumma", i.e. "in your name, O God". And concerning that he told a strange tale, as follows. He says that they were among a group of Quraysh who went away on a journey. They included Harb b. Umayya, the father of Abū Sufyān. On their way they came across a snake and killed it. But that evening a spirit woman came to them and berated them for killing that snake. With her she had a

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40. Presumably actions denoting his mourning for his relatives.
41. Presumably from weeping.
staff which she struck on the ground so hard that it completely stampeded their camels and they scattered in all directions. So off they went and chased them till they had them back. When they were all gathered, she again appeared, struck her staff on the ground and stampeded the camels. So off they went to search for them but having failed they asked Umayya, “By God, do you have any way out of our problem?” He replied, “No, by God, but I’ll look into it.” So they travelled on into that region hoping to find someone whom they could ask for some solution to their trouble. Eventually they saw a light ahead in the distance. When they arrived there they found an old man lighting a fire at the door of his tent. But he was in fact an evil spirit who was extremely tiny and ugly. They greeted him and he asked them what they wanted. (When they told him) he said: “When she comes to you, say: ‘In your name, O God’ and she will flee.” So when the travellers had assembled their camels and she came for the third or fourth time, Umayya looked her in the face and said: “In your name, O God.” She promptly fled in disarray. But the evil spirits attacked Ḥarb b. Umayya and killed him with that snake. His companions buried him there far from home or friend. On that subject the spirits spoke the verse:

“The grave of Ḥarb is in a wasteland and there is no grave near that of Ḥarb.”

Some people say that Umayya sometimes understood the languages of the animals. When passing some bird in his travel he would tell his companions, “This one says so-and-so.” But they would say they did not know whether he spoke the truth. But once they passed by a flock of sheep from which an ewe and her kid had been separated. She turned to it and bleated, as though urging it to hurry. Umayya asked his companions whether they knew what it said and they replied that they did not. He explained: “She’s saying, ‘Let’s hurry along so the wolf won’t come and eat you up like one did your brother last year.’” The group moved quickly on and asked the shepherd whether a wolf had eaten a sheep in that area the previous year. He replied in the affirmative! One day, moreover, Umayya passed by a mule carrying a woman and raising its head to her and grumbling. Umayya said: “The mule is telling the woman that there’s a needle in the saddle which she mounted on him.” So they took the woman off, untied the saddle, and discovered there was a needle as he had said.

Ibn al-Sikkit recounted that Umayya b. Abī al-Salt was drinking when a crow cawed. Umayya said, “May you have dust twice in your mouth!” His companions asked Umayya what it was saying and he replied that it had said: “You’ll drink that cup in your hand then die.” At that point the crow cawed again and Umayya reported: “It says: ‘The proof is that I’m going to fly down to this garbage pile, eat some and a bone is going to stick in my throat so I will die.’” At that the crow swooped down to the garbage pile, ate something, a bone lodged in its throat and it died!
Umayya said, “Well, he spoke the truth in this about himself but I’m going to see whether he was right about me or not.” He then drank that cup in his hand, keeled over, and died.

The following anecdote is established in the *sahih* collection in a *hadith* of Ibn Mahdi from al-Thawri from ‘Abd al-Malik b. Umayr, from Abu Salama, from Abu Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said: “The truest word spoken by a poet is the verse of Lahid:42

‘Is not all vain except God.’

“And Umayya b. Abu al-Salt almost became a Muslim.”

The Imam Ahmad stated that Rawh related to him, quoting Zakariya b. Ishaq, from Ibrahim b. Maysara, that he heard ‘Amr b. al-Sharid say that al-Sharid stated, “I was riding on the same camel as the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he asked me, ‘Do you know any of the verses of Umayya b. Abu al-Salt?’ ‘Why yes,’ I replied. ‘So recite them,’ he asked. I then did recite a line and he went on asking for more, with me reciting till I had spoken a hundred lines for him. At that point the Prophet (SAAS) remained silent as did I.”

This anecdote is similarly told by Muslim from a *hadith* of Sufyan b. Uwaysa from Abu Tamim b. Maysara. In another line we have it from ‘Amr b. al-Sharid from his father al-Sharid b. Suwayd al-Thaqafi from the Prophet (SAAS). In some accounts the Messenger of God’s words were, “If he had almost become a Muslim.”

Yahya b. Muhammad b. Sa’id stated that Ibrahim b. Sa’id al-Jawhari related to him, quoting Abu Usama, quoting Hatism b. Abu Sufra, from Simak b. Harb, from ‘Amr b. Nafis, from al-Sharid al-Hamdani (whose uncles were of Thaqif) that he said, “We went off with the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the ‘farewell pilgrimage’. While I was walking along one day I sensed the tread of a camel behind me and it was the Messenger of God (SAAS). He said: ‘Al-Sharid?’ I replied, ‘Yes.’ Then he asked, ‘Can’t I give you a ride?’ ‘Why certainly,’ I accepted. I was not tired but wanted the baraka, the blessing, of riding with the Messenger of God (SAAS). So he made his camel kneel and carried me, asking: ‘Do you know any verses of Umayya b. Abu al-Salt?’ I replied in the affirmative and he asked me to recite them, which I did. ‘I think he spoke a hundred verses,’ he commented. Then he added, ‘God has knowledge about Umayya b. Abu al-Salt.’”

Ibn Sa’id then stated, “This is a strange *hadith*; and in what is related is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said of Umayya: ‘His poetry believed but his heart disbeliefed.’ God alone knows.”

Imam Ahmad stated: “‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad – who was Abu Bakr b. Abu Shayba – related to us, quoting ‘Abda b. Sulayman, from Muhammad b. Ishaq, 42. A poet mentioned earlier as one of the authors of the famous mu’allaqat odes.
from Ya‘qūb b. ʿUtba, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared Umayya to be truthful in a piece of his poetry which says:

“As a man with a bull beneath his right foot, and an eagle for the other, and a lion in waiting;
And the sun appears at the end of each night, its colour red in the morning and turning rosy;
It is reluctant to arise for us, in its gentleness, unless tortured or else flogged.”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said (of this verse): “He spoke the truth.”

In an account of Abū Bakr al-Hudhali, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, he (the Prophet) said, “The sun never rises until it is urged up by 70,000 angels saying: ‘Come on up! Come on up!’ And it replies: ‘I will not rise above any people who worship me to the exclusion of God.’ When just about to rise a devil comes to the sun intending to divert it, but it rises between the devil’s horns and burns him. And when the sun gathers itself for its setting it directs itself to God, the Almighty and Glorious. So a devil comes to it wishing to divert it from its obeisance but it sets between his horns and burns him.”

Ibn ʿAsākir gives this anecdote at greater length.

In his poem on the throne-bearers, Umayya recited:

“And there’s many a bearer of one of the supports of his throne, who, were it not for the God of creation, would be fatigued and slow-moving,
Standing on their feet, weary beneath it, their jugular veins trembling from the severity of their fear.”

These verses were transmitted by Ibn ʿAsākir.

It is reported from al-ʿAṣmaʿī that he would recite the following verses of Umayya:

“Glorify God, for He is worthy of glory; our Lord in heaven has been mighty.
There in his great edifice that existed prior to man, above the heavens, where he laid down his throne.
Longer it is than sight can see, before it you see al-malāʾik (the angels) bow down.”

According to al-ʿAṣmaʿī, the word al-malāʾik (in the last line quoted), is the plural of malak, angel, while the word al-sūr (translated as “those bowing down”) is the plural of āswar, meaning “bending the neck”. These are they who bear the throne.

The following verses praising ʿAbd Allāh b. Jūdān of Taym are also from the poetry of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt:

“Should I make mention of my need or is your sensitivity enough for me; your nature is goodness
And your knowledge of rights; you are of lofty status; refinement, high esteem, and majesty are yours.
You are a generous man whose fine character no morning or evening time can change.

You compete with the wind by your nobility and generosity when cold winter nights prevent the dog from staying outside (the tent). Your land is one of all nobility built by Banū Taym, and you are its sky. Any man who one day praises you has in offering praise in itself reward enough.”

Umayya offered him other verses of praise in his poetry.

This man ‘Abd Allah b. Judān was a much praised, very noble, and famous man. He had a platter from which a rider could eat while on his mount, since it was so large and piled with food. He would fill it with the finest wheat mixed with butter and honey. He used to pay to free slaves and help the unfortunate. ‘Ā’isha asked the Prophet (SAAS) whether all that would ultimately benefit him. But he replied: “He never once said the words: ‘O Lord, forgive me my sins on Judgement Day!’”

Other fine lines of his poetry include:

“They do not plough the earth with wooden branches, when requests are made of them, as if seeking an excuse.”

Rather, when asked they uncover their faces and you see them cheerful with the finest of colouring.

And if the needy stay amidst their dwelling, they make him again a master of neighing horses and slaves,

And whatever dangerous enterprise to which you invite them, they block out the sun’s rays with their knights.”

This ends the biographical notice relating to Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt.

**BAHIＲĀ THE MONK.**

It was he who perceived prophethood in the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he was with his uncle Abū Ṭalib and went to Syria in a company of merchants of Mecca. He was at that time 12 years of age. (Bahīrā) saw a cloud shading him apart from the rest, so he made food for them and invited them to be his guests, as we will relate in the biography.

Al-Tirmidhī related an account which we discussed in detail therein. The ḥāfīz Ibn ‘Asākir recounted various testimonies and evidences relating to the biography of Bahīrā, but did not recount what al-Tirmidhī told; and that is strange.

Ibn ‘Asākir reported that Bahīrā lived in a village called al-Kafr situated some six miles from Basra. That is the place known as “Bahīrā’s monastery”. And it is

43. Barking dogs and fires lit outside the tent were signals for passers-by that a tribe was encamped, and that guests were welcome to stop and rest, and enjoy hospitality there.

44. That is, by pretending to be too busy.
also said that he lived in a village called Manfa'a in the plain of Balqā', beyond Zayrā. But God knows best.

An Account of Quss b. Sa‘īda al-Iyādi.

The hāfiz Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja’far b. Sahl al-Khara‘īṭi said in his book Hawātīf al-Jān (The Calls of the Spirits) that Dāwūd al-Qaṣṭarī related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣa‘īd and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Masḥūrī, from Abū al-Ḥārith al-Warrāq, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Mūriq al-Ṭlī, from ʿUbād b. al-Ṣāmīt that the latter said that when the delegation from the tribe of Iyād came to the Prophet (SAAS) he asked: “O members of the Iyād delegation, what happened to Quss b. Sa‘īda al-Iyādi?” They replied, “He died, O Messenger of God.” He commented, “Well, I once witnessed him at the ʿUkāz festival mounted on a red camel speaking words of strange and wonderful eloquence that I find I don’t recall.” A bedouin from the far back of the group came up to him and said: “I remember it, O Messenger of God,” and the Prophet (SAAS) was pleased at this. “Yes”, the man went on, “he was at the ʿUkāz festival on a red camel and saying, ‘O people gather around, for all those who have passed away are gone. And things to come will come. Gloomy nights. Castle-filled skies. Seas that rage. Splendorous stars. Towering mountains. Flowing streams. In the heavens there is notice; on earth there is warning. How is it I see people pass away and do not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep? Quss swears by an oath beyond reproach, that God has a religion more pleasing than the one you follow.’” Then he recited as follows:

‘In those who first passed away in ages gone there are signs for us,
Since I saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings,
And I saw my people passing towards them, young and old alike,
Not anyone who has passed on will come to you, nor will any of those who stay remain behind;
I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone.’”

This chain of authorities as given is strange. Al-Ṭabarānī related it from another line, stating in his book al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr (The Great Encyclopedia) that Muhammad b. al-Sarri b. Mahrān b. al-Naqīd al-Baghdādī related to him, quoting Muhammad b. Ḥassān al-Sahmī, quoting Muhammad b. al-Ḥajjāj, from Mujālid, from al-Shaḥbī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that he said: “The delegation from ʿAbd al-Qays came to see the Prophet (SAAS) and he asked them, ‘Which of you knows al-Quss b. Sa‘īda al-Iyādi?’ They replied, ‘We all knew him, O Messenger of God.’ ‘Well, what’s he done?’ he asked. ‘He died,’ they told him. He went on: ‘I’ll never forget him at the ʿUkāz festival in the sacred month. He was on a red camel addressing the people in the words, “O people, gather, listen
and take note. Those who live die. Those who die pass away. And what is to come will come. In heaven there is notice and on earth there is warning. A resting-place is put down and a roof is raised up. Stars move to and fro and seas do not empty. And Quss swore a true oath that if there be contentment in the matter, then discontent will follow! God has a religion more beloved by Him than that in which you engage. How is it I see people pass away and do not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep?"

Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘Can anyone among you recite his poetry?’ One of them responded:

‘In those who first passed away in ages gone there are signs for us. Since I never saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings, And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike, The past will never return for me, nor will any of those who stay remain behind. I have become sure I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone.”

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi thus transmitted it in his book, Dalā'il al-Nubuwya (Signs of the Prophethood) in a line from Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Sahmī. And thus did we relate it in the fragment collected by al-Uṣṭādḥ Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Darstawayh relating to Quss. He stated: “ʿAbd al-Karīm b. al-Haytham, the man from Dayr Ṣaqīl, related it to us from Saʿīd b. Shabīb, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj Abū Ibrāhīm al-Wāsiṭī, a resident of Baghdad, known as ṣaḥīb al-ḥarīṣa (‘master of the beef and bulgar dish’). And he was called a liar by Yaḥyā b. Maʿṣīn and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī and al-Dārquṭnī. Also, more than one, including Ibn ʿAdī, accused him of fabricating the ḥadīth.”

Al-Bazzār and Abū Naʿaym related it from the account of this Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj. And Ibn Darstawayh and Abū Naʿaym recounted it by way of al-Kalbī, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās. And this chain is preferable to that preceding it. In this account it is Abū Bakr who tells the story in its entirety, both its poetry and prose, before the Messenger of God (SAAS).

And the ḥāfīz Abū Naʿaym related it from a ḥadīth of Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ishaq al-Khatmī. ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Makhzumī related to us, quoting Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī, quoting Wahb b. Jarīr, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab from Ibn ʿAbbās as follows: “A delegation from Bakr b. Wāṣil came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he asked them, ‘What did your ally do whose name was Quss b. Saʿīd al-Īyādī?’”

Then he recounted the anecdote at length.

Sheikh Aḥmad b. Abū Ṭalib al-Ḥajjār, the authority on lines of transmission and travel, recounted to us, on the basis of ĭjāza if not samāʿa that Jaʿfar b. ʿAli al-Hamdānī told him the following tradition by ĭjāza, quoting the ḥāfīz Abū

45. Having heard it from a secondary source.
46. Having heard it himself from a named authority.
Tahir Al-Hmad b. Muhammad b. Al-Hmad b. Ibrahem al-Salafi, who told this account as having himself heard it directly. He stated that he read it from his Sheikh, the hajj Abû 'Abd Allah al-Dhahabi. Also Abu 'Ali al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Abû Bakr al-Khallal recounted it as one the latter had himself heard directly. He also said that he heard it directly from Ja'far b. 'Ali, and also directly from al-Salafi. Also, Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Al-Hmad b. Ibrahem al-Razi informed us, quoting Abû al-Fadl Muhammad b. Al-Hmad b. Tsa al-Sadi, quoting Abû al-Qasim Ubayd Allah b. Al-Hmad b. 'Ali b. Muqri, and it was also related to him by Abû Muhammad 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far b. Darstawayh, the grammarian, by Ismâ'il b. Ibrahem b. Ahmad al-Sadi, the qâzi, judge, of Fâris (Persia) by Abû Dâwûd Sulaymân b. Sayf b. Yahyâ b. Dirham al-Tâ'if who was a man from Harrân, by Abû 'Amr Sa'id b. Yarbu, from Muhammad b. Ishaq. Abû Tâlib was also told by some of our scholars on the authority of al-Hasan b. Abû al-Hasan al-Bašrî, that the last mentioned said: "Al-Ja'rud b. al-Mu'alla b. Hanash b. Mu'alla al-'Abdi was a Christian of great learning in the interpretation and analysis of the holy texts, an expert on the history and sayings of the Persians, well versed in philosophy and medicine, a man of evident good manners and culture, fine in appearance and of great wealth. He went to see the Prophet (SAAS) as a member of a delegation of men of sound judgement, maturity, eloquence, and scholarship from the tribe of 'Abd Qays. When he approached the Prophet (SAAS) he stood before him, gestured towards him and spoke the verses:

'O Prophet of the right guidance, men have come to you through deserts and mirages,
Crossing down the flat open lands towards you, not counting fatigue for you as fatigue at all.
All the short-legged beasts greatly urged along in speed by our young she-camels,
The fine horses racing over the land, bolting with their mailclad warriors like stars, glinting,
Seeking to avert the suffering of an awful day, one of terror, pain, and great distress,
A day when all mankind will be brought together, a day separating out all who strayed in disobedience,
Moving towards a light from God, a proof, a favour and a grace to be attained,
God distinguished you with all good, O son of Amina, through her; when (for others) good only comes and goes.
So, give your blessings in abundance, O proof of God, unlike the blessings of a false (prophet).'

"When he finished, the Prophet (SAAS) invited him to sit down close to himself and said, 'O Ja'rud, both you and your people are late in coming.'

"Al-Ja'rud responded, 'By my father and my mother, anyone late coming to you is indeed unfortunate, that being the greatest of faults, the worst of sins. But
I'm not one of those who saw you or heard of you, aggressed against you, and followed someone other than you. I now follow a religion of which you have knowledge. But I have come to you and here I am, abandoning it for your religion. Will that not have faults, sins, and misdeeds forgiven and please the Lord?

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'I will guarantee you that! So sincerely express your belief in the unity (i.e. monotheism) and give up the religion of Christianity.'

"Al-Jārūd replied: 'By my father and my mother, extend your hand, for I bear witness that there is no God but God alone and that He has no associate; and I testify that you are Muḥammad, His slave and His Messenger.'

"And so he accepted Islam, as did some of his people.

"And the Prophet (SAAS) was pleased at their accepting Islam and treated them with such honour and generosity as to make them very happy and delighted.

"Then the Messenger of God went over to them and asked, 'Does any one of you know Quss b. Sā'īda al-Iyādi?'

"Al-Jārūd replied: 'By my father and mother, we all know him. And I am one who knows a lot about him. Quss, O Messenger of God, was a fine Arab knight. He lived 600 years, of which he spent five lifetimes living in the wastelands and deserts, crying out the glory of God like Jesus did. He settled nowhere, had no home to shelter him and no neighbour to appreciate him. He dressed in hair-cloth and outdid the fasting ascetics. He never tired of his monastic ways, on his journeys living off ostrich eggs and befriending lions, enjoying the darkness, observing and considering, thinking and experiencing.

"He therefore became one whose wisdom was legion, awe-inspiring things being discovered through him, and he attained the leadership of the disciples of Christ in reputation.

"He was the first Arab to acknowledge God and to accept His unity. He devoted himself firmly to God, becoming fully convinced of life after death and of judgement. He warned of the evil of refusal and enjoined action before it was too late. He reminded of death and spoke of his acceptance of fate without either anger or pleasure. He visited graves and preached of resurrection day. He spoke verses in elegy. He gave thought to the fates and informed about the heavens and about nature. He talked of the stars and discussed the water. He described the seas and informed of ancient relics. He orated while riding and exhorted with perseverance. He admonished against grief and against an excess of anger. He wrote many sermons and made mention of all things terrible. He spoke compellingly in his orations, gave explanation in his writings, expressed fear of time, cautioned against weakness, exalted God's power, avoided any blasphemy, expressed yearning for the pure faith, and called for immersion in religious life and thought.
“He is the person who said on the day of the ‘Ukāz festival:

“East and west, orphans and groups, peace and war, dry and moist, brackish water or sweet, suns and moons, winds and rains, nights and days, females and males, lands and seas, seeds and plants, fathers and mothers, united and scattered, signs followed by signs, light and dark, abundance and nothingness, a Lord and idols, mankind has gone astray, the raising of a child, the burial of a dead one, the cultivation of a harvest, rich and poor, benefactor and evil-doer, woe to the indolent, let the worker improve his labour, and let the hopeful lose his hope. Nay; on the contrary He is one God, neither given birth nor a father. He both repeats and does for the first time. He makes to die and brings to life. He created male and female, Lord of the first life and of the after life.

“Moreover, O tribe of Iyād, where now are Thamūd and ‘Ad? Where are the fathers and their forefathers? Where now are those (who were) ill and those who visited them? To each is his appointed time. Quss swears by the Lord of mankind, and the one who flattens the smooth ground, you will be gathered individually, on assembly day, when horns will be blown and drums beaten, when the earth will shine, and the preacher exhort and the despairing withdraw and the observer gazes out; woe to him who turns away from the truth most evident, and the shining light, and the great Judgement Day, on the day of separating, and the scales of justice, when He who decrees decides, and the apostle gives testimony, and the allies are far off, and the faults are apparent, and so one group goes to paradise, and one group to hell-fire.”

“It is he who spoke the verses:

“The heart passionately recalled and reflected: nights within which there are days. And bucketsful pouring from storm clouds that burst forth with water, there being fire in their insides,

Their light blinded the eye and violent thunder was cast in east and west;
There are lofty castles possessed of wealth while others are empty and uninhabited.
There are unshakable mountains towering, and seas whose waters abound,
There are stars which flash in the dark of night which we see every day are revolved,
And then there is a sun urged on by moon of night, each pursuing the other and in motion.
There are the young, the hoary, and the old, all of them one day to meet above.
And there is plenty beyond the surmise of those whose mind is not perplexed.
All these I mentioned are signs of God for the souls of good guidance and wisdom.”

Al-Ḥasan went on: “And the Messenger of God (SAAS) said: ‘Whatever else I may forget, I will never forget him (Quss) at the ‘Ukāz festival, standing up on a red camel and addressing the people: ‘Gather around and listen, and having heard, be aware, benefit! And speak, and if you speak, tell the truth! He who lives dies, he who dies is gone, and all that is coming will come, rain and plants, the living and the dead, dark nights and skies with zodiac signs, and stars that
shine, and seas that rage, and light and shade, and nights and days, and innocence and sins. There is knowledge in the heavens and lessons on earth such as to amaze even the perspicacious. There is a ground laid out, a roof raised up, stars that set, seas that do not empty, destinies drawing near, a treacherous fate, as sharp as a surgeon's knife and as accurate as a precise scale. Quss swears an oath, neither insincere nor sinning thereby, that if there be any pleasure in this matter, then there will surely be discontent.' Then he said, 'O people, God has a religion which is more pleasing to him than this religion of yours you engage in. And this is its time, its epoch.' Then he said, 'How is it I see people go but not return? Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep?'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then turned to some of his Companions and said, 'Which one of you can recite his verses to us?' Aha Bakr, the truthful, replied, 'By my father and my mother, I witnessed him on that day when he spoke the verses:

"In those who went first in ages past are clear proofs for us.
Since I saw ways leading to death which had no beginnings.
And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike.
The past will never come back to me, nor will any of those who stay remain behind;
I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone."

"Then a tall, broad-shouldered, venerable old sheikh of 'Abd Qays approached the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, 'By my father and my mother, I saw something remarkable from Quss.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'What was it you saw, O brother from 'Abd Qays?'

"He explained: 'In my youth some camels I owned wandered off, so I hurried and followed their trail into rocky desert land where there were thorny twigs, wastelands of dead tree roots and palm trunks, waterlily ponds, and ostrich tracks and nests. While I passed along the trails in these high and low wastes, I came to a hilly area whose upper slopes were thick with thorn trees, their branches hanging low, their first fruits like seeds of pepper and heads of chamomile. Suddenly there was a bubbling spring, a green meadow, and a lofty tree. And there too was Quss b. Sā'īda at the base of that tree, standing with a stick in his hand. I approached him and said, "Good morning to you!" "Good morning to you likewise" he replied. There were many lions going down to drink at the water-hole. Whenever one tried to drink from the hole before another he would strike it with his stick and say: "Be patient! Wait till the one before you drinks!" I was absolutely amazed at that. He looked across at me and said, "Don't be afraid." Then I saw two graves with a mosque between them. I asked him, "What are these graves?" He replied, "They're the graves of two brothers who
used to pray to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, at this spot. I remain here between their two graves, praying to God until I join them.” I asked him, “But wouldn’t it be better for you to join your people and enjoy their well-being and explain to them what it is they do that is evil?”

“May your death make your mother grieve! Don’t you know how Ishmael’s sons abandoned the faith of their father and followed rival gods and venerated idols?”

Then he approached the graves and spoke the following verses:

“O my two friends, arise; long have you lain. I urge you not to prolong your slumber; I see sleep between your skin and your bones, as though he who gives a drug to drink has given it to you.

Is it from your long sleep that you do not respond to him who calls you, as though he who gives a drug to drink has given it to you?

Do you not know that I am in Najran alone, with no friend there but for you two? Living at your graves, not leaving night after night until your response is heard.

I weep for you throughout my life, and what had the heartbroken gained that we wept for you both?

If a soul were to be a ransom for the soul of another, I would strive to have my soul become ransom for you both

As if death were the closest goal for my soul when death had come to you in your two graves.”

Al-Hasan went on: “So the Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘God have mercy on Quss! He will be resurrected as a whole nation by himself on Judgement Day.’”

This tradition is very strange in this regard; and it is mursal. However, al-Hasan did hear it from al-Jarud. God knows best!

Al-Bayhaqi related it, quoting the hadith of Muhammed b. Isaa b. Muhammed b. Sad al-Qurashi al-Akhbari, as follows: “My father related to us, quoting ‘Ali b. Sulayman b. ‘Ali, from ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allah, from ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abbas, may God be pleased with them both, as follows: ‘Al-Jarud b. ‘Abd Allah came forward and recalled almost the same anecdote, at length, with much additional prose and poetry. In that account there is the story of the man whose camels went astray and he went to find them. The man recited, “So I stayed the night in a valley where I was scared for my life, having only my sword to rely on, watching the stars, peering into the blackness, until the night had gone its term and morning was almost breathing; I then heard someone speak aloud the verses:

‘O you lying down in the pitch black of night, God has sent a prophet in the sacred sanctuary, 

47. That is, its authority chain extends back to a successor rather than a Companion of the Prophet.
From Hashim, a people of trust and honour, illuminating all most gloomy, dark and impenetrable.”

"The man continued, “I turned but saw no one and heard nothing else. So I then spoke the following:

‘O you who speaks in darkest night, welcome indeed to you, a phantom who visited us!

Explain, may God give you guidance, in tone of words, what it is you urge that can be gained?’

“Then I then heard a clearing of the throat and a voice saying, ‘The light has appeared; and falsehood has been defeated. For God has sent Muhammad with righteousness, the master of the red mount, and the crown and the helmet, he of the shining visage, and the full eyebrows, and the eyes of marked contrast between the white of the cornea and the black of the iris, the man responsible for the words of the “shahada”, or testimony of the faith: “la ilaha illa Allah”, “there is no God but God”. That person is Muhammad, the one sent to the black and the white, to the people of the village and the people of the deserts.”’ Then he recited the words:

“Praise be to God who did not create nature in vain;
He did not once leave us forsaken after Jesus, nor was He uncaring.
He sent among us Ahmad, the best Prophet ever dispatched.
May God bless him whenever parties of men hurried (to seek audience with) him.”’

The same source attributes the following verses to Quss b. Sa‘īda:

“O announcer of death and of the grave, in the tomb there are men in rags which are remnants of their clothing.

Leave them, for one day they will be called; and they, if they do waken from their sleep, will stay awake.

Until they revert to some state other than theirs, to a new creation similar to what they were before.

Some will be naked, some in their clothes, some of which will be new, some quickly frayed and tattered.”

Also, al-Bayhaqi related it from Abū Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Asbahānī who said that Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd b. Fardakh al-Akhmīmi of Mecca related it to him, quoting al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Mahdi, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Sa‘īd b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Makhzūmī, quoting Sufyān b. Uyayna, from Abū Ḥamza al-Ṭhamālī, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. The latter related the anecdote and the recitation and said that they found at his head a sheet on which were the verses:

“O announcer of death and of the dead, in the tomb there are men in rags which are remnants of their clothing,
Leave then, for one day they will be called, just as those who have fainted away at thunder will be aroused from their sleep.

Some will be naked and others will be dead in their clothes, some of which are bluish and shabby.”

So the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “By Him who sent me with the truth, Quss did believe in Judgement Day!”

The origins of this tradition are well known; these other lines of transmission despite their weakness, are helpful in affirming the origin of the anecdote.

Abū Muḥammad b. Darstawayh commented upon the strangeness of what occurred in this hadith; most of it is obvious, if God Almighty wishes it so. We have drawn attention in our marginal commentary to what is extremely strange about it.

Al-Bayhaqi said that Abū Sa'd Sa'īd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ṭāhir al-Muhammadabadhi related to him verbally that Abū Lubāba Muḥammad b. al-Mahdī al-Abyurdi related to him, quoting his father, quoting Sa'īd b. Hubayra, quoting al-Muṭamīr b. Sulaymān from his father, all from Anas b. Mālik, who said: “A delegation from Iyād went to the Prophet (SAAS) and he asked: ‘What did Quss b. Sa'īda do?’ They replied: ‘He died.’ He commented, ‘Well, I heard some words from him I no longer recall.’ Some of those present told him they remembered them, so he asked them to tell them. One of them responded, ‘He stood up at the Ukkāz festival and said, “O people, listen, hear, and take note. All those who live die. And all those who die pass away. And all that is to come will come. Dark nights. Skies with zodiac signs. Stars that shine. Seas that rage. Mountains tower above. Rivers flow. In heaven there is notice and on earth there is warning. I see people die and not return. Were they content to stay and did so? Or were they left and fell asleep? Quss swears an oath by God, not sinning thereby, that God has a religion which is more pleasing to Him than that you engage in.”’ Then he recited the verses:

“In those who went first in ages past are clear proofs for us.
Since I saw ways leading to death for people which had no beginnings,
And I saw my people moving towards them, young and old alike.
I have become sure that I will inevitably pass on to where the people have gone.””

Al-Bayhaqi then traces it back by other routes that we have referred to heretofore. After all of this, he then stated: “That hadith was narrated from al-Kalbī from Abū ʿAlī ʿAbbās, with additions and deletions. It is also related via another way and with an incomplete line of transmission from al-Hasan al- Başrī. It is also related in abbreviated form in a hadith from Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ and Abū Hurayra.” And I comment: also from Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, as given above, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, as related by Abū Nuʿaym in his book

Then al-Bayhaqī stated, "And since the hadith is related from other routes, even if some of them are weak, it shows that it did have an origin. But God knows best."

An Account of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, God be pleased with him.


Al-Khamb, father of Oumar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, was both his uncle and brother from his mother. That was because 'Amr b. Nufayl had had a child by his father’s wife after his father. She had had his brother al-Khaṭṭāb by Nufayl. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkar and Muḥammad b. Ishāq told us of this.

Zayd b. 'Amr gave up the worship of idols and abandoned their religion; he would only eat what had been slaughtered in the name of God alone.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq as follows: “Hishām b. Urwa related to me, from his father, that Asmā', daughter of Abī Bakr, said: 'I saw Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl leaning his back against the kāba saying, 'O tribe of Quraysh, by Him in whose hand is Zayd's soul, not one of you apart from myself follows the religion of Abraham.' Moreover, he would say, ‘O God, if only I knew the way most favoured by you, I would worship you by it, but I do not know.’ Also he would bow in prayer while on his mount.’”

Abū Usāma too related this, from Hishām, and added, “He would pray towards the kāba and say, ‘My God is the God of Abraham, and my religion is that of Abraham.’ He would give life back to girls about to be killed at birth, telling a man wishing to kill his daughter, ‘Don't kill her. Give her to me to look after. When she grows up, you can take her back or if you wish give her up.’”

Al-Nasā'ī derived this account through Abū Usāma; and al-Bukāhī commented upon it saying, “And al-Layth said: ‘Hishām b. Urwa wrote to me about it from his father.’”

daughter of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and whose sister was Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥsh whom the Prophet (SAAS) married after his mawla, his freedman, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, as we will relate hereafter. These men were present among Quraysh when they were before an idol of theirs to which they would make sacrifice at one of their feast days. As they all gathered, this group of men met apart and agreed that they would make a secret pact of friendship with one another. One of them said, 'By God, you know that your people are doing nothing; they have strayed from the religion of Abraham and gone against it. Why worship some idol incapable of doing harm or good? Seek out for yourselves!'

“So they left, seeking and searching throughout the land to find the hanifiyya, the religion of Abraham.

“As for Waraqa b. Nawfal, he became a Christian and became learned in Christianity, seeking out its scriptures from its adherents until he acquired a great knowledge from those who follow the Bible.

“None of this group was a man more honourable in deed nor more dedicated than Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl. He gave up the idols and abandoned all the religions, of the Jews, the Christians, and all the sects except the hanifiyya, the religion of Abraham. He spoke of the unity of God alone and cast aside the gods beneath Him. He ate none of the meat his people slaughtered, and warned them of the judgement they would suffer from the practices they followed.”

He went on: “Al-Khaṭṭāb so persecuted him that eventually Zayd left him by going to the heights of Mecca. So al-Khaṭṭāb assigned a group of young Quraysh thugs to watch him and told them not to let him enter Mecca. He never did so except without their knowledge, and when they found out they harmed him and evicted him violently, hating that he should spoil their religion for them or get others to join him in his own practice.”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated that he heard someone he trusted give a report about Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl to the effect that he would criticize Quraysh for the slaughter of their beasts, saying, “Sheep were created by God and He brings down from the skies the water that makes vegetation grow for them from the earth, so why do you slaughter them in the name of gods other than God, denying all that and venerating them?”

Yūnus said, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq: “Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl had determined to leave Mecca and travel across the land seeking the hanafiyya, the religion of Abraham. His wife Ṣafiyya, daughter of al-Ḥadrami, whenever she saw him preparing to make the departure he wished, would warn al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl.

“Zayd did leave for Syria, enquiring and seeking the religion of Abraham among the people of the first holy book. They say he went on doing this until he covered al-Mawṣil and all Mesopotamia, finally reaching Syria and travelling throughout it. Eventually he came upon a monk in a church in the region of
al-Balqa' who had, as they claim, much learning in Christianity. Zayd asked him about the *hanifiyya*, the religion of Abraham, and the monk replied, 'You are asking about a religion you'll not find anyone today to instruct you in. Those who had knowledge and familiarity with it have faded away and gone. But the emergence of a prophet draws near, his time having come.' Now Zayd had examined Judaism and Christianity, but had not been content with anything in them, and so he left quickly for Mecca after what the monk had told him. But when he was in Lakhm territory he was attacked and killed. Wāraqa spoke the following verses eulogizing him:

'You followed the proper course and did right, O son of 'Amr; and indeed you have avoided the ovens of hell,

*By your worshipping a Lord unlike any other and by your abandoning the idols of tyrants as they are,*

Man may indeed be reached by God's mercy, even though he be seventy valleys beneath the earth.'"

Muḥammad b. Uthmān b. Abū Shayba said, "Aḥmad b. Ṭariq al-Wabishi related to us, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAtiyya, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, from Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, that the latter worshipped God before the coming of Islam. He once came to a Jew and told him he wanted him to induct him into his religion. The Jew replied, 'I will not accept you in my religion until you experience your share of God's anger.' Zayd replied, 'It is from the anger of God that I am fleeing.'

"Zayd went on further till he came to a Christian, telling him he would like to engage with him in his religion. The Christian replied, 'I'll not accept you in my religion until you experience your share of false guidance.' Zayd replied, 'It is from false guidance that I flee.' The Christian then told him: 'I will show you the way to a religion in which, if you follow it, you will be rightly guided.' 'What religion is that?' asked Zayd. 'The religion of Abraham,' he replied. So Zayd said, 'O God, I swear to you that I will follow the religion of Abraham; in it I shall live and die.'

"When Zayd's story was referred to the Prophet (ṢAAS) he stated, 'He will be as a nation all by himself on Judgement Day.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba, on the authority of Sālim from Ibn ʿUmar, related approximately the same.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated: "ʿAli b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sayf al-Qurashi related to us, from Ismāʿil, from Muḥālīd from al-Shaʿbi, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb as follows: 'Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl said, 'I examined Judaism and Christianity and disliked them both. I travelled in Syria and the neighbouring lands and eventually came to a monk in a cell. I told him of my alienation from my own people and of my dislike for the worship of idols,
Judaism, and Christianity. He told me, ‘I see you desire the religion of Abraham, O brother from the people of Mecca. You are searching for a religion that today no one adheres to, the religion of your father Abraham. He was a hanif; neither a Jew nor a Christian. He prayed and prostrated himself in the direction of that house which is in your land. So you must go to your own country. God will send from your people in your land one who will bring the religion of Abraham, the hanifsyya; he is the most noble of creation in God’s sight.’”

Yūnus stated that Ibn Ishaq said, “A member of the family of Zayd b.‘Amr b. Nufayl related to me the following, ‘Zayd used to say when he entered the ka‘ba, ‘Here I am before you, really and truly, in worship, verity and submission. I turn in submission quoting Abraham, facing the ka‘ba.’” He would stand as he would say, “O my God, I am submissive to you, fearful, and humble. Whatever painful task you impose, I will perform it. It is faith I desire, not vanity. He who journeys in the heat is not as one who naps in the afternoon.’”


“Zayd went on: ‘Now Waraqa did adopt Christianity; but in my case, although I intended to become Christian he (the monk) would not accept me.’ So Zayd returned home and spoke the words: ‘Here I am before You, in truth, in worship and in submission. It is faith I desire, not vanity. Is he who journeys in the heat as one who naps in the afternoon? I believe in what Abraham believed in.’ He also said, ‘O my God, I am submissive to You, fearful, and humble. Whatever painful task You impose, I will perform it.’ Then he would bow down and prostrate himself in prayer.”

The account continues, “His son, by whom I mean Sa‘īd b. Zayd, one of the ṣāḥra, the ten, God bless him, said, ‘O Messenger of God, my father was as you have seen and heard; seek forgiveness for him.’ He replied, ‘Yes; he will be raised up on Judgement Day as a nation, by himself.’”

It continues: “And Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Zayd came to the Messenger of God when the latter was in the company of Zayd b. Ḥāritha; the two men were eating from a dining-table set out for them. They invited Zayd b. ‘Amr to eat with them, but he replied, ‘I am not one who eats what has been slaughtered on sacrificial stones.’”

Muhammad b. Sa'd stated, “Muhammad b. ‘Amr related to us, Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra related to me, from Mūsā b. Maysara, from Ibn Abū Muayyak, from Ḥajar b. Abū Ihāb, as follows, ‘I saw Zayd b.‘Amr while I was at the idol named Bawāna, just after he had returned from Syria. He was observing the sun; when it set he approached the ka‘ba and performed the prayer of two prostrations. Then he said, ‘This is the qibla, the prayer site, to which Abraham and Ishmael directed themselves. I do not worship a stone, nor pray to it, nor eat what was sacrificed to it, nor will I seek the judgement of divining arrows. Yet I will pray towards this house till I die.’”

“He would also perform the pilgrimage and station himself on Mt. ‘Arafāt. He would also make the prayer call saying, ‘Labbayk! At Your service; there is no partner to You, nor any peer.’ Then he would leave ‘Arafāt, walking and praying, saying, ‘Labbayk! At Your service, in worship and submission.’””

Al-Waqqādī stated, “Alī b. Ḥākami related to me, from his father, from ‘Amīr b. Rabī‘a as follows, ‘I heard Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl say, ‘I await the coming of a prophet from the progeny of Ishmael, then from the tribe of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. I do not see myself living to his time. But I have faith in him, assert his truthfulness, and testify that he is a prophet. If you live on a long time and see him, then tell him of my greetings to him. I will inform you of his qualities so that he will not be unknown to you.” I replied, “Do so then.”

‘He continued, “He will be a man neither tall nor short with neither much nor little hair. Redness is never absent from his eye. He bears the mark of prophethood between his shoulders. His name is to be Aḥmad and this country will be the place of his birth and his mission. Then his people will expel him from it and will disapprove of his message until he will emigrate to Yathrib; and so his authority will appear. Take care that you are not deceived about him, for I have travelled all over seeking the religion of Abraham. And those of the Jews, Christians, and Magians to whom I made enquiry answered, ‘That religion is behind you.’ And they would describe him as I have described him to you and say, ‘There is no prophet but him.’”’

‘Amīr b. Rabī‘a stated, ‘And when I became a Muslim I informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of the words of Zayd b.‘Amr and did pass on his greetings to him. He returned such greeting to him and prayed for mercy for him, saying, ‘I have seen him in paradise in long, flowing robes.’””

Al-Bukhari stated in his sahih collection in his account on Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl that Muhammad b. Abū Bakr related to him that Fudayl b. Sulaymān related to us, quoting Mūsā b. Uqba, that Salim related, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) met Zayd b.‘Amr b. Nufayl in the lowlands of Būdah, before revelation descended upon the Prophet. A meal was set out for the Prophet (ṢAAS) but he, Zayd, refused to eat of it. Then Zayd said, “I’m not going to eat from what you slaughter on your sacrificial stones; and I will only
eat what has had the name of God spoken over it.” Zayd b. ‘Amr would criticize Quraysh for the animal sacrifices they made, saying, “Sheep are created by God; He sends rain down from the skies and makes things grow for them from the earth. But then you slaughter them in the name of gods other than Him, denying all of that and venerating them!”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba said that Salīm b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him (indicating that he would not acknowledge what he related except that he spoke of it on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar) that Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl left for Syria enquiring after the religion he would follow and met a learned Jew whom he asked about his religion. Zayd said, “I’m inclined towards adopting your religion, so tell me of it.” The man replied, “You will not be in our religion until you receive your share of God’s anger.” Zayd replied, “But it’s only God’s anger from which I flee; I bear none of God’s anger, nor could I. Can you then direct me to something else?” He replied, “I don’t know of anything except for you to be a hanîf.” “What”, asked Zayd, “is a hanîf?” “The religion of Abraham, peace be upon him; he was neither a Jew nor a Christian and worshipped none but God.”

So Zayd left and met a Christian scholar to whom he spoke as before. But the Christian replied, “You will not be of our religion until you take your share of the curses of God.” Zayd replied, “But it’s only from the curses of God that I flee. I do not at all ever bear the curses of God or His anger, nor could I. So would you direct me to something else?” “I don’t know of anything, except for you to be a hanîf,” the Christian answered. “What is a hanîf?” Zayd asked. “It is the religion of Abraham,” the Christian answered; “he was neither a Jew nor a Christian and worshipped none but God.”

Having considered their statement about Abraham, Zayd went outside and when he was in open country, he raised his hands and said, “O God, I testify that I follow the religion of Abraham.”

Al-Bukhārī went on: “And al-Layth said, ‘Hishām b. Urwa wrote to me, on the authority of his father, and that of Asmā’ daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with them both, he quotes her as having said, “I saw Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl standing leaning his back against the ka’ba, saying, ‘O tribe of Quraysh, by God, none of you is in Abraham’s religion except me.’ And he used to give life back to a girl about to be killed at birth, saying to the man who wished to kill his daughter, ‘Don’t kill her; I will take care of providing for her.’ Then he would take her away, and when she grew up he would tell her father, ‘If you like, I’ll either return her to you or provide for her.’”” This brings to an end al-Bukhārī’s account of Zayd.

This last anecdote was corroborated by the hāfiz Ibn ‘Asakir in a line of authority from Abū Bakr b. Abū Dāwūd from Ḥammād, from al-Layth, from Hishām, from his father back to Asmā’, and his account is similar.
Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād said that on a line of authority from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, Asmāʾ? said: “I heard Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl say, as he was resting his back against the kaʿba: ‘O tribe of Quraysh, beware of adultery; it bequeaths poverty.”

Here in his account Ibn ʿAsākir gave several very strange anecdotes, some of which are extremely implausible. Then he related from a variety of lines back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as having said: “He will be raised up on Judgement Day as a nation all by himself.” These accounts include the one by Muḥammad b. Uthmān b. Abū Shayba in which he indicated that Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb al-Ṣaffār and Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Umawī related to him, fromMujālid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl having approached the qibla before the coming of Islam and saying, “My God is the God of Abraham, and my religion that of Abraham” and then making the prayer prostrations. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “That man will be gathered (on Judgement Day) as a nation all by himself between me and Jesus son of Mary.” The chain of authorities for this is very good.

Al-Waqīdī stated that Mūsā b. Shayba related to him, from Khārīja b. ʿAbd Allah b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, who said, “I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab make reference to Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl with the words, ‘He died while Quraysh were building the kaʿba, five years before the divine inspiration descended upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And death came to him while he spoke the words, “I follow the religion of Abraham.”’ His sonSaʿīd b. Zayd became a Muslim and a follower of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Once ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and Saʿīd b. Zayd approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl and he responded, ‘May God give him forgiveness and grant him mercy. He died following the religion of Abraham.’ And after that day Muslims never failed to pray for forgiveness and mercy for him whenever they mentioned his name. And thenSaʿīd b. al-Musayyab himself spoke the words, ‘May God grant him mercy and forgiveness.’”

Muḥammad b. Saʿīd quoted al-Waqīdī as having said, “Zakariyyāʾ b. Yahyā al-Saʿdī related to me that he heard his father say, ‘Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl died in Mecca and he was buried at the foot ofMt. Hira.’”

We, however, stated previously that he died in the land of al-Balqāʾ in Syria, when he was attacked by some men of the tribe of Lakhm who killed him at a place called Mayfa. But God knows best.

Al-Bāghandī said, giving a line of authorities through Abū Saʿīd al-Aṣḥajj, Abū Muʿāwiya, Hishām and his father, that ʿĀʾisha said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘I entered paradise and saw that Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl had two fine, lofty trees.’”

Among the verses of Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, God have mercy on him, are the lines:
“To God I give my praise and homage, expressing a lasting joy that time will not fade.
To the Sovereign Lord all high, above whom there is none, a God to whom no other Lord can draw close.”

It is also said that these lines are of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt. But God knows best.

Among his verses affirming the oneness of God are the lines related by Muhammad b. Ishaq and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, among others:

“I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the earth bearing heavy rocks submits;
He laid it down and when it settled He made it firm and level, then raised up the mountains above it.
I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the clouds bearing sweet cool water submit,
When they are drawn along to a place, they obey, and pour water down copiously upon it.
I turn my face in submission to Him to whom the wind, changing direction hither and yon, submits.”

Muhammad b. Ishaq said, “I heard from Hishām b. Urwa that, according to his father, Zayd b. ‘Amr spoke the verses:

“Is it one Lord or one thousand I’m to worship according to your calculations?
I have abandoned al-Lāt and al-Uzza together; thus do all those who are firm and determined.
It is not al-Uzza I worship, nor her daughters, nor do I visit the two idols of the ‘Amr tribe.
Nor do I worship Ghanm, though he was our Lord when I had little wisdom.
I was perplexed – and at night many things are strange that a sensible man understands well by day –
That God erased many men who lived in wickedness,
Yet gave long life to others through the faith of a people so that from them a young child could multiply,
And though a man may falter, one day he may be cured, as a green tree branch will leaf again,
But I worship the All-merciful, my lord, that the compassionate Lord may forgive my sins.
So preserve your fear of God your Lord; while you preserve it you will not be lost.
You will see that the abode of the innocent is paradise, and that there is a burning hell-fire for disbelievers,
Shame while alive and when they die they will suffer terrible torture.”

This is the complete text of this poem as given by Muhammad b. Ishaq. Abū al-Qasim al-Baghawi related it from Mus‘ab b. ‘Abd Allah, from al-Dahhak b. Uthmān, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū al-Zinād.
Hishām b. ‘Urwa stated, from his father, that Asmā', daughter of Abī Bakr, said, “Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl spoke the following verses:

'I have abandoned all spirits and demons; thus do all those who are firm and determined;

It is not al-'Uzza I worship, nor her daughters, nor do I revere the two idols of the Ṭasam tribe.

Nor do I worship Ghanm, though he was our lord when I had little wisdom,

Is it one lord or a thousand I'm to worship according to your calculations?

Do you not know that God erased many men who lived in wickedness,

And gave long life to others through the faith of a people so that from them a young boy could grow up.

And though a man may falter, one day he may be cured, as a green tree branch will leaf again.’”

Waraqa h. Nawfal spoke the following poetry:

“You followed the proper course and did right, O son of ‘Amr, but indeed you have avoided the hot ovens of hell,

For your worship of a Lord unlike any other and for your abandoning as they are the spirits of the mountains,

I say that when I descend into some eerie place: have pity, do not let enemies appear before me.

Have pity! For you are the hope of the spirits; and you are my God, our Lord, and my hope.

Let the mercy of his Lord attain a man, even if he be seventy valleys down beneath the earth.

I worship a Lord who responds, and I will not be seen worshipping someone who does not ever hear anyone calling.

I say as I pray in every church: ‘Blessed be You; I have indeed prayed much in Your name.’”

It has been stated earlier that Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl left for Syria along with Waraqa b. Nawfal, Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, and Ubayd Allāh b. Jahlsh. All became Christians except Zayd, who adopted no religion but remained in his natural state of the worship of God alone and without partner, following as best he could the religion of Abraham, as we have mentioned.

As for Waraqa b. Nawfal, his story will be told in discussion of the beginnings of the divine mission.

As for Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, he remained in Syria until he died there while with Caesar. His story is very strange and was related by al-Umawi. In brief it is as follows. When he approached Caesar and complained to him of the treatment he had received from his own people, Caesar wrote for him to Ibn Jafna, the king of the Arabs of Syria, to the effect that he should provide an army to go with him to make war against Quraysh. He did decide to do so, but the
bedouins wrote to him advising him against that action because of what they saw to be the greatness of Mecca, and also how God had treated the army that had come with the elephants. So Ibn Jafna invested him with a tunic dyed with poison and he was killed by it. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl eulogized him in poetry recorded by al-Umawi which we have left out for brevity's sake.

His death occurred some three years before the mission of Islam. But God, All-glorious and Almighty is He, knows best.

An Account of some of the events that occurred in the time of the Fatimids, including the building of the ka'ba.

It has been said that it was Adam who first built it. Such a statement comes down in a hadith that is marfu' and came on the authority of 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr; Ibn Lahi'a is one of its chain of authorities and he is an authority considered da'if, weak.

The most credible of statements is that Abraham, al-Khalil, "the true friend", peace be upon him, was the first who built it, as reported above. Simak b. Harb so related, from Khalid b. 'Ar'ara back to 'Ali b. Abi Talib who said, "Then it collapsed, was rebuilt by al-'amaliqa, 'the giants', fell down and was built again by Jurhum; thereafter it collapsed and was rebuilt by Quraysh."

Here I will recount its being built by Quraysh; this occurred some five, or as some say fifteen, years before the coming of Islam. Al-Zuhri stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) had by then attained puberty." Material related to all that will come in its proper place, if God wills it, and in Him there is trust.

An Account of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy.

Abu Nu'aym related in a line from Muhammad b. al-Hasan b. Zabala, from Muhammad b. Talha al-Taymi, from Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Harith back to Abu Salama who said, "Ka'b b. Lu'ayy would gather his people on Friday, a day Quraysh used to name al-'aaba, and he would address them as follows: 'And moreover you must listen, learn, understand, and know. Tranquil night, sunlit day; the earth is flat, the skies erected, the mountains bulwarks, the stars markers. The first are as the last, the female and the male, the couple, and whatever excites, all heads for decay. So respect your ties of relationship and preserve your kinship,

49. Al-fatra is a word given in Arabic to mean the period or the interval between two prophets. Here it refers to the interval between the life of Jesus and that of Muhammad.

50. A tradition related by a Companion of the Prophet and reporting the latter's words or actions.
and make your wealth multiply. For did you ever see return someone who expired, or a dead person revived? The (eternal) abode is before you and thought is not what you express. Embellish and venerate your sanctuary and preserve it well; for to it glorious tidings will come. And from it will emerge a noble prophet.'

"Then he would say,

'Veryday and night, every day has a happening; the same to us whether by day time or night.

They both bring events when they arrive and their coverings over us bring many blessings.

The Prophet Muḥammad will come unexpectedly, and bring such news; believable indeed is their bearer.'

"Then he would say, 'By God, were I but part of them, by hearing and sight, by hand and foot, I would vigorously rise up like a camel, and charge into it like a stallion.'

"Then he would say, 'Would that I could witness the impact of his mission, when the tribe seeks the truth without vigour."

Between the death of Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) there was a period of 560 years.

An Account of the re-digging of the well zamzam by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim, its whereabouts having been lost from the period when Jurhum filled and levelled it, up to his own time.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was sleeping in the sacred enclosure when he received a vision ordering him to dig up zamzam.

"ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was the first to begin digging it, according to what was related to me by Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb al-Miṣrī from Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazānī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dhurayr al-Ghāfiqī, namely, that the last mentioned heard ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalīb, God be pleased with him, telling how ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had been ordered to dig zamzam. ʿAlī reported ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as saying: 'I was sleeping in the sanctuary when a vision came to me and said, 'Dig ūiba!' 'But what's ūiba?' I asked. But it vanished.

"Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig barra!" 'But what's barra?' I asked. But it vanished.

"Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig al-madnīna!" 'But what's al-madnīna?' I asked. But it vanished.

"Next day when I again went to my bed and slept, he came again and said, "Dig zamzam!" 'But what's zamzam?' I asked. "It will never fail or dry up; it
will water the grand pilgrim. It lies between the dung and the blood, near the nest of the crow with the white leg and the ants’ nest."

“The matter having been clarified and he having been directed to its location, and knowing that he had been spoken to in truth, he took up his pick-axe next day and went off in the company of his son al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his only son at that time. So he dug down for it and when the coping stone appeared to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib he let out a cry of praise for God. Quraysh therefore knew that he had achieved his purpose so they came and told him, ‘O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, that is the well of our father Ishmael; we have a right to it, so make us partners in it with yourself.’ ‘I will do no such thing; I was specifically assigned to this without you; I was given it from among you all,’ he replied. They asked again, ‘Treat us fairly; we’ll not leave you alone till we share with you in it.’ ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib replied, ‘Then appoint someone of your choice for me to ask to adjudicate the matter with you.’ ‘The woman diviner of the Banū Saʿd b. Hudhaym,’ they suggested. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib agreed; the woman lived in the uplands of Syria.

“So ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib mounted up with a company of men of the Banū Ummaya, along with members of each tribe of Quraysh and they all left. The earth at that time was waterless and having travelled some distance ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his friends had used up their water. They were so thirsty that they became convinced they were doomed. They therefore asked the other party for water, but they refused, saying, ‘We’re in a waterless desert and we fear for ourselves a similar plight that afflicts you.’ ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib then said, ‘I think each man should dig a grave for himself with the strength he has remaining, so that when anyone dies his friends can put him in the hole and cover him up, and so on till there is only one man left. Better the loss (without burial) of one than that of a whole company.’ ‘What you instruct is good,’ they agreed.

“So each man dug himself a hole, and they sat down to await death from thirst. But then ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib told his companions, ‘By God, our casting ourselves down by our own hands like this for death without searching the land and exerting ourselves is truly weakness; God may well provide us water somewhere in this land. Mount up!’ So they did so. But when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib urged his mount up, a spring of sweet water burst up from beneath its hoof! ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib made exclamations of God’s greatness, as did his companions; he and they dismounted, drank, and filled their water flasks. Then ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib called the Quraysh tribesmen who had been watching all this, saying, ‘Come on over to the spring. God has given us water.’ So they came and drank, all filling their flasks. They then said, ‘Judgement has been made, by God, in your favour against us! We won’t ever dispute with you over zamzam. He who gave you this water in this desert is also He who gave you zamzam. So return to your drawing of water, it being your right.’
“So he and they all went back without consulting the diviner. And Quraysh gave ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib free access to zamzam.”

Ibn Isḥaq stated, “And that is the account I heard on the authority of ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalib concerning zamzam.”

He also said, “I heard someone relate a tradition that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was told, when ordered to dig zamzam:

‘Then pray for abundant water without impurities to quench God’s pilgrims at all the sacred sites.

‘There’s nothing to fear so long as it provides.’

‘Having been told so, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went to Quraysh and said to them, ‘You should know that I have been ordered to dig zamzam.’ They asked, ‘And was it explained to you where it lies?’ When he responded in the negative, they told him, ‘Then go back to your bed where you had your vision. For if it in truth came from God, it will be made clear to you, whereas if it came from Satan, it will not reappear to you.’ ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib did return and slept and did receive a visitation, being told: ‘Dig zamzam. You will not regret if you do dig it. It is an inheritance from your most mighty Father. It will never fail or dry up. It will water the grand pilgrim. Like fleeing ostriches, it will never be divided. A truth-sayer vows it to a benefactor. It will be an inheritance and a secure contract. It is not as some things you might have known. And it lies between the dung and the blood.’”

Ibn Isḥaq went on, “It is claimed that when this was said to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, he asked, ‘Then where is it?’ He was then told that it was near the ants’ nest where the crow would peck the next day. But God knows whether that was so.

“Next day ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went with his son al-Ḥarīth, his only son at that time (al-Umawi added: ‘along with his servant Aṣrām’) and found the ants’ nest and the crow pecking near by, between the two idols Isāf and Nāʿila, at which Quraysh would make sacrifice. So he brought his pick-axe to dig where he had been told. But Quraysh stood in his way saying, ‘By God, we’ll not allow you to dig down between our two idols to which we make sacrifice.’ ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib addressed his son al-Ḥarīth, ‘Protect me so I can dig, for by God I shall carry on and do what I was ordered.’ When Quraysh realized that he would not back down, they made way for him to dig and left him alone. He had not been digging for long before the coping stone appeared and he acclaimed the greatness of God, knowing that truth had been spoken to hi. Persisting in the digging, he found there two golden gazelles that Jurhum had buried, along with some white metal swords and some breast-plates.

“Quraysh then addressed him, ‘O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, we have a right to share in this.’ ‘No,’ he replied, ‘but let us decide what is equitable between us. Let us use divinatory arrows over it.’ ‘What shall we do then?’ they asked. He replied, ‘I will make two arrows for the kaʾba, two for myself, and two for you. Whoever
has his arrows come out for something, that he shall have. Whoever has his arrows left behind gets nothing." They agreed that this was fair. So he made two yellow arrows for the ka'ba, two black ones for himself, and two white ones for them. Then he gave the arrows to the diviner at the site of the idol Hubal, who was to cast them. And Hubal was the largest of their idols; that was why Abū Sufyān said at the battle of Uhud, 'Arise, O Hubal!', referring to that idol. So Ābd al-Muṭṭalib said a prayer to God."

Yūnus b. Bukayr recounted, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, that Ābd al-Muṭṭalib began saying:

"O God, You are the much-praised King; my Lord; You are the one who initiates and repeats,
The one who is firmly holding the rocky mountain; from You comes all that is new or that is old.
If You wish, You give inspiration as You want, to find the place of the ornaments and the steel.
So make clear today what You wish; I have made a vow to Him who decides
Give it, O my Lord, to me, and I'll not go back."

"The diviner cast the arrows and the two yellow ones went towards the gazelles, giving them to the ka'ba, the two black ones came out for the swords and armour, making them for Ābd al-Muṭṭalib, but the two arrows for Quraysh remained behind. So Ābd al-Muṭṭalib hammered down the two swords into a door for the ka'ba into which he incorporated the two golden gazelles. This was, so they say, the first decoration of gold the ka'ba had."

Thereafter Ābd al-Muṭṭalib took charge of providing water from zamzam to the pilgrims. And Ibn Ishaq and others relate that Mecca had many wells in it prior to the appearance of zamzam at the time of Ābd al-Muṭṭalib. Ibn Ishaq, moreover, enumerated and named them, and told their whereabouts in and around Mecca as well as those who dug them. His account of this concludes, "Zamzam overshadowed all the other wells, their customers preferring to go to it, because of its proximity to the holy mosque, the superiority of its water over the rest, and its having been the well of Ishmael, son of Abraham. The Ābd Manāf tribe expressed because of it a superiority over all Quraysh as well as all the other Arabs."

It is established in the saḥīh collection of Muslim in the material relating to the adoption of Islam by Abū Dharr, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said the following about zamzam: "It is the taste supreme. It is the cure of disease."

The Imām Ahmad (Ibn Hanbal) said, "Ābd Allāh b. al-Waltid related to us, on the authority of Ābd Allāh b. al-Muṣmil, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābīr b. Ābd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'The water of zamzam is for what is drunk from it.'"
Ibn Māja related this also, from a *hadith* of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿmil. They spoke it and gave its wording as: “The water of zamzam is for what is drunk to it.” Suwayd b. Saʿīd related it from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Mawālī, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkādīr, from Jābir, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) who said, “The water of zamzam is for what is drunk to it.” However, Suwayd b. Saʿīd is a weak link. The tradition as preserved from Ibn al-Mubārak from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muʿmil is as given above. Al-Ḥākim related it from Ibn ʿAbbās in the form “The water of zamzam is for what is drunk to it.” And this is questionable. But God knows best.

Similarly, Ibn Māja and al-Ḥākim relate that Ibn ʿAbbās said to a man, “When you drink from zamzam face the kaʿba and repeat the name of God. Then breathe deeply three times and drink from it until you are full. When finished, give praise to God. For the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘The evidence of the differences between us and the hypocrites is that they do not drink to the fill from the water of zamzam.’”

And it is related from ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib that he said, “O God, I do not allow a person to wash with it; it is for people to drink *hillun*, ‘freely available’, *wa*, ‘and’, *ballun*, ‘allowed’.”

Some learned scholars report this from al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib but in fact it came from ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib himself, for it was he who restored zamzam as stated above. But God knows best.

Al-Umawi wrote in his *Maghāzi* work as follows: “Abū ʿUbayd related to us, Yahyā b. Saʿīd informed us, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala, that the last mentioned said that he heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab relate that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāshim remarked when he dug zamzam, ‘I do not allow a person to wash with it; it is freely available and allowed for a person to drink it.’ To that purpose he had two basins for it, one for drinking, the other for the prayer ablution. At that point he said, ‘I do not allow a person to wash with it, deeming it inappropriate for the mosque to be washed in.’”

According to Abū ʿUbayd, al-Asmaʿī stated that his saying *wa ballun* is an *ittāṣ*, ḥillun. But Abū ʿUbayd objected that an *ittāṣ* cannot occur with the *wa* of conjunction (*wa* meaning “and”) but it is used because, as Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān had indicated, ballun in the language of Ḥimyar means *mubāh*, i.e. “allowed”.

Abū ʿUbayd then said, “Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh related to us, from ʿĀsim b. Abū al-Nujūd, that he heard Zirr (say) that he heard al-ʿAbbās state, ‘I do not allow a person to wash in it.’” And ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to us, as did

51. Discussion of these words *hillun wa ballun* follows in the text. Also, another meaning of the word *ballun* is “for wetting”.

52. In Arabic grammar *ittāṣ* is intensification by repetition of a word with its initial consonant changed.
Sufyān, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭalqama, that the last mentioned heard Ibn ʿAbbās say the same.”

And this tradition relating back to both of them is true; it has them so saying in their own era with the purpose of informing and establishing what ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had specified when he dug it; thus it does not contradict the preceding account. But God knows best.

The rights to providing water for the pilgrims remained with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib as long as he lived, thereafter passing to his son Abū Ṭālib for a period. Then it so happened that he became impoverished for a while and went into debt to his brother al-ʿAbbās for 10,000 from one year to the next. Abū Ṭālib spent the money on matters relating to watering the pilgrims, and when the next year arrived he had nothing left. So he asked his brother for a loan of 14,000 to the following year, at which time, he promised, he would repay the total debt. But al-ʿAbbās agreed only on condition that if Abū Ṭālib did not repay it, control of the well would transfer to himself. To this Abū Ṭālib agreed.

When the next year arrived Abū Ṭālib had nothing to give to al-ʿAbbās and so he relinquished control of the well to him. Thereafter it went to ʿAbd Allāh, al-ʿAbbās’ son, then to ʿAṭī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, to Dāwūd b. ʿĀli, to Sulaymān b. ʿĀli and to ʿIsā b. ʿĀli. Then al-Manṣūr took it over and entrusted its control to his mawla, his freed slave, Abū Ruzayn. Al-Umawi gave this account.

An Account of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib’s vow to sacrifice one of his sons.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “It is claimed that when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib received such opposition from Quraysh over the digging of zamzam, he vowed that if ten sons were born to him who grew up and protected him, he would sacrifice one of them for God at the kaʿba.

“Eventually he had ten sons grown up whom he knew would give him protection. Their names were al-Ḥārith, al-Zubayr, Ḥajj, Dirār, al-Muqawwim, Abū Labāh, al-ʿAbbās, Ḥamza, Abū Ṭālib, and ʿAbd Allāh. He assembled them and told them of his vow and asked them to honour his pledge to God, Almighty and All-glorious is He. They obeyed, and asked him what he wanted them to do. He asked each of them to take an arrow, write his name on it and return to him.

“They did so and he went with them inside the kaʿba to the site of their god Hubal where there was the well in which offerings to the kaʿba would be placed. There, near Hubal, were seven arrows which they would use for divining a judgement over some matter of consequence, a question of blood-money, kinship, or the like. They would come to Hubal to seek a resolution, accepting whatever they were ordered to do or to refrain from.”
The outcome was that when ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came to seek judgement with
the arrows from Hubal, the one with the name of his son ʿAbd Allah came forth.
He was his youngest boy and the one he loved most, but ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took
his son ʿAbd Allah by the hand, drew out his knife, and went up to Isḥāf and
Nāʾila to sacrifice him. At this Quraysh left their meeting-places and asked him
what he intended to do. When he replied that he was going to sacrifice ʿAbd
Allāh, they, along with ʿAbd Allah’s brothers, said, “By God, do not sacrifice
him without seeking forgiveness for him; if you do this men will keep bringing
their sons to sacrifice and how could that go on?”

Yūnus b. Bukayr related from Ibn Ishaq that al-ʿAbbas was the one who drew
ʿAbd Allah out from beneath his father’s foot when he had placed it on him to
sacrifice him. And it is said that he scarred his face so badly that it remained
visible there till he died.

Thereafter Quraysh advised that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib should go to the Hijāz
where there was a woman diviner who had an attendant spirit, and that he
should consult her. “That”, they said, “is the best you can do. If she then orders
you to sacrifice him, do so; but if she tells you to do something that provides you
a way out, then accept it.”

So they left for Medina, where they found that the diviner whose name was
Sajāh, as Yūnus b. Bukayr reported from Ibn Ishaq, was at Khaybar. They rode
off again and went to her and sought her advice, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib telling her of
the whole problem regarding him and his son. She told them: “Leave me today,
until my attendant spirit comes and I can ask him.”

They left her and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib prayed to God. Next day they went back
to her and she informed them that she had had a message. “How much is the
blood-money you prescribe?” she asked. “Ten camels,” they told her, that being
then the case. “Then go back to your land and present your man as an offering
and do the same with ten camels. Then cast arrows to decide between him and
them. If the divining arrow points to him then add to the number of camels until
your god is satisfied; if it points to the camels, then sacrifice them in his place.
That way you will please your god and save your man.”

So they went back to Mecca and, when they had agreed to do as she had said,
ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said prayers to God. Then they offered up ʿAbd Allāh and the
ten camels as sacrifice and cast the arrow. It came out against ʿAbd Allāh so they
added ten more camels and tried once more. Again it came out against him and
they added ten more, then kept on doing so until the camels reached one hundred
in number. When they next cast the arrow it came out for the camels. At that
point the men of Quraysh told ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was standing near Hubal
praying to God, “It’s all over! Your God is pleased, O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.” It is

53. Two idols referred to earlier.
claimed that he then replied, “No, not until I cast the arrows three times.” So they did cast three times, the arrow always indicating the camels, which were slaughtered and left there for anyone to take without hindrance. And Ibn Hishām reported “And it is said, for any wild beast to take as well.”

It is otherwise related that when the number of camels reached 100 the arrow was still against ‘Abd Allāh, so they added another 100, making 200, and the same thing happened. Likewise it did with 300. It was then that the arrow came out against the camels, whereupon ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib slaughtered them. But the first account is the true one. Though God knows best.

Ibn Jarir related, from Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-Aslām, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazid, from al-Zuhri from Qabisā b. Ḍu‘ayb that Ibn ‘Abbās was asked for advice by a woman who had vowed to sacrifice her son at the ka’ba. He told her to sacrifice 100 camels instead and related to her the above account about ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She then asked ‘Abd Allāh b. Umar but he gave her no legal decision, simply refraining from doing so. The problem then reached Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who was the governor of Medina. He said, “Neither of them gave a correct decision.” He then ordered the woman to perform whatever acts of charity she could, forbidding her from sacrificing her son and not ordering her to slaughter any camels. And the people accepted Marwān’s judgement in the matter. But God knows best.

An Account of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s marriage of his son ‘Abd Allāh to Āmina bint Wahb al-Zuhriyya.

Ibn Ishāq stated: “‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib then left, holding his son ‘Abd Allāh by the hand. They passed, it is claimed, a woman of Banū Asad b. ‘Abd al-Wazzā b. Qusayy who was named Umm Qattāl; she was the sister of Waraqa b. Nawfāl b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-Uzza b. Qusayy and had been there at the ka’ba. She stared into the face of ‘Ahd Allāh and asked him where he was going. ‘With my father,’ he replied. ‘If you will have me now,’ she said, ‘you can have the like number of camels that were sacrificed for you!’ ‘But I am with my father, and I may not oppose him or leave him,’ he answered.”

‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took him further on till they reached Wahb b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Zuhra b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr who was at that time leader of Banū Zuhra in both age and honour. He agreed to marry to ‘Abd Allāh his daughter Āmina, who was then the woman most highly regarded among his people.

It is claimed that ‘Abd Allāh consummated the marriage then and there, and that she conceived the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ). Afterwards he left her and passed again by the woman who had made a proposition to him. He asked her,
"How come you're not making me the offer today you did yesterday?" She replied, "The light you bore yesterday has left you, and I need you no more." She had heard from her brother Waraqa b. Nawfal who had become a Christian and studied the Scriptures, that there was to be a prophet come to that nation, and she wanted him to be born to her. So God made him of the finest and most noble lineage, as the Almighty put it, in the Qur'an, "And God knows best where to place His prophethood" (ṣūrat al-An'am, VI, v.124). We will relate the birth itself in detail.

And among the verses spoken by Umm Qattāl expressing her disappointment at her failure to get what she had wanted are the following lines related by al-Bayhaqi from Yūnus b. Bukayr from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, God be pleased with him:

"And so on to Bantū Zuhra, where they were, and to Amina who bore a boy
She sees al-Mahdi, the right-guided, when he mounted her, and a light that had preceded him ahead . . ."

and so on to the lines:

"All creation, all mankind, were hoping for him to lead the people as an Ima'm, rightly guided.
God shaped him from a light, making it pure, its glow taking the gloom from us.
That is the work of your lord who singled him out, whether he would move ahead one day or stay
He guides the people of Mecca after faithlessness, enjoining thereafter the fast."

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Kharaḍiṭt said that 'Ali b. Ḥarb related to him, as did Muḥammad b. Umāra al-Qurashi, as did Muslim b. Khalid al-Zanjī, as did Ibn Jurayj from 'Ata' b. Abū Rihāb, from Ibn 'Abbas that the latter said, "When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib went off with his son 'Abd Allah to arrange his marriage, he passed by a woman diviner of the Tibāla people who had adopted the Jewish faith and read the Scriptures, her name being Fāṭima daughter of Murr al-Khath'amiyya. She saw the light of prophethood on 'Abd Allah's face and said, 'Young man, would you like to have me now and let me give you 100 camels?' 'Abd Allah replied with the verse,

'I'd rather die than do the forbidden, and staying here is not allowed, I clearly see.
So how could we do what you desire?'"

Then 'Abd Allah passed on with his father who married him to Amina daughter of Wahb b. 'Abd Manāf b. Zuhra; and he stayed three nights with her. Then he had an urge to accept the woman's offer so he went to her. "Well, what did you do after (seeing) me?" she asked. And he told her. She then said: "By God, I'm not a woman of doubtful morals; but I did see a light in your face, and I wanted it to be in me. But God refused to put it anywhere other than He wished." Then Fāṭima spoke the following verses:
"I saw a sign shine forth, glistening like raindrops in dark storm clouds,
Which appeared to me as a light illuminating all around it, as the full moon shines forth.
And I hoped to attain it, a source of pride I could capture, but not everyone who strikes his flint lights fire,
For God is what a Zuhrīyya woman took, though your two garments are what she seized; but she did not know that."

She also spoke the verses:

"O Banū Ḥashim, it came off from your brother to Umayna (Āmina) as they were passionately consummating their marriage,
As the lamp when it dies down leaves behind its wicks, stained with oil,
Not all the wealth a man holds is achieved by resoluteness, nor is what escapes him always from lassitude.
So be moderate in pursuing what you want; good luck and misfortune contending together should suﬃce you,
Suﬃce you either a hand tight closed or a hand laid open, ﬁngers stretched.
When Umayna (Āmina) got from him what she had, she received from him an honour, never to come again."

And Imām Abū Nu‘aym, the ḥāﬁz, in his book Dalā'il al-Nuβuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood), related on a chain from Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ’Umrān, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far, from Ibn ‘Awn, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās as follows: “‘Abd al-Muṭṭālib went to Yemen on a winter’s journey and stayed with a Jewish high priest. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭālib said, ‘And one of the monks – by that he meant a scholar of the Scriptures – said to me, “O ‘Abd al-Muṭṭālib, would you allow me to look at a certain part of you?” “Yes, if it be nothing shameful,” I replied. Then the man opened up one of my nostrils and looked inside it, and did the same with the other one, saying, “I swear that in one of your hands you will have power and in the other prophethood. But we ﬁnd that to be in the Banū Zuhra, so how can that be?” I replied that I did not know. The man then asked, “Do you have a shā’a?” I asked him what he meant by this word shā’a and he replied, a wife. I replied that I did not at that time and he said, “Well, when you go back marry someone from them (i.e. Banū Zuhra).”’"

“When ‘Abd Allāh married Āmina, the men of Quraysh commented, ‘He won out’, i.e. ‘Abd Allāh beat out or defeated his father ‘Abd al-Muṭṭālib.’"
An Account of his life story, his battles and raids, the delegations to him, and his natural qualities, his virtues, and the features distinguishing him.

CHAPTER: AN ACCOUNT OF HIS NOBLE ANCESTRY AND THE EXCELLENCE OF HIS HIGH LINEAGE.

God Almighty’s words were: “God knows best where to place His prophethood” (sūrat al-An‘ām, VI, v.124).

When Heraclius, the Roman emperor, asked Abū Sufyān questions relating to the qualities of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he wanted to know how good his lineage was in his people. Abū Sufyān replied, “He does indeed have good lineage in us.” Heraclius commented, “Thus are the messengers given their missions within the ancestry of their own people.” He meant from among peoples with the highest reputation and the most numerous tribal connections. May God’s blessing be upon them all.

He was the best of Adam’s sons, their pride on earth and the hereafter. He was known as the father of al-Qāsim and of Ibrāhim, as Muhammad, as Ḥamad, as al-Māḥi, “the Abolisher”, the one by whom disbelief was abolished, as al-‘Aqīb, “the Ultimate” after whom no prophet would follow, as al-Ḥāshir, “the Gatherer”, i.e. he at whose feet the people would gather, as al-Muqaffi, “the Tracker”, as nabi al-Raḥma, “the Prophet of Mercy”, as nabi al-Tawbah, “the Prophet of Repentance”, as nabi al-Malḥama, “the Prophet of the Fierce Battle”, as khātim al-nabiyyin, “the Seal of the Prophets”, as al-fātih, “the Conqueror”, as Ṭāhā, as Yāsīn, and as ‘Abd Allāh, “God’s Servant”.


We will give the accounts relating to the names attributed to him (ṢAAS) in a chapter we will include after the completion of the biography. For on this subject many traditions have come down, responsibility for gathering them having been assumed by two of the great ḥuffūz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī and Abū al-Qāsim b. ‘Asākir. Some people have written works specifically on these names, some
going so far as to gather as many as 1,000. But the great legal scholar Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabi al-Maliki, who interpreted the words of al-Tirmidhi in his book ʿAridat al-Ahwadhi (The Expert’s Clear Review), gives 64 such names. But God knows best.

He was the son of ʿAbd Allāh who was in turn the youngest son of his father ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; ʿAbd Allāh was the man who lay down to be sacrificed but was ransomed by 100 camels, as previously explained.

Al-Zuhri said, “And ʿAbd Allāh was the most handsome man in Quraysh. He was brother to al-Ḥārith, al-Zubayr, Ḥanẓa, Ḥarār, Abū Ṭālib, whose own given name was ʿAbd Manāf, Abū Lahab, whose given name was ʿAbd al-ʿUzza, al-Muqawwim, whose given name was ʿAbd al-Kaʿba, though some say these were two men, Ḥajj, whose given name was al-Mughira, al-Ghaydaq, a man of great generosity whose given name was Nawfal, though some say that was Ḥajj. These, then, were the paternal uncles of the Prophet (SAAS).

“His aunts numbered six; they were Arwā, Barra, Umayma, Ṣafiyya, ʿĀtika, and Umm Hakīm, she being al-Baydaʿ, ‘the white woman’. We will talk of all of these later, if God wills it.

“All of these were children of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, whose own name was Shayba, ‘grey’, so known because of his grey hair; alternatively his name Shayba, meant ‘the one praised for his generosity’. However, he was known as ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib because when his father Ḥāshim had passed through Medina on a trading mission to Syria, he had stayed at the house of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. Labid b. Ḥarām b. Khidash b. Khindaf b. ʿAdi b. al-Najār al-Khazrajī al-Najjāri who was the leader of his tribe. Ḥāshim was much taken with ʿAmr’s daughter Salmā and asked her father to engage her in marriage. He did so but on condition that she should remain there with him. Some say that the condition was that she should only give birth there with him in Medina. When Ḥāshim returned from Syria he consummated marriage with her and took her with him to Mecca. When he next went away on business she was pregnant and he took her with him, leaving her in Medina. Ḥāshim then went off to Syria but died at Ghazza. When Salmā gave birth to her child she named him Shayba. He remained there with his maternal uncles of the Bani ʿAdi b. al-Najjār for seven years.

“Then his uncle al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf came and secretly took him away from his mother and returned with him to Mecca. When people there saw them both on his mount they asked him who the boy was and he replied, ‘My ʿAbd, my servant!’ Then they all came up and welcomed the boy, addressing him consequently as ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, i.e. al-Muṭṭalib’s servant, and the name stuck to him.
“He rose to a great position of leadership among Quraysh, becoming their most honoured chief. They united behind him and in him rested the rights of al-saqzya and al-risāda, as had been the case with al-Muṭṭalib. It was al-Muṭṭalib who dug out the well zamzam, which had been covered up since the Jurhum era. He was the first to decorate the ka‘ba with gold, overlaying its doors with those two golden gazelles he found in zamzam along with the two white-metal swords.”

According to Ibn Hishām, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib was brother to Asad, Naḍla, Abū Ṣayfī, Ḥayya, Khālida, Ruqayya, al-Shaffā and Da‘īfa. All these were children of Hāshim. His real name was ‘Amr, but he was called Hāshim, i.e. “the crusher”, because he would crush bread with meat and broth for his people during years of famine, as Maṭrūd b. Ka‘b al-Khuza‘i said in his ode; the poem is alternatively attributed to al-Zaba‘rī Wid ‘Abd Allāh. The verses are:

“‘Amr is he who crushed the bread and meat for his people, the people of Mecca suffering drought and hunger.

He received charge of both expeditions, the winter caravan and that of the summers.”

This related to his having been the first to institute the two expeditions, of winter and of summer; he was the oldest of his father’s children. Ibn Jarīr related that he was the twin brother of ‘Abd Shams, and that Hāshim came forth with his leg attached to his twin brother’s head, which was only separated after blood had flowed between them. People said that that signified wars between their progeny; and so there occurred the confrontation between Bani al-‘Abbās and Bani Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams in the year 133 AH.

Their third brother, al-Muṭṭalib, was his father’s youngest boy; their mother was ‘Ātika, daughter of Murra, son of Hilāl.

The fourth of the siblings was Nawfāl, born to another mother named Waqīda daughter of ‘Amr of the tribe of Māzin. These brothers ruled their people after their father; they were known as al-mujirīn, “the protectors”. That is because they negotiated safe conduct for their people of Quraysh with the kings of the neighbouring lands so that they could enter them for trading. Hāshim won safe passage from the rulers of Syria, Byzantium, and Ghassān; ‘Abd Shams won the same from the Great Negus, the emperor of Abyssinia; Nawfāl gained it for them from the Chosroes, while al-Muṭṭalib received it from the kings of Ḥimyar.

It was of them that a poet composed the lines,

“O you, man, changing your luggage, have you not dismounted at the family of ‘Abd Manaf?”

54. The provision of water and food to the pilgrims.
Hashim enjoyed the rights of feeding and watering the pilgrims following his father, and it is to him as well as to his brother al-Muṭṭalib, that his kinsfolk claimed relationship. The two men were as one during both the pre- and post-Islamic periods, never differing. They (and their progeny) all together constituted one multi-sided tribe. But the progeny of their brothers ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal separated out. That is why Abū Ṭalib stated in his ode:

“God requited us Abd Shams and Nawfal as a punishment for evil, immediate, not delayed.”

No family from one father is known who were so far removed from one another in their deaths as they were. Hashim died in Ghazza in Syria, ʿAbd Shams died in Mecca, Nawfal in Salmān in Iraq, while al-Muṭṭalib, known as “the moon” for his fine looks, died in Radman on the way to Yemen. These, then are the four famous brothers, Hashim, ʿAbd Shams, Nawfal, and al-Muṭṭalib.

They did have a fifth brother who was not famous. He was known as Abū ʿAmr, his own name being ʿAbd, from the name ʿAbd Qūṣayy. People called him ʿAbd b. Qūṣayy; he died childless. This is what al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and others said. They also had six sisters whose names were Tāmāḏur, Ḥayya, Rīṭa, Qīlāba, Umm al-Akḥthām, and Umm Sufyān.

All these, then, were children of ʿAbd Manāf. Manāf was the name of an idol, and the original name of ʿAbd Manāf was “al-Muḥṭara”. He took the leadership during his father’s time, and his nobility was unexcelled. He was the brother of ʿAbd al-Dār who was his father’s eldest son. To him he delegated various appointments, as told above. There were also ʿAbd al-ʿUzza, ʿAbd, Barra, and Takhmur, the mother of them all being Ḥūbbā, daughter of Ḥulayl b. Ḥubshiyya b. Sallāl b. Kašb b. ʿAmr the Khuzāʿī. Her father was the last of the kings of Khuzāʿa who were the guardians of the kaʿba. All were descendants of Qūṣayy, whose given name was Zayd. He was known as Qūṣayy because his mother had married Ṭābiʾa b. Ḥarām b. Udhra after his father; Ṭābiʾa travelled with her to his own land while her son was still young, and Qūṣayy was so named because of this, i.e. “little stranger”. He later, when fully grown, returned to Mecca and united Quraysh into one, having gathered them together from all parts of the land. He removed Khuzāʿa’s power from the House (the kaʿba) and expelled them from Mecca, thus restoring what was right. He became absolute ruler over Quraysh and controlled the feeding and watering of the pilgrims, systems he established, along with the sadāna, the ḥijāba, and al-liwā. And his house was where public meetings were held, all of which is explained above. It is due to this that a poet spoke the line:

55. These offices referred, respectively, to the keeper of the kaʿba, the chamberlain, and the hoisting of the banner.
“Qūṣayy, by my life, was known as a ‘gatherer together’; through him God gathered up all the tribes of Fihr.”

He was the brother of Zuhrā, both being sons of Kilāb, who was the brother of Taym and of Yaqṣa Abu Makhzūm. All three were sons of Murra, who was the brother of ʿAdī and Huṣayṣ.

All of these were progeny of Kaʿb. It was he who used to address his people each Friday and announce to them the glad tidings of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), reciting poetry to that effect as we have given above. Kaʿb was brother to ʿAmīr, Sāma, Khuzayma, Saʿīd, al-Ḥārith, and ʿAwf, the seven being sons of Luʿayy, brother of Taym al-ʿAdram. These latter two were sons of Ghālib, brother of al-Ḥārith and Muḥārīb. These three were sons of Fīhr who was the brother of al-Ḥārith, both of them being sons of Mālik. He was the brother of al-Ṣalṭ and Yakhlud, who were sons of al-Naḍr who was given due credit for bringing Quraysh together into the right way, as we have shown heretofore. He was the brother of Mālik, Makhān, ʿAbd Manāt, and others. All these were born to Kināna, brother of Asād, Asada, and al-Ḥawn, sons of Khuzayma who was brother to Hudhayl. These two were sons of Mudrika, whose name was ʿAmr who was brother to Ṭabīkha whose name was ʿAmīr, and to Qamāʿa. These three were sons of Iyās; his brother was ʿAylān who fathered all of Qays. These two were sons of Muḍar, brother of Rābiʿa. These two men were known as al-Sariḥān, the candid ones, of the line of Ishmael; they had brothers named Anmār and Iyād who went to Yemen. These four were sons of Nizār, brother of Qudāʿa, according, that is, to a group of those who consider Qudāʿa to have been Ḥijāzī and ʿAdnānī in line, as we have explained above. These last two, Nizār and Qudāʿa, were sons of Maʿād b. ʿAdnān.

This genealogy, described as above, is without dispute among scholars. All the tribes of the Arabs of Ḥijāz combine in this line of descent. That is why Ibn ʿAbbās and others comment on the Qurʾānic verse, “Say, I shall not ask of you all any other reward than that of love for those related” (ṣūrat al-Shūrā, XLII, v.23) by implying that there was not a single subtribe of Quraysh devoid of linear connection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him, was correct and conservative in saying as he did. Namely, that all the ʿAdnān Arab tribes relate to him through their fathers’ lines and many through their mothers’ lines as well, as Muhammad b. Ishāq and others showed through their tracing of all his mothers and of those of the rest back through their maternal lines at great length.

Ibn Ishāq, God have mercy on him, and the ḥāfīz Ibn ʿAsākir recorded all this.

In our comments above on the biography of ʿAdnān we gave details of his descent and matters relating thereto. He was very definitely of Ishmael’s line, though there is some variance in the number of generations between them, as is shown in accounts we explained above. But God knows best.
We also reported the rest of the genealogy back from 'Adnān to Adam, along with the ode of Abū al-‘Abbās al-Nashi' incorporating that material. All this was in the material relating to the Arabs of Hījāz, our thanks be to God.

The Imām Abū Ja‘far b. Jarir, God have mercy on him, gave a very useful, succinct, and accurate account of that in the opening part of his history.

We have one hadith relating to his descent from 'Adnān actually spoken when he was on the minbar, the pulpit, but God knows how authentic it is. The hāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Abū al-Ḥasan al-‘Alī b. ʿAlī b. Ḥāfīz, the reciter in Baghdad, informed him that Abū ʿIsa Bakkār b. Aḥmad b. Bakkār related to him, as did Abū Ja‘far Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Sa‘d in a transcription dated 296, quoting Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Abān al-Qalānīsī, quoting Abū Muḥammad Abū Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Rabī‘a al-Qaddāmī, quoting Mālik b. Anas, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, and from Abū Bakr, Abū al-Raḥmān b. ‘Arifī b. Hishām as follows: “It reached the Prophet (SAAS) that some men of Kinda were claiming relationship to him, so he stated, ‘Al-‘Abbās and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb would say that only to make us look bad; we will never deny our forefathers. We are Banū al-Nadr b. Kūnān.”

The account states that the Prophet gave an address as follows: “I am Muḥammad son of ‘Abd ‘Allāh b. Abī al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim b. Abī Manāf b. Qurṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murra b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kūnān b. Khuzayma b. Mūdirka b. Iyās b. Mūjār b. Nisār. And whenever people divided off into two groups God placed me in the better. I was born from my two parents and was tainted by none of the debauchery of the era before Islam. I was the product of true marriage, not fornication, right down from Adam to my father and my mother. I am the best of you in spirit and the best of you in parentage.”

This tradition is a very strange one from Mālik. Al-Qaddāmī alone transmits it, and he is a weak authority. Nevertheless we will give several testimonies in support of it from other sources.

Regarding his having said, as above, “I was the product of true marriage, not fornication”, Abī al-Razzāq stated that Ibn ‘Uyayna informed him, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, that his father Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir making reference to the Qur’ānic verse, “A messenger has come to you from yourselves” (ṣūrat al-Tāhā, IX, v.128) said that, “He was not tainted at all by his birth during the jāhiliyya, the pre-Islamic era”; and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “I was the product of true marriage, not fornication.” This tradition is very incomplete in its transmission.

The same was related by al-Bayhaqī from al-Ḥākim, from al-‘Āṣamm, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṣan‘ānī, from Yaḥyā b. Abī Bukayr, from Abī al-Ghaflār b. al-Qāsim, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “God produced me from a true marriage, not from fornication.”
Ibn 'Adi related it with a complete transmission chain as follows, “Ahmad b. Ḥafṣ related to us, as did Muḥammad b. Abū ʿAmr al-Ṣaḍad al-Makki, as did Muḥammad b. Jafer b. Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn, saying, ‘My father testified to me, on the authority of his father and his grandfather, as having heard from ʿAli b. Abū Ṭālib that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “I was the product of true marriage, not fornication, from Adam right on up to when my father and mother had me. And I was not at all tainted by the fornication of the jāhilyya.”’

This is a strange tradition from this line of transmission and can scarcely be credited.

Hushaym said, “Al-Madini related to me, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Nothing of the fornication of the jāhilyya was born in me; I was born from nothing but a true marriage, just like the true marriage of Islam.’”

This too is strange. The ḥāfiz Ibn ʿAsakir passed it on, then substantiated it by a tradition of Abū Hurayra, and there is weakness in its transmission from him. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd said, “Muḥammad b. ʿUmar informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim, from his uncle al-Zuhri, from Urwa, from ʿAisha who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I was born from a true marriage, not fornication.’”

Moreover Ibn ʿAsakir passed down from a tradition of Abū ʿĀṣim, from Shabib, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās who with reference to the Qurʾanic verse “your ever-changing presence among those who prostrate in prayer” (ṣūrat al-Shuʿarāʾ, XXVI, v.219) quoted the Prophet as saying, “from prophet to prophet until I was brought forth as a prophet.” He related this on the authority of ʿAṭaʾ.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd said, “Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbi informed us, from his father who said, ‘I wrote out some 500 maternal ancestors for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and found fornication in not one of them, nor anything relating to (the evil ways) of the jāhilyya.’”

It is established in the saḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī from a ḥadīth of ʿAmr b. Abū ʿAmr from Saʿīd al-Maqbiri, from Abū Hurayra who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘I was sent on through the best of generations of humankind, age after age, until I received my mission in the century in which I lived.’”

In the saḥīḥ of Muslim, from a tradition of al-Awzāʿī from Shaddād Abū ʿAmmār, from Wāthila b. al-Asqaʾ, comes the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): “God chose Ishmael from the children of Abraham, Banū Kināna from the tribe of Ishmael, Quraysh from the tribe of Kināna, Banū Ḥāshim from Quraysh, and myself from Banū Ḥāshim.”
The Imam Ahmad (Ibn Hanbal) stated that Abu Nu'aym related to him, from Sufyân, from Yazid b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd Allâh b. al-Ḥarith b. Nawfal, from al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadâ'a, who said that Al-'Abbâs stated, "Certain things the people were saying reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) so he mounted the pulpit and asked, 'Who am I?' They replied, 'You are the Messenger of God.' He replied, 'I am Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; God devised creation and made me part of his best creatures. He made them all into two groups, placing me in the better of them. He created the tribes and placed me in the best one, subdivided them into buyūt (clans) and placed me in the best one. And so I am the best of you both in clan and in spirit.'" May God's grace and blessings be upon him always and forever till Judgement Day!

Ya'qūb b. Sufyân said that Ubayd Allâh b. Mūsâ related to him, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khalīl, from Yazid b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd Allâh b. al-Ḥarith b. Nawfal, from al-'Abbâs b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, "I once said, 'O Messenger of God, when Quraysh meet one another they do so joyfully, but when they meet us it is as if we don't know them.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became extremely angry when he heard that and said, 'By Him in whose hand is the soul of Muḥammad, faith will never enter the heart of any man until he loves you all for the sake of God and his Messenger.'"

"I commented, 'O Messenger of God, Quraysh sat recalling their lines of genealogy and you they compared to a date palm in a hole in the ground.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, 'On the day when God created man he placed me among the best of them. Then when He divided them into tribes He placed me in the best one. And when He made the buyūt, clans, he placed me in the best one. And so I am the best of them in spirit and the best in clan.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shība related it from Ibn Fuḍayl from Yazid b. Abū Ziyād, from 'Abd Allâh b. al-Ḥarith, from Rabī'a b. al-Ḥarith who said, "(The comment) reached the Prophet (ṢAAS) and he responded to it as above." But he (i.e. Rabī'a b. al-Ḥarith) made no mention of al-'Abbâs.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyân said that Yahyâ b. 'Abd al-Jamîd related to him, as did Qays b. 'Abd Allâh, from al-Ṭamâsh, from 'Alīlâ b. Rubâi' from Ibn 'Abbâs, who said: "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'God divided creation into two parts and placed me in the better of them. This relates to His words (in the Qur'ān) 'and those of the right' and "those of the left." And I am of those of the right, indeed the best one of them. God then split these two parts into thirds placing me in the best third. This relates to His words "those of al-maymâna" (the right wing) and to "al-sâbiqûn, al-sâbiqûn" (those in the forefront). I am one of those in the forefront; indeed I am the best of them.

"Then He made those thirds into tribes and placed me in the best of them. That relates to His words, "We made you into peoples and tribes so that you
would know one another; the most noble of you in God's sight are the most pious. God is indeed knowing, informed” (ṣūrat al-Ḥujurat, XLIX, v.13). And I am the most pious of Adam's sons and the most noble of them with God. Without boast.

“God then made the tribes into buyūt, clans, and placed me in the best of them. This relates to God's words. "God wants only to remove from you what is unclear, O people of the house, purifying you thoroughly” (ṣūrat al-Ahzāb, XXXIII, v.33). And I and the people of my house are purified of sin.”

This hadith is somewhat strange and objectionable.

Al-Ḥakim and al-Bayhaqi related from a hadith from Muḥammad b. Dhakwān, the uncle of the son of Ḥamād b. Zayd, from ‘Amr b. Dinār, from Ibn Umar who said, "We were sitting in the courtyard of the Prophet (ṢAAS) when a woman passed by. Someone said, 'That's the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!' Abī Sufyān then commented, 'Muḥammad's presence in Banū Ḥāshim is like a sweet basil plant amidst rotten garbage!' The woman hurried off and informed the Prophet (ṢAAS).

“Soon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, his face showing his anger. He said, 'What's the meaning of certain statements reaching me about people? God created all seven heavens and chose the highest for whomsoever of his creatures he wished to dwell there. Then he created all living things and chose from them mankind. From mankind he chose the Arabs and from them Muḍār. From Muḍār he chose Quraysh and from them the Banū Ḥāshim. From Banū Ḥāshim he chose me. I am the choicest of the chosen; so whoever loves the Arabs, it is through loving me that he loves them. Whoever hates the Arabs, it is through hating me that he hates them.'”

This too is a strange hadith.

It is established in the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "I am (to be) lord of Adam's sons on Judgement Day, without boasting.”

Al-Ḥakim and al-Bayhaqi recounted from a hadith of Mūsā b. Ubayda that ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Nawfāl related to him from al-Zuhrī, from Abū ‘Usāma or Abū Salama, from Ḥāishā, God bless her, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “Gabriel said to me, 'I searched the earth from east to west but found no man superior to Muḥammad; and I searched the earth from east to west but found no tribe superior to the Banū Ḥāshim.'”

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi said, “These traditions, even though the transmitters of some are unreliable, do substantiate one another. And the message of all does relate back to the hadith of Wāthila b. al-Asqa‘. But God knows best.”

On this subject Abū Ṭalib spoke the following verses in praise of the Prophet (ṢAAS):
“Were Quraysh to gather one day to boast, ‘Abd Manaf would be their heart and core,
And if the chiefs of ‘Abd Manaf were assessed, their most noble and ancient of line would be from Hashim,
Were they to boast one day, then Muhammed would be the one chosen from their inmost, and their pride.
Quraysh, all and sundry of them, plotted against us, but they did not succeed and were confounded;
Since ancient days we reject injustice and if others turned away in contempt we set them straight.
Each day we protect their sanctuary from evil, repelling from their refuges all seeking them;
By us the dried-out branches are revived, their roots becoming moist and growing under our protection.”

Abū al-Sakn Zakariyya b. Yaḥyā al-Ṭā‘ī said in the famous anecdote ascribed to him: “Umar b. Abū Zuhr b. Ḥašīn said, on the authority of his grandfather Ḥamīd b. Munhib, that his grandfather Khuraym b. Aws stated, ‘I went away to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and came to him at his camp at Tabūk. I had become a Muslim. I heard al-ʻAbbās b. ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib say, ‘Oh Messenger of God, I would like to speak verses in your praise.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Speak on and may God not block your tongue.’ So he recited,

“Before this you were pleasantly in the shade (of paradise) in a place where leaves clustered above.
Then you came down to this land; no human you, no embryo, no clot.
A droplet, rather, riding (Noah’s) vessel, the deep having bridled an eagle and his family.
Being carried from loins to womb, one world passing, another surface appearing,
Until your supreme house encompassed Khindaf56 so lofty (in honour), beneath her all other beings.
When you were born the earth glowed, the horizon shining with your light.
So we are in that illumination and that light, making our way upon the paths of righteousness.””

This poem has been ascribed to Ḥassān b. Thābit.

56. Khindaf was the wife of Ilyās, mother of Mudrika, referred to earlier in the lineage from which the Prophet descended.
Warqā' b. Umar, from Ibn Abū Najīth from ʿAtā and Mujāhid from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, "I posèd the following question to the Messenger of God (SAAS), 'Where were you, may my parents be your ransom, when Adam was still in paradise?' He replied, smiling so broadly all his teeth could be seen, 'I was in his loins. Then the vessel carried me into the loins of my father Noah, who cast me out into the loins of my father Abraham. My parents never once engaged in fornication. God went on transporting me from respectable loins to chaste wombs, pure and unsullied, and whenever a line split I was always in the better half. God has covenanted prophethood in me and made Islam my pact. He made mention of me in the Torah and in the Bible. All the prophets made clear my qualities; the earth brightens with my light and the dark clouds with my face. He taught me His Book and gave me honour in His heaven. He cut off for me one of His own names; the enthroned One is Mahmūd, while I am Muḥammad and Ahmad. He promised me that He would reward me with a garden and with al-kawthar, the river of paradise, that He would make me the first intercessor and the first for whom there was intercession. He drew me forth, moreover, out of the best marriage for my people, and they are those who give much praise, enjoin good deeds and prohibit sin.'"

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "Ḥassān b. Ṭābit spoke the following verses about the Prophet (SAAS):

'Before this you were pleasantly in the shade, and in a place where the leaves are plaited together,
Then you dwelt in this land; no human you, no embryo, no clot,
Purified, riding the vessel, the deep flood having bridled an eagle and his family,
You were carried from loin to womb; whenever one surface passed, another appeared.'

"So the Prophet (SAAS) said, 'May God have mercy on Ḥassān!' And ʿĀli b. Abū Ṭalib commented, 'Ḥassān deserves paradise, by the Lord of the kaʿba!'"

The ḥāfiz Ibn ʿAsakir then stated: "This tradition is very strange!"
And I say, it is highly objectionable. And it is well established that these verses are by al-ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him. They were, moreover, passed on from a tradition of Abū al-Sakn Zakariyya b. Yahyā al-Ṭāḥi, as above.

I also comment that some claim that the verses are of al-ʿAbbās b. Mardās al-Salamī. But God knows best.

An observation: The qāḍī ʿIyād stated in his book al-Shifāʾ (Healing): "Regarding the name 'Ahmād' mentioned in the (holy) Books and of whom the prophets gave glad tidings, God in His wisdom prevented anyone to be named by it before Him, so that no confusion or doubt should descend on those weak of heart."
Similarly with “Muḥammad” as well; none of the Arabs or any other people was named by it until shortly before his birth word was spread that a prophet would be sent whose name would be “Muḥammad”. And so a small Arab group did give their sons that name hoping that one of them would be he. But God knows best where to place His message.


It is said that the first person named “Muḥammad” was Muhammad b. Sufyān b. Mujashi; in Yemen they say, however, that it was “Muḥammad” b. al-Yahmud of Azd.

Moreover, God protected those so named from claiming the prophethood or others from claiming it for them. Not one of them showed any manifestation that would cause anyone to suspect of such, until the two signs were realized in him (ṢAAS) “signs that could not be denied”, that being His expression.

**CHAPTER ON THE BIRTH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).**

He was born on a Monday. This is from what is related by Muslim in his ṣaḥīḥ collection, from a ḥadīth told by Ghaylān b. Jarīr from ‘Abd Allāh b. Maẖad al-Zimmānī, from Abū Qatāda to the effect that a bedouin said, “O Messenger of God, what do you say about fasting on Mondays?” He replied, “That is the day I was born, and the day I was first sent revelation.”

The Imām Aḥmad said, “Mūsā b. Dāwūd related to us, as did Ibn Lāḥi’ā, from Khalīl b. Abū Ṭumān, from Ḥanash al-Sānānī, from Ibn ‘Abbās who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday. He received the prophethood on a Monday, left Mecca for Medina as an emigrant on a Monday, arrived at Medina on a Monday, died on a Monday, and raised up the stone on a Monday.’”

Only Aḥmad gives the tradition thus, but ‘Amr b. Bukayr related it from Ibn Lāḥi’ā with an addition of the words, “The Qur’ānic sūrat al-Mācid (Ch. V) was revealed on a Monday, with the words, “This day have I completed for you your religion” (V, v.3).

Some others relate it thus from Mūsā b. Dāwūd with a further addition, “The battle of Badr was on a Monday.” Yazīd b. Ḥabīb was one of those who stated this. But it is highly objectionable.

According to Ibn ‘Asākir what is generally accepted is that the battle of Badr and the revelation of “This day I have completed for you your religion” both occurred on a Friday. And Ibn ‘Asākir spoke the truth.

‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr recounted, from Qurayb, from Ibn ‘Abbās who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born and died on a Monday.”
Similar reports from different lines of transmission also have Ibn ‘Abbás saying that he was born on a Monday.

This, then, is a matter without dispute, namely that he was born on a Monday. Unlikely, indeed in error, is the view of those who say he was born on Friday, the 17th day, the month of Rabi‘ al-Awwal. This idea was transmitted by the ḥāfiz Ibn Dihya from what he had read in the book: 'I‘lām al-Ruwwāt bi A‘lām al-Hudā (Informing the Narrators of the Signs of Righteousness) written by certain Shi‘ites. But then Ibn Dihya proceeded to denigrate this account; and it is appropriate to criticize it since it contradicts authenticated tradition.

Most people believe that the birth occurred in the month of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, and, it is said, on the second day thereof. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr stated this in his exhaustive study and al-Waqidi related it from Abū Ma‘ṣhar Nujayh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Madānī.


And it is said, in an account transmitted by Ibn Dihya in his book, that it occurred on the 10th of the month; Ibn ‘Aṣākir related this from Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir as did Mujāhid from al-Sha‘bī, as above.

The birth is also said to have come on the 12th of the month. Ibn Ishāq states this. Ibn Abū Shayba relates this too in his compilation, on the authority of ‘Affān, from Sa‘īd b. Minā‘, from Jābir and from Ibn ‘Abbas, the latter two having stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the ‘year of the elephant’, on Monday the 12th of Rabi‘ al-Awwal. On that same day he received his mission, was carried up to heaven, emigrated from Mecca, and died. And this is what is widely known to most people; but God knows best.”

He is also said to have been born on the 17th, as Ibn Dihya reported from some of the Shi‘a. But also on the 8th, Ibn Dihya so stating from the writing of the māzīr, the government minister, Abū Rāfī‘, son of the ḥāfiz Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, from his father. What is correct about the account of Ibn Ḥazm, the first, that it occurred on the 8th, is as al-Ḥumaydī recounted from him; this is best established.

There is a second account, namely that he was born in Ramadān. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr transmitted this from al-Zubayr b. Bakkār. This is a very strange statement. Its basis is the fact that he doubtless received revelation in Ramadān, at the beginning of the 40th year of his life. And so his birth should be in Ramadān. However, this is debatable. But God knows best.
Khaytham b. Sulaymān, the ḥāfīz, related from Khalaf b. Muḥammad Kirdaws al-Wasīṭī, from al-Muʿalla b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, from al-Zuhri, from Ubayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday in Rabīʿ al-Awwal and revelation of his prophethood came down to him on Monday, the first of Rabīʿ al-Awwal; also the Qurʾān chapter al-Baqara (The Cow; II) was revealed on a Monday in Rabīʿ al-Awwal.”

This is very strange. It is Ibn ʿAsakir who related it.

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, “His mother became pregnant with him during ayyām al-taṣhriq, the celebratory feast days, in the vale of Abū Ṭalib, near al-jumrat al-wusṭā, the central stoning pile at Mina. He was born in Mecca in the house known as that of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, brother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, on the 12th of Ramadān.”

The ḥāfīz Ibn ʿAsākir recounted this from a line through Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. ʿUqba b. Makram, from al-Musayyab b. Sharīk, from Shuʿayb b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was conceived on the day of ʿAshūrā, the 9th or 10th day of Muharram, and he was born on Monday, the 12th of Ramadān in the 23rd year after the attack on Mecca by the troops with elephants.”

Other sources relate that al-Khayzūrān, the mother of Haan al-Rashīd, when she performed the pilgrimage, ordered the conversion of this house into a mosque. It is known by her name to this day.

Al-Suhaylī gave the date of his birth as the 20th of Nisān, April. This was the most appropriate time and season; and that was in the year 882 of the era of Alexander, according to those who use astronomical almanacs.

And they claim that the ascendant was at twenty degrees from Capricorn, and that Jupiter and Saturn were joined together at a position within three degrees of Scorpio, a position in the middle of the heavens. This was in correspondence with the stages of Aries. The birth occurred as the moon first arose at the beginning of the night. Ibn Dihyā transmitted all this; but God knows best.

According to Ibn Ishaq, his birth occurred in the year of the elephant.

And this is what is well known to the people at large. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī said, “And this is something about which our scholars have no doubt, the fact that he was born in the year of the elephant; and that he received his mission as a prophet at the beginning of the 40th year after the attack with elephants.”

57. The term was applied to the three days following the Day of Immolation during the Hajj festival.
Al-Bayhaqi related this as well from a tradition of Abū ʻIshāq al-Sabī‘ī, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr from Ibn Abbās who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was born in the year of the elephant attack.”

Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq stated, “Al-Muttašib b. ʻĀbd Allāh b. Qays b. Makhrama related, from his father, from his grandfather Qays b. Makhrama, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) and I were born in the year of the elephant attack; our births were contemporaneous.’”

‘Uthmān, may God be pleased with him, asked Qubāṭh b. Ashyam, brother of Bānū Ya‘mur b. Layth, “Were you the greater58 (in age) or was the Messenger of God (SAAS)?” He replied, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was ‘greater’ than me, but I was earlier in birth. I saw the elephants’ droppings when still green and changing (in colour).” Al-Tirmidhī related this, as did al-Ḥākim from a ḥadīth of Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated: “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was 20 in the year of ‘ukāz.”

He also said, “Al-fijār59 took place 20 years after the elephant attack. The building of the kahba was done 15 years after al-fijār, and the divine mission came about 5 years after its building.”

Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭṣim stated, “Ukāz occurred 15 years after the ‘elephant’ battle, the building of the kahba 10 years thereafter, and the mission 15 years after that.”

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi related from a tradition of ʻAbd al-‘Azīz b. Abū Thabit al-Madīni as follows: “Al-Zubayr b. Mūsā related to us on the authority of Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, saying, ‘I heard ʻAbd al-ʻMalik b. Marwān say to Qubāṭh b. Ashyam al-Kinānt al-Laythi, “O Qubāṭh, which of you, you or the Messenger of God (SAAS) was akbar?” He replied, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was akbar (i.e. greater) than me, but I was asānn, older. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was born during the year of the elephant attack, but I was aware enough to recall my mother standing with me upon the elephant’s dung while it was still changing (in colour). And the Messenger of God (SAAS) became a Prophet at the beginning of 40 years thereafter.’’”

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān said, “Yaḥyā b. ʻĀbd Allāh b. Bukayr related to us, Nuʿaym, meaning Ibn Maysara, related to us, from certain others, from Suwayd b. Ghafta, that the last-mentioned stated, ‘I am contemporary in birth with the Messenger of God (SAAS); I was born in the year of the elephant attack.’”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “It is related from Suwayd b. Ghafta that he said, ‘I am younger than the Messenger of God (SAAS) by two years.’”

58. The word akbar is used which may mean “older” or “greater”; hence the exchanges in the accounts that follow.

59. Battles at Ukāz between Arab tribes during months when warfare was proscribed.
Ya'qūb said: "And Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to us, as did ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Thābit, (and) ʿAbd Allāh b. Uthmān b. Abū Sulaymān al-Nawfālī related to me, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Jabayr b. Muṭṣim, saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born in the year of the elephant attack, and the Ukáz incident occurred 15 years later. The kāṭha was built early in the 25th year after the elephant attack, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet at the beginning of the 40th year after that attack.'"

The outcome is that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was, according to majority opinion, born in the year of the elephant attack. Some say the birth occurred one month after that event, others say 40 days, yet others 50 days, which is the most favoured date.

And according to Abī Jaʿfar al-Baqīr, the arrival of the elephants was halfway through the month of al-Muḥarram, while the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred 55 days thereafter.

But others say that, on the contrary, the elephant attack occurred ten years before the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ibn Abzā stated this. The attack is also said to have occurred 23 years before his birth; this is what Shuʿayb b. Shuʿayb related from his father from his grandfather, as stated above. Alternatively, the birth is said to have come 30 years after the attack; Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated this, from al-Zuhri, God be pleased with him. And Mūsā b. ʿUqba himself, God be pleased with him also, chose this date.

Abī Zakariyyāʾ al-Ṭjlānī stated that the birth came 40 years after the attack; Ibn ʿAsākir recounted this, something very strange.

Even stranger is the statement of Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ who said, "Shuʿayb b. Ḥībbān related to me, from ʿAbd al-ʿWāḥid son of Abū ʿĀmr, from al-Ḵalīf, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās as follows: 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born 15 years before the elephant attack.'" This statement is unique, objectionable, and considered weak as well.

Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ stated, "The consensus is that he was born, peace be upon him, in the year of the elephants' attack."

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**A DESCRIPTION OF HIS NOBLE BIRTH (ṢAAS).**

It has been told above how ʿAbd al-Ḥṣṭalib sacrificed the 100 camels, God having saved him from fulfilment of his vow to sacrifice his son ʿAbd Allāh. This was in accord with what He had decreed of old, that the nābī al-ʿummi, the unlettered Prophet (ṢAAS) the "seal of the prophets", and the lord of all the progeny of Adam would appear. Thereafter, as explained, He arranged the marriage of ʿAbd Allāḥ to the most noble of the women of Quraysh, ʿĀmina, daughter of Wahb b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Zuhra al-Zuhriyya. And when the groom took her as his
wife and consummated the marriage, she became pregnant with the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Umm Qattāl, Raqīqa, daughter of Nawfal, sister of Waraqa b. Nawfal, saw the sign of light appear between ʿAbd Allāh’s eyes before he united with Āmina. She wished for it to be transmitted to herself, because of all the tidings she had heard from her brother foretelling the coming of Muḥammad (SAAS) and that his time was near; she therefore offered herself to ʿAbd Allāh. Some authorities add “To have him marry her”. That does seem most likely. But God knows best. But ʿAbd Allāh resisted her and when that dazzling light had gone to Āmina after he consummated marriage with her, it seems that he regretted not having accepted what Umm Qattāl had offered. And so he approached her to have her repeat her offer. But she now said she had no need of him and was sad at what she had missed. She therefore recited on that subject the fine and eloquent poetry we quoted above. The chaste abstinence of ʿAbd Allāh was not to his own credit but to that of the Messenger of God (SAAS); it reflected the words of God Almighty, “God knows best wherein to place His mission” (ṣūrat al-Anʿām, VI, v.124).

The tradition, from a good transmission line, has already been given that the Prophet (SAAS) stated, “I was born of marriage, not fornication.”

What is intended here is (to say) that after his mother had conceived him his father died and he remained a foetus in his mother’s womb, as it is generally understood.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, being al-Wāqīḍī, related to him, as did Mūsā b. Ubayyda al-Yazīḍī, as did Saʿīd b. Abū Zayd, from Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Ṣaʿṣaʿā, as follows: “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib went off to Ghazza in a Quraysh trading caravan. When they finished their business they left there and passed through Medina. By then ʿAbd Allāh was sick and he asked that he be left there in the company of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār to whom he was related.

“He stayed there with them sick for one month while his friends continued back to Mecca. There ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib asked them about his son ʿAbd Allāh and they told him of how he was sick and they had left him with his relatives of Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib sent to him his oldest son al-Ḥarīth, but the latter found that ʿAbd Allāh had died and been buried in the house of al-Nābigha. And so al-Ḥarīth returned to his father and told him this.

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his brothers and sisters all grieved terribly at his loss. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was at that time still a foetus; ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was 25 when he died.”

Al-Wāqīḍī asserted, “This is the most firmly based of the accounts of the death of ʿAbd Allāh and of his age that we have.”

Al-Wāqīḍī also said, “Maʿṣūr related to me from al-Zuhri that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib sent ʿAbd Allāh to Medina to purchase dates for them but he died.”
Muḥammad b. Sa‘d stated, “Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī told us from his father as well as from ‘Awānā b. al-Ḥakam that they had both said that ʻAbd Allāh b. ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib died after the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) had reached 28 months; and it is also said he was 7 months old.”

Muḥammad b. Sa‘d stated, “The first account is better established, namely that when he died the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) was still a foetus.”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, “Mulynunad b. Hasan related to me, from ʻAbd al-Salam, from Ibn Kharbudh, as follows, ʻAbd Allāh died in Medina when the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) was 2 months old. His mother died when he was 4 years of age, and his grandfather when he was 8. And so he was entrusted to his uncle, Abū ʻAlī.”

What al-Waqidi considered more probable and the ḥāfīz Muḥammad b. Sa‘d wrote, was that when his father died the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) was still a foetus in his mother’s womb.

And this is the epitome and highest rank of being an orphan.

In the ḥadīth literature occur the words, “and the visions of my mother who saw, as she bore me, a light came forth from her that lit up the castles of Syria.”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Šāmīna, daughter of Wahb and mother of the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ), used to say that when she became pregnant with the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ), a voice told her: “You are pregnant with the lord of this nation; when he drops to the ground (in birth) say the words, ‘I invoke for him the protection of the One God, from the evil of all who envy, from everyone committed to his oath and every prowling slave; may a champion protect me, for he is with the All-praised and All-glorious One, until I see him come into view. “And the proof of that is a light accompanying him that will fill the castles of Buṣrā in Syria. And at his birth, then call him Muḥammad, for in the Torah his name is “Ahmad” and the hosts of earth and heaven give him ḥamād, praise. In the Gospels his name is “Aḥmad”, the hosts of heaven and earth giving him ḥamād, praise. And his name in the Qur’ān is “Muḥammad”, “the praised one.””

But these traditions require that she had a vision when she became pregnant with him, that a light was emanating from her by which the castles of Syria were illuminated. And then, when she gave birth to him, she actually saw by her eyes a realization of that, just as she had seen beforehand, as told here. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Sa‘d stated that Muḥammad b. Umar, he being al-Wāqidi, informed him that Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh b. Muslim related to him, from al-Zuhri, what follows. Al-Waqidi also stated that Mūsā b. ʻAbda related to him the following, from his brother and Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraṭī; as did ʻAbd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Zuhri, from his aunt Umm Bakr, daughter of al-Miswar, from
her father; as did ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Mazānī and Ziyād b. Ḥashraj, from Abū Wajza; as did Maʿmar from Abū Nujayh, from Mujaḥid; as did Ṭalha b. ʿAmr from ʿĀṭaʾ from Ibn ʿAbbās. The accounts of some of these correlate with those of others. These accounts state that Āmina daughter of Wāb said, “I became pregnant with him (meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) and he caused me no difficulties up to when I gave birth to him. When he was separated from me a light emerged along with him that lit all between east and west. Then he dropped to the ground, resting upon his hands, and took up a handful of earth which he gripped tight, raising his head towards heaven.”

Some sources word this tradition, “he dropped down resting upon his knees and there emerged with him a light by which were illuminated the castles and market-places of Syria, even so that the necks of the camels at Buṣrā could be seen, while he raised his head towards heaven.”

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi said that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the ḥāfiẓ, informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishaq, and Yūnus b. Muḥashshir b. al-Ḥasan, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Abū ʿUthmān b. Jāḥiẓ b. Muʿāwiyah, from his father, from Ibn Abī al-ʿAṣ as follows: “My mother told me that she witnessed the giving of the birth by Āmina daughter of Wāb to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the night the birth occurred.” She said, “All I could see in the house was light. As I looked I saw the stars coming so close that I said that they were going to fall on me!”

The qāḍī (judge) ʿIyād recounted, from al-Shaffīʿ, mother of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAww, that she was his midwife and that she said that when he dropped into her hands and first made a sound, she heard a voice say, “May God have mercy on you!” And (she said) that a light shone from him by which the castles of Byzantium could be seen.

Muḥammad b. Ishaq said that when she gave birth to him she sent her slave girl to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, his father having died while she was pregnant (it is also said that ʿAbd Allāh died when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was 28 months old, and God knows best which account is true) to say to him, “A boy has been born to you, so look to him.”

When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib came to her she related to him what she had seen when she bore him, what she had been told about him, and what she had been ordered to name him.

So ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took him in to Hubal; inside the kaʿba, and stood and prayed, thanking God the Almighty and Glorious, and speaking the verses,

“Praise be to God who gave me this fine, wonderful boy,

Who already in the cradle leads all boys; I entrust his safety to the pillared House (kaʿba),
Until he becomes the epitome of young men, until I see him fully grown.
I seek his protection from all who hate, and from the envious and the unstable,
From those with ambition but eyeless, until I see him highly eloquent;
You are he who was named in the Qur'ān, in books whose meanings are well established,
(Your name being) ‘Āḥmad, written upon the tongue.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Ābu ‘Abd Allāh the ḥāfiz informed us, quoting Ābu Bakr Muḥammad b. Āḥmad b. Ḥātim al-Darābardi, of Merv, Ābu ‘Abd Allāh al-Būshanjī related to us, quoting Ābu Ayyūb Sulaymān b. Salama al-Khabā’īrī, quoting Yūnus b. ‘Aṭā’ b. ‘Uthmān b. Rabī’ā b. Ziyād b. al-Ḥārith al-Ṣaddāqī, of Egypt, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Abān, from Īkrīma, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from his father al-ʿAbbās b. ‘Ābd al-Muṭṭalīb, God bless him, as follows. “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord severed. His grandfather ‘Ābd al-Muṭṭalīb was amazed at this and found favour in him, saying, ‘This son of mine is sure to be important.’ And so he was.”

There is dispute over the veracity of this.
The ḥāfiz Ibn ‘Asākir told it, from an account of Sufyān b. Muḥammad al-Maṣṣiṣī, from Hushaym, from Yūnus b. Ubayd, from al-Ḥasan, from Anas, as follows: The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “One way God honoured me was in my being born already circumcised, so that no one saw my private parts.”

He (Ibn ‘Asākir) then related it on a line of transmission from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Arafa, on the authority of Hushaym.

He thereafter related it from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, he being al-Bāghandi, who said that ‘Abd al-Ḥāmīn b. Ayyūb al-Ḥīmṣī related to him, quoting Mūsā b. Ābd Mūṣā al-Maqdīṣī, that Khālid b. Salama related to him, from Naṭīḥ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the latter said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord detached.”

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Abū ʿĀḥmad Muḥammad b. ʿĀḥmad al-Ghitrī related to him, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. ʿĀḥmad b. ‘Ābd Allāh al-Mālikī, quoting Sulaymān b. Salama al-Khabā’īrī, quoting Yūnus b. ‘Aṭā’, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Abān, quoting Īkrīma, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from his father al-ʿAbbās, as follows, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born circumcised and with his umbilical cord detached. This amazed his grandfather ‘Ābd al-Muṭṭalīb and he found favour in him, saying, ‘This son of mine is sure to be important.’ And so he was.”

Some authorities claim authenticity for this tradition for the lines of transmission it has; some even claim for it the status of mutawātir.60 However, this is debatable.

60. The term connotes a tradition related by consecutive testimonies and therefore one of evident authenticity.
The word *makhtūn* given in these traditions means “having the foreskin cut off”; the word *masrūr* means “having had the umbilical cord from his mother severed”.

The *hāfiz* Ibn ʿAsākir related from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUaynayn al-Baṣrī as follows, “ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madīnī al-Salmī related to us, quoting Salama b. Muḥārib b. Muslim b. Ziyād, from his father, from Abū Bakr, that Gabriel circumcised the Prophet (ṣaas) when he cleansed his heart.”

This is extremely strange.

It is also said that it was his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who circumcised him and held a celebration for him to which he gathered all Quraysh. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī said that Abū ʿAbd Allāh the *hāfiz* informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Kāmil al-Qaḍī – verbally – that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl – meaning al-Salmī – related to him that Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣaʿīd related to him that Muṣʿūyiya b. Ṣaʿīd told him, from Abū al-Ḥakam al-Ṭanūkhī as follows: “When a child was born to Quraysh they would entrust it to some Quraysh women till next morning. They would place an upside-down pottery vessel over it. When the Messenger of God (ṣaas) was born, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib entrusted him to the women and they did put over him an upside-down pottery vessel. When they came to him next morning they discovered that the vessel had split into two pieces and fallen away from him. They found him there with his eyes wide open gazing up to heaven! When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib arrived they told him, ‘We never saw a newborn child like him! We discovered that the vessel had split in two away from him and found him open-eyed and gazing up to heaven!’ He commented, ‘Take care of him; I hope he will be of importance, or that he will achieve good.’”

On the seventh day he made sacrifice for him and invited Quraysh to see him. When they had feasted, they asked, “O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, what have you thought of naming this son of yours you have honoured?” “I have named him Muḥammad,” he replied. “Why”, they asked, “have you preferred him not to have one of the names of his kinsfolk?” “Because I wanted God to praise him in heaven and His creatures to praise him on earth,” he replied.

Language scholars say, “All that invites the qualities of good is named ‘Muḥammad’.” As the poet said,

To you, blameless as you are, I have urged on my mount, to him who is the glorious and noble master, the one ‘Muḥammad’ (i.e. “the laudable one”).

Some scholars say that God, the Almighty and Glorious, encouraged them to name him Muḥammad for the praiseworthy qualities he possessed; so that word and deed be joined and that the name and the one named be appropriately
congruent in form and concept. As his uncle Abī Tālib composed—and the verse is also attributed to ʿHashān—

“God took a part of His own name for him, to honour him; for He of the throne is named ‘Mahmūd’ (i.e. he to whom praise is due) while he is ‘Muḥammad’.”

We will report the various names and qualities by which he (Ṣaḥīḥ) is known, these being his evident qualities and pure virtues, the evidences of his prophethood, and the attributes of his status. All these we will give at the end of the biography, if God wills it so.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī said that Abī ʿAbd Allāh the ḥāfīz informed him that Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammād b. Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting Ahmad b. Shaybān al-Ramālī, quoting Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥubalī, quoting al-Haytham b. Jamīl, quoting Zuḥayr, from Muḥārib b. Dithār, from ʿAmr b. Yathribī, from al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalīb, as follows: “I said: ‘O Messenger of God, it was a sign of your prophethood that encouraged me to join your religion. I saw you in the cradle whispering to the moon and gesturing to it with your finger. And it would move in the direction you indicated.’ He replied, ‘I would talk to it and it to me and it would distract me from crying. And I would hear its palpitations when it would prostrate beneath God’s throne.’”

He (Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī) then said, “He (Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm Ḥubalī) transmitted only this one tradition, and he is not known.”

Section: On the signs that occurred on the night of the birth of the Prophet (Ṣaḥīḥ).

In the section on Hawāṭif al-ʿAin (The Cries of the Spirits), we told of the downcast faces of many of the idols and how they fell from their places on that night, and of what the Negus, the king of Abyssinia, saw. Similarly we have reported the appearance of the light that came with him that even lit up the castles of Syria when he was born, and how he dropped into a kneeling position and raised his head to heaven. We told also how the vessel split asunder from above his honoured face, what was seen by the light in the house where he was born and how the stars came down close to them, and other such events.

Al-Suhaylī related from the Qurʾān commentary of Baqī b. Makhlid, the ḥāfīz, that Satan let out four cries. One came when he was cursed (by God); another when he was sent down from heaven; a third when the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) was born; and the fourth when sūrat al-ʿĀʾishā, the opening verse of the Qurʾān, came down.

Muḥammād b. Ishāq said that Hishām b. Urwa would tell traditions on the authority of his father, that came from ʿĀʾisha, who once said, “There was a Jew who resided in Mecca and did business there. On the night when the Messenger
of God (SAAS) was born, the man addressed a gathering of Quraysh with the words, 'O Quraysh, did a birth occur among you this night?' They replied that they did not know. He then exclaimed, 'Well, God is very great; if that should have missed you, then no matter. Do look, and remember what I am telling you. This night a prophet has been born to this last nation; between his shoulders there is a mark consisting of successive lines of hair looking like a horse’s mane. He will not suckle for two nights and this is because a spirit will have put his finger into his mouth and prevented him from suckling.'

"The gathering broke up at this with all amazed at what he had told them. When they returned to their homes each one told his family. And they responded, 'By God, a child was born to 'Abd Allah, son of 'Abd al-Muttalib, a boy they named "Muhammad".' The people then gathered and asked one another, 'Did you hear what the Jew said, and have you heard of the birth of the boy?' They then hurried off to the Jew and told him the news. He asked them to go with him, so that he could see the boy. They left together and took him in to Amina, saying, 'Bring out your son for us.' She did so and they uncovered his back. There they saw the mark and the Jew fell down in a faint. When he came to, they asked him what was the matter with him. He replied, 'By God, prophecy has left Israel's tribe; are you glad with it, O Quraysh? He will so empower you that news of it will spread from east and west!"

Muhammad b. Ishāq said that Ṣalih b. Ibrāhim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf related to him, from Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Zurārā, as follows, “Certain trustworthy men of my tribe told me that Ḥassān b. Thābit once said, 'I was a mature lad of seven or eight, capable of understanding all I saw and heard, when one morning a Jew in Yathrib began shouting for the attention of his people. When they gathered about him— I heard all that myself— they asked him what was the matter with him. He replied, 'By God, prophecy has left Israel’s tribe; are you glad with it, O Quraysh? He will so empower you that news of it will spread from east and west!'

Muhammad b. Ṣalih b. Ibrāhim b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf related to him, from Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa'īd b. Zurārā, as follows, “Certain trustworthy men of my tribe told me that Ḥassān b. Thābit once said, 'I was a mature lad of seven or eight, capable of understanding all I saw and heard, when one morning a Jew in Yathrib began shouting for the attention of his people. When they gathered about him— I heard all that myself— they asked him what was the matter with him. He replied, 'By God, prophecy has left Israel’s tribe; are you glad with it, O Quraysh? He will so empower you that news of it will spread from east and west!'

The ḥāfiz Abū Nuʿaym related in the book, Dalā'il al-Nubuwā (Signs of the Prophethood), from a tradition of Abū Bakr b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Amīrī, from Sulaymān b. Suḥaym and Dhurayh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, both of their accounts coming from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Sa'īd, from his father, who said that he heard Abū Mālik b. Sinān say: "I came one day to talk with Banū 'Abd al-Asḥal, with whom we then had a truce, and heard the Jew Yūshūʾ say, 'The time approaches for the coming of a prophet named 'Abī Ahmad who will arise from the sanctuary.' Khālid b. Thaqāfah al-Asḥalī asked him, sarcastically, 'How might you describe him?' He responded, 'A man neither short nor tall, with fine, light eyes; he wears a full cloak and rides a donkey, carries his sword over his shoulder and to this land will he migrate.'"

Abū Mālik went on, 'When I returned to my own people and expressed at that time my surprise at what Yūshūʾ had been saying, I heard one of our own
men comment, ‘So is it Yūshū who alone says that? All the Jews of Yathrib are saying the same!’”

Abū Malik continued, “I thereafter left and visited the Banū Qurayza whom I found in assembly discussing the Prophet (SAAS). Al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā said, ‘The red star has risen and it only ever rises on the departure or emergence of a prophet. And the only one left is Ahmad; this will be the place to which he will migrate.’ And Abū Saʿīd said, ‘When the Prophet (SAAS) eventually arrived my father told him this story, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, “If al-Zubayr had adopted Islam, then his fellow Jewish leaders would also have done so; but they all followed him.”’

Abū Nuʿaym said that Umar b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Ibrāḥīm b. al-Sindi, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Iṣmāʿīl b. Qays b. Sulaymān b. Zayd b. Thābit, from Ibrāḥīm b. Yaḥyā b. Thābit, who said that he heard Zayd b. Thābit say, “The Jewish rabbis of the Banū Qurayza and al-Naḍr would discuss the description of the Prophet (SAAS), and when the red star arose, they said that it was for a prophet after whom there would be no other, that his name was Ahmad and that he would migrate to Yathrib. But when the Messenger of God (SAAS) ultimately arrived in the town they denied him, expressing their envy and disbelief.”

This story is also given by the ḥāfīz Abū Nuʿaym in his book from other lines of transmission, and may God be praised.


An Account of the shaking of the palace, and of the falling of the balconies, the extinguishing of the fires, the visions of the Magian supreme priest, and other such signs.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Sahl al-Kharaṭi stated in the book, Ḥaṃṭif al-Jān (The Cries of the Spirits), that ʿAlī b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Abū Ayyūb Yaʿlā b. ʿImrān, from the family of Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajāli quoting Makhzūm b. Hāni b. Makhzūm, from his father who reached the age of 150 years, as follows, “When it was the night in which the Messenger of God (SAAS) was born Chosroe’s domed palace shook and 14 balconies upon it fell down. Also the ‘fire of Persia’ went out, having not done so for a thousand years before, and Lake Sāwa emptied. A Magian priest saw (in a dream) wild camels
leading pure-bred horses that had crossed the Tigris river and spread into their land. This greatly alarmed Chosroe when he told him of it next morning; he put on a brave front and pretended lack of concern but then decided not to conceal it from his governors. He therefore summoned them, put on his crown, and sat upon his throne. Then he had them brought in and when they gathered around him he said, 'Do you know why I have summoned you?' They replied that all they knew was that their king wanted to tell them something. At that point a message came telling of the extinguishing of the fire, news that further upset the king. He then told them what he (the priest) had seen and what had alarmed him.

"The supreme priest explained, 'Last night I saw, may God save the realm, a vision.' He then recounted his vision of the camels and the king asked him how he interpreted it. He replied that it concerned some event occurring over in the territory of the Arabs who would understand it better than they themselves.

"Thereupon the king wrote a message, saying, 'From Chosroe, king of kings, to al-Nu'mán b. al-Mundhir: Greetings. Send me some man learned in what I wish to question him about.' Al-Nu'mán then dispatched to him ʿAbd al-Masīh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥayyān b. Buqayla al-Ghassān. When he arrived Chosroe asked him, 'Do you have knowledge of what I wish to question you about?' ʿAbd al-Masīh replied, 'Let the king inform or question me as however he wishes; if I have knowledge of it (then good), otherwise I will inform him of someone who does know.'

"So Chosroe told him what he had been informed and ʿAbd al-Masīḥ replied, 'An uncle of mine named Saṭīḥ who lives in the uplands of Syria will have knowledge of that.' Chosroe then told him to go to this man to ask him what he wanted to know and then to return with the explanation.

"ʿAbd al-Masīḥ left but Saṭīḥ, by the time he reached him, was on his deathbed. ʿAbd al-Masīḥ greeted him and talked to him, but Saṭīḥ made no reply. So ʿAbd al-Masīḥ then spoke the following verses:

'Hast the noble lord of Yemen gone deaf or does he hear; or has he died, the ultimate reins (death) having him in tow.
O he who determines the course, one that would exhaust anyone, your visitor is the local sheikh of the Sunan family.
His mother is of the family of Dhīḥb (‘wolf’) b. Ḥajān (crooked of staff, evil-eyed) vicious of fang, raucous to the ear.
White, full of cloak and body, a messenger from the king of the Persians, travelling by night till deep slumber.
Carried over the earth by a strong, large she-camel, tireless, unwavering by thunder or vicissitudes of time.
Lifting me with a bump and dropping me with a crash, bare of breast and lower back,
Enveloped by a gale of manure dust, as though blasting from the two sides of a mountain.'
"When Saṭṭāh heard those verses he raised his head and said, 'Why, it's ‘Abd al-Masṭḥ, ridden here on a tireless mount, who's come to Saṭṭāh, looking down at my death-bed; you've been sent by the king of the Sassanians, because of the shaking of his palace, the extinguishing of the fires, and the visions of the priest who saw wild camels leading pure-bred horses that had crossed the Tigris and spread into their lands.

"'O ‘Abd al-Masṭḥ, when many recitations have been made and the sceptre-bearer has appeared, the Samawā valley flooded, Lake Sāwa dried up, and the fires of Persia gone out, then Syria is Syria no more for Saṭṭāh. Of them there shall reign kings and queens to the number of their balconies; all that will be, will be.'

"At that Saṭṭāh died, right then and there. So ‘Abd al-Masṭḥ mounted his camel, saying the following verses:

'Get going, for you are decisive and expeditious; separation and change do not alarm you.

If the rule of the Sassanians is ending (so be it), for man is all stages and periods of time,

They may have achieved a status whose power mighty lions dread,

Of whom was Bahrām of the Tower and his brothers, the al-Hurmuzān, and Sābūr and Sābūr.61

People are indeed changeable; knowing that one of them has become destitute he is then despised and abandoned,

And many are the people who are (erroneously) influenced by what they hear, as if distracted by playing flutes.

However, should they see someone with riches and prosperity, then they are to him closely associated. This has been the secret of life, well preserved and repeatedly validated (they say), that's the province and concern of the unknown,

And good and evil stick always as a pair; for good is pursued relentlessly, evil avoided.'

"When ‘Abd al-Masṭḥ came in to Chosroe and told him what Saṭṭāh had said, Chosroe replied, 'So, until 14 of us have ruled, many things can happen!'

"Ten of their kings did rule in a period of four years and the remainder ruled on until the caliphate of Uthmān, God be pleased with him.’


The last of their kings, the one from whom rule was wrested, was Yazdajard b. Shahriyār b. Abravīz b. Hurmuz b. Anūshirwān; it was the last mentioned in whose era the domed palace shook. His forebears had ruled for 3,164 years. The first of their kings was Juŷūmart b. Umaym b. Lāwadh b. Sām b. Noah. Mention of the lives of Shaqq and Saṭṭāh have been given above.

61. Bahrām, Sābūr, and Sābūr were Sassanian kings. Al-Hurmuzān was a famous Persian military leader.
Regarding this man Saṭīḥ, the ḥāfiẓ Ibn ‘Asākir stated in his history: “His name was al-Rabiʾ b. Rabīʿa b. Masʿūd b. Māzin b. Dhīʾb b. ʿAdī b. Māzin b. al-Azd. He was known as al-Rabiʾ b. Masʿūd; his mother was Rāḍa daughter of Saʿd b. al-Ḥarīth al-Ḥajjūrī.”

Other accounts of his ancestry also exist. He lived at al-Jābiyya. Moreover, he (Ibn ‘Asākir) related from ‘Abd Ḥātim al-Sijistani that the latter heard some sheikhs, among whom were Abu ʿUbayda and others say, “He (Saṭīḥ) came after Luqāmān b. ʿAd. He was born at the time of the torrent of al-ʿArim and he lived on to the era of King Dhī Nuwās, a period of some 30 generations. He dwelt in Bahrain. The tribe of ʿAbd Qays claimed him as theirs, as also did Azd. Most authorities claim him to have been of Azd; we do not know from whom he was descended. His descendants, however, say he was from Azd.”

It is related of Ibn ʿAbbās that he said, “No one in all mankind was like Saṭīḥ; he was like flesh on a butcher’s block, devoid of bones or sinew except for his head, his eyes, and his hands. He folded up from feet to neck like a garment. And the only part of him that moved was his tongue.”

Others say that when he became angry he would puff up and sit. Ibn ʿAbbās recounted that when Saṭīḥ went to Mecca he was met by a group of their leaders among whom were ʿAbd Shams and ʿAbd Mānāf, sons of Ḥusayn. They questioned him on a variety of matters and he responded to them frankly. They asked him how it would be at the end of time and he replied, “Take this from me and as God’s inspiration to me, you are now, Arabs, in an age of decrepitude in terms of both your vision and that of foreigners. You have neither knowledge nor understanding. After you there will arise those with understanding. They will seek after all ranges of knowledge and they will destroy the idols, pursue the worthless, fight the non-Arabs, and go in search of the spoils of war. What will happen ultimately and for ever, will be that a right-guided prophet will surely draw you forth from this land and lead you to the truth. He will refute Yagāṭh and the lies, be innocent of worship of the devil, and pray to one Lord alone. Then God will take him unto Himself, giving him praise and the best abode, one lost to the world but seen there in heaven. Then al-ṣiddiq (‘the trusting’, i.e. the first Caliph ʿAbd Bakr) will follow him; when he gives judgement he will speak aright, and there will be no rush nor rupture in restoring rights. He will be followed by al-Hanif (‘The Sincere’, i.e. the second Caliph, ʿUmar), the noble and demanding lord. He will be the ‘host supreme’ and best arbiter of the faith.” He then made mention of (the third Caliph) ʿUthmān and his murder, and of the rule thereafter of the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsid and all the disturbances and wars that followed. Ibn ʿAsākir traces his line of transmission back to Ibn ʿAbbās, in all its length.

62. Said to have been a man-made ditch filled with drinking-water for the camels.
We stated previously his comment to Rabi'ā b. Naṣr, king of Yemen, and how Sāṭīḥ described the vision he had had before he was himself told of it. And then we related how he predicted the disturbances and the changes of government that would occur in Yemen before reaching Sayf b. Dhū Yazan. Rabi'ā b. Naṣr then asked whether that rule would hold or be broken and Sāṭīḥ replied it would end. The king asked who would end it, and Sāṭīḥ responded, “A pure prophet to whom inspiration comes from the Almighty.” When asked from which tribe the prophet would come, he replied, “From the progeny of Ghalib b. Fihr b. Malik b. al-Nadr; and the rule shall be in his people till the end of time.” “And shall there be an end to time?” the king asked. “Yes, indeed,” was the reply, “on that day the first and the last shall be gathered and the good rejoice while the evil suffer.” “Is what you are telling me really true?” the king asked. “Yes”, Sāṭīḥ replied, “by the dawn and the dusk and by the moon when it becomes full, what I have told you is indeed true.” And Shiqq was in complete agreement with all this, using different phraseology, as we have shown above.

Among the verses of Sāṭīḥ are the lines,

“Act in God’s piety in secret and in public, and never deceitfully pretend good faith.
And always be a protector and shield for those neighbouring you when fate’s misfortunes befall them.”

That poetry was transmitted by the ḥāfiẓ Abū ‘Asākir. Al-Muṣṭafā b. Zakariyyā al-Jariri, moreover, cited that and stated, “Stories relating to Sāṭīḥ are many, and several scholars have collected them. What is well known is that he was a soothsayer and gave information about the Prophet (ṢAAS) and described both his qualities and his mission. And it is related to us through a chain of authorities God alone can judge, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was asked about Sāṭīḥ and responded, “He was a prophet, squandered by his own people.”

Regarding this tradition, my own comment is that it is without foundation in any of the established works of Islam. I do not consider its authority chain to be well founded; one similar to it is given relative to Khālid b. Sinān al-ʿAbsī and it too lacks veracity.

What is evident in these expressions points to Sāṭīḥ having had excellent knowledge, and they do evince believability. But he did not survive on after the coming of Islam, as al-Jariri maintained. In this regard, he tells us that Sāṭīḥ told his nephew, “O ‘Abd al-Masīḥ (if) when many recitations have been made, and the sceptre-bearer has appeared, the Samāwa valley has flooded, Lake Sawa dried up, and the fires of Persia gone out, then Syria is Syria no more for Sāṭīḥ; then kings and queens will reign to the number of their balconies; and all that will be, will be.” At that Sāṭīḥ died then and there. This was after the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by a month or, a shay’a, a portion thereof, that is, less than that.
His death occurred in a part of Syria contiguous to the land of Iraq; and God alone knows the truth about Sāṭīḥ and what became of him.

Ibn Ṭaḥrār al-Jarīrī relates that he lived 700 years. Others say he lived 500; yet others 300. But God knows best.

Ibn 'Asākir related that a king once asked Sāṭīḥ about the family origin of a young man about whom there was some disagreement. He therefore informed him of the facts at length and with wit and eloquence. The king then asked Sāṭīḥ to tell him about how he knew all that. Sāṭīḥ replied, “This knowledge of mine does not come from me, not by guesswork or by thought; I took it from a brother of mine who heard inspiration on Mt. Sinai.” The king then asked, “Have you seen your brother, this genie; is he with you and won’t he depart from you?” Sāṭīḥ replied, “He will cease to exist when I do. I only ever pronounce what he says.”

As stated previously, he and Shiqq b. Muṣʿab b. Yashkur b. Rahm b. Başr b. Uqba, the other diviner, were both born on the same day. They were carried to the fortune-teller, Tarifa, daughter of al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥamidiyya, and she spat into their mouths. And so they inherited divination from her. She died that very same day. Sāṭīḥ was half-human. It is said that Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qusrī was of his progeny. Shiqq died a very long time before Sāṭīḥ.

Regarding ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAmr b. Qays b. Ḥayyān b. Buqayla al-Ghassānī, the Christian, he was very long-lived.

The ẖāṣī Ibn ʿAsākir gave his life story in his history, saying therein that it was he who made the peace treaty for al-Ḥira with Khalid b. al-Walid; he gave at length the story of their contact. Also he reported that ʿAbd al-Masīḥ once ate by his own hand some rapid-acting poison, but that no harm came to him. This was because as he took it he spoke the words, “In the name of God; and by God, Lord of the earth and the heaven, who (ensures that) no harm will come when His name is invoked.” He then ate it, swooned, and beat his hands on his chest. He poured with sweat and then, God bless him, recovered. Verses other than those previously quoted are also attributed to ʿAbd al-Masīḥ.

Abū Nuʿaym said that Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, quoting Uqba b. Makram, quoting al-Musayyab b. Sharīk, quoting Muḥammad b. Sharīk, all on the authority of Shuʿayb b. Shuʿayb, from his father and from his grandfather, as follows, “At Marr al-Dhahrān there was a certain monk from Syria named ʿAṣā. He was under the protection of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāṭīl. God had given him great knowledge and placed in him many qualities for the people of Mecca, qualities of goodness, kindness, and learning.

“He kept to a cell he had and came down to Mecca every year to meet the people and to say to them, ‘O people of Mecca, soon there will be born among
you a child to whom the Arabs will look for guidance and who will hold sway over the foreigners. This is his time. Whoever has contact with him and follows him will achieve success, while those in contact with him who oppose him will experience failure. By God, I did not leave the land of fine wine, leavened bread, and security and come to live in the land of hunger, poverty, and fear for any reason other than to seek him.

"No birth in Mecca ever occurred without his asking about it, but he would always say, 'He's not come yet.' When people would ask for a description of him, he would decline. He would hide that information because of what he knew the future leader would experience from his tribe, fearing for himself that it might some day result in harm, however slight, to him.

“When the morning arrived of the day when the birth of the Messenger of God (SAAS) occurred, ‘Abd Allâh son of ‘Abd al-Mu‘izzîlîb went out to see ‘Ayşâ. He stood at the foot of the monk’s cell and called out, ‘Hallo there, ‘Ayşâ.’ The response came, ‘Who is there?’ ‘I am ‘Abd Allâh,’ he replied. Then ‘Ayşâ looked down at him and said, ‘Be his father! The child I used to tell you of has been born, and on a Monday. He shall also receive God’s mission on a Monday, and he will die on a Monday.’

‘Abd Allâh replied, ‘Well, this morning a boy was born to me.’ ‘And what have you named him?’ the monk asked. ‘Muḥammad.’ ‘By God,’ exclaimed ‘Ayşâ, ‘I wanted the child to be born among you, the people of the House (the ka‘ba), because of three factors of which we know. Those were that his star arose yesterday, that he was born today, and that his name is Muḥammad. Go to him, for he whom I used to foretell is your son.’ ‘Abd Allâh asked, ‘How do you know he is my son? Perhaps some other child will be born today.’ ‘Your son,’ the monk replied, ‘has got the right name. And God has never been one to confuse scholars; it is a proof. And a (further) sign of that is the fact that he is currently in pain. He will suffer for three days. Then for three days he will show hunger and after that be cured. So you hold your tongue; for no one ever before has been the object of the envy (there will be) for him, no one has been the object of such hatred as he will have. If you live until his mission appears and he announces himself, then you will experience from your people what you will only endure by patience and in humility. So hold your tongue and protect him.’ ‘Abd Allâh then asked, ‘What will his life-span be?’ ‘Whether his life be long or short, he will not attain seventy. He will die a short span before that, in his sixties, at age 61 or 63, at an age average for his people.’"

The account goes on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was conceived on the 10th of muḥarram and born on Monday, the 12th of Ramadân, 23 years after the attack of those with elephants.”

Thus did Abî Nu‘aym relate it; and there is some strangeness in the account.
An Account of the rearing and suckling of the Prophet (SAAS).

Umm Ayman, whose given name was Baraka, reared him. The Prophet (SAAS) had inherited her from his father. When he grew up he emancipated her and married her to his mawłā, his freed-slave, Zayd b. Ḥāritha. She gave birth to Usāma b. Zayd, God be pleased with them all.

The Prophet (SAAS) was suckled, as well as by his mother, by the freed-slave of his uncle Abū Lahab who was named Thuwayba, and later by Ḥalīma al-Sawdiyya.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim extracted in their two saḥīḥ tradition collections from a hadīth of al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from Zaynab daughter of Umm Salama, from Umm Ḥabība daughter of Abā Sufyān, as follows. She said, “O Messenger of God, marry my sister, Abū Sufyān’s daughter.” According to Muslim’s account the words used were, “my sister ‘Azza, Abū Sufyān’s daughter.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, “Would you like that then?” She replied, “Yes; I’m not unmarried (and available) for you. And the person who shares best with me in goodness is my sister.”

The Prophet (SAAS) responded, “But that would not be permissible for me.”

She commented, “We are discussing your marrying Abū Salama’s daughter.” Also in an account the words, “Durra, Abū Salama’s daughter,” are given.

“You mean Umm Salama’s daughter?”

“Yes,” I replied.

“But”, he explained, “even if she were not under my care in my household, she would not be permitted for me. She is my niece by suckling. Her father Abī Salama and I were both suckled by Thuwayba. So don’t propose your daughters or your sisters for me.”

Al-Bukhari’s account adds, “ʿUrwa said, ‘And Thuwayba was a mawlāt, a freed-slave woman of Abū Lahab whom he had emancipated. So she sucked the Messenger of God (SAAS).’”

And when Abū Lahab was dead, one of his family, greatly disappointed, was shown him. The man asked him, “What happened to you?” Abū Lahab replied, “I experienced nothing good after (leaving) you, except for being given to drink from this for my having emancipated Thuwayba.” And he pointed to the hollow between his thumb and adjoining fingers.

Al-Suhayli and others report that the one who saw him was his brother al-ʿAbbās. And this occurred a year after the death of Abū Lahab, after the battle of Badr. Their account relates that Abū Lahab said to al-ʿAbbās, “It (i.e. the punishment of hell) is alleviated for me on Mondays.”

This is explained as being because when Thuwayba told him the news of the birth of his nephew Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allah, he emancipated her at once. And he was rewarded thus for that.
An Account of the suckling of the Prophet (SAAS) by Ḥalima, daughter of Abū Dhu‘ayb of the Sa‘d tribe, and of the signs of the prophethood and of blessedness apparent on him.


“And the name of the foster father of the Messenger of God (SAAS), that is Ḥalima’s husband, was al-Ḥarīth b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b. Rifa‘a b. Mallān b. Naṣīra b. Sa‘d b. Bakr b. Ḥawāzin.

“His foster-brother was ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥarīth; and Unaysa and Khidāma daughters of al-Ḥarīth were his foster-sisters. The last named was known as ‘al-Shaymā‘; and it is said that she would cradle the Messenger of God (SAAS) along with her mother while he was with them.”

Ibn Isḥāq went on to report that Jahm b. Abī Jahm (the mawla, the freed-slave, of a woman of the Bāntu Tamīn who lived with al-Ḥarīth b. Ḥāṭib, who was known as “the mawla of al-Ḥarīth b. Ḥāṭib”), told him that someone related to him from someone who heard ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far b. Abī Ṭalīb say that it was related to him that Ḥalima, daughter of al-Ḥarīth, had said, “I arrived at Mecca along with other women (al-Wāqīḍī told, with a chain of authorities, that they were ten in number from Bāntu Sa‘d b. Bakr who acted as foster-mothers along with her) from Bāntu Sa‘d looking for babies to suckle; it was a year of famine. I arrived on a dark grey she-ass worn out from riding. With us I had a boy of our own, and an old milch camel which, I swear, wasn’t giving a drop of milk. That whole night, along with that boy of ours, we did not sleep at all. There was nothing in my breast of use to him and nothing in our milch camel to feed him. We did, however, have hopes of rain and relief. So on I went on that old ass of mine, which lagged behind the other riders because of its weakness and its thirst, much to their annoyance.

“So we arrived in Mecca and, I swear, I don’t know of one woman of ours who was not offered the Messenger of God (SAAS); but all refused him when it was said that he was an orphan. We refused him saying, ‘What good could his mother do for us? What we want is some help from the boy’s father; what could his mother do for us?’ I swear, every single one of my women companions, all except me, did take a baby to suckle.

“Having found no one except him and being assembled to leave, I said to my husband, al-Ḥarīth b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza, ‘By God, I hate to go back amongst my companions without having a baby to suckle. I’ll go off to that orphan and take him.’ He replied, ‘It’s not your duty to do so; and so perhaps God will bring us
some blessings through him.’ And so I went off and got him; and the fact is, by 
God, I only took him because I couldn’t find anyone else.

“No sooner had I taken him and brought him back to my baggage than my 
breasts welcomed him, giving him all the milk he wanted. He drank till he was 
satisfied and his foster-brother drank his fill too. My husband then went over to 
that old milch camel of ours and, to his surprise, she was full. He milked her and 
we both drank till we were satisfied. We then spent a fine night together.

“Next morning my husband said, ‘Halima, by God I really think you’ve taken 
a person who is blessed! You see what a be, happy night we passed when we 
took him? May God Almighty go on bringing us more benefit yet!’

“We then left to return to our own land. And, I swear, my she-ass went off 
ahead of all the other riders, with not a single donkey able to catch up with her. 
Eventually my women companions said, ‘Hey there, O daughter of Abii 
Dhu’ayh! Is that the she ass you were riding when you left with us?’ I replied, 
‘Yes indeed, it’s her.’ They commented, ‘Well, by God, something’s really 
happened to her!”

“Eventually we were back in Banū Sa‘d territory, and I knew no other part of 
God’s earth more barren than it is. But my goats would graze free, then leave the 
grazing, satisfied and full of milk and we would milk them as ever we wished. 
And this while no one around us, near or far, had their ewes give so much as a 
drop of milk, their ewes always going hungry. Finally the others said to their 
shepherds: ‘Woe on you! Just watch where the flock of Abū Du‘ayb’s daughter 
grazes. You graze along with them.’ And this they would do, theirs grazing 
where mine went, but their flocks remained hungry, not giving a drop of milk, 
while mine were satisfied and full so we could milk them as much as we wanted.

“And God went on blessing us this way, and we recognized it. Then he 
reached two years of age. He was already growing up a very fine boy, not like the 
other children. I swear that by age two he was a sturdy boy, so we took him to 
his mother; we were very covetous of him because of having seen the blessings 
he had brought. When his mother saw hi I told her, ‘Let us bring back this son 
of ours some other year. We are concerned he might catch a disease from 
Mecca.’ We kept on at her until she agreed and sent hi off with us and we 
stayed with him for two or three months more.

“Then one time he was out behind our dwellings with one of his foster-brothers 
with our animals. Suddenly that foster-brother came in greatly agitated and said, 
‘That Quraysh brother of mine! Two men dressed in white came to him, laid 
him down, and split open his abdomen!’

“At this his father and I rushed outside towards him. We found him standing 
there, his colour pale. His foster-father hugged him and asked, ‘What’s wrong, 
son?’ He replied, ‘Two men dressed in white came to me. They laid me down 
and opened my abdomen. Then they drew something from inside it and threw it
away. After that they put my abdomen back as before.' So we took the boy back with us and his foster father said, 'Halima, I'm afraid my foster son has become afflicted; let's hurry and give him back to his family before what we fear does develop.' So we did take him back. His mother was very surprised to see him and when we gave him over to her she said, 'So why did you bring him back, nurse? You both wanted to have him so much.' 'No, it's nothing,' we replied, 'it's just that God has relieved us of our task. We did our duty. We're afraid some harm or accident may befall him, so we are returning him to his own people.' His mother insisted, 'What's going on with you both! Tell me truthfully what's worrying you!' She would not leave us alone till we told her what had happened. She asked, 'Are you afraid for him from Satan? Absolutely not; Satan won't get to him. By God, this son of mine has a great future before him. Should I tell you what happened with him?' 'Please do,' we asked. 'Well,' she explained, 'when I was pregnant with him, he was the lightest child I ever bore. And when carrying him I saw in my sleep a light emanating so bright it lit up the castles of Syria! And then, when he was born, he came out in a manner that babies never do, drew himself up on his arms and lifted his head up to heaven. So leave him, and don't worry.'"

This account has been related through various other lines as well, and it is one of the best known, and most frequently told by the biographers and early historians.

Al-Waqidi said that Ma‘adh b. Muhammad related to him, from ‘Ata’ b. Abu Rabbah, from Ibn ‘Abbas, as follows, “Halima once went out to seek the Prophet (SAAS) and she found their animals to be sleeping in the sun. Him she found with his sister. She asked, 'Why outside in this heat?' His sister replied, 'My brother doesn't get hot; I saw a cloud shading him that stopped when he did and moved when he did, till he came to this spot.'"

Ibn Ishaaq said that Thawr b. Yazid related to him, from Khald b. Ma‘dan, from the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) that the Companions once asked him to tell them about himself. He responded, “I am the one called for by my father Abraham, the glad tidings foreseen by Jesus, peace be upon them both. When she bore me my mother saw that a light came from inside her that illuminated the castles of Syria. I was suckled by the tribe of Sa‘d b. Bakr and while I was among some of our animals two men dressed in white came, carrying a golden basin filled with ice. They laid me down, cut open my abdomen and took out my heart. This they split and extracted from it a black clot that they threw away. They then washed my heart and insides with that ice until clean. Having put it back as before, one of them said to his companion, 'Weigh him against ten of his nation.' He did so, but I outweighed them. He then said, 'Weigh him against a hundred of his nation.' This he did but I outweighed them. He said, 'Weigh him against a thousand.' The other man did, but
I outweighed them too. The first man then said, 'Leave him now, for even if you weighed him against his entire nation, he would outweigh them!'

This has a fine, strong chain of authorities.

Ibn Ishâq also narrated that Abû Nu'aym, the ḥāfiz, related this story in his work al-Dalâ'il (The Signs) by way of Umar b. al-Šubh, known as Abû Nu'aym, from Thawr b. Yazân, from Makhtul, from Shaddâd b. Aws, in a much lengthened version. But this Umar b. Šubh should be ignored, for he was a liar who was accused of invention. For this reason we will not mention the text of the tradition, for it gives no pleasure.

Ibn Ishâq then said that Abû 'Amr b. Ḥamdân related to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Nafir, quoting 'Amr b. Uthmân, quoting Baqiyya b. al-Walid, from Buhâyr b. Sa'dî, from Khalîd b. Ma'dân, from 'Abd al-Râhîm b. 'Amr al-Salami, from Utba b. 'Abd Allâh, as follows. A man asked the Prophet (SAAS), “What was it happened to you first, O Messenger of God?” He replied, “My wet-nurse was from the Banû Sa'd b. Bakr. One time a son of hers and I went off with our flock without taking any food with us. So I said, 'Hey brother, go back and get us some food from our mother’s home.' So my brother hurried away while I stayed with the animals. Then two white birds like eagles came along and one said to the other, 'Is that he?' 'Yes,' the other replied. Then they both swooped down, took hold of me and laid me out on my back. They then split my abdomen, extracted my heart, cut it open, and took out from it two black clots. One bird said to his companion, ‘Bring me some ice water.’ And with it they cleaned my insides. The first bird then said, ‘Now get some cold water.’ With that they washed my heart. Then the bird said, ‘Bring me al-sakina (quietude).’ This they sprinkled into my heart. The one said to the other, ‘Sew it up.’ So he did that and then placed on my heart the seal of prophethood. After that one bird said to the other, ‘Place him in one balance scale and a thousand of his people in the other.’ And when I looked up, there were the thousand above me, and I was concerned that some of them might tumble down on to me. Then the bird said, ‘If his whole nation were balanced against him, he would still outweigh them.’ Then both birds went away, leaving me there. I was tremendously afraid and raced off to my foster-mother and told her what had happened. She was afraid I’d lost my mind and exclaimed, ‘God protect you!’ Then she got an ass of hers ready for travel and put me on it. She rode behind me and we travelled till we reached my mother. She then said, ‘Well, I’ve fulfilled my pact and agreement.’ She then told my mother what had happened, but it didn’t shock her. She said, ‘What I saw was that a light came from inside me that lit up the castles of Syria.’”

Ahmad related it from a tradition told by Baqiyya b. al-Walid. 'Abd Allâh b. al-Mubârak and others similarly told this from Baqiyya b. al-Walid.

Ibn 'Asâkir related it through Abû Dâwûd al-Ṭayâlîsî. Jâ'far b. 'Abd Allâh b. Uthmân al-Qurashi related to him that 'Umayr b. 'Umar b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr
informed him as follows, “I heard Urwa b. al-Zubayr relate from Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī who said that he asked, ‘O Messenger of God, how were you informed that you were a prophet and when did you become convinced that you were one?’ He replied, ‘O Abū Dharr, two angels came to me when I was in one of the valleys of Mecca. One of them dropped down to the ground, while the other remained suspended between heaven and earth. One said to the other, “Is that he?” “Yes, it’s he.” The one said, “Weigh him against another man.” He did so, and I outweighed him.’

He then told it till the end, recounting how his chest was opened and sewn up and the seal was placed between his shoulders. He then said, “Then finally they turned away from me, as if their work was fully done.”

Moreover Ibn ‘Asākir gave it from Ubayy b. Ka'b in similar words, and from Shaddād b. Aws in a more simple form than that.

And it is established in the sahih collection of Muslim through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was visited by Gabriel, on whom be peace, while he was playing with the other boys. Gabriel took him, laid him down, split his heart open, took it out and withdrew a black clot from inside it, saying, “That’s the devil’s lot!” Then he washed it in a golden basin with water from (the well called) zamzam. He then mended it and put it back in its place. The other boys raced off to his mother – meaning his nurse – and told her, “Muḥammad has been killed!” When they met him he was very pale. Anas stated, “And I used to see the mark of the sewing on his chest.”

Ibn ‘Asākir related this through Ibn Wahb, from Ṭāmir b. al-Ḥārith, from ‘Abd Rabbihī Ibn Sa'īd, from Thābit al-Banānī, from Anas, to the effect that prayer was prescribed in Medina and that two angels came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), took him to zamzam, split open his abdomen, took out his insides and put them in a basin of gold, washed them in zamzam water then filled his insides with wisdom and knowledge.

And the tradition also comes through Ibn Wahb, from Yaʿqūb b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zuhri, from his father, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĀmir b. Utba b. Abū Waqqās, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was visited three nights. (A voice) said: ‘Take him who is the best of them and their leader.’ So they took the Messenger of God (SAAS), conducted him to zamzam, opened his abdomen, brought a gold bowl, washed out his insides then filled them with wisdom and faith.”

This is substantiated by the account of Sulaymān b. al-Muqṭira, from Thābit, from Anas.

In the two sahih collections it is given through Sharīk b. Abū Nimr, from Anas, and also from al-Zuhri from Anas, from Abū Dharr and Qatādā from Anas, and from Mālik b. Ṣaṣaʿa from the Prophet (SAAS) in the recounting of al-Īsrā’ (the ascension to heaven), as the story of the laying open of his chest (as
occurring) on that night, and its being washed with zamzam water.

There is no denying the probability of that occurring twice, once when he was young and once on the night of the ascension in preparation for his going to join the heavenly assemblage of angels, and of conferring with and appearing before the Lord, the Almighty, Glorious, Blessed, and Exalted one.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to tell his Companions, 'I am the most Arab of you all; I am of Quraysh and was suckled by Bāni Saʿd b. Bakr.'"

Ibn Ishāq reported, "When Ḥalīma was returning him to his mother after he had been weaned, she passed with him by a caravan of Christians. They came up to him, turned him around in their hands and said, 'We must take this boy to our king; he is a person of great importance.' And Ḥalīma managed to evade them only after great effort."

He reported also that when Ḥalīma was returning him fearing some harm had come to him, as she approached Mecca she lost him and could not find him. So she went to his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and he and a group of men went off to search for him. It was ʿAwarṣa b. Naufal and another man of Quraysh who found him and brought him to his grandfather. He put him on his shoulders and circumambulated (the kaʿba), praying to God for the boy's protection, and then returned him to his mother Amina.

Al-Umawi related through ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Waqīṣi, a weak authority, from al-Zuhri, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, the story of the birth of the Prophet (SAAS), and of his being suckled by Ḥalīma with a course different from that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq. He stated that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ordered his son ʿAbd Allāh to take the baby and go around the quarters of the bedouin to find a foster-mother for him. He did so and eventually hired Ḥalīma to suckle him. He recounted that the boy stayed with her for six years, being brought each year to visit his grandfather. When the opening of his chest occurred while he was with them, she took him back and he lived with his mother until he was eight, when she died. Thereupon his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib took charge of him, but he too died when the Prophet (SAAS) was ten. Then his two uncles, his father's two brothers al-Zubayr and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Talib, took responsibility for him. In his early teens his uncle al-Zubayr took him to Yemen. His account states that on that journey they saw signs (of his prophethood). One of these was that a stallion camel had made its way some distance along a valley through which the party was passing. When the stallion saw the Messenger of God (SAAS), it knelt down and rubbed its chest on the ground and so he mounted it. Another sign was that they came to a stream in violent flood but God Almighty dried it up so that they could cross it. Thereafter his uncle al-Zubayr died; at that time he was fourteen and Abū ʿAbd Allāh Talib alone took charge of him.

What is implied here is that the blessedness of the Prophet (SAAS) came
down upon Ḥalima al-Saḍdiyya and her family, when he was young and then his
evities reverted to the people of Hawāzin when he took them prisoners after
their battle; that occurred a month following the capture of Mecca. They were
related to him because of his being suckled among them. He therefore released
them, taking pity on them, and treating them with kindness, as will be related in
full in its proper place, if God wills it.

Concerning the battle with Hawāzin, Muhammad b. Ishaq related from ‘Amr
b. Shu‘ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “We were with the
Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Hunayn and when he seized their
properties and took them prisoners, a delegation from Hawāzin who had
accepted Islam came to him at al-Ji‘rana. They said, ‘O Messenger of God, we
are one family and tribe. You know well what misfortune has befallen us. Have
mercy on us, and may God have mercy on you.’ Their spokesman Zuhayr h.
Ṣurad then arose and said, ‘O Messenger of God, those prisoners you have in
the stockades are your aunts and your nurses who looked after you. If we had
suckled Ibn Aba Shamar or al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir and then we were to suf-
fer from them what we have from you, we would have hoped for their help and
kindness. And yet you are the most honourable of men.’ He then recited the
verses:

‘Have pity on us, O Messenger of God, in kindness; for you are the man we plead
with and implore.
Have pity on a tribe ruined by fate, their whole divided, their fortune adversely
changed,
Which has left us to cry out in sorrow; a people in whose hearts there is gloom and
tragedy,
Unless you ward it off with kindnesses you spread forth, O most superior of men in
wisdom when it is tested.
Have pity on women you once sucked, your mouth filled with their pure milk,
Have pity on women you once sucked, for then whatever happens will sustain your
reputation.
Do not make us as those who scattered and died; spare us, for we are a tribe of fame.
We give thanks for kindnesses even if not redeemed, and after this day we will have
a store (of good will).’”

This story is also related through Ubayd Allah b. Rumāḥīs al-Kalbī al-Ramlī
from Ziyād b. Ṭāriq al-Jashāmī, from Abū Šarad Zuhayr b. Jarwal, who was the
leader of his people. The last-mentioned stated, “When the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS) took us prisoners at the battle of Ḥunayn he was separating the men
from the women. So I jumped up, stood before him and spoke some verses to
him, reminding him of the time when he was a boy and grew up among Hawāzin
who suckled him:

63. A place between Mecca and al-Ṭāif.
'Have mercy on us, Messenger of God, in gentleness, for you are the man we hope for and await.
Have mercy on a people ruined by fate, their whole divided, their fortune adversely changed,
The fighting left us a war-cry only of sadness; a people in whose hearts there is gloom and tragedy.
Unless you ward it off with kindness you spread forth, O most superior of men in wisdom when he is tested
Have pity on women you used to suck, your mouth filled with their pure milk;
When you were a small child you used to suck them and then whatever happens will sustain your reputation.
Do not make us as those who scattered and died; spare us for we are a tribe of fame.
We give thanks for kindness, even if disavowed, for after this day we will have store (of goodwill);
Dress in forgiveness those you used to suck, your mothers; for acts of forgiveness become widely known.
We hope for forgiveness from you; dress these people in it, if forgive you will, and then be triumphant.
So forgive and may God forgive you from whatever you fear on Judgement Day when victory shall be given you.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'Whatever prizes were due myself or the family of 'Abd al-Muţţalib, that goes to God and to you all.' Al-ansār64 then said, 'And what was to be for us we give to God and to his Messenger (SAAS).’"

It will be later told how he set them free; they were 6,000, men and women combined. He gave them many camels and people. So that Abū al-Husayn b. Fāris said, "The value of what he gave them that day totalled 500,000 dirhams."
All this then came from his early blessings on earth: what blessings, then, will he bestow on those who follow him in the next world!

**Division**

After recounting the return of the Prophet (SAAS) to his mother Amina following his suckling by Ḥalima, Ibn Iṣḥāq told how the Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed with his mother Amina, daughter of Wahb, and his grandfather ʿAbd al-Muţţalib in the care and trust of God. And God nurtured him like a fine plant for the honour He intended for him. When he reached the age of six his mother Amina daughter of Wahb died.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazam related to me that Amina, the mother of the Messenger of God (SAAS), died

64. Al-ansār is a term denoting the Muslims of Medina who granted the Prophet refuge following his migration from Mecca.
when he was six at al-Abwā, a place between Mecca and Medina. She had taken him to visit his uncles of the tribe of ‘Adī b. al-Najjār and died when she was returning with him to Mecca.”

Al-Waqidi related, with chains of authorities, that the Prophet (SAAS) was taken by his mother to Medina, in the company of Umm Ayman, when he was six years old and that she visited his uncles.

Umm Ayman said, “One day two Jews of Medina came to me and said, ‘Bring out Ahmad for us to see.’ They then looked at him and turned him around in their hands. Then one of them said to the other, ‘This is the Prophet of this nation. And this shall be the abode of his refuge, where very many will be taken prisoner and many will be killed.’

“When his mother heard this she was afraid and left. And it was at al-Abwā that she died, on her way home.”

The Imam Ahmad said that Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Ayyūb b. Jabir, from Simāk, from al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Burayda, from his father (Burayda) who said, “We left along with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and travelled until we reached Wadān. Then he told us to wait there until he returned. He went off and later returned looking grave. Then he said, ‘I went to the grave of Muhammad’s mother and asked my Lord for intercession for her. But He would not allow me that. I had forbidden you from visiting graves; do visit them. Similarly I had forbidden you from eating the flesh of sacrificed animals after three days had passed; do eat and take what you want. I had forbidden you from drinking from these vessels; do drink as you will.’”

Al-Bayhaqi related this tradition through Sufyān al-Thawrī, from ‘Alqama b. Yazid, from Sulaymān b. Burayda from his father as follows: “The Prophet (SAAS) went over to the site of a grave and the other men sat down around him. He began to move his head as though addressing someone, and then he wept. Umar went over to him and asked, ‘What is making you weep, O Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘This is the grave of Āmina daughter of Wahb. I asked my Lord for permission to visit her grave and he gave permission. I also asked for forgiveness for her, but this He refused me. Sympathy for her overwhelmed me and so I wept.’ And I never saw an occasion of greater weeping than that.”

He was corroborated by Muḥārib b. Dithār, from (Ibn) Burayda, from his father.

Moreover al-Bayhaqi related from al-Ḥakim, from al-Asamm, from Bahr b. Naṣr, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb that Ibn Jurayj related to us, from Ayyūb b. Ḥanī, from Masrūq b. al-Ajda’a, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ād as follows, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went off to look at graves and we went with him. He told us to sit down and we did. Then he walked on till he stopped at one grave. He spoke to it at length and then there arose a lamentation and weeping from the Messenger of God (SAAS). And we all wept at his crying so.
“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) came over to us and was met by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb who said, 'O Messenger of God, what made you weep? It made us weep and scared us.’

“Then he came and sat down with us and asked, 'My weeping scared you, did it?' ‘Indeed yes,’ we replied. He explained, ‘The grave you saw me addressing was that of Amina, daughter of Wahb. I asked my Lord’s permission to visit it and he allowed me. Then I asked His permission to seek forgiveness for her, but this He did not permit me. Then there were revealed to me the verses:

“It is not for the Prophet and for those who believe to ask forgiveness for idolaters, even if related to them, once it has become clear to them that those are going to hell. Abraham’s seeking pardon for his father resulted only from a promise he had made him; and when it became clear to Abraham that he (his father) was an enemy of God, he (Abraham) disowned him. Abraham was certainly soft of heart, long-suffering” (Sūrat al-Tawbah, IX, v.113, 114). And I was affected by the emotion a son feels for his mother; that it was made me weep.”

A unique tradition, one they (the major scholars of the traditions) did not propagate.

Muslim related from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd, from Yazīd b. Kaysān, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Abū Hurayra as follows: “The Prophet (SAAS) visited his mother’s grave; he wept and this made those with him weep too. Then he said, ‘I asked my Lord’s permission to visit my mother’s grave and He allowed me. I also asked his permission to seek forgiveness for her, but he did not permit me. So do visit graves; they will remind you of death.’”

Muslim related, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from 'Affān, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas, that a man asked, “O Messenger of God, where is my father?” He replied, “In hell-fire.” Then when the man turned away, he called out to him: “My father and yours are both in hell.”

Al-Bayhaqī related from a tradition of Abī Nu‘aym al-Fadl b. Dukayn, from Ibrahīm b. Sa‘d, from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Āmir b. Sa‘d, from his father as follows, “A bedouin came to the Prophet (SAAS) and said, ‘My father used to give to charity, and so on and so forth. So where is he now?’ He replied, ‘In hell-fire.’”

“The bedouin appeared angered at that and asked, ‘Well, Messenger of God, and where’s your father?’ He replied, ‘Whenever you pass by the grave of an unbeliever, warn him of hell-fire!’”

“Thereafter the bedouin accepted Islam and said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) put a heavy burden on me; when I pass the grave of an unbeliever, I never fail to warn him of hell-fire!’”

A unique tradition, and one they (the major scholars of the traditions) did not propagate.

The Imām Aḥmad said, “Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, as did Sa‘id – he being Ibn Abū Ayyūb – as did Rabī‘a b. Sayf al-Ma‘āfiri, from Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḫublī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr as follows, “While we were walk-
ing with the Messenger of God (SAAS) he noticed a woman he did not think he recognized. When half-way across the street he stopped until she reached him. Surprisingly, it was Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He said, ‘Fāṭima what brings you out of your house?’ She replied, ‘I came to visit the family in this house, expressing my condolences to them for their dead.’ He commented, ‘Perhaps you went as far as al-kudā (the grave) with them.’ She replied, ‘God forbid that I would have gone to that with them, having heard what you have said about that.’ He went on, ‘Well, if you had gone that far with them you would not see paradise until your father’s grandfather sees paradise!’”

Ahmad also related this, as did Abū Dawūd, al-Nasā’ī, and al-Bayhaqī from a hadīth of Rabi’a b. Sayf b. Māniʼ al-Ma‘ṣāfī al-Ṣanāmī al-Iskandāri. Al-Bukhārī said the tradition has faults. Al-Nasā’ī said there was nothing wrong with it. Once he said “It is trustworthy.” But in another account that it was “weak”. Ibn Ḥabbān made mention of it in al-Thiqāt and said, “He made a lot of errors.” Al-Dārqūqī stated that it was “sound”. Ibn Yūnus stated in the Tārīkh Mīṣr (History of Egypt) that “there are faults in his narration.” He died in approximately 120 AH.

And what is meant by al-kudā is the “grave”. And it is also said to mean “lamentation”.

What the tradition means is that ābū al-Muṭṭalib died while still being a member of pre-Islamic society; this contrasts with the views of some of the Shi’a about him and Abū Ṭalīb. This will be dealt with in the material on the death of Abū Ṭalīb.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, after relating these traditions in his work Dalā’il al-Nubūwā (Signs of the Prophethood), “And how would the father and grandfather of the Prophet (SAAS) not be in such circumstances regarding the hereafter when they used to worship idols until they died, and they did not follow the religion of Jesus son of Mary upon whom be peace? Yet their having been unbelievers did not impair the lineage of the Prophet (SAAS), because marriages between unbelievers were valid. Did not many men adopt Islam, along with their wives, but not have either to renew their marriage contracts or to separate from their wives, since these would similarly be allowed under Islam? And to God goes all success.” Thus ended his comments.

My own comment is, that the relating by the Prophet (SAAS) that his own parents and his grandfather ābū al-Muṭṭalib were in hell does not contradict the tradition related from him via various authorities that those who lived during the interregnum between the emergence of two prophets, children, the insane, and the deaf would all be put to the test in the assemblies on Judgement Day. This we laid out with chapter and verse in our Qurʾān exegesis dealing with the Almighty’s words: “and We have never punished before sending a prophet” (sūrat al-Isrā’, XVII, v.15). There will be some among these groups who will
respond and others who will not. Those people, then, will be among those who will not respond; there is no inconsistency here, grace and praise be to God.

As for the tradition related by al-Suhayli about which it was mentioned that there are persons in its lineage who are unknown, traced back to the son of Abū al-Zinād, from Urwa from A'isha, God bless her, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked his Lord to bring his parents back to life and that God did so and that they expressed faith in him; this is a highly unreliable tradition. Even though all this would be possible in terms of the power of God Almighty. However, what is well established in the sahīḥ collections does contradict this tradition. And God knows best.

**Division**

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) lived with his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hashim — that is, after the death of his mother Amina daughter of Wahb — a spread would be set out for ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the shade of the ka’ba. His sons would seat themselves around his spread until he would come to it. But none of his sons would actually sit upon it, out of respect for him. The Messenger of God (SAAS), when a young boy, would come along and sit down on it. Then his uncles would take him to remove him from it, but ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib would say, if he saw them doing that, ‘Leave my son (sic) alone; he has great things ahead of him.’ Then he would sit down with him on his spread, rub his back, and it would please him to watch what he would do.”

Al-Waqidi said that Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah related to him, from al-Zuhri, as did ‘Abd Allah b. Ja‘far from ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamza b. ‘Abd Allah, and Hashim b. ‘Aṣim al-Aslami from al-Mundhir b. Jahm, and Ma‘mar from Ibn Abū Najīḥ from Mujāhid and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, and Ibn Abū Sabra from Sulaymān b. Saḥīm, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn Jubayr, the narration of some interfering with that of others, as follows: “The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to live with his mother Amina daughter of Wahb and when she died his grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib took him to himself, treating him with a closeness and kindness he had not shown to his own son. He would allow and encourage him to come close to him, and the boy would go in to him when he was alone or asleep. He would sit down on his spread, and ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib would say when he saw him do this, “Leave my son alone; he will establish a kingdom.””

A group of men from Bani Mudlij said to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, “Take good care of him; for we have never seen anyone with so noble a lineage as his.” So ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to Abū Talib: “Listen to what these men are saying.” And Abū Ţalib did take care of him.
'Abd al-Muṭṭalib said to Umm Ayman—who had suckled him—"O Baraka, do not neglect my son. I found him with some boys close to the lote-tree; and the People of the Book (i.e. Christians and Jews) claim that my boy will be the Prophet of this nation."

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib used never to eat without saying, "Bring my son." And he would be brought to him.

And when death approached 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib he charged Abū Ṭālib with the care and safe-keeping of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Then 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died and was buried at al-Ḥajūn.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "And when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was eight, his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died." He also stated that 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib had summoned his daughters and told them that they should compose elegies for him; these daughters were called Arwā, Umayma, Barra, Ṣafiyya, Ṭāqīa, and Umm Ḥakīm al-Ṭayyār.

Ibn Ishaq mentioned their poems and what they said in mourning their father, all while he listened, before he in fact died. Their words of mourning were extremely eloquent. He described that in great detail.

Ibn Hishām said, "I never met any scholar of poetry who knew these verses."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "And when 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim died, control over providing water for the pilgrims and over zamzam went after him to al-Ṭābās who was the youngest of his brothers.

This control remained his until the coming of Islam, after which the Messenger of God (SAAS) confirmed it for al-Ṭābās.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) was with his uncle Abū Ṭālib after having been with his grandfather 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. This was because the latter had placed him in trust of his uncle and because Aba Ṭalib was the full brother of his father 'Abd Allah, the mother of both having been Fāṭima daughter of 'Amr b. Ṣa'd b. Ḥmrān b. Makhzūm."

Ibn Ishaq went on: "Abū Ṭālib was the one who took charge of the Messenger of God (SAAS); he cared for him completely."

Al-Waqīqī stated that Ma'ṣmar told him, from Ibn Najīh, from Mujāhid; and that Ma'ādh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAnsārī related to him from 'Aṭāʾ, from Ibn Ṭābās, as did Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, as did Ibrāhīm b. Ṣaʿdī l b. Abū Ḥabība, the account of each of these corresponding with one another, as follows: "When 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died Abū Ṭālib took the Messenger of God (SAAS) to live with him.

"Abū Ṭālib was not wealthy; he loved the boy very much, more so than his children. The boy slept always by his side and went wherever he did.

"Abū Ṭālib had very great and unusual depth of affection for him. He would give the boy's food special attention. And if his own children ever ate, alone or as
a group, without the boy's presence, they would remain unsatisfied, whereas when the Prophet would eat with them they would be well satisfied. When serving his family a daytime meal he would tell them to wait till the boy's arrival. When the Messenger of God would arrive and eat with them, they would get satisfied, and part of the food would remain uneaten. But if he did not eat with them they would remain unsatisfied. Abū Ṭalib would say, 'You are clearly blessed.'

"In the morning the other boys would arise bleary-eyed and dishevelled while the Messenger of God (SAAS) would get up bright-eyed and with his hair in place."

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafā stated that ʿAlī b. Thābit related to him from Ṭalḥa b. ʿAmr that the latter heard ʿΑτα b. Abū Rabbāh report having heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, "Abū Ṭalib’s family would get up in the morning with bleary, dirty eyes, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) would get up bright-eyed and with his hair neatly groomed."

Early each morning Abū Ṭalib would bring to the boys their food platter and they would all sit down and snatch at it. The Messenger of God (SAAS), however, would keep his hand away and not grab at the food along with them. When his uncle saw this he set food aside for him alone.

Ibn Ishāq said, "Yahṣa b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me that his father told him that there was a certain man of Līb who could predict the future. Whenever he came to Mecca the men of Quraysh would take their boys to him to see and predict their futures."

He went on, "So Abū Ṭalib brought the Messenger of God (SAAS) to him when he was still a boy, along with some others. The fortune-teller looked at the Messenger of God, but then something engaged his attention. When finished with that, he said, 'Bring that boy over to me!' When Abū Ṭalib saw how interested the man was in him, he took him away. Then the man exclaimed, 'Woe on you! Bring back to me that boy I saw earlier; by God, he has a big future ahead of him!'"

"But Abū Ṭalib hurried away with him."

Section: The journey of the Prophet (SAAS) with his uncle Abū Ṭalib away to Syria and on what transpired with the monk Bahīrā.

Ibn Ishāq stated that thereafter Abū Ṭalib left with a trading caravan for Syria. As he was preparing to depart and assembling the goods, the Messenger of God (SAAS) began to miss him badly, or so they claim.

So Abū Ṭalib took pity on him and said words to the effect that, "By God, I'll take him away with me and never be parted from him, just as he will not be parted from me!"
He did leave with him. Eventually the caravan made a halt at Buṣra in Syria, where there was a monk named Bahirā living in a cell. He was very learned in Christianity; the cell he lived in had always been occupied by some monk who would acquire their Christian learning from a book, as they claim, which they had passed down in inheritance from one elder to the next.

They stopped that year near Bahirā, as they had often done previously without his paying them attention. When they halted, then, near his cell, this time he made a lot of food for them. This, they claim, was because of a vision he had seen while he was in his cell; he had seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approaching in the caravan, with a cloud casting its shade only on him. When they had arrived they had dismounted in the shade of a tree near the monk. When he looked up at the cloud he saw it was shading the tree, the branches of which were extending out over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) so that he was shaded beneath them.

When Bahirā saw this he came down from his cell and, having ordered food which was then prepared, he sent word over to the travellers saying, “O Quraysh, I have prepared food for you and would like you all to come over, great and small, and freemen or slaves.”

One Quraysh man commented to him, “By God, Bahirā, you’ve put yourself to much trouble today! You’ve never done this for us, even though we’ve passed by you here often before. Why today?”

Bahirā replied, “You are right; before it was as you say. But you are my guests, and I wanted to honour you and so have prepared you some food. I want all of you to eat of it.”

So they gathered around him. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), because of his youth, was left behind with the baggage, beneath the tree.

When Bahirā saw them he did not see the quality he had seen and known to be the boy’s. So he said, “O Quraysh let not any one of you be left out of my feast.”

They replied, “O Bahirā, the only one left out who ought to have come to you is a boy; he is the youngest of our party and he remained behind with the baggage.” Bahirā insisted. “Do not do this; call him over and let him attend this feast along with you.”

One of the Quraysh party exclaimed, “By al-Lat and al-Uzza it really is a shame on us that Muhammad son of ‘Abd Allah son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib be kept back from eating the food among us.”

Then he went over to the boy, brought him back, and sat him down among the rest.

When Bahirā saw him he began to scrutinise him very intently, looking at various parts of his body and finding certain qualities in him. Finally, when all had finished dining and had dispersed, Bahirā went up to the boy and said,
“Boy, by al-Lat and al-Uzza I charge you to answer what I will ask you.” Bahîrâ only used these words because he had heard the boy’s people swearing by these two gods.

They claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him: “Don’t ask me anything by al-Lat and al-Uzza; for, by God, I hate nothing more than them.” So Bahîrâ said, “By God, would you tell me about what I ask you?” So the boy told him to ask whatever he liked.

The monk then asked him various questions about his sleep, habits, circumstances, and so on; and the Messenger of God (SAAS) responded. And what Bahîrâ heard matched the description he expected.

Then he looked at the boy’s back and saw the seal of prophethood between his shoulders, in the very place according to the description he had.

Having concluded this, he went over to the boy’s uncle Abû Ṭâlib and asked, “What relation is he to you?” “He is my son,” he replied.

Bahîrâ objected, “He’s not your son. This boy can’t have a living father.”

“Well,” Abû Ṭâlib replied, “he’s actually my nephew.”

“And what happened to his father?” the monk asked.

“He died while the boy’s mother was still pregnant with him.”

“Now you’re telling the truth,” the monk went on. “Take your brother’s son back to his own country and guard him from the Jews. For, by God, if they see him and know what I know, they will do him evil. This nephew of yours has a great future before him; take him back soon to his own country.”

So his uncle Abû Ṭâlib left with him for Mecca quickly, as soon as he had finished his business in Syria.

Ibn Ishâq stated, “They claim, according to what people said, that Zurayr, Tammâm, and Darîs - all believers in the Scriptures - had also seen what Bahîrâ noticed in the Messenger of God (SAAS) on that trip with his uncle Abû Ṭâlib. They tried to get him, but Bahîrâ kept them away from him, making reference to God and to the description of him and mention of him they would find in the Holy Scripture, as well as the statement that they would not succeed in getting him. They recognized the reference he was making to them, and since they believed what he said they let the boy alone and went away.”

Yûnus b. Bukayr recalled, on the authority of Ibn Ishâq, that Abû Ṭâlib spoke three odes on this subject.

This is how Ibn Ishâq related this sequence of events, but he gave no chain of authorities for it. A similar account also came down by way of a musnad marjû.65

The hâfiz Abû Bakr al-Kharâfi stated that ‘Abbâs b. Muḥammad al-Dûrî related to him, as did Qarâd Abû Nûh, as did Yûnus, from Ibn Ishâq, from Abû

65. The term denotes a tradition attributed to the Prophet that has a complete line of transmission.
Bakr b. Abū Mūsā, from his father, as follows: “Abū Ṭalib went off to Syria along with the Messenger of God (ṣaas) and a number of Quraysh elders. When they reached a point overlooking the monk — meaning Bahīra — they went down and untied their baggage. The monk then came out to them, whereas previously when they had passed by he had not come out or even turned towards them.”

He went on, “He came down, then, as they were untying their baggage, and walked among them until he came and took the Prophet (ṣaas) by the hand and said, ‘This is the Lord of all mankind!’”

In the account of al-Bayhaqi the phrase he used was longer, saying also, “This is the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds; God sent him as a mercy to all mankind.”

Some of the Quraysh elders then asked him, “What is it you know?” He replied, “When you looked down from the mountain road every single tree and every rock bent down in worship. And they would only prostrate themselves before a prophet. And I know him by the mark of prophethood below the cartilage of his shoulder blades.”

He then went back and prepared food for them. When he brought it, the boy was tending to the camels. The monk told them to send for him. As he approached a cloud was shading him, and as the boy came near the others the monk exclaimed, “See; there is a cloud above him!” When the boy arrived he found that the others had preceded him to the shade of the tree, but when he sat down the shade moved out over him. The monk commented, “Just look how the tree’s shade moved over him!”

While Bahīra was standing there urging them not to take him into Byzantine territory, saying that when they saw him the Romans would recognize him by his description and would kill him, he turned around and, to his surprise, saw seven Romans who had arrived. He greeted them and asked why they had come. They replied, “We have information that there’s this prophet who will come forth this month and so we have been sending men along each route; news we had of him brought us along this route of yours.” “Do you”, Bahīra asked, “have anyone superior to you coming along behind you?” They replied, “No; it’s just the information we had about him brought us along this road of yours.” Bahīra then asked them, “Have you ever known any matter God wished to bring about that anyone was able to reverse?” They said they had not, and then they pledged him allegiance and stayed with him there at Bahīra’s place.

The account goes on, reporting that the monk then asked, “I abjure you by God to tell me, which of you is his guardian?” “Abū Ṭalib,” they replied.

Bahīra kept on admonishing him (Abū Ṭalib) until he took the boy back (to Mecca); Abū Bakr sent Bilāl along with him and the monk provisioned him with cake and oil.

And thus too did more than one ḥāfīz relate it from an account of Abī Nūḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ghazwān al-Khuzāʿī, their mawla, their freed slave. He was known as al-Ḍabbi, and also as Qarād; he lived in Baghdad and was one of those "trustworthy sources" vouched for by al-Bukhārī. A number of legal scholars and ḥufāz declare him trustworthy, and I never knew anyone who impugned him. Nevertheless, there are unique aspects to this account of his.

Al-Tirmidḥi stated: "The tradition is good, though unusual. We know of it only from this account."

ʿAbbās al-Ḥūrī said, "There is no one in the world who relates it apart from Qarād Abī Nūḥ; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, God have mercy on him, heard this from him, and Yaḥyā b. Muʿtin similarly for its unique and unusual quality." Al-Bayhaqi and Ibn ʿAsākir related it.

My comment is that one strange aspect to the tradition is its being attributed back to the Companions, whereas Abī Mūsā al-ʿAshʿarī only came forward (into Islam) in the year of the battle of Khaybar, in the seventh year of the ḥijrā. This view does not reflect Ibn ʿIṣḥāq's statement that includes him amongst those who emigrated to Abyssinia from Mecca.

By all estimations the story was attributed (back to the Prophet); the incident occurred, as some sources maintain, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 12 years old. Perhaps Abī Mūsā received it from the Prophet (ṢAAS), in which case it would be very accurate. Or he could have received it from some of the major Companions, God be pleased with them. Alternatively the incident might have been well known and often mentioned and the narrator took it from knowledge widely current.

The second strange aspect is that the cloud was not referred to in any account more reliable than this one. The third problem relates to the words: "Abū Bakr sent Bilāl along with him." If the age of the Prophet (ṢAAS) at that time was twelve, then Abū Bakr would have been nine or ten. Bilāl's age would have been less than that. And where was Abū Bakr at that time? And where was Bilāl? Both (being there) would be strange, certainly, unless it be said that this occurred when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was full grown. This would mean that the trip took place later than it is supposed, or that the statement that he was twelve at the time is inaccurate; al-Waqiṣi related the incident contingent upon that. Yet al-Suhaylī stated on the authority of certain sources, that the age of the prophet (ṢAAS) at the time was nine. So God knows best.

Al-Waqiṣi stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī related to him, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar and ʿIbāḥīm b. ʿIsāṣīl b. Abū Ḥabība, from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥusayn, as
follows: “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached the age of twelve, his uncle Abū Ṭalib took him along to Syria in the caravan he was accompanying to engage in business there. They made a halt with the monk Bahīrā, who made some statements in confidence to Abū Talib. Bahīrā told him to look after the boy and Abū Ṭalib sent him back to Mecca. The Messenger of God lived as a youth with Abū Ṭalib, while God protected him and preserved him from the evils of the jāhilīyya period for the honour He wished for him.”

When he grew up he was consequently the most honourable man of his people, the best in character, the most noble in his relationships, the best neighbour, the most prudent, trustworthy and truthful, and the man most removed from immorality or harmfulness. He was never seen to do anyone harm or to quarrel with anyone, so that his people named him al-Amin, “the trustworthy one” because of all the fine qualities God had joined together in him.

Abū Ṭalib protected and cared for him, aided and assisted him until his death.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, “Khālid b. Maʿdān told us, Muʾamir b. Sulaymān related to us, that he heard his father relate from Abū Mijlīz that ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib or Abū Ṭalib – Khālid was unsure which one – said, that when ‘Abd Allah died he was sorry for Muḥammad and never went away on any trip without taking him with him. And when he was on the way to Syria and stopped to set up camp, a monk came to him there and said, ‘You have a man of goodness among you.’ Then he said, ‘Where is the father of this boy?’ The reply was given, ‘I am his guardian’ (or it was said, ‘he is his guardian’). The monk commented: ‘Take care of this boy; do not take him to Syria. The Jews are jealous, and I fear for him from them.’ He was told, ‘It is not you who are saying that but God himself.’ So he did take him back, and said, ‘O God, I place Muḥammad in your care!’ Then he died.”

The Story of Bahīrā.

Al-Suhaylī related, quoting the biographical writings of al-Zuhrī, that Bahīrā was a Jewish high priest. My comment is, that it appears from the course of the story that he was a Christian monk. But God knows best.

From al-Masʿādī comes the information that he was a man of the ‘Abd al-Qays tribe, and that his name was Jirjis.

In the work al-Maʿārif (Knowledge) of Ibn Qutayba it states, “A voice was heard in the jāhilīyya period, shortly before Islam, calling out the words, ‘O yea, the finest of men on earth are three: Bahīrā, Rāba b. al-Barrā, al-Shanī, and the third is still awaited.” The third and one awaited was the Messenger of God (SAAS).
Ibn Qutayba stated, "Al-tish is always seen at the graves of Ri`ab al-Shanni and of his son who came after him." This word, *al-tish*, means light rain.

**Section: On the early upbringing and raising of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and how God cared for him and protected him; how he had been an orphan and God gave him a home and destitute and God enriched him.**

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated, "And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) became a youth under the care and protection of God who saved him from the evils of the *jāhilīyya* because of the honour and mission He wished for him. When he grew up he was the finest man among his people, the best of them in character and repute, the best of neighbours, the most prudent, the most honest in speech and most trustworthy, and the one most removed from immorality and those characteristics that corrupt men, which he avoided because of his nobility."

Consequently the name by which he was known among Quraysh was none other than *al-Amin*, "the trustworthy", because of the fine qualities God had joined in him.

The Messenger of God (SAAS), as I was told, used to relate about those (pre-Islamic) practices, matters from which God had protected him in his youth and time of ignorance. He said, "Once I happened to be amongst some Quraysh boys carrying some stones for those games boys play. Each of us was exposed, having taken up his shirt and fastened it around his neck to carry stones in. I was running along with them in this way and having fallen behind I suddenly received a very painful slap from someone who spoke the words, 'Put your shirt on properly!' So I took it and put it back on properly and began carrying the stones around my neck with my shirt on, alone among my friends."

This anecdote is similar to the one in the *sahih* collection relating to the building of the *ka'ba*, when he and his uncle al-`Abbās were hauling (stones). If not the same, it certainly precedes that and is seemingly preparing for it. But God knows best.

`Abd al-Razzāq said that Ibn Jurayj informed him, quoting `Amr b. Dinār, that he heard Jabir b. `Abd Allah say, "When the *ka'ba* was being built, the Messenger of God (SAAS) went off to transport stones. Al-`Abbās said to the Messenger of God (SAAS), 'Put your shirt over your shoulder for the stones.' He did so, but fell to the ground and his eyes were drawn up to heaven. Then he got up and said, 'It was my shirt.' So it was put back on him properly."

The two traditionalists brought this *hadith* out in the two *sahih* collections, from an account of `Abd al-Razzāq. They also extrapolated it from an account of Rawḥ b. `Ubāda from Zakariyyā? b. Abū Ishaq, from `Amr b. Dinār from Jabir to the same effect.
Al-Bayhaqi said that the hāfiz Abū ʿAbd Allāh and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed him that Abū al-ʿAbbas Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb told them that Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Ṣaghānī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Ḥadramī, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Dashtakī, quoting ʿAmr b. Abū Qays, from Simāk, from ʿIkrima, who said that Ibn ʿAbbās related to him from his father that he would carry stones to the kaʿba when Quraysh was building it. Quraysh divided up into two groups, with the men transporting the stones and the women the mortar mix.

He went on: "I was with my nephew, carrying the rocks, wearing our shirts around our necks; when we came up to other people we covered up. While I was walking along with Muḥammad in front of me, he fell down and stretched out flat on his face. I hurried along, threw down my rocks, meanwhile he was looking up to heaven. ‘What’s wrong?’ I asked. He got up and took his shirt, saying, ‘I was forbidden from walking uncovered.’" Ibn ʿAbbās went on, "I hid this from the others for fear they would say (he) was mad."

Al-Bayhaqi related from a tradition of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays b. Makhrama related to him, from al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb, from his father and from his grandfather, ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, "I wasn’t interested in performing those things with women that people during the jāhilīyya used to do; except, that is, on two nights on which God, Almighty and Glorious is He, restrained me.

"One evening I and a young man of Mecca were watching some sheep belonging to some people there. I said to him, ‘Would you keep an eye on my sheep so I can go into Mecca and spend an evening there like other lads?’ ‘Sure,’ he replied. So I went into town and stopped at the first house where I heard the music of tambourines and flutes. I asked what was going on and was told that a man and woman had married. So I sat down to watch. But God struck my ears and, I swear, I was later awakened by the sun’s touch. I went back to my friend, who asked what I had done. I replied, ‘I didn’t do a thing.’ Then I told him what I had seen.

"Then one other night I asked him to watch my sheep so I could go to a party. He agreed, so I went off to Mecca and heard the same as I had the previous occasion. Again I was told that there was a marriage and so sat down to watch. But God again struck my ears and, I swear, I was later awakened by the sun’s touch.

“When I returned to my friend he asked what I had done. ‘Not a thing,’ I replied, and then I told him what had happened. And, by God, I never tried or returned to anything like that thereafter right up to when Almighty and Glorious God honoured me with His prophethood.”

This is a very strange tradition. It could be about ʿAlī himself, with the final words “up to when Almighty and Glorious God honoured me with his prophethood” having been added. But God knows best.
This scholar Ibn Ishāq is mentioned by Ibn Hibbān as being a very reliable source. Some authorities claim him to be an author of a saḥīḥ collection of traditions. In his supplementary notes, this sheikh of ours commented on this, “I don’t fully stand behind this.” But God knows best.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī said that the ḥāfīz ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAffān al-ʿAmīrī, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama and Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭib, from Usāma b. Zayd, from Zayd b. Ḥarīthah, who said, “There was a brass idol called ʿIsāf and Naʿīla which the polytheists would touch as they performed their circumambulation. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said ‘Don’t touch it.’”

Zayd continued, “Well, as we went round (again) I told myself I would touch it to see what would happen. When I did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked me, ‘Were you not forbidden to do that?’”

Al-Bayhaqī said that others added, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, giving a chain of authorities, that Zayd said, “By Him who honoured him and revealed to him the Holy Book, he (the Prophet) never saluted an idol right up to when God Almighty honoured him as He did and gave revelation to him.”

We earlier made reference to the comment of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Bahīra put a question to him invoking al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā: “By God, do not question me by invoking them! I hate nothing so much as them!”

As for the tradition given by the ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī, Abū Saʿd al-Malīnī informed us, Abū ʿĀḥmad b. ʿAdi, the ḥāfīz told us, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbdāt related to us, as did ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, as did Jarīr, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl, from Jābīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, God bless him, as follows: “The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to attend the ceremonies of the polytheists along with them. But once he heard two angels behind him, one saying to the other, ‘Let’s move up and stand right behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ But the other objected, ‘How can we stand right behind him when he is in the habit of saluting idols?’”

He went on, “And thereafter he never again attended such ceremonies with the polytheists.”

This is a tradition several authorities deny being attributed to ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba. Regarding it Imām ʿĀḥmad commented: “His brother would never speak any such words.”

Al-Bayhaqī related from various sources that his meaning was that he witnessed those who saluted idols, and that that was before God made revelation to him. But God knows best.

We previously reported a tradition from Zayd b. Ḥarīthah to the effect that he abstained from witnessing the ceremonies of the polytheists until God honoured him with His mission.
It is established in the tradition that he did not participate in the assembly at al-Muzdalifah during the night on Mt. 'Arafat. Indeed he did not assemble with the people at 'Arafat.

Similarly Yūnus b. Bukayr said, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, that ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to him, from 'Utāmah b. Abū Sulaymān, from Nāfī' b. Jubayr b. Muṭṣīm, from his father Jubayr who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was a member of his people’s religion. He would station himself there on a camel of his at 'Arafat, among his people until he raced away with them, God the Almighty and Glorious giving him blessing thereby.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “The meaning of the words ‘a member of his people’s religion’ refers to the remnants of the heritage of Abraham and Ishmael, on both of whom be peace. The Prophet (ṢAAS) never at any time associated with Allāh any other god.”

I also comment, that from these words of (al-Bayhaqī) it is to be understood that he did attend the assembly at 'Arafat before he received revelation. And it was this that was a “blessing” to him from God the Almighty and Glorious.

The Imām Aḥmad related this tradition from Ya'qūb, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq. The words he used were: “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before he received revelation while he was positioned on a camel of his with his people on 'Arafat so that he would move forward with them, this being a blessing from God.”

The Imām Aḥmad said that Sufyān related to him, from 'Amr, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭṣīm, from his father, saying, “I lost track of a camel of mine in the Wārān valley (close to 'Arafat) and went off to look for it. I found the Prophet (ṢAAS) in the assembly there. I said, ‘He’s one of the hums (a word used for Quraysh). What’s he doing here?’”

They both derived this from a tradition of Sufyān b. 'Uyayn to that effect.

*An Account of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) witnessed the war known as al-fījār, the sacrilegious war.*

Ibn Ishāq said, “The ‘sacrilegious’ war raged at a time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was 20. It was named the fījār (sacrilegious) war because the two tribes Kināna and Qays 'Aylān acted as though the sacred month (when warfare was disallowed) was open for them to fighting. The leader of Quraysh and of Kināna was Ḥarb b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams. Early in the day of the battle, Qays were defeating Kināna, but by midday the victory had gone to Kināna over Qays.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “When the Messenger of God reached 14 – or 15 – as Abū 'Ubayda the grammarian related to me, from Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā’, the
‘sacrilegious’ war broke out between Quraysh and its Kināna supporters and Qays ʾAylān.

“What started it was that ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl b. ʿUtba b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAmr b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa b. Muʿāwiya b. Bakr b. Hawāzin had given a passing permission to a trading caravan of musk which belonged to al-Nuʿmān b. al-Mundhir. And so al-Barrād b. Qays, one of the tribe of .Done ra b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna asked, ‘Are you going to apply the same against Kināna’s will?’ ‘Yes,’ was the reply, ‘and against everyone.’

“So ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl set out with the trading party and al-Barrād left too, seeking to catch him unawares. When the party reached the high ground of Tayman Dhū Ṭīlāl, ʿUrwa became careless and al-Barrād fell upon him and killed him; this was during the sacred month. Consequently the warfare became known as ‘sacrilegious’.” Al-Barrād spoke the following verses about all this:

“There’s many a tragedy that distressed people before me that I, O Banū Bakr, stood firm against.

Thereby I destroyed the houses of Banū Kilāb and humbled the freed slaves to submission.

I raised my fist against him at Dhū Ṭīlāl and he dropped like a felled tree.”

Labīd b. Rabīʿa b. Mālik b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb also composed the lines:

“Tell Banū Kilāb, if you chance on them, and ʿĀmir, that there are some who can master disasters,

Tell Banū Numayr, if you chance on them, and the dead man’s uncles of Banū Ḥilāl,

That the expected al-Raḥḥāl now rests at Tayman Dhū Ṭīlāl.”

Ibn Hishām continued, “A man arrived and told Quraysh of it, saying, ‘Al-Barrād has killed ʿUrwa, and during the sacred month, at Ṭukāz.’ They then rode off, unbeknown to Hawāzin. When Hawāzin learned of this they pursued them and caught up with them before they reached the sacred territory. They engaged in battle till nightfall but then they went inside the sacred territory and Hawāzin gave up on them.

“They met for several days after that battle, with the people going forth under various banners with a leader from each of the tribes of Quraysh and Kināna, and a leader from each of the tribes of Qays.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was present at some of these battles, his uncles having taken him with themselves. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I was giving arrows to my uncles.’ That is, he would gather for them the arrows their enemy had shot at them.”

Ibn Hishām said, “The account of the ‘sacrilegious’ war is very long, longer than I have recounted. But I have been deterred from recounting it because it would have interrupted the telling of the biography of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”
Al-Suhayli said that al-fijär is spelt with an “i” after the “f”, in the like form to qitāl, fighting. The fijār wars among the Arabs totalled four, and al-Mas'ūdī gave reference to all of them.

He went on, “The last of them was this one involving al-Barrād. The fighting in it consisted of four battles: the battle of Shamta, and the battle of al-'Ablā', both near Īkāz, and the battle of al-Sharb, which was the major battle. It was this one that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attended. For this battle the chieftains of Quraysh and Banū Kināna, respectively Ḥarb b. Umayya and his brother Sufyān, made a pact not to take to flight. On that occasion Qays were defeated, except for Banū Naḍr who held out. The fourth battle was at al-Ḥarira, near Nakhlā. Then they made an agreement to meet the following year at Īkāz. When they assembled to fulfil this appointment 'Utba b. Rabī‘a rode out on his camel and called out: 'O tribe of Muḍār, what is it you are fighting for?' Hawāzin replied, 'What are you suggesting?' 'Peace,' he replied. 'How,' they asked. He said, 'We pay you blood-money for your dead, and will leave people hostage with you to guarantee payment; and we will forgo our blood-money you owe.' ‘Who will guarantee us that?’ ‘I will,’ he replied. ‘And who are you?’ they demanded. ‘I am ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a,’ he told them.

‘On that basis peace was made, and they sent out to them 40 men, including Ḥākim b. Ḥizān. And when Banū 'Amr b. Ṣa‘ṣa‘a saw the guarantee hostages in their hands they gave up their claims and the “sacrilegious” war was at an end.”

Al-Umawi gave an account of the “sacrilegious” wars and the battles that occurred, detailing them at length, his information deriving from al-Athram, who was al-Mughāra b. ‘Āli, from Abū Ubayda Ma’mar b. al-Muthannā.

CHAPTER: HOW THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) WITNESSED THE PACT OF AL-FUDUL.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī said that Abū Sa‘d al-Mālnī told him, Abū ʿĀmīd b. ʿAdi, the ḥāfiz, related to him, quoting Yahyā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥāshim al-Khaṭṭāf, quoting Ismā‘il b. ʿAlīyya, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Isḥāq, from al-Zuhri, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭṣim from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I was a witness, with my uncles, to the pact of al-muṭayyabīn and I would not have wanted to renege – or some such word – for the very choicest herd.”

He (al-Bayhaqī) said that this tradition was related in these words also by Bishr b. al-Mufaddal, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān.

He also said that Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda related to him, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. Maṭar, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿĀmid b. Dāwūd al-Samnānī, quoting Mu‘allā b. Mahdī, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, all from ʿUmar b. Abū Salama, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said. “The only pact I
witnessed Quraysh make was that of *al-muṭayyabin*. And I'd not have abrogated it in return for the choicest herd.”

He said that *al-muṭayyabin* referred to Ḥāshim, Umayya, Zahra, and Makhzūm.

Al-Bayhaqi said, “This explanation is also interpolated within the tradition, but I do not know who it was who said it.”

Some biographers maintain that he was referring to the *fudūl* pact; for the Prophet (ṢAAS) was not yet born at the time of the *muṭayyabin* pact.

In my view, there is no disputing that. The fact is that Quraysh did conclude a treaty following the death of Quṣayy. They disputed the fact of Quṣayy having left to his son ʿAbd al-Ḍar the right to control provision of food and drink to the pilgrims, raising the banner at the kaʿba, its guardianship, and the convening of the assembly. The tribe of ʿAbd Manāf disputed them these prerogatives and various of the Quraysh tribes gave alliance and help for victory to one or other side.

So the partisans of Abd Manāf brought a bowl filled with *al-ṭib*, nutmeg powder, into which they placed their hands and swore allegiance to one another. When they had done so, they wiped their hands over the corners of the house (the kaʿba). They were therefore named the *muṭayyabina*, as mentioned above; this took place long ago.

But what is meant by this alliance, is the treaty of *al-fudūl*, a word meaning “the excess” or “remnants”. This was sworn in the home of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judān, as al-Ḥumaydī related it, from Sufyān son of ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd Allāh, from Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Rahmān, two sons of Abū Bakr. They stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I witnessed in the house of ʿAbd Allāh b. Judān a treaty to which I would have responded positively if, during Islam, I had been invited to participate in it. They made an agreement to return any excess to those who had owned it, and that no one should take unfair advantage over anyone.”

The authorities stated that the *fudūl* pact was concluded 20 years before the prophethood, in the eleventh month, Dhū al-Qaʿda, that date being some four months after the *al-fisār* war. That was because the *al-fisār* occurred in Shaʿbān, the eighth month of the same year.

The *al-fudūl* treaty was reputed the most fair and honourable pact reached among the Arabs. The first man who suggested and advocated it was al-Zubayr, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. The cause for it was that a man from Zabid brought some goods to Mecca and these were brought from him by al-ṣĀṣ son of Wāṣil who held back some of what was due to him. So the man from Zabid complained about him to his allies who were the tribes of ʿAbd al-Ḍar, Makhzūm, Jumāḥ, Sahm, and ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, but they declined to help him against al-ṣĀṣ son of Wāṣil and instead they roughed him up and drove him away. Having experienced
such ill-treatment, the man from Zabid approached Abū Qubays at daybreak, while Quraysh were in their assemblies around the *ka'ba*, and called out at the top of his voice:

"O heirs of Fihr, there's a man being wronged of his goods, right here in the middle of Mecca, far from his own home and people.

"A man dishevelled and deprived, who has not completed his pilgrimage; fellow men, I'm right here at the very heart of the *hijr.*"

"The sacrosanct is for those whose nobility is complete; there is nothing sacrosanct for the robe of the immoral and treacherous."

At this arose al-Zuhayr b. 'Abd al-MurtaJib and said, "This matter can't be ignored."

So the men of Hāshim, Zuhra, and Taym b. Murra assembled in the home of 'Abd Allah b. Judān who prepared food for them. They established their pact in Dhū al-Qa‘da, a sacrosanct month, agreeing and swearing by God that they would act in unison with any wronged person against the wrongdoer until his rights were fulfilled, for so long as the sea makes wool wet and the mountains Thabir and Hīra remain firmly set in their place and that they would comfort (people) as long as they are alive.

Quraysh named that pact al-fūdūl, saying, "Those men went into that matter fī *faḍl*, i.e. 'to excess'. Afterwards they walked over to al-‘Āṣ b. Wā'il and took away from him the goods of the man from Zabid and returned them to him."

Al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about this pact:

"I swore, Let's make a pact against them, though we're all members of one tribe. We'll call it al-fūdūl; if we make a pact by it the stranger could overcome those under local protection, And those who go around the *ka'ba* will know that we reject injustice and will prevent all things shameful."

Al-Zubayr also spoke the following:

"Al-fūdūl made a pact and alliance that no evildoer shall dwell in Mecca's heart. This was a matter they firmly agreed and so the protected neighbour and the unprotected stranger are safe among them."

Qāsim b. Thābit related, in a curious *ḥadīth* that, "A man of Khath'am came to Mecca either as a pilgrim or to perform the *umra* (the 'minor pilgrimage'), and brought with him a daughter of his named al-Qatūl, an exceedingly modest girl. But Nabīb b. al-Ḥajjāj seized her and took her away from him. So the man of Khath'am said, 'Who will help me against this man?' He was advised to invoke the pact of al-fūdūl."

66. The space on the north-west side of the *ka'ba* enclosed by the curved wall, the *ḥātim*. 
“So he stood at the ka‘ba and called out, ‘0 you who made the pact of al-fu‘āl!’ Men flocked to him from all sides, their swords unsheathed and shouting, ‘Help is here; what’s the matter?’ He told them how Nabīh had wronged him by taking his daughter from him by force.

“The men went with him to Nabīh’s house and he came out to them. They told him, ‘Bring the girl out! You know who we are and the pact on which we’ve agreed! ‘I’ll do it,’ he replied, ‘But let me enjoy her tonight!’ ‘Certainly not, by God,’ they insisted, ‘and there will be no intercourse!’ So he brought her out to them speaking the verses:

“My friends are gone, and I have not greeted al-Qattāl; I did not say to them a pleasant farewell,

For the al-fu‘āl reiterated that they protect her; yet I still see myself not fearing the al-fu‘āl.

Don’t think, girl, that I, that evening the riders left, did not feel disregarded by their going.”

And lines other than these were also given.

It has been said that this was known as the “pact of al-fu‘āl” merely because it was like an agreement reached by the Jurhum tribe that similarly favoured victims over oppressors. There were those of their leaders who advocated this, each one of whom bore the name “Faḍl”. They were al-Faḍl b. Faḍala, al-Faḍl b. Wādā‘a, and al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥārith. This is what Ibn Qutayba stated. Others give the names as al-Faḍl b. Sharā‘a, al-Faḍl b. Bīdā‘a and al-Faḍl b. Qudā‘a. It was al-Suhaylī, God be pleased with him, who reported this.

Muḥammad b. Ishaq b. Yasār said, “Tribes of Quraysh suggested making a pact and assembled for that purpose in the house of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥudān because of his high reputation and age.

“The pact made there at his house was between Banū Ḥāshim, Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza, Zuhra b. Kilāb, and Taym b. Murra. They made a pact and agreement that they would support any man in Mecca who was wronged, whether from their own people or someone who had merely come there, against whoever had wronged him, and that they would ensure that his rights be upheld.

“Quraysh named that agreement the ‘pact of al-fu‘āl’.‘”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq said that Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Muḥājir b. Qunfudh of Taym related to him that he heard Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwf al-Zuhri say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “I witnessed in the house of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudān a pact made that I wouldn’t have exchanged for the choicest herd; and if it had been suggested after Islam, I would have responded positively to it.”
Ibn Ishāq said that Yazid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Usāma b. al-Ḥadi al-Laythī related to him that Muhammad b. Ibrahim b. al-Ḥarith of Taym told him that there was between al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib and al-Walid b. 'Utba b. Abū Sufyān – al-Walid being at that time governor of al-Medīna, having been appointed over it by his uncle Mu‘āwiya b. Abū Sufyān – a dispute over some property they owned at (the village of) Dhū al-Marwa. It seems that al-Walid was using his power to take advantage of al-Ḥusayn. So al-Ḥusayn told him, “I swear by God that you will either justly recognize my rights or I will draw my sword and stand up in the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and invoke the pact of al-fuḍūl.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “So ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who was with al-Walid when al-Ḥusayn made this statement, said, ‘And I too swear by God that if he does invoke it, I’ll draw my sword and stand there with him until he gets his justice or we’ll all die together.’”


And when al-Walid b. ‘Utba heard what had been said, he treated al-Ḥusayn justly and made him content.

**SECTION:** On the Marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Khadija, Daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b. Qusayy.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Khadija daughter of Khuwaylid was a merchant woman of stature and wealth. She would employ men to trade her goods on a profit-sharing basis.

“When she heard of the truthfulness, trustworthy nature and fine character of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she sent for him and proposed that he should take some of her goods on a trading venture to Syria; she offered him better terms than she did other merchants and suggested he be accompanied by a youth in her employment whose name was Maysara.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted this offer and set off with her goods, in the company of Maysara. When they reached Syria, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a halt beneath the shade of a tree near the cell of a certain monk. This monk looked out at Maysara and said, ‘Who is that man resting beneath the tree?’ Maysara responded, ‘He is of Quraysh, those who guard the sanctuary.’ The monk responded, ‘No one but a prophet has ever stopped beneath that tree.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sold his wares, the goods that he had brought, and bought those things he wanted. Thereafter he set off in a caravan for Mecca, Maysara accompanying him.
"At midday when it was fiercely hot, Maysara would see, so they say, two angels shading him from the sun as he travelled forward on his camel.

When he reached Mecca and brought the goods back to Khadija, she sold them for twice their cost or thereabouts. Maysara related to her what the monk had said, and how he had seen the angels giving him shade.

"Now Khadija was a decisive, noble, and intelligent lady, as well as possessed of all the other fine qualities God had endowed her with. When Maysara told her all this she sent for the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said to him, so they say, 'Cousin, I am interested in you because of your being related to me, because of your high reputation among your people, and because of your trustworthiness, fine character and truthfulness.' She then offered herself to him in marriage.

"Khadija was the highest-born, most respected and wealthiest woman in Quraysh. All her people were covetous of all that and would have attained it if they could.

"When she said this to the Messenger of God (SAAS), he reported it to his uncles. One of these, Ḥamza, went off with him to visit Khuwaylid b. Asad and made an engagement between them. Thereafter the Prophet (SAAS) did marry her."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He gave her 20 young female camels as a dowry. She was the first woman he married. And he married no other woman until she died."

Ibn Ishaq said, "It was she who bore all the children of the Messenger of God (SAAS) except for Ibrāhīm. His sons from her were al-Qāsim, by whose name he was known, as ‘Abū al-Qāsim’, ‘father of Qāsim’ that is. Al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭāhir were his other sons. His daughters were named Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The first-born of the boys was al-Qāsim, then came al-Ṭayyib, followed by al-Ṭāhir. The first-born girl was Ruqayya, followed by Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm, and Fāṭima, in that order."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, from al-Ḥākim that he read, by the hand of Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama, that Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him, saying, "The eldest of his sons was al-Qāsim. Then came Zaynab, followed by ʿAbd Allāh, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima, and Ruqayya. The first of his children to die was al-Qāsim, followed by ʿAbd Allāh. Khadija is said to have died at age 65 or at age 50, the latter being more likely."

Others say that al-Qāsim attained an age when he could ride, even on light, swift camels but then he died, after the call to prophethood.

Others say he died while still unweaned. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "In heaven there is a place for him where he can complete his suckling."

However, it is well known that this statement applied to (his son) Ibrāhīm.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Ibrāhīm b. Uṭḥmān related to him from al-Qāsim from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Khadija gave birth from the Messenger of God
(SAAS) to two boys and four girls. These were al-Qāsim, ‘Abd Allāh, Fāṭima, Umm Kulthūm, Sayyāb, and Ruqayya.”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkar said, “It was ‘Abd Allāh who was known as ‘al-Ṭayyib’ (the good) and ‘al-Ṭāhib’ (the pure). He was given these appellations because he was born after the call to prophethood. His other sons died before his mission. All his daughters were born prior to the call to the prophethood, and emigrated with him (SAAS).”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Ibrāhim was born to Maria the Copt who was presented to the Prophet (SAAS) by al-Muqawqis, governor of Alexandria; she was from (the Upper Egypt town of) Kūrat Andā.”

We will discuss the wives and children of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in a separate section at the end of this biography, if God Almighty wills it; and in Him we trust.

Ibn Hishām said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was 25 years of age when he married Khadija, according to the account of several scholars, including Abī ‘Amr al-Madāni.”

Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān stated, “I wrote down, from Ibrāhim b. al-Mundhir, the following: Umar b. Abī Bakr al-Mu‘ammilī related to me that more than one authority related to him that ‘Amr b. Asad married Khadija to the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he was 25 years of age and Quraysh were building the ka‘ba.”

Similarly, al-Bayḥaqī transmitted from al-Ḥakīm that the age of the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he married Khadija was 25 and that she was then 35. It is also said that she was 25.

Al-Bayḥaqī stated, in a chapter entitled: “The employment the Messenger of God had before he married Khadija” as follows:

“Abī ‘Abd Allāh the ḥāfiz narrated to us, quoting Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd Allāh, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān; and Suwayd b. Sa‘īd related to us, quoting ‘Amr b. Abī Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qurashi, from his grandfather Sa‘īd, from Abū Hurayra who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘God never sent anyone to be a prophet without his having been a shepherd for sheep.’ His Companions asked him, ‘And you too, O Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘I shepherded them for Meccans at al-Qurārī.’”

Al-Bukhārī related it from Ahmad b. Muḥammad the Meccan, from ‘Amr b. Yaḥya.

Thereafter al-Bayḥaqī related the same tradition by way of al-Rabī‘ b. Badr, a weak link, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “My wage from Khadija for two expeditions was a young she-camel.”

the Messenger of God (SAAS) to her at a time when he (her father) was - and I think this is what he said - drunk!"

Then al-Bayhaqi stated that Abu al-Hasayn b. al-Fadl al-Qattân related to him, as did ‘Abd Allah b. Ja’far, as did Ya’qub b. Sufyân, who said that he was told by Ibrahim b. al-Mundhir, and by ‘Umar b. Abu Bakr al-Mu‘ammili and by ‘Abd Allah b. Abû Ubayd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ammâr b. Yâsir, from his father from Muqsim b. Abû al-‘Asim, the mawla of ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Asim b. Nâwafal, that ‘Abd Allah b. al-‘Asim related to him that ‘Ammâr b. Yâsir, whenever he heard people discussing the marriage of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Khadija and embellishing it as they did, would tell them, ‘I know better than anyone else about his marriage to her. I was his companion and his close friend.

One day I was out with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and when we came to al-‘Asim we passed by Khadija’s sister who was seated on a fine-coloured camel she had for sale. She called to me and I went over to her, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) stood there waiting for me. She said, ‘Would that friend of yours like to marry Khadija?’

“So I went back to him and told him and he responded, ‘Indeed I certainly would!’

“I then reported to her what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said and she suggested, ‘Come and visit us tomorrow.’ When we did so next day we found that they had slaughtered a cow and dressed Khadija’s father in ceremonial clothes; and his beard had been dyed yellow. I spoke with her brother and he with his father, who had been drinking wine. The brother told him of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and of his reputation and asked him if he would conduct his marriage. And so he did marry him to Khadija. They cooked the cow and we ate from it, after which her father went to sleep. When he woke up he was sober and he said, ‘What’s this I’m wearing, what’s this yellow and why this food?’ His daughter who had spoken to ‘Ammâr replied, ‘It was your son-in-law Muḥammad son of ‘Abd Allah who gave you the ceremonial outfit and he who presented the cow to you, and we slaughtered it when you married him to Khadija.’

“He denied having concluded this marriage with him and stormed off, shouting, to al-‘Asim. Banu Hashim brought out the Messenger of God (SAAS) and they all went off to talk to him. Khadija’s father demanded, ‘Where’s this man of yours you claim I married to Khadija?’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) made his presence known to him. Having looked at him, her father then said, ‘If I already performed his marriage, then so be it. If I didn’t before, I do so now!”

Al-Zuhri stated in his works of biography that her father married her to him when he was drunk. His account is similar to the foregoing. Al-Suhayli (similarly) related it.
Al-Mu‘ammar said, “What is generally agreed upon is that it was her uncle, ‘Amr b. Asad, who married her to him.”

This is what al-Suhayli preferred. He related so on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbas and ‘A’isha. The latter said, “Khuwaylid had died before al-fijär, the ‘sacrilegious’ war. It was he who had fought against Tubba‘ when he wanted to remove the ‘black stone’ to Yemen. Khuwaylid and a group from Quraysh had prevented him from doing so. Then Tubba‘ had a nightmare about it, changed his mind, and left the ‘black stone’ where it was.”

Ibn Ishq related at the end of his biography that Khadija’s brother, ‘Amr b. Khuwaylid, was the one who married her to the Messenger of God (SAAS), but God knows best.

DIVISION

Ibn Ishq stated that Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, had informed Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-Uzza b. Qaysyy, who was her cousin and a Christian who had studied the Scriptures and human knowledge, of what her young employee (Maysara) had told her of what the monk had said, and how he had seen the two angels shading him. Waraqa had then told her, “If this is true, Khadija, then Muhammad is the Prophet of this nation. I learned that a prophet was expected for this nation, and this is his time.” These were approximately the words he used.

Thereafter Waraqa had impatiently awaited his coming, asking how long it would be. He spoke the following verses on the subject:

“I persisted, being persistent in recalling both a worry that often inspired my tears,
And a description from Khadija, following (another) description; my waiting has been long, O Khadija,
In the heart of Mecca, with my hoping because of your words that I would see some solution.
From what you related as the words of a priest who was a monk whom I would hate to be wrong,
That Muhammad will one day prevail and defeat whomever opposes him,
Making a light appear in the land by which he will bring change to all creation.
Those who oppose him will meet defeat, while those who aid him will achieve success.
Would that I be there to witness, for I’ll be the first of them in participating.
Participating in that which Quraysh will hate, however much they bluster in their Mecca.
I aspire, through him whom they all hate, to reach the Enthroned One, even if they descend, aside.
Is it not folly to disbelieve in Him who chooses, He who raised the stars?
If they and I survive, things will happen at which the disbelievers will be sorely discomfited.
Even if I perish, so does every man meet from the fates with destruction and death.”

Waraqa also spoke the following lines, according to the account given of him by Yūnūs b. Bukayr from Ibn Ishaq:

“Will you leave early in the morning, or late tonight, or in the evening, there being a fire alight in your heart from your concealing your sadness?

At parting from a people whom I do not like to leave, as if after two days’ journey away they seem very far removed.

And at true information related about Muhammad, told about him when he was elsewhere by an honest man.

The man came back to you, O best of free women, whom you had sent to the Ghawr lowland and to the plateaux of the Najd ranges.

To the markets of Buṣrā with the mounts that left early, bent over with their loads, slow-moving.

He tells us of things good, through his knowledge; and truth has doors for which keys exist.

That ‘Abd Allah’s son, Aḥmad, is being sent to all people everywhere.

My belief is that he will be sent to tell the truth, just as God’s two servants Hūd and Salīḥ were sent

And Moses, and Abraham, until his glory shall be witnessed and widely spread abroad by report, very clear;

And there shall follow him the tribes of Luʿayy and Ghālib, their young and their grey leaders alike.

If I survive till his era reaches the people, then I will give glad tidings of love.

If not, O Khadija, then you should know that I shall be travelling the wide earth, far from your land.”

Al-Umawi added the lines:

“Following the religion of Him who established all things, He who had virtue far greater than all men.

And erected a secure building in Mecca, whose lamplight glitters in the dark,

A meeting place for all the various tribes, a place to which the tired, fine mounts hurry,

Standing tall like arrows of fine wood, the sinews winding around them suspended above their pastern-joints.”

Other verses of this, as given by Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī in his work al-Rawḍ (The Gardens) are the following:

“I gave advice to the tribes, telling them ‘I came to warn, so let no one deceive you.’

Do not worship any God other than your creator, and if others call you, then say, ‘We are in conflict with you.’

Glory everlasting be to Him of the throne; both the waters and the dry land glorified Him before us.
All things beneath the sky are subjugated before Him; no one should oppose His dominion.

Nothing that you see has its splendour last, but God remains, though wealth and progeny perish.

With his treasures, one day Hurmuz did not prevail, and the tribe of Ād sought eternity, but they did not last.

Nor Solomon either, for the winds blew him away, and all spirits and men too, a waste land between them.

Where are those kings whose glory was such that delegations would come to them from all parts?

A great basin is up there where, without falsehood, all must gather one day, just as they did.”

He then said, “Abū al-Faraj similarly attributed these to Waraqa.” He also commented that some of these verses are also considered to have been by Umayya b. Abū al-Salt.

I would also add that we have been told that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless him, used sometimes to quote some of these verses. But God knows best.

Section: On Quraysh having rebuilt the kaʿba five years before the coming of the prophethood.

Al-Bayhaqi recounts the building of the kaʿba to have been before the marriage of the Prophet (SAAS), to Khadija.

However, it is widely known that the building by Quraysh of the kaʿba took place some ten years following their marriage, as we have stated.

Al-Bayhaqi begins by relating the kaʿba’s construction as having occurred in the time of Abraham, as we have stated in our earlier account of him. He gives the hadith of Ibn ʿAbbas recorded in the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī and also makes reference to some of the accounts attributed to Israeli legends regarding the construction of the kaʿba in Adam’s lifetime.

But that is not correct, for the plain statement in the Qurʾān establishes that Abraham was the first person to begin building it, the first to establish it. Moreover its site was revered before that, honoured, and cared for throughout time. God Almighty stated,

“The first ‘house’ established for mankind was the one in Bekka (Mecca), blessed and a guidance for the worlds. In it there are clear signs. (There is) the stone on which Abraham stood. Whoever enters it shall be safe. Men owe it to God to make pilgrimage to the House, (all) those who can afford to do so” (sūrat ʿAl-ʾImrān, III, v.96, 97).

In the two sahihs it is said of Abū Dharr that he stated, “I asked, ‘O Messenger of God, which mosque was established first?’ He replied, ‘The
al-Haram mosque (the 'Holy Mosque' in Mecca) 'Which one next?' I enquired. 'The al-Aqsa mosque' (the 'further mosque', in Jerusalem). 'How many years intervened?', I asked. 'Forty years', he replied.

We have earlier addressed this issue and the fact that the al-Aqsa mosque was established by (the tribe of) Israel, by Jacob, peace be upon him.

In both sahih collections it is stated: "This land was made sacred by God when he created the heavens and the earth. It is made sacred by the sanctity of God until Judgement Day."

Al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh, the ḥāfīẓ, informed him, as did Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣaffār, Ahmad b. Māhrūn, 'Ubayd Allāh, and Isrá'īl, from Abū Yahyā, from Mujāhid, from 'Abd Allāh b. Amr as follows, "The house (of worship) existed 2,000 years before the earth: 'And lo! the earth was laid out' (sūrat al-Inshiqaq, LXXXIV, v.3). "It was," he said, "laid out beneath it."

He said, "And Maṃṣūr traced this account back to Mujāhid."

I consider this very strange. It is as though it comes from the two baggage camels seized by 'Abd Allāh b. Amr at the battle of Yarmuk which were transporting Israeli legends, from which he used to relate; they told of strange and objectionable things.

Then al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh, the ḥāfīẓ, informed him, quoting Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bağhdādı, quoting Yaḥyā b. 'Uthmān b. Ṣāliḥ, as did Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Juḥānī, quoting Ibn Lahīfa, from Yazīd b. Abū al-Khayr, from 'Abd Allāh b. Amr b. al-'Āṣ that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "God sent down Gabriel to Adam and Eve, and told them: 'Build a house of worship for me.' Gabriel drew it out for them and Adam began digging while Eve transported until the water spoke to him, calling out from beneath him, 'That's enough, Adam!' When they had finished building, God revealed to him that he should circumambulate it. He was told, 'You are the first man, and this is the first house.' Thereafter the centuries succeeded one another until Noah made pilgrimage there. Further centuries went by until Abraham constructed its foundations."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "Ibn Lahīfa is the only one transmitting this tradition in this way."

I consider him to be a weak source. If its transmission had stopped directly with 'Abd Allāh b. Amr it would have been a stronger and more authentic tradition. But God knows best.

Al-Rābi stated that al-Shāfi‘ī informed him, as did Sufyān, from Ibn Abū Labīd, from Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Quraṣī – or someone else – that he (the Prophet, ṢAAS) said, "Adam performed the pilgrimage and the angels met him and told him, 'Your sacrifice made has been successful. We made pilgrimage 2,000 years before you!'"
Yûnus b. Bukayr stated that Ibn Isḥāq said, “Buqayya – or, he said, someone trustworthy of Medina – related to me, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr that he (the Prophet) said, ‘There has never been a prophet who has not made pilgrimage to the kaʿba – except, that is, for Hud and Ṣāliḥ.’”

But I have elsewhere reported their pilgrimage to it; by which I meant their having made pilgrimage to its site, even though it was not yet built. But God knows best.

After this al-Bayhaqi reported the hadith from Ibn ʿAbbās giving in full the story of Abraham, upon whom be peace; it is included in the saḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bayhaqi then related from the hadith of Simak b. Ḥarb, on the authority of Khalid b. ʿAr’ara, as follows: “A man asked ʿAli about God’s statement (in the Qurʾān): ‘The first house (of worship) established for mankind was the one in Bekka (Mecca), blessed and a guidance for the world’ and asked whether it really was the first house built on earth.

“He replied, ‘No, but it was the first one in which blessings and guidance for all mankind were in place, along with the stone on which Abraham stood; and whoever enters it is safe. And if you like, we can tell you how it was constructed.

“Almighty God sent a revelation to Abraham, saying, ‘Build for me a house on earth!’ This command disturbed him greatly. So God sent down al-sakīna, which is a strong wind with a head to it. Head and wind pursued one another until finally stopping. Thereupon the gale whirled around itself at a certain spot, like the coils of a snake. So Abraham built (there) until he reached the position for the stone. He then said to his son: ‘Help me by finding a stone.’ He searched for one and brought it, but found that the ‘black stone’ had already been set in place. He asked his father, ‘Where did you get that?’ ‘Someone came who wouldn’t rely on your building. Gabriel brought it from heaven.’ So he finished it.

“Time passed and it fell down. So the ʿamāliqa (the giants) rebuilt it and when it next collapsed it was Jurhum who reconstructed it.

‘Again it collapsed and Quraysh rebuilt it, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) being a young man at that time. When they wanted to lift into place the ‘black stone’ they fell into a dispute who should do so. They agreed they would let the first person to come along that street decide. It was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who came by first, so he decided for them to place it in a piece of cloth, so that all the tribes would lift it to its place.’”

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālisī said that Ḥammād b. Salama and Qays and Sallām related to him, all on the authority of Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Khalid b. ʿAr’ara, from ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalib who said, “When the kaʿba fell down after Jurhum, Quraysh rebuilt it. And when they wanted to position the stone they fell into a dispute with one another. So they agreed that the first person to come in the door should do it.
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) came in through the Banu Shayba door. He told them to bring a robe in the centre of which he placed the stone. Then he ordered each subtribe to take hold of an edge of the cloth. They then lifted it up and the Messenger of God (SAAS) took the stone and positioned it."

Ya'qub b. Sufyan said that Asbugh b. Faraj related to him, as did Ibn Wahb, from Yunus from Ibn Shihab as follows: "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached puberty a woman set alight to the kaba. A spark from her fire lit some of the cloth covering of the kaba and it burned. So they tore it down and rebuilt it up to that point in the corner where a dispute arose among Quraysh as to which of the tribes should be entrusted with raising it.

"They agreed to appoint as arbitrator the first person who came up to them. It was the Messenger of God (SAAS) who did so, he being a youth, and he was wearing a leopardskin sash. They asked him to decide the issue and he told them to get the corner piece, which was placed in a cloth. Then he asked the leader of each tribe to come forward and gave each one a side of the cloth while he climbed up. They lifted it up and he put the corner piece in position.

"As he increased in age he became only more pleasing, and so they gave him the sobriquet al-Amin, 'the trustworthy', even before revelation came down to him. They adopted the practice of never slaughtering a camel for sacrifice without seeking him, and he would say a prayer over it for them."

The context of this tradition is good, it being from the biographies written by al-Zuhri.

One strange element in it is the wording "when he reached puberty". For it is well known that this occurred when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was 35. This is established by Muhammad b. Ishaq. God bless him.

Musa b. Wqba stated that the building of the kaba occurred 15 years prior to the prophethood. Similarly, Mujahid agreed, as did Urwa, Muhammad b. Jubayr b. Mu'tim and others. But God knows best.

Musa b. Uqba stated: "There was a period of 15 years between the 'sacrilegious' war al-fijar and the building of the kaba."

I observe that al-fijar and the pact of al-fudul came in one year, when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was 20. This fact substantiates what Muhammad b. Ishaq said. But God knows best.

Musa b. Uqba said: "Quraysh were motivated towards rebuilding the kaba because water would flood in from its top, from above the earth roof with which it was covered and which was in disrepair. Consequently they were concerned that water might leak inside.

"Also, a man named Mulayh had stolen the kaba's incense and they wanted to rebuild it taller and raise its door so that only those they wished could enter it.
They therefore established a fund for the costs and hired workers and then went there one morning to tear it down, despite their concern and apprehension that God might prevent them from doing what they wanted.

The first man to start and to take down a piece of it was al-Walid b. al-Mughira. When they saw what al-Walid had done the others followed by doing the same; they levelled it and were pleased to have done so.

When they wanted to begin rebuilding it, they brought the workmen, but not one of them would set foot anywhere before it.

They claimed that they saw a snake encircling the building completely, its head reaching back to its tail. They were terrified of it and afraid that what they were doing would destroy them.

The ka'ba had been their haven and safe refuge from others as well as a source of their pride. Because of their confusion and worry at what had happened to them, al-Mughira b. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Amr b. Makhzûm stood up and reminded them of the advice and orders he had given them, namely that they should not dispute or envy one another in rebuilding it, but should divide it into quarters and use no ill-gotten money in its construction.

When they had decided to proceed, the snake disappeared up into the sky, and they could see that this was the work of God, Almighty and All-powerful is He.

His account also states that some people maintain that a bird picked it up and tossed it away towards Ajyad. 67

Muhammad b. Ishâq b. Yasîr said, 'When the Messenger of God (S.A.S.S) reached 35 Quraysh reached an agreement to rebuild the ka'ba. They did so because they were concerned about reroofing it, being afraid its roof would collapse since it was made only of stones set above its frame. They also wanted to make it taller as well as reroof it.

That was because some men had stolen the ka'ba's treasure which had been kept in a well in its middle. The man who was found in possession of the treasure was Duwayk, a freed-man of Bântî Mula'yî b. 'Amr b. Khuzâ'a. Consequently Quraysh cut off his hand.

Quraysh claims that those who stole it planted it with Duwayk.

'The sea had cast ashore at Jidda a ship belonging to a Byzantine trader. The ship had broken up, so they took its wood to use for the ka'ba's roof.'

Al-'Umâwî said, "This ship belonged to the emperor of Byzantium and was carrying building materials, marble, wood, and metal. The emperor had sent this off with Baqum the Byzantine for the church the Persians had burned belonging to the Abyssinians. When it had reached its anchorage at Jidda God had sent a gale which destroyed it."

67. Ajyad is a mountain at Mecca.
Ibn Ishaq said, "In Mecca there was a Copt who was a carpenter and so they had available to them some of what was needed to repair it."

"There was a serpent that would emerge from the ka'ba's well into which they would drop every day the sacrificial offerings. It would emerge and sun itself on the ka'ba's wall. They were all afraid of it, because whenever anyone approached it, it would raise its head, move its coils audibly and open its mouth. One day as it lay on the ka'ba's wall as was its habit, God sent down a bird which snatched it up and flew away with it.

"At this Quraysh said, 'Now we can hope that God is pleased at our plan. We have a local carpenter, and wood, and God has taken care of the serpent.'"

Al-Suhayli recounted, on the authority of Razin, that a thief had entered the ka'ba during the Jurhum era to steal its treasure but that the well had caved in on him. Some men had come and lifted him out and retrieved what he had taken. After that, a serpent resided in the well, its head as big as that of a young goat, its belly white and its back black. It had lived there for 500 years. This was the serpent mentioned by Muhammad b. Ishaq.

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated, "When they had agreed on demolishing and rebuilding it, Aba Wahb b. 'Amr b. 'Aidh b. 'Abd b. Imam b. Makhzum (whose name according to Ibn Hisham was 'Aidh b. Imam b. Makhzum) went and removed a stone from the ka'ba but it flew straight out of his hand back to its position. So he said, 'O Quraysh, in rebuilding it, use only money that you have fairly earned. Nothing gained from prostitution, usury, or injustice against any person must enter it.'"

(Some) people attribute this statement to al-Walid b. al-Mughira b. 'Abd Allah b. Umar b. Makhzum. Ibn Ishaq, moreover, was inclined to believe that the man who said this was Abū Wahb b. 'Amr. He said that he was the maternal uncle of the father of the Prophet (SAAS), and a very highly regarded and honourable man.

Ibn Ishaq said, "Then Quraysh divided up the ka'ba. The side with the door was entrusted to the tribes of 'Abd Manaf and Zuḥra, that between the 'black stone' corner and the Yemeni corner went to the Banū Makhzum, along with various other Quraysh tribes. The back of the ka'ba went to the tribes of Jumah and Sahm; the hijr (shrine) side was entrusted to the tribes of 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy and Assad b. 'Abd al-Ωzza, while the 'Adi b. Ka'b were assigned the rahw al-ḥašim, the enclosed slope around the walls.

"But the people were apprehensive about demolishing it and were very scared of it. So al-Walid b. al-Mughira said, 'I shall begin demolishing it.' And he took up a pick-axe and set about it, saying, 'O God, it is not to be feared. O God, good is all we want.'"
"He then demolished some of the side where two rukn, the sacred corners, are. That night everyone expected something bad would happen and said, 'Let's keep watch on him and if he comes to harm we'll not demolish any more of it and we'll repair it just as it was. But if nothing happens to him, then God will have been pleased by our action in destroying it.'

"Early next morning al-Walid recommenced his work of demolition, and the others joined in with him. Eventually they had demolished it down to the foundations established by Abraham, peace be upon him. They uncovered some green rocks interlocking together like teeth."

In the sahih of al-Bukhari an account from Yazid b. Rumn gives the phrase "interlocking together like camels' humps". And al-Suhayli said, "I consider the wording in the biography 'like teeth' to be imaginary." But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "A certain reciter of traditions related to me as follows, 'A man of Quraysh, who were demolishing the ka'ba, put his crowbar between two stones to remove one of them and when the stone moved all Mecca shook, so they stopped working on that foundation.'"

Musa b. Uqba stated, "Abd Allah b. 'Abbâs claimed that leaders of Quraysh related that when they had assembled to extract stones to set up the (stations of) Abraham and Ishmael, upon both of whom he peace, one of their tribesmen began removing one of the stones from the original foundation. When he lifted it up, not knowing that it was from the original foundation, the onlookers saw a light emitting from beneath it that almost dazzled the man's sight. Then the stone jumped out of his hand and dropped back into its place. The man and the other builders were terrified. But when the stone again hid from them what was beneath it they went back to their building, saying, 'Don't move that stone, or any of those next to it.'"

Ibn Ishaq stated, "It was related to me that Quraysh found in the corner a document with Syriac writing on it and they did not know what it was until a Jew read it to them. It said, 'I am God, Lord of Bakka (Mecca). I created the heavens and the earth and formed the sun and the moon. I have set seven trusty angels around it. It will not cease to exist until its akkhabaha (a word Ibn Hishâm interpreted to mean "its two mountains") disappear, a blessing to its people in their water and their milk.'"

Ibn Ishaq stated, "It was related to me that they found in the shrine a document stating, 'Mecca is God's holy House. Its sustenance shall come from three paths; let it not be first desecrated by its own people.'"

He also stated that Layth b. Abû Sulaym claimed that they had found a stone in the ka'ba 40 years before the coming of the mission of the Prophet (SAAS) - if what they said is true - on which was written, "He who plants good shall harvest joy; he who plants evil shall harvest regret. If you do evil things, shall
you be rewarded with good things? Indeed so, just as grapes are harvested from thorns!"

Sa‘íd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī stated that al-Muṣṭamīr b. Sulaymān al-Raqqī related to him, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Bishr al-Zuhrī, with a chain of authorities back to the prophet (ṢAAS), who said, "In the shrine three slates were found. On the first was written, 'It is I, God, Lord of Bakka; I made it when I made the sun and the moon and I have set seven trusty angels around it. And I have blessed its people in the meat and in the milk.'

"On the second it said, 'I am God, Lord of Bakka. I created al-raḥīm, kinship, which I derived from my name, (Raḥīm, (meaning) merciful and compassionate). He who acts kindly to his kin, so will I treat; he who severs his ties of kinship, so will I treat.'

"On the third was written: 'I am God, Lord of Bakka. I created goodness and evil and I predetermine. Joy shall be for those who bring good, and woe upon those who bring evil!'"

Ibn Ishaq continued, "Then the tribes of Quraysh gathered stones to rebuild it, each one collecting them separately.

"They built it up until it reached the place for the (black) stone but then fell into dispute about it. Each tribe wanted to raise it into its position, regardless of the rest. Eventually they broke up, established alliances, and readied to do battle. Banū ‘Abd al-Dār brought a bowl full of blood and they and Banū ‘Adī b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy made a pact to fight to the death, placing their hands into that bowl of blood. And so they were known as the ‘blood-lickers’.

"Quraysh remained in this confrontation for four or five nights, then they met together in the mosque, debated one another but divided into equal sides.

"Some scholars of the traditions claim that Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, who was at that time the oldest man in all Quraysh, said, ‘O Tribe of of Quraysh, resolve your dispute by agreeing that the first man who enters by the door of this mosque will decide the issue.’ They agreed.

"The first man to enter was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when they saw him they said, ‘This is al-Amin, “the trustworthy”; we are satisfied. This is Muḥammad.’ When he reached them and they told him of the problem, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said: ‘Bring me a robe.’ One was brought to him and he took the corner piece (the ‘black stone’) and placed it on the robe. Then he said, ‘Let each tribe grasp one side of the cloth. Then all raise it up.’ This they did until it was at the right spot, whereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself positioned it. Then they built above it.”

Quraysh used to refer to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as “the trustworthy”.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Thabit – meaning Abū Yazid – quoting Hilāl – meaning Ibn Ḥabbān – from Mujāhid
from his mawla, whose name was al-Sa'ib b. 'Abd Allāh, that the last-mentioned related to him that he was one of those who built the ka'ba before the coming of Islam. He stated, “I had a stone I had sculpted that I worshipped besides God. I used to bring clotted milk unfit for myself and pour it over it. Then a dog would lick it off, raise its hind leg and urinate on it. We continued building until we reached the position for the (black) stone, but no one knew where it was. But then it was seen among our rocks looking like a man’s head with a face almost distinguishable. A leader of Quraysh said, ‘We’ll position it.’ But others said they too would do it. People suggested an arbitrator be appointed and they agreed that he should be the first man to appear from the mountain road. And it was the Messenger of God (SAAS) who arrived, and those there commented, ‘Well, it’s the “trustworthy” who’s come.’ They talked to him and he placed it on a cloak. He then summoned their head men and they lifted it up while he, (SAAS) placed it in its position.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “At the time of the Prophet (SAAS), the ka'ba measured 18 cubits and was covered by Egyptian-woven Qabāṭi cloth. Later it was covered by al-burūḏ68 cloths. The first to clothe it with the dibāj silk brocade was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.”

My comment is that they left out of it the hijr area that was six or seven cubits long in the direction of Syria. They had insufficient funds for that; that is, they were not able to rebuild it on Abraham’s foundations. They constructed one door for the ka'ba on the east side, placing it high up so that not everyone could get inside. This allowed them to permit inside only those they wished.

It has been established in both sahīḥ collections, on the authority of 'Ā'isha, God be pleased with her, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) told her: “Don’t you know that your people had insufficient funds for the expenses? If it were not for the fact that your people were only recently unbelievers, I would have torn down the ka'ba and made for it one door on the east and another on the west. And I would have included the hijr area within it.”

This was how Ibn Zubayr rebuilt it, just as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had indicated. It was done in the utmost splendour and beauty, one complete whole on the foundations of al-Khalil (Abraham). It had two doors at ground level, on the east and west sides, and people would enter through one and exit through the other.

When he had executed Ibn al-Zubayr, al-Ḥajjāj wrote to the Caliph of the time, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, concerning what Ibn Zubayr had done; and they believed that he had made the changes on his own authority.

And so it was ordered that it be restored to its original state. They set to work on the “Syrian” wall, tearing it down and removing the (black) stone, laying out

68. Al-burūḏ is the name given to striped-cloth sheets.
its stones on the *ka'ba* floor. Then its door was raised and the western door was blocked off; the eastern one was left as it was. When it was the time of al-Mahdi – or his son al-Mansūr – he (the ruler) sought advice from Mālik on rebuilding it as it had been remodelled by Ibn al-Zubayr. But Mālik, God be pleased with him, said, "I hate for the rulers to treat it like a plaything."

And so he left it as it was; it remains the same to this day.

As for the masjid al-harām, the sacred mosque at Mecca, the first man to remove the buildings around the *ka'ba* was 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him. He purchased them from their owners and demolished them. When Uthmān ruled he bought other houses which he added to it. When Ibn al-Zubayr succeeded, he reinforced it, improved its walls, and increased the number of its doors. But he was not able to make any additions to increase its size.

When 'Abd al-Mālik b. Marwān seized power he made the walls of the sacred mosque taller and ordered that the *ka'ba* be covered by the *dibāj*. The one who carried out this order was al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf.

We have elsewhere related the history of the building of the House and the traditions that came down about that in our exegesis of the surat al-Baqara (Qur'ān, II) in reference to the verse: "When we ordered Abraham to raise the foundations of the house along with Ishmael" (verse 127). Our explanation of this is lengthy and exhaustive and whoever wishes could write it down here. And all praise and power be to God.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When they had finished the construction, having built it as they wished, al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalīb spoke the following verses about the serpent that caused Quraysh to be afraid of rebuilding the *ka'ba*:

"I was amazed at the eagle aiming straight for the serpent when it was in an excited state.

It used to make a rustling sound, and sometimes it would dash out;

When we began the building it increased our awe of the structure and we were scared.

When we were too afraid to drive it away an eagle came, swooping straight down at it.

It grasped it tight, then left the building to us; there being nothing else in its way.

Together we assembled to begin the building, for which we already had the foundations and the soil;

Next morning its foundations were raised, our men wearing no clothes.

The Lord ennobled Banū Lu'ayy through it and there's no denying their founding it.

Banū 'Adī had also assembled there, and Murra who were preceded by Kilāb.

The Lord thereby established us in glory, and it is from God that reward is requested."
We earlier treated in a separate passage how God protected the Messenger of God (SAAS) from the bad practices of the pre-Islamic era. He and his uncle al-‘Abbās used to transport stones and when he (SAAS) positioned his loincloth over his shoulder beneath the stones, he was forbidden from doing so and therefore reverted to his former practice.

**DIVISION**

Ibn Ishāq related how Quraysh began the practice of calling themselves *al-Hums*, a word implying intensity in religion, and intolerance.

This is because they gave extreme veneration to the holy places, to the extent that they required people not to leave there on the night of the procession to ʿArafa. They would say, “We are men of the holy places, the *haram*, and the *Quṭṭān*, those who dwell at God’s house.”

They would not make the halt on Mt. ʿArafa, though they knew that was the wish of Abraham, peace be upon him, in order not to abandon the corrupt innovative practices they themselves established. They would not put away for storage sour cheese made from milk or butter, or clarify fat while they were in a state of ritual uncleanness. While in this state, they would not enter any tent made of hair, and would seek shelter from the sun only under tents made of leather. Similarly they prevented those making the greater or smaller pilgrimage from eating any but Quraysh food while in that state, and these people could only circumambulate wearing Quraysh clothes. If one of these pilgrims could not find a gown from one of the *Hums*, who were Quraysh either by birth or by having joined Quraysh from Kināna and Khuzā‘a, they would have to circumambulate naked, even if they were women. A woman who happened to go round in this manner would place her hand over her vagina and recite:

> “Today all or part may appear, but visible though it may be, I do not make it available!”

If anyone who had access to the garment of a *Hums* person were too proud to use it, then he could go round in his own clothes, but when he had finished he had to throw them aside; thereafter, they could not be used again, either by them or by anyone else, nor ever touched. The Arabs used to call such clothes *al-luqa*, “cast-offs”. A certain poet spoke the lines:

> “How sad it is, my returning to it, it being like a proscribed thing cast off before the pilgrims.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “They continued in these practices until God sent Muḥammad (SAAS) and revealed the Qur’ān to him, as a retort to them and their innovations. God said, ‘Hasten forth from the place where people hasten
from' (ṣūrat al-Baqara, II, v.199). By this is meant the masses of the Arabs from ʿArafat. And also that same verse reads, 'and ask the forgiveness of God; surely God is forgiving, merciful.'"

As we have previously shown, the Messenger of God (SAAS) would make the halt at ʿArafat before he received his prophethood, this being an award granted by God to him.

God also revealed to him a response to their practice of forbidding people certain actions and foods in the words, "O mankind, attend to your dress at every prayer meeting and eat and drink, but do not be extreme. God does not love extremists. Say, 'Who made forbidden clothing (from) God that He brought forth for His worshippers, along with all good provisions?'" (ṣūrat al-ʿArāf, VII, v.31–2).

Ziyād al-Bakkāʾi stated from Ibn Ishāq, "But I don't know whether their making these innovations preceded or followed the battle of the elephant."
Muhammad b. Ishāq, God bless him, stated: "Jewish Rabbis, Christian priests and Arab soothsayers all spoke of the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) before his mission as the time for it approached.

"The rabbis and the priests found in their books descriptions of him and of his time along with inferences relating to him from their prophets."

God Almighty said, "Those who follow the Messenger, the prophet, the ummi, "the unlettered", to whom they will find written reference in the Torah and the Bible requiring them to do good and warning them of evil, allowing them the good things and forbidding them the bad, removing the burden and chains formerly upon them; so those who believe in him, honour him and aid him and follow the light that was sent down with him, those will be successful" (sūrat al-Anfāṣ, VII, v.157).

God Almighty stated, "And when Jesus son of Mary said, 'O children of Israel, I am God's messenger to you, bringing affirmation of the Torah before me and giving tidings of a prophet who will come after me whose name will be Ahmad'" (sūrat al-Saff, LXI, v.6). And God Almighty said, "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. And those with him are those who are very severe against the unbelievers, compassionate with one another. You shall see them bowing down, prostrating themselves, seeking grace from God, and approval. They have marks on their faces from their prostrations. That is their likeness in the Torah and in the Bible. (They are) like plants. (God) brings forth their sprouts and then strengthens them and thickens them so they stand straight on their stalks. He pleases the planters to discomfort through them the unbelievers. God gave promise of forgiveness and great reward to those who believe in him and perform righteous deeds" (sūrat al-Fath, XLVIII, v.29).

And God Almighty said, "When God made the covenant with the Prophets, saying, 'I gave you the Scripture and wisdom, then there will come unto you a messenger confirming what you possess; you shall believe in him and render him help.' He said, 'Do you agree and accept my covenant as binding to you?' They replied, 'We affirm.' He said, 'So bear witness and I along with you am a witness'" (sūrat Al-ʾImrān, III, v.81).

In the saḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī there is a hadith from Ibn ʿAbbās that states, "God
never sent down a prophet without entering into a covenant upon him (to the effect that) if Muhammad were sent down his mission when he was (already) living, then he (that prophet) would believe in him and aid him. God ordered him to take a covenant to his people that if Muhammad were given his mission during their lifetime, then they should believe in him, aid him, and follow him.”

This confirms that all prophets had talked about him and were commanded to follow him.

Abraham, upon whom be peace, stated in the prayer he made about the people of Mecca, “O our Lord! Send among them as a messenger one of their own people, who will recite to them Your signs and teach them the scriptures and wisdom and purify them. You are the mighty one, the wise” (sūrat al-Baqara, II, v.129).

Imām Aḥmad said that Abū al-Nadr related to him, quoting al-Faraj b. Faḍāla, quoting Luqmān b. ʿAmīr, who said that he heard Abū Umāma say, “I asked the Prophet, ‘O Messenger of God, what was the beginning of your mission?’

“He replied, ‘The prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings from Jesus, and my mother’s seeing a light emitting from her that illuminated the castles of Syria.’”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq said that just such a statement was related to him from Thawr b. Yazid, from Khalid b. Maḍān, from the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS).

By this is meant his wanting to refer to the beginning of his mission among his people and the spreading and expanding of his fame. And so he made mention of the prayer of Abraham, to whom the Arabs trace their descent. Then the prediction of Jesus, the ‘Seal’ of the prophets of the tribe of Israel, as mentioned before. This shows that there were other prophets between these two who also gave tidings of his coming.

Regarding (the assembly of) the archangels, their cognizance of him was widespread and well known before the creation of Adam, upon whom be prayers and peace. Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīn b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Muʿāwiyya b. Ṣāliḥ, from Saʿīd b. Suwayd al-Kalbī, from ‘Abd al-ʿĀl b. Hilāl al-Salāmī, from al-ʿIrbaḍ b. Sāriyya who stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘For God I am the Seal of the prophets; Adam was well made in His likeness. And I shall tell you of the first of it: my father Abraham’s prayer, the prediction of Jesus about my coming, and the visions seen by my mother, as well as by the mothers of the believers.’”

Al-Layth related this from Muʿāwiyya b. Ṣāliḥ who said, “When she delivered him, his mother saw a light from him that illuminated the castles of Syria.”
Imām Ahmad also said, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, as did Maḥsur b. Sa‘d, from Badīl b. Maysara, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaqiqa, from Maysara al-Fajr, who stated, ‘I asked, O Messenger of God, when did you become a prophet?’ He replied, ‘When Adam was between the spirit and the body.’”

Ahmad is the sole source of these.

‘Umar b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Shāhīn related this in the work entitled Dalʿīl al-Nubuwa (Signs of the Prophethood) from a hadith of Abū Hurayra who stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz – meaning Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawi – related to us, as did Abī Hammām al-Walīd b. Muslim, from al-Awzāʿī, and I was told by Yaḥyā from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked, ‘When was it made your duty to become a prophet?’ He replied, ‘Between the making of Adam and the breathing of the spirit into him.’”

It was related on another line of authorities from al-Awzāʿī who used the words “and Adam was formed in his likeness”.

It was also related from al-Baghawi, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Miqdām, from Baqīyya b. Saʿd b. Bashir, from Ṭabāda, from Abū Hurayra, relating to the words of Almighty God, “And when we made a covenant with the prophets, and with you, and with Noah” (ṣūrat al-Ahzāb, XXXIII, v.7) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “I was the first of the prophets to be created and the last of them to be sent.”

And from a hadith of Abū Muzāḥim, on the authority of Qays b. al-Rabīʿ, from Jābir, from al-Shaʿbī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that someone asked, “O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?” He replied, “While Adam was between spirit and body.”

The Arab soothsayers had been told by the devils from the jīn things overheard by them while they were still not prevented from so doing by having stars cast at them. Soothsayers, male and female, continued mentioning such matters, without the Arabs giving any credence to them, until God Almighty sent him, and there occurred those things they had talked of and so recognized.

When the time of the Messenger of God and his prophethood approached, the devils were screened from overhearing and they were prevented from occupying those seats from which they used to overhear. Stars were hurled at them, and the devils knew that that was because of an order coming from God, the Almighty and Glorious.

On this subject God sent down to his messenger (ṢAAS) the words, “Say: it has been revealed to me that a group of jīn listened and then said, ‘We heard a wonderful Qurʾān which guides towards the right, and we believed in it. And we will never associate any other god with our Lord’” (ṣūrat al-Jīn; LXXII, v.1–2).

We have given prior explanation to all that in our Taṣḥīr, exegesis of the
Qurʾān, as well as to God’s words, “And when we directed (mention) towards you (of) a group of jinn who listened to the Qurʾān. And when they came to it, they said, ‘Listen silently!’ And when it was over they turned back to their people warning them, and saying: ‘O people ours, we have heard a book sent down after Moses verifying what came before it, guiding towards the truth, and to the straight path’” (ṣūrat al-ʿAṣrāf, XLVI, v.29, 30). All this too we elucidated there.

Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him that he was told that the first Arabs to be afraid at (seeing) the stars being thrown was the tribe of Thaqīf. They consulted one of their men on the subject, whose name was ʿAmr b. Umayya, one of Banū ʿIlaj, he being the most shrewd and astute of all Arabs. They asked him, “O ʿAmr, don’t you see what’s going on in the heavens, all those stars being thrown about?”

He replied, “I certainly do. Keep watch and if the ones being cast are most prominent stars, the ones by which men are guided on land and sea, and by the rising and setting of which the seasons of summer and winter are marked, for the good of men in their lives, then, by God, it means the end of the world, and the destruction of all creation. If it is other stars, while the prominent stars remain firm in their place, then it is occurring for some purpose God intends for mankind. So what could that be?”

Ibn Ishaq said, “A certain scholar related to me that a woman of Banū Sahm known as al-Ghafīlā who had been a soothsayer before the coming of Islam was visited one night by her other world contact who swooped down beneath her, then said, ‘I know what I know; a day of slaying and slaughtering.’ When she told Quraysh of this they asked, ‘What does he mean?’

“When he came to her on another night, swooping down beneath her, he said, ‘Ravines! What ravines? In them, down their sides, Kaʿb will fall.’ When this reached Quraysh they said, ‘What does this mean? This is something that will happen; look to see what it will be.’

“But they could not interpret it until the battles of Badr and Uhud took place in ‘ravines’; then they knew what it was the spirit had told her.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Ali b. Naḥf al-Jurashi related to me that Janb, a tribe from Yemen, had a soothsayer before Islam came. And when news of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spread among the Arabs, Janb asked their soothsayer, ‘Find out about this man for us’ and they assembled (to hear him) at the foot of his mountain.

“When the sun rose he came down to them and stood leaning on a bow he had. Then, having gazed up for a long time into the sky, he began to leap about. Then he spoke: ‘O people, God has honoured Muḥammad by choosing him. He has purified his heart and his insides. But, O people, his stay among you will be short.’ He then hurried back up his mountain, returning whence he had come.”
Thereafter Ibn Ishaq mentions the story of Siwād b. Qārib. We have postponed giving it until the section on The Cries of the Spirits.

### Division

Ibn Ishaq stated that 'Āṣim b. 'Amr b. Qatāda related to him, from some of his tribe, as follows: "One of the things that brought us into Islam – along with the mercy of God Almighty and His guidance – was what we heard from a Jew. We were at that time polytheists and worshipped idols, while they, the Jews, were people with Scriptures who had knowledge we did not. There was always enmity between us and them and if ever we bested them in some way they disliked they would tell us, 'The time is near for a prophet; he will now be sent, and with him we will kill you just as Ād and Iram were killed.'

"We heard that from them often.

"So when God sent His messenger (ṣaas) we responded positively when he invited us to God, and became aware of what their threats to us meant. We therefore hastened to him before them and believed in him, while they disbelieved in him.

"Concerning us and them this verse was sent down: 'And when there came to them a book from God verifying what they had, though they formerly prayed for victory against those who disbelieved; and when there came to them that which they knew, they disbelieved in it. And so may God's curse be upon the disbelievers'" (ṣūrat al-Baqara, II, v.89).

Warqā' stated, from Ibn Abī Najīh from 'Alī al-Azdi that the Jews used to say: "O God send us this prophet who will judge between us and the people who seek victory by him." It was al-Bayhaqi who related this.

Thereafter it was related through ʿAbd al-Mālik b. Ḥarūn b. ʿAnbara, from his father, from his grandfather, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Jews were at Khaybar battling Ghaṭafān, but whenever battle was joined the Jews of Khaybar were defeated. So the Jews resorted to this prayer, saying, 'O God, we will ask you by Muhammad's rightness, the Prophet, the ummi, "the unlettered", whom you promised us you would send at the end of time, if you will give us victory over them.'"

The report went on to say that when they met in battle and they spoke this prayer they defeated Ghaṭafān.

Yet when the Prophet (ṣaas) was sent, they disbelieved in him. And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the words, "they formerly prayed for victory against those who disbelieved."

ʿĀṭiyya related approximately the same from Ibn ʿAbbās, and also said that ʿIkrima used similar words.
Ibn Isḥāq stated that Ṣalih b. Ibrāhim b. ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān b. ʿAwf related to him, from Mahmūd b. Labīd, from Salama b. Saʿlām b. Waqṣ, who was at the battle of Badr, who said, “We had a Jewish neighbour from Banū ʿAbd al-ʿAshhal and he came out of his house one day to us. At that time, I was the youngest of my household; I was wearing a fur gown I had and was lying in it in the courtyard of my family’s house.

“The Jew talked of the resurrection, the Day of Judgement, the reckoning, the scales, paradise, and hell-fire.

“This he told to polytheists, idolaters who did not believe in any life after death.

“They replied, ‘Come on, now! You really think people can be sent, after their death, to some place where there is a paradise, and a fire where they will be punished for their deeds?’

‘‘Yes indeed,’ he replied, ‘and by Him by whom oaths are sworn, anyone going into that fire would prefer being placed in the hottest oven in the house, and having it covered over him, and he being let out of it only next day.’

‘‘Good gracious! But what proof is there?’ they asked.

‘‘A prophet is being sent from hereabouts in these lands,’ he replied, and gestured over towards Mecca and Yemen.

‘‘When will we see him?’ they enquired.

“He looked over at me, I being the youngest one there, and said, ‘If this lad lives a normal lifespan, he’ll live to his time.’”

Salama said, “And a day and a night had scarcely passed thereafter until God sent the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who lived among us. And so we believed in him. But he (the Jew) disbelieved in him out of evil and envy.

“So we asked him, ‘What now then; aren’t you the one who told us certain things about him?’

‘‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘but he’s not the one.’”

This anecdote was also related by Ḩāmid, from Yaʿqīb from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās. And al-Bayhaqi told it from al-Ḥākim with a chain of authorities through Yūnus b. Bukayr.

Abū Nuʿaym related in al-Dalāʾīl (The Signs), from ʿAṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda, from Mahmūd b. Labīd, from Muḥammad b. Salama, saying, “In the tribe of ʿAbd al-ʿAshhal there was only one Jew, whose name was Yūshaʿ. When I was still a boy, wearing a waist-wrapper, I heard him say, ‘The time is near for a prophet to be sent to you from somewhere over near this building.’ And he pointed over at God’s temple, saying, ‘And whoever lives till then, let him believe in him.’

“And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sent and we accepted Islam, while he, living there among us, did not, out of envy and evil.”

We have already given the account of Abū Saʿīd, from his father, about this Yūshaʿ’s having told of the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of
having given his description. Also we told of al-Zubayr b. Bâta’s account of the appearance of a star at the birth of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Al-Ḥakîm related this anecdote from al-Bayhaqî with a chain of authorities through Yûnus b. Bukayr.

Ibn Ishāq said that ‘Āṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to him about a sheikh of Banû Qurayṣa who asked him, “Do you know how it came about that Islam was accepted by Thaʿlabah b. Saʿya and Usayd b. Saʿya along with Asad b. ʿUbayd, all of Banû Hudal, brothers of Banû Qurayṣa, with whom they had lived in the days before Islam but who then became their masters after Islam?”

‘Āṣim said, “I do not.” Whereupon the sheikh told him, “A Jew from Syria called Ibn al-Hayyibân came to us some years before the arrival of Islam and lived among us. And by God, I never knew a non-Muslim (one who does not perform the five daily prayers) better than him. Well, he was living there with us at a time of drought, so we asked him, ‘Please, Ibn al-Hayyibân, pray for rain for us!’ But he replied, ‘No, by God, I’ll not do that until you pay me.’ ‘How much?’ we asked. ‘A ʿa weight of dates or two mudd weights of barley.’ ‘We’ll pay it,’ we agreed.

“He then went out with us to the top of our parched land and prayed for rain for us. And by God, he no sooner got up but clouds came and it rained! Yet others had done that once, twice, and thrice!

“Later his death came while he lived with us. When he knew he was dying, he said, ‘O Jews, what do you think it was that brought me from a land of wine and bread to one of poverty and hunger?’ ‘You know that best,’ we replied. He then said, ‘I only came to this country because I expected the arrival of a prophet whose time is near. This land is where he will take refuge. And I had hoped that he would be sent so that I could follow him. His time is near for you. But don’t hasten to him, O Jews, for he is sent to shed the blood and capture the women and children of those who oppose him. And that (hurrying to him) will not prevent him treating you thus.’

“And when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was sent, he besieged Banû Qurayṣa. Those grown men who had been young boys at the earlier occasion addressed their people, saying, ‘O Banû Qurayṣa, he is, by God, the prophet foretold to you by Ibn al-Hayyibân.’ They replied, ‘He is not.’ The men insisted, saying, ‘Yes he is. He has just his description.’ So they went down and accepted Islam, and by doing so saved their blood, their property, and their people.”

Ibn Ishāq commented, “This account reached us from Jewish rabbis.”

Earlier we gave an account of the arrival at Medina of the Tubbaʿ of Yemen, Abū Karib Tubbân Asʿad, and of his siege of it; and how those two rabbis came
out to him and told him, "You shall have no path to it. It will be the place of refuge for a prophet at the end of time", and how that made him turn away from the town.

Abū Nuʿaym told in his work, *al-Dalāʾil (The Signs)*, on a line of authorities through al-Walid b. Muslim, that Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām related to him, from his father and grandfather, the following, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Sallām stated that God having wished good guidance for Zayd b. Saʿyā, Zayd said, 'All marks of the prophethood were there as expected for me to recognize on the face of Muḥammad (SAAS) when I looked at him, except that there were two I had not explored in him: that his patient wisdom preceded his ignorance, and that the more ignorance was directed at him, the more his patient wisdom increased.'

"He stated further, 'I used to be nice to him so that I could mix with him and get to know his wisdom and his foolishness.'

"He then told a story of his having made an advance payment to the Prophet (ṢAAS) for profit. He went on, 'And when the time for the loan was due, I went to him and grabbed him by the closure of his cloak and gown, he being then at a funeral with some of his Companions. I also glared at him in an ugly fashion and said, 'O Muḥammad, aren't you going to pay me my due? By God, I never knew you of the tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to be late payers!'"

"Umar stared over at me, his eyes rolled like revolving celestial bodies. Then he said, "You enemy of God! Do you dare say to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) what I am hearing and do what I am seeing? By Him who sent him with the truth, if I were not wary of his blaming me, I would cut off your head with my sword!"

"Meanwhile, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was looking at Umar, smiling quietly with gentleness. Then he said, "Umar, both he and I were in need of something other than that from you; you should have told me to pay up properly, and him to behave better. Take him away, Umar, and pay him his due. And give him 20 ṣāq's weight of dates as a bonus!'"

"And so Zayd b. Saʿyā, may God be pleased with him, became a Muslim. He was present with the Messenger of God at all the battles, and he died in the year of Tabūk, God bless him."

Then Ibn Ishaq, God be pleased with him, recounted how Salmān al-Fārist, "the Persian", God bless him, became a Muslim. He stated that ʿĀsim b. Umar b. Qatāda the anṣārī, the "helper", related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said that Salmān al-Fārist told him as follows, "I was a Persian from Isfahan and dwelt in a village called Jayy. My father was the headman of the village and I was the one he most loved of all creatures; his affection for me was so strong that he kept me closeted in his house like a slave-girl.
"I took pains to be a good Magian, and became the keeper of the fire, the one who lights it and never for a moment lets it go out.

"My father owned a large farm and one day, when he was busy constructing a building, he said to me, 'Son, I'm too busy to leave here today for the farm, so you go and look to it.' And he told me certain things he wanted. Then he told me, 'Don't be away from me too long. If you are I'll be more concerned about you than about my farm or work, and you'll keep me from everything else.'

"So I left for the farm as he had told me and on my way I passed by a church for Christians and heard their voices as they prayed there. I didn't know anything about other people, because my father had kept me shut up at home. So when I heard their voices I went in to them to find out what they were doing. When I saw them I was much impressed with their prayers and wanted to join them. I said to myself, 'This, by God, is better than the religion we have.'

"So I didn't leave them until sunset and neglected to go to my father's farm.

"I asked them, 'Where is the origin of this religion?' 'In Syria,' they replied.

"I then went back to my father who had sent people to look for me and had been distracted from all his work. When I arrived he asked, 'Well, son, where were you? Didn't I ask you to do something?' 'O Father,' I replied, 'I went by some people praying in a church of theirs and I was much impressed by what I saw of their religion. So I stayed with them till sunset.'

"'Son, there's no good in that religion. Your religion and that of your forefathers is better than it.'

"'But no,' I replied, 'I swear by God theirs is better than ours.'

"My father was afraid for me and set chains on my legs and imprisoned me in his house. So I sent a message to the Christians saying, 'If a caravan comes to you from Syria send word to me about them.'

"A caravan did arrive from Syria and the Christians came and told me about them. I said to them, 'When they finish their business and are about to return home, then tell me.'

"When they were ready to go home they let me know and I threw the shackles off my legs and left with them. When we arrived in Syria, I asked, 'Who is the most learned man in this religion?' 'The bishop in the church,' they replied.

"So I went to him and said, 'I really like this religion, and I want to join you and to serve you in your church, to learn from you and to pray with you.'

"'Come on in,' he invited me.

"So I joined him. But he was an evil man, demanding alms from his people and whatever they collected he would store away for himself and not give to the poor. Eventually he had gathered seven jars of gold and silver.

"I hated him mightily for what I saw him doing.
“Then he died, and the Christians assembled to bury him. I told them, ‘This was an evil man. He demanded alms from you but when you brought it to him he stored it away for himself and gave none of it to the poor.’

“They asked me, ‘How do you know that?’ and I replied that I could take them to his treasure. ‘Do so!’ they told me, so I showed them where it was and they brought out seven jars filled with gold and silver. When they saw it they said, ‘We’ll never give him burial!’ And so they crucified and stoned him.

“Then they brought another man to take his place. And,” said Salman, “I never saw a man who did not attend the five prayers who was better than he, nor more ascetic, nor more enthusiastic about the afterlife, nor more devoted both day and night. I loved him as I had never loved before.

“So I stayed with him for a time and then his death approached. I asked him, ‘Since I’ve been with you I’ve loved you as never before. But now what you know to be God’s decree is approaching, so to whom do you entrust me? And what are your orders to me?’

“‘My son,’ he replied, ‘I don’t know anyone who has done as I have. People have either died or changed or abandoned most of their prior practices, except for one man in Mawsil; he practises as I did. Join him.’

“So when he died and was buried, I joined the leader of al-Mawsil. I told him, ‘So-and-so enjoined me at his death to come to you; he told me you are as he was.’ ‘Stay with me,’ I was invited.

“I did so and found him the best of men, like his friend. But soon he was to die. And when death was near for him, I told him, ‘So-and-so entrusted me to you and told me to join you. Now God’s decree, as you know, is near for you, so whom do you recommend to me, and what are your orders to me?’ ‘My son,’ he replied, ‘I don’t know anyone else who is as we were, except one man at Nasibtn, so join him.’

“When he did die and was buried, I joined the bishop at Nasibtn and told him my story and what my two masters had ordered me. ‘Stay with me,’ he said. And so I did so, finding him extremely good, as his two colleagues had been. But, I swear by God, death soon approached him too, so I asked him, ‘So-and-so recommended one man to me, who recommended me to another, who recommended me to you. Whom do you recommend for me, and what are your orders?’

“‘My son,’ he said, ‘I don’t know anyone who is still as we were whom I can recommend, except for one man at Amurriyya in Byzantium. He is as we were. If you wish, go to him.’

“When he died and was buried, I joined the bishop of Amurriyya, and related to him my story. He said, ‘Stay with me.’ So I did stay there, and he was the best of men, as well-directed and fine in his behaviour as his predecessors had been.
“I worked hard and earned well and eventually I had some cows and a small goat. But then God’s decree came for him too and I told him, ‘So-and-so recommended someone to me, who recommended me to another, he to another, then he to another and so on until you were recommended me. To whom do you recommend me and what are your orders?’

‘My son,’ he replied, ‘I don’t know anyone who is as we were to whom to send you. But the time is near for a prophet being sent with Abraham’s religion who will come forth in the land of the Arabs. He will move to refuge to somewhere with date-palms growing between two scorched, rocky plains. He has signs that are unmistakable. He eats things given to him as gifts but not alms. And between his shoulders there is the seal of prophethood. If you can go there, do so.’

Then he died and was buried, and I stayed in ‘Amāriyya for the length of time God wished.

Eventually a group of merchants of the Kalb tribe passed by and I asked them to take me to the land of the Arabs and offered them my cows and goat. They agreed, so I gave them to them and they took me with them as far as Wādī al-Qurā. There they did me evil by selling me as a slave to a Jew. There with him I saw palm trees and hoped that might be the land my master had described.

While I was there with him he received a visit from a cousin of his of Banī Qurayṣa from Medina. He sold me to him, who bore me off to Medina. And I swear by God, as soon as I saw it I recognized it as my friend had described it to me. And there it was I stayed.

Then the mission came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who remained in Mecca without me hearing any report of him, busy as I was in the toil of slavery. But then he took refuge in Medina.

One day I was doing some work for my master at the top of a palm tree, with him sitting there underneath, when a cousin of his came and stopped there. ‘Hey there, so-and-so,’ the cousin said, ‘God damn those ḍanṣār of Banū Qayla! They are assembled at Qibţa in support of a man come from Mecca whom they claim to be a prophet.’

Salmān continued, ‘When I heard this I began to tremble, so much I thought I would fall down on top of my master! So I climbed down the tree and began questioning his cousin.

‘This angered my master and he slapped me hard. Then he asked, ‘What’s this to do with you? Get back to your work!’

‘It’s nothing,’ I replied, ‘I just wanted to clarify what he said.’”

Salmān went on: “I had put aside some food, so that evening I took it to the Messenger of God (SAAS) he being at Qibţa, and went in to see him, saying, ‘I heard you were a good man and that you have with you some companions who are strangers and needy. This is some food I have to give as alms, and I consider you have more right to it than anyone else.’
"I then handed it to him and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to his companions, 'Eat it then.' He himself took none.

"This is one test passed," I told myself.

"Then I left him and saved up some more, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was moving on towards Medina. I then went to him again and said, 'I noticed you didn't eat from the food I gave as alms. This is a present I wish to honour you with.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) did eat from this and told his companions to do the same, which they did.

"And again I said to myself: 'That makes it two!'

"I then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he was at Baqi' al-Gharqad, the cemetery, where he had followed the funeral procession of one of his companions. He was wearing two cloaks, sitting there among his companions. I greeted him, then came round behind him to look at his back to find out if I could see the mark my former master had described to me. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw me go behind him he knew I was trying to establish something of what had been described to me. So he threw off his cloak from his back and I looked at the sign and recognized it. I then prostrated myself before him, kissing him and weeping. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told me, 'Turn around!' So I stood up in front of him and told him my story as I have to you, O Ibn 'Abbâs.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then wanted his companions to hear my story."

Thereafter Salmân was so engaged at his work as a slave that he missed participation with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the battles of Badr and Uhud.

Salmân continued, "Eventually the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to me, 'Salmân, write!' So I wrote out for my master an agreement that I would plant 300 palm trees watered by a well and pay 40 ounces (of gold). The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said to his companions, 'Help your brother.' So they helped me, one man with 30 seedlings, another with 20, another with 15, and another with 10, each one participating as he could, until I had all the 300 together. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, 'Now Salmân, go and dig the holes for them. When you have finished come to me so that I can plant them with my own hands.'

"So I dug and my companions helped me and when we had finished I went and told him. He then went out with me to them and we began handing him the seedlings which the Messenger of God (SAAS) himself planted. When we had finished, and this I swear by Him in whose hands Salmân is, not one of those plants died.

"I had now settled up for the palm trees but was still in debt for the money. Now the Messenger of God (SAAS) was given a quantity of gold the size of a
chicken’s egg from a mine. He said, ‘Hasn’t the Persian done accounts?’ I then said a prayer for him. Next, he said, ‘Take this and pay off what you owe, Salmān.’

“I asked him, ‘Where will this stand relative to what I owe, O Messenger of God?’ He said, ‘Take it, for God will pay your debt with it.’ So I took it and weighed it for them and, I swear by Him in whose hand Salmān is, it was 40 ounces! So I gave my debt in full.’

“And Salmān was set free.”

“And”, concluded Salmān, “I was present with the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) at the battle of al-khandaq (‘the trench’) as a free man, and never missed another battle where he participated.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb related to me, from a man from the ‘Abd al-Qays tribe, from Salmān, who said, ‘When I asked, “Where will this stand relative to what I owe, O Messenger of God?” he took it (the gold nugget), turned it over on his tongue and then said, “Take it; pay them in full with this.” And so I did and with it paid off the 40 ounces.”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that a reliable authority told him from ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān who said that it was related to him about Salmān that when he, Salmān, was telling his story to the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa), he said that the bishop of ʿAmūriyya told him, “Go this way and that in Syria, and there you will find a man who dwells between two thickets. Every year he emerges from one of these and then is accosted by people who are sick. Every one of these for whom he says a prayer is cured. So ask him about this religion you’re seeking. And he will tell you about it.”

Salmān said, “So I left and travelled to the place he had described and I found people gathered there with their sick waiting until the night the man would move out from one of the thickets towards the other. (When he came out) the people there overwhelmed him and every sick person for whom he prayed was cured. They beat me to him and I couldn’t get near him till he entered the thicket he was heading for, when I touched his shoulder. ‘Who is that?’ he asked and turned towards me. I replied, ‘God have mercy on you! Do tell me about the hanifīyya, Abraham’s religion!’

‘You’re asking me about something people don’t enquire about nowadays. The time is near for the coming of a prophet who will be sent down with that religion; he will be one of the people of the sanctuary. Go to him and he will take you to it.’ He then went into the thicket.

“At this the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) commented: ‘If you have told me the truth, O Salmān, you have met Jesus son of Mary!’”

That, then, is how this anecdote is worded. There is (in its chain of authorities) one man of questionable reliability, he being Sheikh ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b.
Qatada. That link is also said to have been al-Hasan b. ‘Umara. The tradition is also missing a link, indeed untraceable, between ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz and Salman, may God be pleased with him.

As for his words, “If you have told me the truth, O Salmän, you have met Jesus son of Mary,” these are very strange, if not unacceptable. For the period involved must, by all accounts, be one of 400 years, perhaps even 600 years by the solar calendar. The longest anyone suggests that Salmän lived is some 350 years. Al-‘Abbās b. Yazīd al-Bahrānī related that the consensus of his elders was that he lived for 250 years; they differed as to whether it could have been as much as 350 years. But God knows best. And it seems that he was saying, “You met a (good) follower of Jesus, son of Mary.” And that could well be true.

Al-Suhaylī stated, “The man of questionable reliability (in the above chain of authorities) is al-Hasan b. ‘Umara, a weak authority. But if he was correct, then there is nothing unacceptable about it. Because Ibn Jarir related that Jesus came down again to earth after he had been resurrected and that he found his mother and another woman weeping at the cross of the crucified man. Jesus told them that he had not been killed, and after that he sent his disciples.”

He went on: “And if it is possible that he came down once, then it is possible he did so many times. Moreover there is his evident return when he broke the cross and killed the pig and thereafter married a woman of Banū Jīdhām and finally was buried in a chamber of the grave (usually referred to as the garden) of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bayhaqī related in his book Dalā’il al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood) this story of Salmän by way of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muhammad b. Ishāq as previously given. And he also related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-‘Āsamm b. Yahyā b. Abū Ṭalib.

‘Alī b. Ṭālib related to us, as did Hātim b. Abū Ṣufra, from Simak b. Ḥarb, from Yazīd b. Ṣuḥrān, that he heard Salmän relating how his accepting Islam first occurred. Salmän made a lengthy account of how he had originated in Rāhmūruz and that he had a wealthy brother who was older than himself. He himself was poor and under his brother’s care, and the son of the headman of Rāhmūruz was his friend, with whom he would visit a teacher. And his friend also used to call upon some Christian worshippers who lived in a cave. Salmän asked his friend to take him to visit them, but the reply was, “You’re just a young man, and I’m afraid that you will betray them and that my father will kill them.” And so he made him promise that he would not do anything his friend would not like.

So he accompanied his friend and they (the Christians) were six or seven in number. And they looked as if, from all their praying, their souls had left them; they fasted by day and stayed up (praying) at night, and ate trees or whatever they found.
He related of them that they believed in all the previous messengers from God and that Jesus was a worshipper of God, His messenger, and the son of His slave-girl and that God aided him with miracles.

They told him, "Boy, you have a Lord; and will have an afterlife. Awaiting you there is to be a heaven and a hell. And those people who worship fires are unbelievers and in error. God is not pleased with what they do, and they are not in his religion."

Thereafter Salmān went to them often with his friend and eventually joined them totally. But then the ruler of that land expelled them, and he was the father of the young man who had visited them with Salmān. The ruler imprisoned his son at home. Salmān presented their religion to his older brother but the latter said, "I'm personally just busy with making my living."

So Salmān went away with them, and they entered the church at al-Mawsil, whose people made them welcome. "Then", continued Salmān, "they wanted to leave me there with those people, but I refused to do anything but accompany them. So then they went further until they came to a mountain valley, and the monks of that region hurried down to greet them and to be with them. The monks asked them how it had been away, and also enquired about me, and they praised me highly."

Then there arrived a man much respected among them who addressed them and gave all due praise to God. He made mention of the messengers and what assistance they were given. He also talked of Jesus son of Mary and how he was the slave of God and His Messenger. He enjoined them to be good and forbade them evil. Then when his former companions wished to go further on, Salmān kept with this man and followed him. He would fast by day and stay up at night (praying) from one Sunday to the next. He would go out before them and give them sermons, enjoining good and forbidding evil. This went on for a long period and then he wished to visit Jerusalem, and Salmān accompanied him there.

Salmān went on, "As he walked he would turn towards me, draw near, preach to me, and tell me that I had a Lord, that there were heaven, hell, and an accounting before me, reminding me of approximately what he would preach to the congregation on Sundays. One time he told me, 'O Salmān, God will send a messenger whose name is Ahmad. He will come up out of Tihāma; he will eat a gift, but not alms. And between his shoulders there will be a seal of prophethood. This is the time now approaching when he will appear. I am an old man, and I don't think I will live until his coming. But if you do, then believe in him and follow him.' 'But what', I asked, 'if he tells me to abandon your faith and practices?' He replied, 'No matter what he orders you, he brings the truth with him, and the wish of the Most Merciful One is in what he says.'"
Salmān then related their arrival in Jerusalem and that his companion worshipped at various places there. Before he went to sleep, the priest told him to wake him up when the shadow arrived at a certain place. But Salmān let him rest a little longer than he had requested and when he awoke he first praised God then reproached Salmān for not having done as he requested. They then left Jerusalem and (Salmān’s account continues), “A cripple begged, ‘O worshipper of God, I asked of you when you arrived, but you gave me nothing. I am now asking you again.’ The priest looked but found no one else. So he took him by the hand and said, ‘Stand up, in the name of God.’ The man did so, and there was nothing wrong with him, no diseases at all; he was moving as if with the slightest limp. The priest then told me, ‘O, worshipper of God, load up my baggage for me so I can go off to my own people and tell them the good tidings.’ I got busy doing this, but when I wanted to go over to him, I could not find him. I did not know where he had gone. And whenever I asked anyone about him, they told me, ‘He’s out ahead of you.’

“Eventually I was met by a caravan of Arabs of Banū Kalb and I made enquiry of them. When they heard my accent one man made his camel kneel and mounted me up behind him, and they brought me to their land.

“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived.”

Salmān related after this how he went to see him (the Prophet) and gave him alms, then a gift to test what his companion had told him, and asked to see the seal. When he did see it he believed at once and informed the Messenger of God (SAAS) what he had been told.

The account then tells of the Messenger of God (SAAS), having summoned Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, who bought Salmān from the woman and then set him free.

Salmān went on: “Later I asked the Messenger of God one day about the Christians’ religion. He replied, ‘There’s no good in them.’ I remembered all those I had accompanied and in particular that good man who had been in Jerusalem with me, and so his words had great impact on me. Then God sent down to the Messenger of God (SAAS) the statement: ‘Certainly you will find that the people the most violent in their enmity to those who believe are the Jews along with polytheists. And you will find that the closest of people in friendship to those who believe are those who say, “We are Christians.” That is because there are priests and monks among them and because they do not behave with conceit’ (sūrat al-Mā’ida, V, v.82).

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) summoned me, and I was afraid when I came. When I sat before him he recited, ‘In the name of God the most compassionate, the most merciful. ‘That is because there are priests and monks
among them, and because they do not behave with conceit." Then he said, 'O Salmān, those whom you accompanied, and your friend as well, were not Christians; they were Muslims.' I replied, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, he certainly did order me to follow you.' And when I said, 'But what if he tells me to leave your religion and your practices?' he did say, 'Yes; do leave that, for the truth, and what pleases God is whatever he orders you.'"

In this passage there are many strange elements and some differences with the text cited by Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq. Ibn Ishāq's is stronger in its chains of authorities, better in its narrative, and closer to that related by al-Bukhārī in his sahih collection. The latter relies on the hadith of Muḥtamar b. Sūlāmān b. Tarkhān al-Taʿīmī, from his father, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, from Sūlāmān al-Fārisī. That account relates dozens of interactions, from master to master, that is, from teacher to teacher, and from guide to guide. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī said, "There were 30 changes in all, from one master to the next." But God knows best.

Similarly the hā迪士尼 Abū Nuʿaym abbreviated the account of Sūlāmān's conversion in his work al-Dalāʿīl (The Signs). In it he gave many different chains of authorities, and many different phrases. In some of these the name of the woman who made the contract about him was named Ḥalbasa. But God knows best.

An Account of certain strange events relating thereto.

Abū Nuʿaym stated in al-Dalāʿīl that Sūlāmān b. Ḥāmid related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyāʾ al-Ghālābī, quoting al-ʿĀlāʾ b. al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū al-Sawīyya al-Minqārī, as did ʿAbbād b. Kassīb, from his father, from Abū ʿAtwārā al-Khuzāʿī, from Saʿīr b. Sawāda al-ʿĀmirī, who said, "I was in love with one of the finest ladies of the tribe. For her I rode every kind of mount, difficult and submissive alike, leaving no place untried in my hopes of business and profit. I left Syria with goods and produce I wanted to sell to the crowds of pilgrims and Arabs and so entered Mecca one very dark night. I stayed until night was over and when I lifted my head I could see a pavilion over against the top of the mountain quilted out of heavy cloth from al-ʿṬāʾīf. Animals were being slaughtered and others brought. People were eating and others encouraging the cooks to hurry up. There, too, was a man calling loudly from a hilltop, saying, 'O pilgrims, come on over and eat lunch!' There was also a little man over on a path calling out, 'O pilgrims, if you have eaten, pass on till supper.' I was amazed by what I saw and went over there seeking the group's leader. One man saw what I wanted and told me, 'Straight ahead!'"

"Then I saw an old man whose cheeks were very red and who seemed to have a star shining forth from his forehead. He had twisted around his head a black
turban from beneath the folds of which his head-parting appeared, sesame seed in colour.” (Some accounts give the wording as “sitting on a chair of black samāsim wood with a saddle cushion beneath it.”) “In his hand he lightly held a rod. All around him sheikhs were sitting, their heads held down, and not one of them was saying a word. Information had reached me in Syria that this was the time for the arrival of the ummi (unlettered) Prophet, so when I saw this man I thought it was he. So I said to him, ‘Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!’ He replied in anger, ‘Stop that! No! I wish I were he.’ I asked, ‘Who is that sheikh?’ ‘That’s Abū Nadla, Ḥāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf.’ So I turned away, saying, ‘Now that is glory! Not like that of the house of Jafna!’”

By this he meant the Arab kings of Syria of the Ghassān tribe, who were known as the Āl (family of) Jafna. The office he was describing relative to Ḥāshim was that of the rijāda, namely the feeding of the pilgrims.

Abū Nuʿaym said that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Abū Yaḥyā, quoting Saʿīd b. Uṭmān, quoting ʿAlī b. Qutayba al-Khurāsānī, quoting Khālid b. Ḫaṣāṣ b. ʿAbd Bākh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Jahm, from his father from his grandfather, who said that he heard Abū Ṭālib relate the following about Abū Muḥāliah. He said, “While I was sleeping in the hijr enclosure, I had visions that scared me really badly. I went to a Quraysh soothsayer and I was wearing a silk shawl and my long hair was brushing my shoulders. When she looked at me, she knew from my face that something was changed; at that time I was the leader of my tribe. She said, ‘What is wrong with our master that he has come to us, his face so changed? Is he afraid of some fateful happening?’ ‘Indeed I am,’ I replied.

“Now she never first addressed anyone before they kissed her right hand. She would then place that hand on top of her head and the person would tell her what he wanted. I did not do that because I was the chief of my tribe.

“So I then sat down and said, ‘As I lay sleeping last night in the hijr I had a vision of a tree having grown up, its head touching the sky and its boughs touching both the east and the west. And I never saw any light shine more brightly, 70 times brighter than the sun’s light. I saw the Arabs and the non-Arabs alike prostrate before it, while it grew broader, taller, and more dazzling all the time, sometimes dimming but then gleaming again. I saw a group of men of Quraysh who had grasped its branches, while another group of them wanted to cut it down. When they came near it they were fended away by a young man more good and handsome than I had ever seen before. And he was breaking their backs and gouging their eyes. I raised my hand to have my share of the tree but the young man stopped me. ‘But who is to have it, then?’ I asked. He replied, ‘It is for those who climbed it, and they were there before you.’ At that I woke up in a fright.
“I saw that the expression on the face of the soothsayer had now altered. She said, ‘If your vision was true, then a man will emerge from your offspring who will rule both east and west, a man whom all will follow.’”

After that he – ‘Abd al-Mu’ttalib, that is – said to Abū Ṭālib: “Maybe you are to be that person.”

Abū Ṭālib used to tell this anecdote after the birth of the Messenger of God, following his receiving his mission. Then he said, “As God knows best, the tree was Abū al-Qāsim, the Trustworthy.” Someone asked Abū Ṭālib, “So don’t you believe?” He replied, “Shame and disgrace!”

Abū Nu’aym stated that Sulaymān b. Ahmad related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Ghalabī, quoting al-‘Abbās b. Bakkār al-Dabī, quoting Abū Bakr al-Hudhali, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās that al-‘Abbās said, “I went off in a caravan to Yemen to trade. In that party was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. When we were in Yemen I used to prepare the food one day and then go off with Abū Sufyān and others. Then next day Abū Sufyān would prepare the food and do the same as I had. One day when I was to prepare it, he asked, ‘Abū al-Fadl, how would you like to go to my house and send your food to me?’ I agreed.

“So I went with the group to his place and I sent off for the food. When everyone had finished eating, they left but he kept me there. He asked, ‘Abū al-Fadl, are you aware that your brother’s son claims to be the Messenger of God?’ I replied, ‘Which one of my brother’s sons?’ Abū Sufyān said, ‘Would you evade me? Which of your brother’s sons would it have to be saying that except one?’ ‘Nevertheless, which one?’ I asked. ‘He is Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh,’ he replied. ‘He’s done that?’ I enquired. ‘He certainly has,’ he insisted.

“He then took out a letter to him from his son Ḥanżala b. Abū Sufyān which said, ‘This is to tell you that Muhammad stood up in the open space and said, ‘I am the Messenger of God; I summon you to God, Almighty and Glorious is He!’’ Al-‘Abbās replied, ‘O Abī Ḥanżala, I think he’s telling the truth!’

“‘Easy does it, O Abū al-Fadl! By God, I don’t like him saying that. (Yet) I don’t fear any harm for us from his saying that, O son of ‘Abd al-Muṭtalib. By God, Quraysh is always saying something or other is yours, and there’s purpose behind each of them! Have you heard of that, Abū al-Fadl?’ ‘Yes, I have,’ I replied. So he said, ‘You’re cursed with this, by God!’ ‘Maybe we’re blessed with it,’ I responded.”

Al-‘Abbās went on: “It was only a few days thereafter that ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa brought that information, he being a believer. That news spread in all the assemblies of Yemen. Abū Sufyān used to attend one assembly in Yemen where a rabbi would talk. And the Jew said to him, ‘What’s this news? I’ve heard that you have among you the uncle of the man who has been saying these things.’
“Aбу Sufyان replied, ‘Yes, that’s true. I am his uncle.’ The Jew asked, ‘His father’s brother?’ ‘Yes,’ Aбу Sufyан told him. ‘Well tell me about him,’ he said.

‘Don’t ask me,’ he responded. ‘I am not at all pleased at him making that claim, and I don’t want to find fault with him, though there are others better than him.’”

“The Jew noticed that Abu Sufyan did not want to diminish his support nor to criticize him.

‘He has no ill will towards the Jews, or the Torah,’ the Jew commented.”

Al-‘Abbās stated: “Having been invited by the rabbi, I went and sat in at one of their meetings the next day. Aбу Sufyān b. Ḥarb was there along with the rabbi. I said to the rabbi, ‘I’ve been told that you asked my cousin about one of our men who claims to be the Messenger of God (SAAS) and that he told you he was his uncle. But he is not his uncle but his cousin. I’m his uncle, his father’s brother.’

‘You’re his father’s brother?’ he asked and I stated I was.

‘He then approached Abū Sufyān and asked, ‘Did he tell the truth?’ ‘Yes, he did,’ he replied.

‘Then I said, ‘Ask me some questions, and if I lie, he can refute me.’

‘He came over to me and said, ‘I ask you now, has your brother’s son sexual desires or immoral behaviour?’

‘Certainly not, by the God of ‘Abd al-Mu’talib,’ I replied, ‘and he has never lied or cheated. Among Quraysh he is known as “the Trustworthy”’.

‘Does he write by his own hand?’ he asked.”

Al-‘Abbās thought it would be better for him if he did write by his own hand, and he wanted to say he did. But then he remembered Abū Sufyān’s being there and how he would call him a liar and refute him. So al-‘Abbās replied, “No, he doesn’t write.”

He continued, “The rabbi jumped up, and his loose robe fell down as he exclaimed, ‘Jews will be slaughtered, Jews killed!’”

Al-‘Abbās went on, “And when we returned home, Abū Sufyān said, ‘O Abū al-Faḍl, the Jews are terrified of your nephew.’ I asked him, ‘Well, having seen what you have, do you believe in him? If it’s true, you could be there early; but if it’s not, you’d only be among others like you.’

‘He replied: ‘I’ll not believe in him till I see horses high up on Mt. Kada’.”

‘What do you mean?’ I asked. ‘Just a phrase that came to mind,’ he replied. ‘Except that I know that God won’t allow horsemen to climb up on Kada’.”

Al-‘Abbās said, “But when the Messenger of God (SAAS) conquered Mecca and we looked up at the horsemen high on Kada’, I said, ‘Well Abū Sufyān, remember what you said?’

‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘I certainly do. And thanks be to God for guiding me to Islam.’”
This account is excellent, fully illuminated by the light of truth, even though some people cast doubts on some who reported it. But God knows best.

We have previously given the story of Abū Sufyān’s contact with Umayya b. Abū al-Ŝalt and it is similar to that given here. It is one of the strangest and best authenticated of stories, and one that is clear.

Also there will come the story of Abī Sufyān with Heraclius, the King of Byzantium, when the former was asked to describe the Messenger of God (SAAS) and how he then thus gave proof of his truthfulness, prophethood, and mission. The King replied, “I knew he was coming, but did not realize he was one of you. If I had known I would survive to his time, I would have striven to meet him. If I had been with him, I would have washed his feet. And if what you say is true, he will govern wherever these two feet of mine are placed.” So did it happen, all power and praise be to God.

The ḥāfiṣ Abn Nuʿaym gave more instances with lengthy and better reports relating to monks, rabbis, and Arabs; may God have mercy on him and bless him.


Al-Ṭabarānī stated that ʿAlī b. Ibrāhim al-Khuzaʿī al-Ahwazī related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allah b. Dawūd b. Dalhāth b. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿArif b. Yāsir b. Suwayd, the Companion of the Messenger of God (SAAS), quoting his father, from his father Dalhāth, from his father Ismāʿīl, that his father ʿAbd Allāh related to him from his father, that his father Yāsir b. Suwayd related to him from ʿAmr b. Murra al-Juhani, who said, “I went on a pilgrimage before the coming of Islam. In my dream, when I was in Mecca, I saw a shining light emerging from the kaʿba, and going as far as the mountains of Yathrib and the fertile slopes of Yanbu‘. I heard a voice coming from amidst the light saying, ‘The shadows are dispersed, the light shines bright, and the Seal of the Prophets has been sent.’

“Then another light shone, so that I could see to the castles of al-Ḥira and to Abyad al-Madā’in, Chosroe’s palace. I heard a voice from that light calling, ‘Islam has appeared! The idols are destroyed! And all is made whole!’

“I awoke with a start and called out to my people, ‘By God, something is certainly going to happen in this tribe of Quraysh!’ And I told them what I had seen.

“When we reached home, the news came that a man called Ahmad had received a mission. So I went to him and told him what I had seen. He then said to me, ‘O ʿAmr b. Murra, I am the Prophet sent to all mankind; I summon them to Islam, order them to shed blood and to bring reconciliation, to pray to God
and reject idols, to make the pilgrimage to the *ka'ba*, to fast the month of Ramadān, one month out of twelve. For those who respond, there is paradise; for those who rebel, the fire. So have faith, O 'Amr, and God will protect you from the terror of hell!'

"I said, 'I give testimony that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God. I have faith in your message as to what is permitted and prohibited, even though that offends many peoples.' I then recited to him verses that I had spoken when I heard of him. We had an idol whom my father worshipped, and I went and destroyed it. Then I joined the Prophet (SAAS), speaking the verses,

'I gave witness that God is truth, and that I am the first to abandon stone worship. I busied myself taking flight to you, crossing wild deserts and sand wastes To accompany the best of men in spirit and line, the messenger of mankind's Lord above the stars.'

"The Prophet (SAAS) said, 'Welcome to you indeed, O 'Amr b. Murra.' And I replied, 'O Messenger of God, send me to my people so that God may favour them through me as He did me through you.'

"So he sent me to them, saying, 'Behave with kindness and speak the truth. Be you not churlish, nor arrogant, nor envious.'"

He told how he came to his people, and summoned them to the teachings of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and they all accepted Islam, except for one of their men. 'Amr then went with them to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who greeted and welcomed them. He wrote for them a document as follows:

"In the name of God the Most Merciful and Beneficent. This document is a safe-passage from God through the words of the Messenger of God (SAAS) through a truth-telling document and a veracious spokesman, sent with 'Amr b. Murra al-Juhani to Juhayna b. Zayd. For you there shall be the lowlands and the slopes, the depths and the sides of the valleys. You shall cultivate their produce and drink their pure water, provided that you affirm that you shall forsake one-fifth (of the harvest) and keep praying the five prayers. (Your rich shall pay the alms to the poor): one ewe for each forty sheep and one ewe for each five camels, or two ewes for any combination thereof. The rich shall not be eligible to receive charity. And God will bear witness that we so agreed, and the Muslims attending will bear witness. (This document is) handwritten by Qays b. Shammās.'

He then gave some verses spoken by 'Amr b. Murra on that subject, as is depicted in the great musnad hadith collection. In God we trust, and upon Him we rely.

And God Almighty said, "And when we made a covenant with the prophets and with you and with Noah and Abraham and Moses and Jesus son of Mary, and we made a firm covenant with them" (*sūrat al-Ahzāb*, XXXIII, v.7).
Many of our early ancestors said, “When God made his covenant with mankind the day he said, ‘Am I not your Lord?’ he made a special agreement with the prophets. And He affirmed that that group (consisted) of five great law-giving prophets, the first of whom was Noah and the last Muhammad (SAAS).”

The ḥāfīz Abū Nu‘aym informed us in his book the Dalī'il al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood) through various routes from al-Walīd b. Muslim, that al-Awzā'ī related to him, as did Yahyā b. Abū Kāthīr, from Abū Salāma, from Abū Hurayra, who said that the Prophet (SAAS) was asked, “When was the prophethood required of you?” He replied, “Between the creation of Adam and the blowing of the spirit into him.”

Aḥmad related it similarly through al-Walīd b. Muslim. He defined it as “good, but unique as a hadīth from Abū Hurayra; we know of it only from that line”.

Abū Nu‘aym stated that Sūraym b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting Ya‘qūb b. Ishaq b. al-Zubayr al-Ḥalabi, quoting Abū Ja‘far al-Nufaylī, quoting ʿAmr b. Wāqīrelude, from Urwa b. Rūwaym, from al-Ṣānābi, saying that ʿUmar said, “O Messenger of God, when were you made a prophet?” He replied, “While Adam was being formed in the clay.”

He then related it from a hadīth of Nasr b. Muzāḥim from Qays b. Rabī‘, from Jābir b. Ju‘fī, from al-Shaʿbī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that someone asked, “O Messenger of God, when were you (made) a prophet?” He replied, “While Adam was between soul and body.”

In the tradition we gave in the story of Adam when God extracted from his loins his progeny, He singled out the prophets by a light between their eyes. It is apparent – but God knows best – that it (i.e. the light) was commensurate with their levels and ranks in God’s view. If that be the case, then the light of Muḥammad (SAAS) was greater, stronger, and more evident than that of all the rest.

And this is a great and obvious distinction and indication of his nobility and high worth.

And to that effect there is the hadīth spoken by Imam Aḥmad who said that ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī related to him, as did Mu‘āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ from Sa‘īd b. Suwayd al-Kalbī, from ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Hūlāl al-Salāmī from al-Ṭibā‘ī b. Sāriyya, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, “In God’s view I was the Seal of the Prophets while Adam was still within his clay. And I shall tell you of the first of it – the prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus regarding me, the visions my mother saw, and similarly those that the mothers of the believers see.”

Al-Layth and Ibn Wahb related this from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī, and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ from Mu‘āwiya b. Ṣāliḥ, who added, “his mother saw, when she delivered him, a light from him that illuminated the castles of Syria.”
Imám Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Rahmān related to him, as did Mašṭūr b. Saʿīd, from Badīl, from 'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq, from Maysara al-Fājr, who stated that he said, "O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?" And he replied, "While Adam was between spirit and body."

The line of transmission of this tradition is also excellent.


Abū Nuʿaym related it from Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Aslam, from Muhammad b. Bakr b. Amr al-Bāhili, from Shaybān, from al-Ḥasan b. Dīnār, from 'Abd Allāh b. Su[fyan, from Maysara al-Fājr, who said that he asked, "O Messenger of God, when were you a prophet?" He replied, "While Adam was between spirit and body."

The ḥāfīz Abū Nuʿaym stated in his book Dalāʾīl al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood) that Abū 'Amr b. Ḥamdān related to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Su[fyan, quoting Hishām b. Ammār, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, from Khulayy b. Da[laj, and Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), about Almighty God's words, "And when we made a covenant with the Prophets." He said, "I was the first of the Prophets in creation, and the last of them to be sent."

He then related it from Hishām b. Ammār from Baqīyya, from Saʿīd b. Nusayr, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Hurayra, traced back similarly.

He also related it through Saʿīd b. Abū Arūba and Shaybān, from Qatāda who said, "It was related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the like." And this account is very firm and reliable. But God knows best.

This acknowledges the extremely high regard in which he is held among the heavenly host of angels, that he is recognized among them for having been the Seal of the Prophets even before the soul was blown into Adam. This is because God's knowledge of that was prior, most assuredly before the creation of the earth and heaven. And so all that remained necessary was to make reference to the recognition there was among the heavenly hosts. But God knows best.

Abū Nuʿaym reported from a hadīth of 'Abd al-Rāziq from Maʿmar, from Ḥammām, from Abū Hurayra, the hadīth being agreed upon as stating, "We are those who will have precedence at Judgement Day and who will be judged before the other creatures, even though they were brought the Scriptures before we were, we receiving them after them."

Abū Nuʿaym added at the end, "And he (ṢAAS) was the last of them to receive a mission, and through him the prophethood ended. He will take precedence on Judgement Day, because he was the first covenanted for prophethood."

He then said, "That hadīth depicts the high honour of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding God's appointing him to the prophethood before the completion of the creation of Adam. It is likely that it is this affirmation that
God conveyed to His angels, of what there was previously in His knowledge, and His judgement of sending a mission to him till the end of time.”

This comment is in agreement with what we previously stated. And so all praise be to God.

In his interpretation of the hadith of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. Aslam — about which there is some controversy — al-Hākim related from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “When Adam committed sin, he said, ‘O God, I ask you for Muḥammad’s sake, won’t you forgive me?’ God replied, ‘O Adam, how did you know Muḥammad when I haven’t created him yet?’ Adam replied, ‘O Lord, because when you created me with your own hand and blew life into me from your spirit, I raised my head and saw on the foundations beneath the throne the writing, ‘There is no God but God. Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.’ I knew that you would never have added to your own name anyone but the most precious to you of your creation.’ God replied, ‘You have spoken the truth, 0 Adam; he is to me the most precious of my creation. And since you asked in his name, you have my forgiveness. Were it not for Muḥammad, I would not have created you.’”


God Almighty said, “And when God made a covenant with the prophets, saying, ‘I brought you the Scripture and wisdom, then a Messenger will come unto you verifying what you have. Let you believe in him well, and aid him!’ He said, ‘Have you agreed, and accepted my covenant in that?’ They replied, ‘We have agreed.’ He said, ‘Then bear witness and I too along with you will bear witness. Whoever revokes this hereafter, those are sinners!’” (ṣūrat Al-‘Imrān, III, v.81-2).

‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, God bless them, said, “God never sent any prophet without first making a covenant with him (to the effect that) if Muḥammad (SAAS) was sent when that prophet was alive, then he would believe in him and aid him. And He ordered him to convey the covenant to his people, that if Muḥammad was sent while they were living, they really would believe in him and aid him to make him victorious.”

This is a recognition and an affirmation of his honour and high stature among all the religions and upon the tongues of all the prophets. It is an announcement to them and from them of his being a Messenger to the end of time and of his being the most noble of the messengers and the Seal of the Prophets.

And God has made plain all the facts about him, all information, all secrets pertaining to him. He made his splendour very clear, as well as facts of his birth and homeland through the words of Abraham the “true friend”, peace be upon
him, when he finished building the ka'ba: "O our Lord, send among them a Messenger from among themselves who will recite to them your signs and teach them the Scripture and wisdom, and purify them. You are the Mighty and the Wise" (ṣūrat al-Baqara, II, v.129).

The first clear and evident sign of his status among the people of the earth came, then, on the tongue of Abraham, the “true friend”, the prophet, the next most honoured by God after Muhammad (SAAS).

This is why Imam Ahmad said that Abu al-Nadr related to him, quoting al-Faraj, meaning Ibn Faḍāla, as did Luqmān b. ʿĀmir, who said that he heard Abū Amāna say that he once asked, “O Messenger of God, what was the beginning of your mission?” He replied, “It was the prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus, and my mother’s seeing a light emitting from her that illuminated the castles of Syria.”

Imām Ahmad alone gave this tradition, and none of the authors of the six (canonical) books (of traditions) included it.

The ḥafiz Abu Bakr b. Abū ʿAṣim related in his book al-Mawlid (The Birth) through Baqīyya, from Saifwān b. ʿAmr, from Hajar b. Hajar, from Abī Mariq, that a bedouin asked, “O Messenger of God, what event was it that began your prophethood?” He replied, “God took from me the covenant, as he took covenants from the other prophets.” And the mother of the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw in her sleep that a light was emitting from between her feet that lit up the castles of Syria.

Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār stated that Thawr b. Yazīd related to him from Khalīd b. Maḍān, from the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) that they, the Companions, asked, “O Messenger of God, tell us about yourself.” He replied, “The prayer of my father Abraham, the glad tidings of Jesus, and (the fact that) my mother saw, when she was pregnant, that a light came from inside her that illuminated Buṣrā in Syria.”

The chain of authorities of this tradition is also excellent.

It contains good news for the people of our community in the lands of Buṣrā. It is the first place in Syria to receive the light of the prophethood; and to God all praise and favour are due. That is why it was the first city of Syria to be conquered. It was taken peacefully during the caliphate of Abu Bakr, God be pleased with him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) travelled there twice in the company of his uncle Abu Ṭālīb when he was a boy of 12. It was there the story of Bahira the monk was set, as we have related above. The second time he was with Maysara, the freed man of Khadija, while on a trading expedition on her behalf. Also, it has the spot where the camel known as the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS) had knelt. Its remains are still there, so they say. Eventually its remains were gathered, and a mosque, famous to this day, was built over it. That is the town where the necks of the camels lit up from the light
of the fire that came from Hijáz in the year 654, according to the statement made by the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said, “A fire leaves Hijáz that illuminates the necks of the camels at Busrâ.”

And God Almighty stated, “Those who follow the Prophet, the ummi (unlettered), whom they find written down with them in the Torah and the Gospel, who orders people to be good and forbids them evil, and who makes lawful for them good things and makes unlawful foul things, who removes from them their burden and the chains that were upon them. And so those who believe in him and honour him and help him and who follow the light that came down with him, those shall be successful” (ṣūrat al-ʿArāf, VII, v.157).

Imám Ahmad stated that Ismā'īl related to him, from al-Jurayrí, from Abū Ṣakhr al-ʿUqaylí, who said that a beduîn told him that he had brought in some merchandise to Medina while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was still alive. And when he had finished selling it, he told himself that he should meet that man and listen to him.

The beduîn said, “He met me when he was walking between Abû Bakr and ʿUmar. I followed them until they came to a Jew holding and reading the Torah, and consoling himself with it at the death of a son of his, the best and most handsome of boys. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, ‘I beg of you, by Him who sent down the Torah, do you see in your Scripture any description of me and my place of origin?’ The man made a gesture with his head, meaning, ‘no’. But his (dead) son spoke, saying, ‘But yes, by Him who sent down the Torah, we do find in our Scriptures a description of you and of your place of origin! I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God.’ And so he said, ‘Keep away the Jew from your brother.’ Then he (the Prophet) took care of winding the dead boy in his shroud and performed the prayers for the dead over him.”

This chain of authorities is excellent, and there are testimonies to its veracity in the sahih from Anas b. Mâlik.

Abû al-Qâsim al-Baghawî stated that ʿAbd al-ʿWâhid b. Ghiyâth, Abû Bahr that is, related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz b. Muslim, quoting ʿĀsim b. Kulayb, from his father, from al-Ṣallâtân b. ʿĀsim, who related that his uncle said that he was seated with the Prophet (SAAS) when he gazed over at a certain man, a Jew wearing a shirt, trousers, and sandals. The Prophet (SAAS) began talking to him. The man asked, “O Messenger of God . . .” The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, “Are you witnessing that I am the Messenger of God?” “No,” the man said. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked him, “Do you read the Torah?” “Yes,” the man replied. He asked, “Do you read the Gospel?” “Yes, the man replied. “And the Qur’ân?” “No,” the Jew replied. “But if you want, I will.” The Prophet (SAAS) then asked, “In what you read of the Torah
and the Gospel, do you find me to be a prophet?” The man answered, “We do find a description of you and of your place of origin. When you came, we hoped you would be one of us. But when we saw you we knew that you were not he.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, “Why is that, O Jew?” He replied, “We find it to be written down that, ‘There will enter paradise from his nation 70,000’. But with you we see only a few men.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then responded, “My nation is far greater in number than 70,000, and 70,000 more again.”

This is a unique hadith from such a source, and they (the scholars) have not promulgated it.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, from Salīm, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥṭ, from Abū Hurayra who said that some Jews came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said, “Bring out your most knowledgeable man.” They replied, “He is ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣūrīyā.” The Messenger of God (SAAS) sat with him alone and adjured him by his religion and by God’s blessings to them, by God who had fed them with manna and quails and shaded them with clouds.

“Do you know me as the Messenger of God?” the Prophet (SAAS) asked. “Yes indeed, by God,” the Jew responded. “And my people know what I know. You are fully apparent in the Torah. But they are envious.”

“So what prevents you (from believing)?” he asked.

“I just hate to disagree with my people,” the Jew replied. “Maybe they will follow you and accept Islam, then I will.”

Salāma b. al-Fadl stated, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that he used to say that the Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote to the Jews of Khaybar as follows, “In the name of God the most merciful and beneficent, from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, the companion and brother of Moses and the corroborator of the message Moses brought. God stated to you, ‘O Jews, people of the Torah, you will find in your book the fact that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God; and those who are with him are violent against unbelievers, compassionate among themselves. You see them bowing down and prostrating themselves, desiring grace and approval from God. They have marks on their faces from the effects of prostration. That is how they are compared in the Torah and in the Gospel. (They are) like a plant that emits its shoot, then strengthens it so that it thickens and stands straight on its stem. He (God) gives the sowers delight so that He may enrage through them the unbelievers. God has promised forgiveness and great reward to those of them who believe and do good’ (ṣūrat al-Fāṭih, XLVII, v.29). I adjure you by God by that which has come down to you, and by Him who fed manna and quails to your forebears and tribes, who dried up the sea for your forefathers to save you from Pharaoh and his deeds, can you not tell us whether you find in God’s revelations to you (the fact) that you
should believe in Muhammad? And if you do not discover that in your Scriptures, then there is no hatred for you. (But now) what is right has become clear from what is error. And I call you to God and to his Prophet (SAAS).”

Muhammad b. Ishāq b. Yasar related in his book *al-Mubtada’* (The Beginning) from Sa’d b. Bashir, from Qatāda, from Ka‘b al-Ahbar, and others related from Wahb b. Munabbih, that Bukhtunāṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar), after he had destroyed Jerusalem and kept the Jews in subjugation for seven years, saw strange visions in a dream that terrified him. And so he assembled his soothsayers and wise men and questioned them about those visions of his. They suggested, “If the King first tells us of them, then we can interpret them.” But he replied, “I’ve forgotten them. And if you don’t tell me in three days about them, I’ll kill the lot of you!”

Off they went very fearful of his threat. Daniel, in gaol at the time, heard of this and told the gaoler, “Go and tell the King, ‘We have a man who has knowledge of your visions and can interpret them.’”

So he went to tell the King who summoned Daniel. When he entered, Daniel did not bow down to him, so the King demanded, “What prevents you from prostrating before me?” Daniel replied, “God brought me knowledge, and ordered me not to bow to anyone but Him.” Bukhtunāṣṣar then said, “I like those who fulfil their duty to their masters. Tell me about my vision.”

Daniel said to him, “You saw a huge idol, its feet on the ground and its head in the sky. Its upper part was of gold, its middle of silver, its lower part of brass, its legs of iron and its feet of clay. While you were looking at it, delighted by its beauty and the intricacy of its workmanship, God cast down a stone from heaven which hit the top of its head and crushed it completely. Its gold, silver, brass, iron, and clay became mixed together so that it seemed to you that even if all men and all the spirits were to try to differentiate its components they would fail. When you looked at the stone that had been thrown, you saw it get bigger and bigger until it filled all the earth so that all you could see was it and the sky.”

Bukhtunāṣṣar said, “You are right. That is the vision I saw. What does it mean?”

“Well”, replied Daniel, “the idol represents various nations, early, intermediate, and late in time. The stone by which the idol was struck is a religion God will send and reveal to these nations at time’s end. And God will send a prophet, an ummi, from the Arabs who will conquer with it all the nations and all the religions, as you saw the stone destroy the various components of the idol. It will overcome all the nations and religions, just as you saw the stone overwhelm the entire earth. God will purify the truth and annihilate falsehood through it. Through it He will guide those in error. He will teach the illiterate, strengthen the weak, uplift the humble, and give victory to the disadvantaged.”
The account ends the story by Bukhtunaṣṣar releasing the Israelites through Daniel, peace be upon him.

Al-Waqidi related, with a chain of authorities from al-Mughira b. Shu'ba, the story of the latter's going to al-Muqawkis, King of Alexandria, and of being questioned by him about the qualities of the Messenger of God (SAAS) similarly to how Heraclius asked Abū Sufyān Ṣakhir b. Ḥarb. He related how he questioned the Christian bishops in the churches for a description of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and how they did so. It is a long story that is related by the ḥāfīz Abū Nu'aym in Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood).

It is established in the sahih that the Messenger of God (SAAS) went past some Jewish schools and asked them, “O Jews, accept Islam. For, by Him in whose hand is my soul, you will certainly find description of me in your scriptures.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Mūsā b. Dāwūd related to him, quoting Fulayḥ b. Sulaymān, from Hilāl b. ʿAlī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣaʿd b. Abn Yasar who said that he met ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣaʿd b. Abn Yasar and asked him, “Describe to me the qualities of the Messenger of God (SAAS) that are in the Torah.” He replied, “Certainly. He is, by God, referred to in the Torah as he is in the Qurān. ‘O Prophet, we have sent you to give witness, to bring good tidings, and to warn, and to protect the illiterate. You are my slave and my messenger. I have named you al-Mutawakkil, the manager”, a man not rough or uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. A man who does not pay back evil with evil, but one who forgives and pardons. God will not take him until they set the deviant community aright by them saying, “There is no God but God.” By him He will open blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts.”

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muḥammad b. Sinān from Fulayḥ. He also related it from ʿAbd Allāh (who was the son of Rajaʿ, or as others say the son of Ṣaʿd) from Abn al-Azīz b. Abn Salama, from Hilāl b. ʿAllūya, and his text is similar to this, with additions.

Ibn Jarīr related it from a hadīth of Fulayḥ, from Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ. His account adds the words, “And ʿAṭāʾ said, ‘I met Kaʿbah and asked him about that, and he did not disagree by so much as a letter; though he said, among the merchants’. And he gave the line of authorities as Saʿīd, from Hilāl, from ʿAṭāʾ from ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd.”

and to protect the illiterate. You are My slave and My messenger. I have named him *al-Mutawwakil*, "the manager"; he will be neither rough nor uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. He will not requite evil with the same but will pardon and make allowance. And He will not take him until he sets the deviant community aright by having them bear witness that there is no God but God. By him He will open blind eyes, deaf ears, and closed hearts."

‘Atā’ b. Yāsār stated, "Al-Laythi informed me that he heard Ka'b al-Aḥbār say the same as Ibn Sallām."

My comment is, that this tradition from ‘Abd Allāh b. Sallām is similar, though the account from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr is lengthier. However, he found at the battle of Yarmuk two bags full of the books of the people of the Scriptures, and he used to talk about them a great deal.

And it should be recognized that many of our forebears used to apply the word "Torah" to the books of the peoples of the scriptures. These are in their view more comprehensive than those God revealed to Moses. This fact is attested from the *hadith*.

Yānus stated from Muḥammad b. Ishāq that Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Shurahbil related to him, from Ibn Abū Awdā, from Umm al-Dardā‘ who said that she asked Ka'b al-Aḥbar: "How do you find the description of the Messenger of God (ṣa‘ād) in the Torah?"

"We find him as Muḥammad the Messenger of God; his name is *al-Mutawwakil*. He is not rough nor uncouth nor one who shouts loudly in the markets. He has been given the keys. Through him, God will give sight to eyes that are damaged, and hearing to ears that are dulled. He will set right twisted tongues, through him, until they give witness that there is no God but God, one and without partner. And through him He will aid and protect the ill-treated."

And this is also related from Ka'b from a different chain of authorities.

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥākim, from Abū al-Walīd al-Faqīh, from al-Ḥasan b. Sufyān who indicated that Uthā b. Mukrim related to him, quoting Abū Qaṭān ‘Amr b. al-Haytham, quoting Ḥamza b. al-Zayyāt, from Sulaymān al-‘A‘mash, from ‘Alī b. Mudrik from Abū Zur‘a, from Abū Hurayra, that regarding the wording, "And you were not besides Mt. Tūr when we called" the tradition gives, "it was called out to them, 'O nation of Muḥammad, I have responded to you before you called to me, and have given to you before you asked me.'"

Wahb b. Munabbih mentioned that God revealed to Dāwūd (David) in the Book of Psalms, "O Dāwūd, there will come after you a prophet named Ḥāmid and Muḥammad, a truthful man, a lord; I will never be angry with him, and he will never make me angry with him. I have forgiven him before he disobeyed
me, both his previous and his later sins. His nation is forgiven. I have made gifts to them similar to those I gave to the prophets, and imposed duties upon them that I imposed upon the prophets and the messengers, so that they will come to me on Judgement Day with their light like that of the prophets.”

The text continues until the words, “O Dawūd, I have given preference to Muḥammad and to his nation above all the nations.”

Knowledge of the existence of reference to him in the books of the peoples of the Scriptures, a fact known to the religion, is essential. And many verses of the holy Qurʾān give proof of that and we have, praise be to God, made reference to those in the proper places.

One such verse is, “(As for) those to whom we gave the Scripture before it, they believe in it. And when it is recited to them, they say, ‘We believe in it. It is the truth from our Lord. We were already submitting Muslims before it’” (ṣūrat al-Qāṣaṣ, XXVII, v.52–3).

And Almighty God said, “Those to whom we have brought the book know him as they know their sons. (Yet) a group of them certainly conceal the truth, though they know it” (ṣūrat al-Baqara, II, v.146).

Almighty God also said, “Those who were given the knowledge of it prostrate themselves on their faces when it is recited to them and they say, ‘Glory be to our Lord; the promise of our Lord is fulfilled’” (ṣūrat al-Isrāʾ, XVII, v.107–8). This means that if it were the promise of our Lord that Muhammad (ṢAAS) exists and be sent, then that is an indisputable fact. And all praise to Him capable of whatever he wishes; there is nothing he is incapable of doing.

And the Almighty said, making reference to the priests and monks, “And when they hear what was revealed to the Messenger, you see their eyes overflow with tears for the truth they recognize. They say, ‘O God, we believe, so write us down among those bearing witness’ (ṣūrat al-Māʾida, V, v.83).

In the story of the Negus, Salman, ‘Abd Allah b. Salām and others, as will come hereafter, there are many testimonials to this effect. And all praise and power are to God.

In the explanatory notes relating to the lives of the prophets (in the text al-Bidāyā wa al-Nihāyā: The Beginning and the End) we referred to their descriptions of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of his towns of birth and of refuge, and of his nation. These occur in the accounts of Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and others.

Almighty God has related of the last of the prophets of the Israelites, Jesus, son of Mary, that he stood up among his people and addressed them as follows, “I am the Messenger of God to you, verifying what is in the Torah that came before me and announcing the coming of a messenger who will come to you after me and whose name is Aḥmad” (ṣūrat al-Ṣaff, LXI, v.6).
And in the Gospel there are the tidings of al-Fārqalī, "the Paraclete",\(^{69}\) by whom Mūhammad (ṢAAS) is meant.

Al-Bayhaqi related from al-Ḥākim, from al-Ḥāṣim, from Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yūnus b. ʿAmr, from al-ʿIzar b. Ḥarb, from ʿĀʾish, God be pleased with her, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "It is written in the Gospel (that he will be) not rough, nor uncouth, not one who shouts loudly in the markets, and does not repay evil with the like, but rather who pardons and forgives."

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated that Fayūd al-Bajalī related to him, quoting Salām b. Miskin, from Muqṭil b. Hayyān who said that the Almighty and Glorious God revealed to Jesus, son of Mary, as follows: "Serve me well and listen and obey, O Son of the pure, chaste, virgin. We have created you without a physical father and have made you a sign for the worlds, so worship me. And explain to the people of Surān, in Syriac, and tell those around you that I am the existent truth that will not pass away. Believe in the Arab ummi (unlettered) Prophet; he who has the camel, and wears a midraʿa (outer garment), and a turban that is his crown, and sandals, and has a cane that is his staff. His hair is curly, his brow is broad, his eyebrows are joined, his eyes are large, his lashes are fine, his eyes are black, his nose is curved, his cheeks are distinct, and his beard is full. The sweat of his face is like pearls; from him the scent of musk emanates. His neck is like a silver vessel, and along his collarbone gold seems to flow. He has hairs that grow long and soft from his throat down to his navel, his stomach bearing no other hair. He is broad of fingers and toes. He overshadows all when he is with others. When he walks he seems to emerge from the rock and flow from a stream. He has few progeny, as if he wanted males as his offspring."

This is also how al-Bayhaqi related this account, through Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqi related that Uthmān b. al-Ḥakam b. Rāfīʿ b. Sinān said, "Some of my older male relatives told me that they had in their possession a document they had inherited before Islam and still had when God brought Islam. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina they told him of it and brought it to him. In it was written, 'In the name of God, His words are truth, while those of evil-doers shall perish. This statement is for a nation that will come at the end of time who will wash their extremities and wear a loincloth around their waists. They will plunge into the seas after their enemies. They will perform prayers that would have saved Noah's people from the flood if spoken then, and ʿĀd's people would not have been destroyed by the wind, and Thamūd's would not have been destroyed by the shouting. In the name of God, His words are truth,\

while those of evil-doers shall perish.' The document then recounted another story. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was astonished at what was read to him from it.

We recounted, regarding the verse in surat al-'Araf, "whom they find written down along with them in the Torah and the Gospel" (VII, v.157) the story of Hishām b. al-Āṣ al-Umawi when (Abū Bakr) al-Ṣiddiq sent him with a group of men to Heraclius, calling upon him to worship God, Almighty and Glorious is He. He related how Heraclius brought out for them pictures of the prophets in a piece of cloth, from Adam to Muḥammad (SAAS). It showed how they had all looked. Then he related how, when he brought out the picture of Muḥammad (SAAS) Heraclius stood up to show his respect for him. He then sat down again and gazed at it, contemplating it closely. The group then asked him where he had obtained the picture and he responded, "Adam asked his Lord to show him all the prophets he had produced. And God did reveal their pictures to him. They were kept in the treasury of Adam, peace be upon him, where the sun sets. And Dhū al-Qarnayn (Alexander) took them out and gave them to Daniel."

The account continues, "Heraclius then stated, 'O how I wish I could leave my kingdom and were a slave to the worst of your kings till I die.' He then dismissed us, giving us generous gifts, and we left."

When the group returned to Abū Bakr and related to him what they had seen, how he had rewarded them, and what he had said, he wept and said, "Poor man! If God had wished good for him, He would have done so." Then he said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) related to us that they and the Jews would find among them the description of Muḥammad (SAAS)."

Al-Ḥakīm related this tradition in full. It is written down here from the exegesis. Al-Bayhaqī related it in Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood).

Al-Umawi stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ziyād related to him from Ibn Iṣḥāq who said that Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya related to him, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Umayya, who said, "I brought in some slaves from the Negus who had given them to me. They said, 'O ʿAmr, if we saw the Messenger of God, we would recognize him without you telling us.' Abū Bakr passed by, so I asked them, 'Is that he?' 'No,' they replied. ʿUmar went by and I asked, 'Is that he?' 'No,' they responded.

"We went inside the house and the Messenger of God (SAAS) went by and then they called out to me, 'O ʿAmr that is the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ When I looked I saw it was he, yet no one had told them so. They recognized him from the writings they had."

We previously recounted the warning made by Sābāʾ to his people, and how he had announced to them the coming of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in poetry we gave earlier in his biography. So there is no need to repeat it. Also we
earlier recounted the words of the two rabbis to Tubba, the Yemeni, when he besieged the people of Medina, telling him that it was to be the place of refuge for a prophet at the end of time. And so he retired from the city and composed verses that include his salutations to the Prophet (SAAS).

The Story of Sayf b. Dhū Yazan the Ḥimyarite and his foretelling the coming of the ummi Prophet.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Sahl al-Kharbīṭi stated in his book Hawāṭif al-Jann (Calls of the jinn) that ʿAlī b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting ʿAḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥakīm, quoting ʿAmr b. Bakr—who was the son of Bakkār al-Qaʿnabī—from ʿAḥmad b. al-Qāsim, from Muḥammad b. al-Ṣāib al-Kalbī, from ʿAbū Śāliḥ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās—who said that when when Sayf b. Dhū Yazan came to power over Abyssinia (Ibn al-Mundhir said that his name was al-Nuʿmān b. Qays), that being two years after the birth of the Messenger of God (SAAS), a delegation of Arabs, including poets, went to congratulate and praise him and to recognize his achievements.

Among those who went to him was one delegation from Quraysh that included ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim, Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams, ʿAbd Allāh b. Judān, and Khuwaylid b. Asad, along with other Quraysh leaders. They went to ʿAṣā to see him, but he was in Raʾs Ghūmdān to which Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt made reference in the line of poetry:

“Drink up, may you enjoy it, with your crown raised upon your head at Raʾs Ghūmdān, a home for you to stay in.”

The chamberlain went in to him and told the King where they were and he gave them permission to attend him. When ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib arrived he asked to speak with the King, who replied, “If you are a man who speaks before kings, then I give you permission to do so now.” ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib responded, “God has placed you, O King, in a high, impregnable, lofty, and splendid position, having given you growth in a spot where your roots have developed strong and well, firmly established, and eminently branched, in the most noble of lands, the best of origins. You are, may you be immune to curses, the King of the Arabs, their springtime that their land brings to growth, the head of the Arabs to which you give leadership, their pier upon which they depend, their refuge to which people have recourse. Your forebears were the best ever, and from them you came to us as the best successor. None with such forebears could fail, none perish with you as their successor. O King, we are the people of God's sanctuary, the custodians of His house. He who delighted you by removing the cares that oppressed us has brought us up to you, and so we are a delegation of congratulation, not of complaint.”

The King asked, “And who are you who speak?”
He replied, “I am ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥashim.” “Our sister’s son?” “Yes.” “Approach then.” When he had done so the King addressed him and the delegation, saying, “Welcome indeed to you; may you enjoy your stay and find us generous hosts. The King has heard your speeches and of your kinship and accepted your petition. You are welcome at all times. You will be honoured as long as you stay, and awarded gifts when you leave.”

The Arab delegation then went off to the guest quarters where they stayed a month having no access to the King but not being given permission to leave. He then again turned his attention fully to them and sent for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib with whom he sat alone, close by himself. He then said, “O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I am going to reveal to you a secret I know that I would not reveal to anyone else. But I believe you worthy of it and will tell you of it. Let you keep it to yourself until God makes His purpose known. For God will achieve His goal.

“I have found in the hidden book and the treasured knowledge we preserve and protect for ourselves alone certain information of vital and critical importance that affects the honour and virtue of mankind in general, your community in particular, and you in person.”

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib asked, “O King, the like of you brings joy and good! What is it, O he for whom company after company of bedouins would sacrifice themselves?”

He replied, “When a youth is born in Tihāma who has a sign upon him, a birthmark between his shoulders, he shall have leadership and through him you shall have primacy till Judgement Day.”

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib exclaimed, “May you be immune to curses, I have been better rewarded than any visitor before! And were it not for the great dignity, honour and glory of the King, I would ask his whom coming it is he is announcing such as to bring such joy to me.”

Ibn Dhū Yazan responded, “This is the time for his birth, or he may have already been born. His name is to be Muḥammad. His father and his mother will die and his grandfather and his uncle will care for him, and hold him always dear. God will send him plainly and He will make us his helpers, through whom God will give power to His allies, humble His enemies, strike people down everywhere, render permissible the most precious of things on earth, destroy the idols, extinguish the fires, worship the All-Merciful, rout out the devil, his word being final, his rule being justice, demanding goodness and acting it, averting from evil and abolishing it.”

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib responded, “O King, may your power increase, your glory rise, your kingdom last, and your life be long, such is my origin. And so if power is coming to me plainly, then it has all become somewhat clear to me.”

Ibn Dhū Yazan responded, “By the House that has a screen and the marks on the idols, you O ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib are, without doubt, his grandfather.”
‘Abd al-Mu‘tālib fell down prostrate in worship. The King then said, “Lift your head, calm yourself, and be content. Did you have any prior sense of what I told you?”

“O King,” he replied, “I had one son in whom I delighted and whose fond companion I was. I married him to a noble lady of his tribe, Āmina b. Wāḥb, and she had a son I named Muḥammad. But his father died, then his mother, and I and his uncle brought him up.”

Ibn Dhū Yazan then said, “What I told you is as you told me. Take care of your boy and protect him from the Jews; for they are his enemies. God will give them no path to him. Keep what I have told you from the group with you, for I am concerned that they or their children may feel some rivalry at your having the leadership and so scheme and plot his destruction. If I were not aware that I will die before his mission, I would take my men and cavalry and go to Yathrib, the seat of his reign. For I find in previous knowledge and the Scriptures that it will be in Yathrib that he will establish his power, there that he will find those to aid him, and there that his grave will be. If I were not concerned with protecting him from curses and from bodily harm, I would make public all about him despite his youth and would have crushed the Arabs’ nobles and leaders under his foot. But I am charging you with that since I do not find inadequate those who are with you.”

He then ordered that each one of them be presented with ten male and ten female slaves, one hundred camels, two sets of fine, striped clothing, five rotls of gold, ten rotls of silver, and a receptacle filled with ambergris.

For ‘Abd al-Mu‘tālib he ordered ten times that amount. He told him to come back to him after one year, but Ibn Dhū Yazan died before the year had passed.

‘Abd al-Mu‘tālib used often to say, “O Tribe of Quraysh, let not any one of you envy me the generosity of the king’s gift, large though it was, for it will not last forever. But do envy me the repute, honour and pride there will be for me and for my ancestors to come.”

He would be asked, “When will that be?” And he would then reply, “It will one day be known, though after some period.”

On this subject Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams spoke the verses,

“We brought away good counsel, carrying it in bags on our mounts and on the saddle bags of camels, male and female;

Their grazing grounds stripped bare, rising high up to Ṣan‘ā’ from a deep ravine,

Leading us to Ibn Dhū Yazan, their appetite carrying them across the scant fodder of the road,

Feeding in their imagination on the lightning flashing constantly.

When they reached Ṣan‘ā’ they stayed in the home of the king and of ancient dignity.”

Abū Bakr al-Kharaṣṭī stated that Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Iṣḥāq al-Qalūsī related to him, quoting al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Fāḍl b. Abī Sāwiyya that he was informed by his father from his father ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abī Sāwiyya, from his grandfather Abū Sāwiyya, from his father Khalīfa, who said that he asked Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Rabiʿa b. Sawaʾa b. Khathṭām b. Saʿd, how was it his father named him Muḥammad. He related that he asked his father the same question, and he replied, “Four men from Banū Tamīm, including myself, went on a trip. The group consisted of myself, Sufyān b. Mūjāshi‘ b. Dārīm, Usāma b. Mālik b. Jundāb b. al-ʿAqīd and Yazīd b. Rabiʿa b. Kināna b. Ḥurbūs b. Māzin. We travelled to see Ibn Jafna, the King of Ghasrān. When we were overlooking Syria we alighted at a stream where there were some small trees and we talked together. A monk overheard our conversation and, as he looked down on us, he said, ‘That language (of yours) is not the speech of this country.’ We replied, ‘No, we’re from a tribe of Mūḍār.’ ‘From which subtribe?’ he asked. ‘From Khindif,’ we told him. ‘Very soon will be the mission of a prophet who will be the very last one of all prophets. Hurry to him and take your chances with him and you’ll be wise.’ We asked him, ‘What is his name?’ ‘His name is Muḥammad,’ he replied.

He went on, “When we came back from the land of Ibn Jafna each one of us had a son and each one named his Muḥammad.’

This means that each of them wanted his own son to be this Prophet whose coming had been foreseen.

The hāfiz Abū Bakr al-Kharaṣṭī stated that Abū Allāh b. Abū Saʿd related to him, quoting Ḥāzim b. ʿAqqāl b. al-Zahr b. ʿAbd b. al-Mundhir b. Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Samawʿal b. ʿAdiyya, quoting Jābir b. Jaddān b. Jamīʿ b. ʿUthmān b. Sāmāk b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Samawʿal b. ʿAdiyya that when death was close to al-Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlabā b. ʿAmr b. ʿAmīr, his people of Ghasrān gathered around him and said, “You know that God’s decree for you is near. We used to tell you in your youth to get married, but you refused. This brother of yours, al-Khazraj, has five sons, but you have none other than Malik.” He replied, “No one shall perish who has left behind the like of Malik. He who is capable of drawing fire out of stone is capable of giving progeny to Malik, and fine heroic progeny too. Everyone, in any case, is headed for death.”
He then went to Malik and said, "O son, (if it is a matter of choice, then choose) death over infamy, punishment over blame, stoicism over rage. The grave is better than poverty. And those few in number are those humiliated. Those who can attack are those who can escape. And defending women is part of being honourable. Time is of two days – one for you and one against. If it's going for you, don't overdo it, if against you don't give up. Either state will exhaust itself. Neither crowned kingship nor despised ridicule are permanent. Greet your day well, and God will bless you." He then spoke the following verses:

"I witnessed the taking of prisoners at the battle of Al-Muharriq, and I lived (to see) God's punishment for the sin (of Thamud) at al-Hijr

I never saw any man, king or pauper, who was not on his way to the grave.

All glory be to Him who destroyed Thamud and Jurhum; He will leave for me my progeny till time's end,

So that they will delight the kin of 'Amr b. 'Amir (and protect them) against those who seek revenge.

And even if time had not worn me out and turned my head grey – for greyness comes with age –

We do have a Lord sitting high upon his throne who knows what good and evil there will be.

Has it not come to my people that God has a message by which good and happy people can succeed

When the Messenger was sent out from Ghâlib's tribe at Mecca, between Mecca and al-Hijr?

There; so seek his victory for your country, O tribe of 'Amir, for happiness is in victory."

Thereupon, so the account states, he died.

CHAPTER ON THE CRIES OF THE SPIRITS, CONSISTING OF WHAT WORDS OF INSPIRATION THE SPIRITS GAVE TO THE TONGUES OF SOOTHSAYERS, AND WHICH WERE TO BE HEARD BY THE IDOLS.

We previously reported the words of Shiqq and Saṭḥ to Râbi’â b. Naṣr, King of Yemen, announcing the coming of the Messenger of God (SAAS) of his being, "A chaste messenger to whom revelation comes from the All-High."

Regarding his birth, there would come the words of Saṭḥ to ʿAbd al-Maṣîḥ, "when many recitations have been made, Lake Sâwa dried up, and the sceptre-bearer has appeared", by which he was referring to the Messenger of God (SAAS), as we will explain in detail.

Al-Bukhârî stated that Yaḥyâ b. Sulaymân al-Juʿfî related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr – he being Muḥammad b. Zayd – that Sâlim told him from
'Abd Allah b. 'Umar who said, "I never heard 'Umar ever say of anything, 'I think it so' without it being as he thought it would."

"While 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was seated one day, a handsome man passed by. 'Umar said, 'Either I'm mistaken or that man has not adopted Islam, or maybe he was a soothsayer. Bring him to me.'

"So he was summoned and told the same. He commented, 'I never thought I would meet a Muslim man in the manner I did today!'

"'I invite you to tell me about yourself.'

"'I was a soothsayer in the old days before Islam,' he told him.

"'And what was the strangest thing your female jinni friend, your channel, brought you?'

"'Once, in the market, she came to me and I recognized that she was in a state of panic. She said, 'Do you not see the spirits and their despondency, their despair after their decadence, and their clinging to their fast mounts and to the cloth under their saddles?'

"'Umar said, 'He spoke true. While I was asleep near their gods a man came with a calf that he sacrificed. And I then heard a voice cry out louder than any I had ever heard before. It said, 'O Jalīḥ, a success! An eloquent man! He says, 'There is no God but God!'" Everyone jumped up, and I said, "I'll not leave till I know what's behind this!" Then (the voice) called out, "O Jalīḥ, a success, an eloquent man! He says 'There is no God but God!'" So I arose, and soon thereafter it was said, 'This was a prophet."

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this tradition.

The man speaking here was Sawwād b. Qārīb al-Azdī, called al-Sadūṣī, of the people of al-Sarāt of the Balqāʾ mountains. He had the honour of being a Companion and envoy of the Prophet (SAAS). Abī Hātim and Ibn Mandah stated that Sa’īd b. Jubayr and Abī Ja’far Muḥammad b. ‘Āli quoted him. Al-Bukhārī said, "He had the honour of being a Companion." Similarly Aḥmad b. Rūḥ al-Bardhašī, the ḥāfiḍ, included his name among the Companions, quoting al-Dārquṭnī and others besides these two. The ḥāfiḍ ‘Abd al-Ghāni b. Sa’īd al-Miṣrī said that his name was spelled, "Sawwād", not "Sawwād" b. Qārīb. Uṯmān al-Waqqāṣī related from Muḥammad b. Kaḥ al-Quṣayrī that he was a Yemeni noble man.

Abū Nu‘aym mentioned him in al-Dala’il (The Signs). The account relating to him was also told by others at greater length but based upon al-Bukhārī’s account.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that a reliable source related to him, from ‘Abd Allah b. Kaḥ, the freed-man of Uṯmān b. ‘Affān, that it was told to him that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, was one day sitting in the mosque of the Messenger of God (SAAS) when an Arab came in looking for
him. When 'Umar looked at him he commented, "That man is still a polytheist, still an unbeliever, or maybe he was a soothsayer before Islam."

The man greeted him, then sat down. 'Umar addressed him, "Have you become a Muslim?" "Oh yes, O Commander of the Faithful," the man replied. "Were you a soothsayer before Islam?" 'Umar asked.

The man replied, "Glory be to God, O Commander of the Faithful, you're casting suspicion on me; and you are receiving me with words I never heard you use to any other of your subjects since you came to power."

"O God, forgive me," exclaimed 'Umar. "Before Islam we were involved in things far worse than that. We worshipped idols and adopted images until God favoured us with His Messenger and with Islam."

"Yes, by God, O Commander of the Faithful. I was a soothsayer before Islam."

"Then tell me what your channel had informed you."

"It came to me one month or so before Islam and said, 'Do you not see the spirits and their despondency, their despair for their religion, and their clinging to their fast mounts and to the cloth under their saddles?'"

Ibn Ishāq commented that the preceding quotation was rhymed prose and not poetry.

"At that, 'Umar said, addressing the people around him, 'I swear, I was once near an idol, before Islam, along with a group of Quraysh. An Arab had sacrificed a calf and we were waiting for him to divide it up so we would have our share. Then I heard a voice louder than I had ever heard before coming out from the calf's belly. This was a month or so before Islam. The voice said, 'O Dharīḥ, success is won! A man is crying out and saying, "There is no God but God."'"

Ibn Hishām commented, "Another version has the words as, 'A man is crying out, his language eloquent, and saying, "There is no God but God."'"

He went on, "A scholar learned in poetry recited to me the lines,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their grief and their gripping their cloth-blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the believing spirits are not like the impure ones.'"

The hāfiz Abū Ya'la al-Mawsīlī stated that it was related to him by Yahyā b. Hījīr b. al-Nu'mān the Syrian, and also by 'Alī b. Manṣūr al-Anbārī, from Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rāhman al-Waqqāṣī, from Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurashi, who said that while 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God bless him, was one day seated, a man passed him by and someone asked, "O Commander of the Faithful, do you know this passer-by?" "Who is he?", he asked. They replied, "That is Sawwād b. Qārīb whose channel came to him and told him about the rising of the Messenger of God (SAAS)."
‘Umar sent for him and asked him whether he was Sawwād b. Qārīb, and the man replied that he was.

“Are you still a soothsayer, as you were?” asked ‘Umar.

The man became angry and replied, “No one greeted me that way since I became a Muslim, O Commander of the Faithful.”

“O glory be to God!” exclaimed ‘Umar, “the polytheism we used to follow was far worse than the soothsaying you were involved in! But tell me what it was your channel told you of the coming of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

“Certainly, O Commander of the Faithful. One night I was between sleep and wakefulness when my channel came to me, kicked me and said, ‘Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārīb, listen to what I have to say and comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib calling people to God and to His worship.’ He then recited these verses,

‘I was surprised at the spirits and their intentions and their gripping their saddle-bags on their mounts
   Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the honest spirits are not like the lying ones.
   So head to the finest men of Hāshim, their best men are not like their hindmost.’

“I told it, ‘Let me sleep. I’m very sleepy now.’

“The next night back he came and kicked me, saying, ‘Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārīb, and listen to what I am saying. And comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib, calling men to God and to His worship.’ He then recited these verses,

‘I was surprised at the spirits and their knowledge, and their gripping their baggage on their mounts
   Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for believing spirits are not like those that disbelieve.
   So head for the finest men of Hāshim, amidst their hills and rocks.’

‘Leave me alone to sleep,’ I pleaded, ‘I’m very sleepy.’

“The third night, again it came and kicked me, saying, ‘Up you get, O Sawwād b. Qārīb, and listen to what I am saying. And comprehend, if you can. A messenger has been sent from the tribe of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib, calling men to God and to His worship.’ He then recited the verses,

‘I was surprised at the spirits and their perceptions, and their gripping their cloth blankets on their mounts
   Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the gracious of the spirits are not like the foul ones.
   So head for the finest men of Hāshim, and raise your eyes to their head.’

“So I got up, saying, ‘God has put my heart to the test.’ I readied my camel for travel and went off to the city – by which he meant Mecca – and there I saw
the Messenger of God (SAAS) amidst his Companions. I approached him and said, ‘Listen to what I have to say, O Messenger of God.’ ‘Let’s hear it,’ he replied. So I recited to him the following verses.

‘My channel came to me after rest and sleep, and I never experienced him to be untruthful.

Three nights and each time he would say, “A messenger has come out to you of (the tribe of) Lu’ayy b. Ghālib”.

So I tucked up my waist-wrapping, for travel, and my strong and swift she-camel carried me across the deserts

And I bear witness that there is nothing besides God, and that you are safe from any conqueror

And that you are the messenger with closest access of all to God, O you born of the finest and best of men.

So order us to do whatever you are told, O best man ever to walk, even if what comes is such as to make the hair grey;

Intercede for me when intercession time comes, for none but you can help Sawwād b. Qārib.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions were most pleased at what I had said, their pleasure being evident in their faces.

‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped from his place and came close to him and said, ‘I wanted to hear that from you. Can your channel come to you today?’

‘But after I had read the Qur’ān, then never again; God’s book does away with any need for spirits.

‘Umar then said, ‘Once we were in a quarter of Quraysh known by their name of the Dharih family. They had sacrificed a calf and the butcher was cutting it up when we heard a voice emitting from its stomach. We could not see anything (there), however. It said, ‘O family of Dharih, success is won. A voice is crying out, its tongue eloquent, giving witness that there is no God but God.’

This account is abbreviated, as that of al-Bukhārī shows. They do substantiate that the one hearing the voice from the calf was ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. But God knows best.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Saḥl al-Kharaqīṭi stated, in his work that he compiled on the cries of the spirits, that Abū Mūsā ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Muʿaddib related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā, quoting ʿAbd Allāh al-Waṣṣābi, from his father, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who said that Sawwād b. Qārib al-Sadāsī came in to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, and the latter said to him, “By God, O Sawwād b. Qārib, I adjure you to say whether nowadays your soothsaying benefits you.” He replied, “Glory be to God, O Commander of the Faithful, you’ve never greeted anyone else the way you have me!” “Glory be to God indeed, O Sawwād,” he replied, “our
polytheistic practices were worse than your soothsaying. By God, O Sawwād, I’ve heard a most strange account relating to you.” “Yes indeed, O Commander of the Faithful, strange it certainly was.” “Tell me about it,” asked Ĕmar.

“Well, I was a soothsayer before Islam. One night when I was asleep, my channel came to me, kicked me and said, ‘O Sawwād, listen to what I will tell you.’ ‘Go on,’ I said. It then recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their concern, and how they gripped their blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca seeking guidance, for those of them that believe are not like those that are evil.

So travel to the best of Ħāshim and raise your eyes to their head.'

“But I went to sleep, not caring at all what he had said. Then he came back the second night, kicked me and said, ‘Up you get, Sawwād b. Qārib and listen to what I say.’ ‘Well let’s hear it,’ I said. He then recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their intentions and their gripping their saddle-bags on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the honest spirits are not like the lying ones.

So head for the finest man of Ħāshim, for their foremost men are not like their hindmost.'

‘His words did intrigue me, somewhat, but I went to sleep. The third night he came again, kicked me and said, ‘O Sawwād b. Qārib, are you going to comprehend or not?’

‘How?’ I asked. He explained, ‘A prophet has come forth in Mecca calling for worship of his Lord. Go and join him. Listen to what I tell you.’ ‘Let’s hear it,’ I said. Then he recited,

'I was surprised at the spirits and their fright, and how they gripped their cloth blankets to their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the spirits who believe are unlike those who disbelieve.

So travel to the best of Ħāshim, between their hills and rocks.'

“So I realized that God wished me well. I went and got a striped garment I had, unsewed it, put it on and placed my feet in the saddle stirrups of my camel and rode off till I reached the Prophet (SAAS). He then suggested to me that I become a Muslim, and I did so. I told him what had happened, and he said, ‘When the Muslims are all gathered, tell them this.’ So when all were assembled, I got up and recited the following verses,

‘My channel came to me after rest and sleep, and I never knew him to be untruthful;

Three nights, and each time he would say, “A messenger has come to you out of Lu’ayy b. Ghālib.”
So I tucked up my waist-wrapper for travel, and my strong and swift she-camel carried me across the deserts,
  And I know that there is nothing besides God, and that you are safe from any conqueror
  And that you are the Messenger with closest access of all to God, O you born of the finest and best of men.
  So order us to do whatever you are told, O best messenger, even if what comes is such as to make the hair grey.'

"The Muslims," he concluded, "were delighted with this."
"Well," asked 'Umar, "do you have any sense of that now?" "Since God has taught me the Qur'an now, then no."

Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib al-Kalbī related this anecdote from his father, from 'Umar b. Haḍṣ. He said that when Sawwād b. Qārīb came to 'Umar, the latter asked, "O Sawwād b. Qārīb, what remains from your being a soothsayer?"
He got angry and retorted, "O Commander of the Faithful. I don’t think you greeted any Arab like that before."
When 'Umar saw the anger in his face, he said, "Look Sawwād, the polytheism we were previously involved in was worse." Then he went on, "Tell me, Sawwād, that story I’ve so wanted to hear from you."
"Certainly. Once I was tending some camels of mine at al-Sarāt. One night when I was asleep a channel I had came to me, kicked me and said, ‘Up you get, Sawwād b. Qārīb! A prophet has appeared in Tihāma who calls people to the truth and to the straight path.’" He then related the story as given above, adding one last line to the poetry. It read:

"And intercede for me on a day when no relative than you will he of any use for Sawwād b. Qārīb."

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him: "Go to your people and speak these verses to them."

The ḥāfīz Ibn ʿAsākir related this story through Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from al-Ḥakam b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAṭā al-Muḥārībī, from ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamād, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr who said that Sawwād b. Qārīb al-Azdi recounted to him, "I was sleeping up on a mountain of al-Sarāt when someone came and kicked me ..." And he went on to tell the story too.
It was also related through Muhammad b. al-Barrāʾ, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from Abū Isḥāq from al-Barrāʾ, who said that Sawwād b. Qārīb stated, "I was living in India when one night my channel came to me ..." and he told the whole story. Then, after reciting the final piece of poetry, he said, "And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed so loud his back teeth were visible, and he commented, ‘You did well, Sawwād!’"
Abū Nuʿaym stated in his book Dalāʾīl al-Nuḥyūw (Signs of the Prophethood) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting
Māzin said, “One day we brought a ewe to the idol for slaughter, it being our sacrifice, and I heard a voice emanating from the idol saying, ‘O Māzin, hear and rejoice. Goodness has emerged and evil been submerged. A prophet has been sent from Mūdar with God’s greatest religion. Abandon something carved from stone and you will be saved from scorching fire.’

“I was extremely scared to hear this.

“Then, a few days later, we sacrificed another ewe, and heard a voice from the idol say, ‘Come to me, come close and hear what you cannot ignore. This is a prophet who has been sent; he has brought truth revealed. Believe in him so that you will avoid the heat of a fire that will flame, a fire set alight by the stone.’”

Māzin continued, “This is amazing, I thought. And this is good intended for me. Then a man from Hījāz arrived, and I asked him what news there was back home. He replied, ‘A man called Aḥmad has emerged who tells everyone who comes to him to respond to God’s Messenger.’”

“This news relates to what I heard, I thought. So I rushed to the idol and broke it into small pieces. I then mounted up and rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God then opened my heart to Islam, which I accepted. I spoke the verses,

‘I broke Yājūr into pieces, there now being a Lord through whom we would see false guidance and delusion,

Through the Ḥāshimite, who led us out of our error, his religion having been unknown to me.

O rider, tell ‘Amr and its brothers that I detest those who said, ‘My Lord is Yājūr.’’”

By ‘Amr here he means al-Ṣāmit, the silent one. By “brothers” he means Ḥutāma.

“I said, ‘O Messenger of God, I’m a man who is crazy for pleasure, for women and wine. But now the years are pressing hard, the money is gone, the concubines have thinned out, and I have no son. Please pray to God to alleviate my suffering, to make us modest, and to grant me a son.’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) then spoke a prayer: ‘O God, exchange his pleasure-seeking with Qurān readings, his immorality with morality, his sin and corruption with chastity, make him modest, and grant him a son.’”
Main went on: “And so God alleviated my suffering and Umān became fertile. I married four noble women, learned by heart a portion of the Qurʾān, and God granted me my son Ḥayyān.” He then recited the verses:

“My mount galloped towards you, 0 Messenger of God, traversing the deserts from Umān to al-ʿArj,
So that you would intercede for me, 0 you who are the best of those who walked on earth; and God would forgive me, and I return victorious.
To people whose religion I contradict; their beliefs and likes are different from mine.
I was a man crazy over wine and women all my youth, until my boyhood almost wore out;
He substituted fear and anxiety for the wine, and gave me chastity for immortality, and reinforced my virtue.
So my interest and intent turned to the holy fight, and to God I direct my fasting, to God my pilgrimage.”

He went on, “So when I came back to my people, they censured me and cursed me, and set one of their poets to attack me. And I realized that if I responded in like kind, I would only harm myself.
“So I moved away from them. Then a great delegation of them came to me; I had been formerly in charge of their affairs. They told me, ‘0 Cousin, we hate what has happened. If you can put it all aside, then return and be in charge of our affairs. And we’ll not bother you or whatever is in your religion.’
“So I did return with them and spoke the lines,

‘Your hatred for us is bitter in taste, whereas our dislike for you, 0 my people, tasted like buttermilk;
Time (fate) would not notice if your faults were laid out, but all of you when our faults are extolled are keenly aware;
Our poet does not answer you back, while your poet is eloquent and flamboyant in cursing us.
Towards you, you should know, there is in (our) hearts only irritation, while in yours there is hatred and loathing.’”

Māzin ended: “Then God led them all to Islam.”

The ḥāfiz Abū Nuʿaym related from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “The first news of the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina was as follows. A certain woman of Medina had a channel who would come to her in the form of a white bird. It alighted on a wall they had and she asked it, ‘Why don’t you come on down so that we can talk together and exchange news?’ It replied, ‘A Prophet has been sent in Mecca who has prohibited fornication. And so our pleasure is prevented.’”
Al-Waqidi stated that 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd al-'Azīz related to him, from al-Zuhri, from 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, as follows, “The first news that arrived in Medina about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that a woman called Fāṭima had a channel (a male jinn) that came to her one day but stood on a wall. She asked it, ‘Aren’t you coming down?’ ‘No, a Messenger has been sent who has prohibited fornication,’ he replied.

“One of the early Muslims related the same account also. He mentioned that the woman’s channel was called Ibn Lūdān, and stated that he had been absent from her a long time, and then when he did come she reproached him and he replied, ‘I went to the Messenger and heard him forbidding fornication; so good-bye to you!’”

Al-Waqidi stated that Muhammad b. Sāliḥ related to him, from Āṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda who said that Uthmān b. Affān stated, “We left in a camel caravan for Syria, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. When we were on the outskirts of Syria where a female soothsayer lived, she stood in our way and said that her channel came to her and stopped at her door. So she asked him to come in, but he replied, ‘There’s no way for that; Āḥmad has come forth and an unendurable situation has arisen.’”

Uthmān continued, “Then I left and, upon returning to Mecca discovered that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had announced his mission in Mecca and was calling people to God the Almighty and Glorious.”

Al-Waqidi stated that Muhammad b. Ābd Allāh al-Zuhri related to him, saying, “It used to be that inspired voices were heard; but when Islam came these were banned.”

There was a woman of Bānū Asad named Sāʿira who had a spirit companion. When it learned that inspired voices were not being allowed, he came to her and entered her chest where he made such an uproar that she lost her mind. From inside her chest he began shouting, “Embracing has been banned. Companionship has been abolished! And an unendurable situation has arisen! Āḥmad has forbidden fornication.”

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Khaṭṭāṭi stated that Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī – in Egypt – related to him, quoting ʿUmāra b. Zayd, quoting ʿĪsā b. Yazīd, from Šāliḥ b. Kīsān, from someone who told it to him, from Mīrdās b. Qays al-Sadūsī, who said, “I was present with the Prophet (ṢAAS) when the subject of soothsaying came up and the changes that had occurred in it as a result of his coming forth. I said to him, ‘O Messenger of God, some of that used to go on among us. I can tell you about a slave-girl we had called al-Khulaṣa about whom nothing but good was known until she came to us and said, ‘O tribe of Daws something very strange has happened to me; did you ever know anything except good (about me)?’ We asked, ‘What’s wrong?’ She replied, ‘I was out with my sheep when a cloud overshadowed me, and I had
some strange experience, some sense of a man with a woman. I was afraid I might be pregnant." Eventually came the time for her to give birth, and she did produce a boy who had lop-ears like those of a dog. He remained with us till the age when he would play with other boys. Then one day he jumped into the air, threw off his waist wrapper and began screaming out at the top of his voice, saying, ‘Ya wayla, ya wayla, ya ‘awla ya ‘awla, woe on the sheep, woe on Fahm who is the fire brand, there are horsemen, by God, behind the mountain path, and among them are youths who are handsome, noble.”

“So we mounted up, our weapons ready, and asked, ‘O you, woe to you, what do you see?’ He asked, ‘Is there some menstruating girl among you?’ ‘Who can find one for us?’ we asked. An old sheikh of ours said, ‘Yes, I have a daughter of a chaste mother.’ We told him to bring her at once. So the sheikh brought the girl and (he) went up the mountain, telling her: ‘Throw off your clothes and go out in front of them.’ He then told our men, ‘Follow on after her.’ Then he said to one of our men called Ahmād b. Ḥabīs, ‘O Ahmād b. Ḥabīs you get the first rider!’ So Ahmād charged and struck the first rider, felling him. And they were defeated and we plundered them. Then we built a house over them which we named ‘Dhū al-Khulāsā’. And this boy never told us anything that did not come out as he said.

“Until your mission, that is, O Messenger of God. One day he told us, ‘O tribe of Daws, Banū al-Hārith b. Ka'b has encamped.’ So we rode off, with him telling us, ‘Urge your horses on at speed, and stuff the enemy into their graves! Sweep them away in the morning and drink wine in the evening!’

“We met them in battle, but they utterly defeated us. So when we returned to him we demanded, ‘What’s wrong with you? What have you done to us?’ When we looked at him we saw his eyes all red and his ears standing straight up. He was absolutely furious, almost exploding with anger. Then he left.

“We rode away and eventually forgave him, and nothing happened for a while. Then he summoned us and said, ‘How would you like to go on a raid that will give you glory, and provide you fine booty so that you’ll have a real treasure?’ ‘We need that more than anyone,’ we replied. So he said, ‘Then mount up.’ We did so and asked, ‘What next?’ He replied: ‘Attack Banū al-Hārith b. Maslama!’ Then he said, ‘Stop.’ So we did, and he said, ‘Attack Fahm!’ Then he went on, ‘But you’ve no bad blood with them; attack Muḍar; they have horses and cattle.’ Then he said, ‘No; attack Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. They’re few in number and under protection.’ Then he said, ‘No; instead go after (the tribe of) Ka'b b. Rabi'a. first, lodge them at the estate of ‘Amir b. Saṣaṣa, then do battle with them!’

“So we engaged them in battle but they defeated us, indeed humiliated us. So when we returned we asked him, ‘Woe on you! What are you doing to us?’ He replied, ‘I just don’t know; he who was telling me the truth is now lying to me. Imprison me in my house for three days, then come back.’
"We did that. Then, after three days, we returned to him and let him out. And to our surprise he was like a stone of fire! He said, 'O Daws, heaven is protected! And the best of prophets has come forth!' ‘Where?’ we asked. ‘In Mecca; and I am dying, so bury me on a mountain top, for I shall burst into flames. If you leave me (unburied) I will be a source of your shame. When you see me catch fire and flame, then throw three stones at me and with each one say, “In your name, O God.” Then I will die down and go out.’

“And he did die and burst into flame! We did what he had told us, throwing three stones and saying after each one ‘O God, in your name!’ And he did die down and go out.

“Things went on as before until the pilgrims came and told us of your mission, O Messenger of God.”

Very strange!

Al-Waqidi related to us, from his father, from the son of Abū Dhī‘b, from Muslim b. Jandab, from al-Naḍr b. Sufyān al-Hudhali, from his father, who said, “We left for Syria on a camel caravan and when we were between d-Zarqa‘ and Muṣāin, having stopped there to rest for the night, along came a horseman, seemingly somehow between earth and sky, who called out, ‘Get up, all you who sleep! This is no time to rest! Aḥmad has come forth and put all the spirits to flight!’

“We were terrified, though brave men we were, all having heard this.

“So we travelled back to our people and when we arrived we found them discussing a conflict in Mecca among Quraysh about a Prophet who had come forth from among them, from the ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib family, whose name was Aḥmad.”

Abū Nuṣaym related this.

Al-Khariḍi stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawi – in Egypt – related to him, quoting Umāra b. Zayd, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-ʿAlā‘, quoting Yahyā b. Urwa, from his father, who said that a group from Quraysh, including Waraqa b. Nawfal b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza b. Ḍuṣṣayy, Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nuṭayl, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jahsh b. Rāb and Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, were once at a place where they had an idol around which they would assemble. That particular day they had set aside as a holiday each year. They would worship it and make sacrifice of camels to it and then feast, drink wine, and say prayers to it. When they went into it that night, they saw it to be overturned onto its face. They disliked that, so they took it and set it back up as before. Soon, however, it tumbled over violently, but they set it back straight as before. Again, for a third time, it fell over.

Seeing this they were both amazed and very worried. Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith said, “Why is it turning upside down so much? This must be because something has happened.” This was occurring during the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was born.
Uthman then spoke the following verses,

"O festival idol, around whom assemble the chiefs of delegations come from far and near,
You turn upside down if defeated; tell us why. Is this unimportant, or do you turn in anger?
If this is for some sin we have committed, we will acknowledge it and give up this sin,
But if you have been defeated and turned over in abasement, then among idols you are no Lord, no master."

They then set the idol back in its position. When they did so, a great voice rang out from inside the idol, saying,

"It fell over because of a newly born, light from whom illuminated all the mountain sides of all the earth, in east and west,
To which all the idols, without exception, fell down and at which the hearts of all the kings of the earth, without exception, trembled in fear.
And the fires of all the Persians died down and went out, the king of the Persians himself spending a night of great anxiety.
The soothsayers of the unknown having been abandoned by their spirits, from them no information coming, true or false.
O Qusayy, come back from your error, come over to Islam and to the wide-open house."

When they heard this they conferred together in private and some of them said, "Let us be truthful to one another and keep our secret among one another."
All of them said, "Yes indeed!"
Waraqa b. Nawfal told them, "By God, you all know that your people have no religion. They have made an enormous mistake and abandoned Abraham's religion. What purpose is there in a stone you circumambulate that does not hear, nor see, nor can do any good or harm? O my people, adopt a religion!"

The account proceeds, "And so thereupon they left, travelling all over asking about the hanifyya, the religion of Abraham, God bless him."
As for Waraqa b. Nawfal, he became a Christian, studied the Scriptures and so became very learned.
Uthman b. al-Huwayrith travelled to the emperor, became a Christian and lived there in high estate with him.
Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl tried to leave but was gaoled. Eventually, however, he did leave, travelling far and wide till he reached al-Raqqa, in the Arabian peninsula. There he met a learned monk whom he told what he wanted to know. Then the monk said, "You are seeking a religion to which you won't find anyone to lead you. But the time is near for a prophet who will come forth from your land and who will be sent with the hanifyya religion."
When he was told this Zayd headed back for Mecca but the Lakhmites attacked and killed him.

As for 'Abd Allah b. Jaḥṣ, he stayed in Mecca until the Prophet (ṢAAS) was sent. He left thereafter with the others who went to Abyssinia. Once there, he became a Christian and abandoned Islam. He remained there till he died, still a Christian.

There is testimony for this in the earlier account given of the life of Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl.

Al-Khara'îṣ stated that Aḥmad b. Iṣḥāq b. Šāliḥ Abū Bakr al-Warrāq related to him, quoting 'Amr b. 'Uthmān, quoting his father, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīl, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥabīl, from al-Zuhrī, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Anas al-Sulami, from al-'Abbās b. Mīrād who said he was one day busy impregnating a milch-camel at midday when a white dove appeared before him with a rider on its back all dressed in clothing as white as milk. The rider said to him, “O Aḥmad b. Mīrād, don’t you see that the heavens have assembled their guards, that war has choked on its own breath, that the mounts have their riding blankets saddled, and that there (has come) he who brought piety and devotion on Monday, the night of the third day, the master of the furthest-riding camel?”

Al-'Abbās then said, “So I returned in a fright, very scared by what I had seen and heard. Then I went to an idol we had called al-Ḍīmār that we used to worship; it would address us from inside its belly. I swept up all around it, anointed it and kissed it, and then a voice sounded from inside it saying,

“Tell all the tribes of Sulaym that al-Ḍīmār is gone, and that the people of the mosque have triumphed.

Al-Ḍīmār is dead, though once he was worshipped, before prayer with the Prophet Muḥammad.

He who inherited the prophethood and the right path following the son of Mary is from Quraysh, rightly guided.”

He continued, “So off I went until I reached my people and told them what had happened. Then I left, along with 300 of my men of Banū Ḥāritha, to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was at Medina. We entered the mosque and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw me he said, ‘O 'Abbās, how did your acceptance of Islam come about?’ I then told him the story. He was delighted, and thereupon I and my men all adopted Islam.”

The ḥāfiz Abū Nuʿaym related this in the al-Dalāʾil (The Signs) from an account of Abū Bakr b. Abī 'Āṣim, from 'Amr b. 'Uthmān.

He then recounted it again through al-ʿAsmaʾī, who said, that al-Wassāfi related to him, from Mansūr b. al-Muṭamīr, from Qabīṣa b. 'Amr b. Iṣḥāq al-Khuzāʾi, from al-ʿAbbās b. Mīrād al-Sulami, who said, “My adoption of
Islam first came about this way. My father Mirdās, when near death, recommended to me an idol named Dimār he had. So I placed it in a building and established a visitation time, once each day. Now when the Prophet (SAAS) came forth, I heard a voice calling out through the night that scared me. So I hurried to Dimār seeking its help and heard a voice coming from its belly that said,

'Tell to the tribe of all Sulaym that al-Ants (the close friend)^70 is gone and that the people of the mosque live on.'

'Dimār has perished, and he was once worshipped, before the Scripture (was sent) to the Prophet Muḥammad.

'He who has inherited the prophethood and the right path, after the son of Mary, is from Quraysh, rightly guided.'

He went on, 'I kept this from my people. After they had returned from the battle (of the siege of Medina) I was out with my herd on the side of the ravine at Dhāt Ḥrq, asleep, when I heard a voice. Then I saw a man riding on a dove's wing and saying, 'The light appeared on the night before Tuesday along with (the birth of) the master of the she-camel named al-‘Aḍbā',^71 at the house of Bānī al ‘Anqā'. And another voice, from the left, replied, 'Tell the disheartened spirits that the mount has put on its saddle blankets, that heaven has been protected by its guards.'

'I jumped up in fright at this and knew that Muḥammad was a messenger. So I rode my mare as fast as I could till I reached him and pledged him my allegiance. Then I went off, burned Dimār in fire, returned again to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and recited to him the following verses:

'By your life, by my making Dimār as partner with the Lord of the worlds
And by my leaving the Messenger of God with the Aws tribe around him, those being his helpers;
I am like someone who left the easy ground and sought out the difficult one, to find his path into the most difficult of matters,
So I believed in God, whose servant I am, and opposed those who have begun seeking destruction.
And I turned my face towards Mecca, seeking to declare allegiance to the blessed Prophet of the most noble men,
A Prophet who came to us after Jesus, with a message of truth in which there is the conclusive word.
Entrusted with the Qurʾān, the first Intercessor and the first Messenger to respond to the angels,
He restored the bonds of Islam after they had been broken, making them firm and establishing the rituals.

^70. He is referring to the idol Dimār.
^71. The camel of the Prophet (SAAS) was so named.
I meant you, O best man of all the world; you have been situated at the top of all heights and possessed all eminence and honour.

You are the purified one of Quraysh; when they fade away you will remain blessed for the ages.

When the two tribes Ka'b and Malik trace their lineage we find you of pure descent, and your fertile women too.”

Al-Khārāṣītī stated that ’Ībād Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawī, in Egypt, related to him, quoting ’Umar b. Zayd, quoting Ḫāṣiq b. Bishr and Salama b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq who said that it was related to him by a sheikh from among the Companions whose name was ’Ībād Allāh b. Maḥmūd, from the family of Muḥammad b. Maslama, that he said that he was informed that men of Khath'am used to say, “This is what drew us to Islam. We used to be a people who worshipped idols. One day we were at an idol of ours when a group came to seek the idol’s advice in settling a dispute among them. Suddenly a voice called out to them:

‘O people possessed of bodies, old men and young alike, what are you with your perplexed minds to rely on idols for judgements?

Are all of you in confusion, sleeping, or do you not see what I see: a shining light, clearing up the darkness, has emerged to view from Tihām?

That is a prophet, Lord of mankind, who has brought Islam after disbelief.

The All-Merciful has honoured him by making him a leader, and a messenger whose words are truthful.

The most just of all judges, he commands prayer and fasting

And piety and reconciliation and drives people away from evil.

And from immorality, idol worship, and sin; he is from Hāshim among the elite of leaders

Announcing (his mission) in the sacred land.’

“And when we heard this, we broke away from the idol, came to the Prophet (ṣaṣṣ) and accepted Islam.”

Al-Khārāṣītī stated that ’Ībād Allāh al-Balawī related to him, quoting ’Umar, quoting ’Ubayd Allāh b. al-’Aẓm, quoting Muḥammad b. Akbar, from Saḥīd b. Jubayr, that there was a man from the Banū Tamīm called Rāfī’ b. Umayr, a highly skilled tracker, the best of all men in travelling at night, and the most intrepid in danger. The Arabs therefore used to call him “‘Uṯmān of the Arabs”, a name implying his skill in following a trail and his bravery. He recounted how he first adopted Islam, as follows, “One night I was travelling over deep sand when I felt very sleepy. So I dismounted, tied my camel down, rested my head on its leg and went to sleep. Before falling asleep I said a prayer: ‘I seek protection from the master (spirit) of this valley against being harmed or disturbed by evil spirits.’ In my sleep I saw a young man creeping up on my camel, a spearhead in his hand with which he was going to stab her in the throat. At that I
awoke in alarm and, though I looked in all directions, I could see nothing. I told myself it was just a dream. So I went back into a light sleep and saw the same as I had before. Again I awoke, walked all around my camel but saw nothing. Once more I slept, saw the same and awoke to find my camel trembling. Again I slept, saw the vision once more and awoke to find my camel in a disturbed state. I turned around and there was a young man just like I had seen in my dream, carrying a spearhead in his hand which was being restrained by an old man who was reciting:

'O Malik b. Muhalhil b. Dithar, easy does it, my mantle and waist-wrapper be your ransom,

Leave the human’s camel alone, don’t harm it and choose instead whatever of my bulls you want.

You’re showing me a side of yourself I never knew, not to honour my relationship to you and my honour.

Going up to him with a poisoned spearhead! Woe to you for doing so, O Abu al-Ghaffar.

If it were not for shame and your family being neighbours, I’d tell you things of me I’ve not disclosed.'

"After he had spoken thus, the young man responded:

‘Did you want to raise and drop our reputation for no contemptible action, O Abu al-{izar?

They never in the past had a lord among them; it is Banu al-Akhyar who are best.
So go your way, O Mu‘akbar; however, the protector was Muhalhil b. Dithar.’

"While they were thus disputing three bulls emerged from the wilderness and the old man said to the young one, ‘Go on now, nephew, just take any one of these you want in compensation for the camel of my human friend here.’ So the young man did take one bull and left with it. Then the old man turned to me and said, ‘When you go down into some valley or other and are afraid, then say, “I take refuge in God, the Lord of Muhammad, from the terror of this valley.” Don’t seek the protection of any spirit because they’re all finished.’ I asked him, ‘Who is this Muhammad?’ He replied, ‘He is an Arab prophet, neither of the east nor of the west, who was sent down on a Monday.’ ‘Where does he live?’ I asked. ‘Yathrib, where there are palm trees’, he replied. So I rode off on my mount as soon as dawn broke and rode on and on till I entered Medina (i.e. Yathrib). The Messenger of God (SAAS) saw me and he told me my story before I told him anything about it! He invited me into Islam, and I did accept Islam.’

Sa‘id b. Jubayr commented, “We used to think that it was about him that God revealed the words, ‘There were human men who used to seek protection from spirit men, and so made them more malicious’” (surat al-Jinn, LXXII, v.6).
Al-Khara'iti related, through Ibrahim b. Isma'il b. Hammad b. Abu Hanifa, from Dawud b. al-Husayn, from Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbás, from 'Ali, who said, "If you should be in a valley where you fear lions, then say 'I seek protection from Danial and the well against the evil of the lion.'"

Al-Balawi recounted, from 'Umara b. Zayd, from Ibrahim b. Sa'id, from Muhammad b. Ishaq who said that Yahya b. Abd Allah b. al-Harith related to him, from his father, from Ibn 'Abbás, the story of 'Ali's killing the jinn in the well which had a flag that was at al-Juhfa. This happened when the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent him to get water; they (the jinn) wanted to prevent him and so they cut up the bucket. He then went down to them; this is a long and very objectionable story. But God knows best.

Al-Khara'iti stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Harith Muḥammad b. Muṣʿab the Damascene and others, and also by Sulaymān, son of the daughter of Sharahbil the Damascene, and by 'Abd al-Quddūs b. al-Ḥajjāj, as by Khalid b. Sa'id, from al-Sha'bi, from a man who said that he was once attending an assembly with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. There also present were a group of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), who were discussing the virtues of the Qur'an. One of them referred to the final verses of surat al-Nahl (XVI). Another suggested surat Yā Sin (XXXVI). 'Ali said, "How about the Ayat al-Kursi? ('The Throne Verse', surat al-Baqara, II, v.255). It has 70 words, each one of which has a blessing."

One of those present was 'Amr b. Ma'di Karib who was never lost for a comment. He asked, "Where do you stand regarding the invocation, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent'?" 'Umar said, "Tell us an anecdote, O Abī Thawr?" (addressing 'Amr).

He responded, "One time, before Islam, I felt terribly hungry, so I urged on my horse into the wilderness, but all I found were some ostrich eggs. As I went further I came across a bedouin sheikh in a tent with a girl beside him who was as beautiful as the rising sun. He also had some young goats. I addressed him, saying, 'Surrender, may your mother be bereft of you!' He raised his head to me and replied, 'Now lad, if you need hospitality, then dismount. If you want help, I'll help you.' But I replied, 'Surrender!' He then recited the following verses,

'We offered you hospitality out of kindness on our part, but you were not converted, in ignorance, acting as the unlucky do. You came and insulted us and were rude. And your throat would be slashed before you get what you hoped to get from my daughter.'"

He went on: "And then all of a sudden he leapt at me, saying, 'In the name of God, the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent.' Suddenly I felt as if I were beneath him in submission. He then asked, 'Well, shall I kill you or let you go?' 'Let me go,' I said. Then he stood back from me. But at that point my spirit
persuaded me to try again, so I said, ‘Surrender! May your mother be bereft of you!’ He responded with the verses:

‘In the name of God and the All-Merciful, we were victorious there, and by the Most Beneficent it was we conquered.

But the determination of a haughty man will do no good when once we go forth to battle.’

‘He then leapt at me, while I was there under him in submission. ‘Well,’ he said, ‘should I kill you or let you go?’ ‘Let me go,’ I replied. He stood back from me and I hurried some small distance away. But then I said to myself, ‘O ‘Amr, can this old sheikh really defeat you? By God, better you be dead than alive.’ So I went back to him and said again, ‘Surrender! May your mother be bereft of you!’ Again he leapt at me, saying, ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent,’ and again I suddenly found myself there in submission beneath him. Again he asked, ‘Should I kill you or let you go?’ Again I replied, ‘Let me go.’ ‘Impossible! Now girl, bring me the sharp dagger.’ She brought it to him and he lopped off my forelock! When the Arabs defeated a man and lopped off his forelock they would be placing him into servitude. So I stayed with him for a time as his servant. He then said to me, ‘O ‘Amr, I want you to ride out into the desert with me. I have fear of you yet am fully confident in the words, “In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.”’

“So off we went till we came to a valley that was overgrown, awesome and spirit-ridden. He cried out at the top of his voice, ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent!’ Immediately every bird there left its cover and flew off. He repeated the same cry and every single lion there fled its den. Again he made the cry and all of a sudden there before us was an Abyssinian who had come out at us from the valley, standing there like a tall palm tree. The sheikh said to me, ‘O ‘Amr, when you see us both go off alone together, then say, “May my master overcome him through the words ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.’”’ But when I saw them alone together I said, ‘May my master overcome him through al-Lat and al-Uzza.’ So the sheikh did nothing. He then came back to me and said, ‘You realize you disobeyed me?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied, ‘but I won’t do it again.’ He then said, ‘When you see us alone together, then say, “May my master overcome him through the words ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.’”’ ‘All right,’ I agreed. So when I saw them go off alone together I did say, ‘May my master overcome him through (the words) “In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.”’ The sheikh then threw himself upon the Abyssinian, sliced at him with his sword, slit his stomach open and drew out from his insides something in the form of a black candle. He then said, ‘O ‘Amr, this is his deceit and his rancour.’ He then asked me, ‘Do you know who this girl is?’ ‘No,’ I answered.
‘This,’ he replied, ‘is al-Fāri‘a, daughter of al-Salīl al-Jurhumī, a leader of the
demon spirits. Those are all her people, her relatives. Every year one man of
them makes an attack on me, but God helps me defeat him through the words,
‘In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.’” He then said,
‘You saw how I treated that Abyssinian. Now I’m really hungry, so get me
something to eat.’ I rode my mount off into the desert but only found some
ostrich eggs. These I brought back for him but found him asleep. Beneath his
head there was something that looked like a piece of wood. When I drew it out it
was a sword, its size being one hand-span by seven. I struck his legs off with one
blow which severed them along with his feet. He sat up on his haunches and
cried out, ‘May God destroy you! How treacherous you are, traitor!’”

Umar then asked, “What did you do then?”

“Well,” ‘Amr replied, “I just kept hitting him till I had chopped him up into
little bits.” He remained silent in sorrow a while, then went on, reciting the
verses:

“Through deceit and from close by you took Islam’s brother; I never heard the like
in Arabs of former times.

(Even) the non-Arabs would be shamed in their honour to do as you did; may you
perish for what you did to this able Lord.

Yet I am amazed that you were able to murder him; and that you did not care how
(well) he treated you when you sinned.

He was a chief who had forgiven you often and whose hands clung to you at his
place of death.

Yet if I had been acting during Islam as they have done to polytheists and those of
the cross,

Then you would have attained by my justice a terrible fate such as to make its suf-
ferrer call out in grief and woe.”

“And what happened to the slave girl?” he asked. ‘Amr replied, “I then went
to her. When she saw me, she said, ‘What happened to the sheikh?’ ‘The
Abyssinian killed him,’ I replied. ‘You lie!’ she cried. ‘You killed him, by
betraying him!’ Then she recited the verses:

‘O eyes, weep well for the brave warrior, then weep copious droplets more;

Do not tire of weeping, for fate has deceived you (in taking) a trustworthy man who
had truth and was patient.

A man who was pious, stately and wise, a man worthy of glory on Judgement Day.

How sad I am that you let Amr live, for time has given you up to your fate.

By my life, if you had not sought him out in betrayal, you would have faced a lion
as sharp as a sword.’

“What she said greatly angered me so I drew my sword and entered the tent
to kill her. But in the tent I found no one. So I herded up the cattle and came
home.”
This is a curious anecdote.

It is obvious that the sheikh was a demon spirit, one of those that adopted Islam and learned the Qur'ān, one thing he used being the invocation “In the name of God the most Merciful, the most Beneficent.” He would seek protection by speaking it.

Al-Khara'iti stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Balawi related to him, quoting ʿUmāra b. Zayd, saying that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAlā' related to him, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from his grandmother Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, who said, “Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl and Waraqa b. Nawfal used to tell how they went to the Negus after the retreat of Abraha from Mecca. They would say, ‘When we went in to him, he told us, ‘0 you two men of Quraysh, tell me truthfully. Was there born among you a boy whose father wanted to sacrifice him and who had divining arrows cast about him, but who was saved and had many camels sacrificed for him?’”

“Yes,’ we replied. ‘Do you have knowledge of him then, and of what became of him?’ We replied, ‘He married a woman named ʿAmina, daughter of Wahb; he left her pregnant then went away.’ ‘Do you know if a child was born or not?’

Waraqa b. Nawfal replied, ‘I will tell you, O King. I had spent a night at an idol of ours around which we used to circumambulate and worship. Suddenly I heard a voice emanating from its belly that said, “The Prophet is born and so the kings are abased, falsehood is averted and polytheism is dead.”

“The idol therupon tipped over on to its face.’

Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl then spoke, ‘I had a similar experience, O King.’ ‘Let’s hear it,’ he was told. He related as follows, ‘On just such a night as he told of, I left my people, who were talking about ʿAmina’s being pregnant, and went to Mt. Abū Qubays, wanting to be alone there because of something that was bothering me. Suddenly I saw a man descend from the skies who had two green wings. He stood atop Mt. Abū Qubays, then looked down over Mecca and said, ‘Satan is humiliated and the idols are cast down. The ‘Trustworthy One’ is born.’ He then spread out a cloth he had with him and floated away on it to the east and west. I saw that he had lit up all beneath the sky and a light was shining so brightly that it almost blinded me. I was awed by what I had seen. The man who had called out flapped his wings and flew down to the ka'ba, a light shining from him that illuminated all Tihāma. He then spoke, “The earth is aflame and has reached its springtime.” He then gestured towards the idols that were in the ka'ba and they all fell down.’

The Negus said, ‘Let me tell you now what happened to me. I was asleep that same night you mentioned, alone in a pavilion, when out from the ground came a neck and a head which said, “Woe has befallen the warriors with elephants! flocks of birds cast clay stones at them. The criminal aggressor al-Ashram has
perished! And the *ummi* prophet has been born, he from Mecca, from the sacred quarter. Whoever responds to him will be glad; whoever scorns him will be sad.” He then entered the earth and was gone. I tried to scream, but couldn’t say a word. I then tried to get up, but could not do so. I struck the pavilion with my hand and my family heard this and came to me. I told them, “Keep the Abyssinians away from me.” They did so. And then I regained use of my tongue and feet.”

If God Almighty wills it, I will now give accounts, in the stories relating to the birth, concerning the visions of Chosroe of the collapse of 14 balconies of his palace, of the extinguishing of his fires, of the visions of his soothsayer, and Sâti’s interpretation of these through the help of ‘Abd al-Masîh.

The *ḥāfiẓ* Abû al-Qâsim b. ‘Asâkir related in his history work dealing with the life of al-Ḥârîth b. Ḥanî b. al-Mudlîj b. Ḥîn al-Miqdâd b. Zamal b. ‘Amr al-Udhrî, from his father, from his grandfather, from his father, from Zamal b. ‘Amr al-Udhrî, who said, “The Banû ‘Udhrî had an idol called Ṣâmâm whom they venerated. And it was kept with Banû Ḥind b. Ḥîrâm b. Ḥâbîb b. ‘Abd b. Kaṭîr b. ‘Udhrî, its guardian being a man called Târiq. People used to make sacrifice near it. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) came forth we heard a voice that said, ‘O Banû Ḥind b. Ḥîrâm, the truth has come forth and Ṣâmâm has gone; Islam has done away with idol worship.’ We were very alarmed and awed by this. Nothing more happened for several days, but then we heard a voice saying, ‘O Târiq; the truth-telling Prophet has been sent with spoken inspiration. A man has emerged in the land of Tihāma announcing the truth; those who support him will live secure, while those who desert him will regret it. This now is my farewell until Judgement Day.’

“At that’, Zamal said, ‘the idol fell forward on its face. So I bought a riding camel and rode off to the Messenger of God (SAAS) along with a group of my tribesmen. I recited to him the following verses:

‘To you, O Messenger of God, I directed (my mount), driving it hard over high rough ground and sandy lowlands
To give strong help to the best of men, to tie a rope of yours to my own,
And I testify that there is nothing besides God, and that I will worship Him so long as my shoes weigh down my feet.’

“So I accepted Islam and pledged my allegiance to him. We told him what we had heard, and he responded, “That was demon-spirit talk.”

“He then said, ‘O you Arabs, I am the Messenger of God to you and to all mankind. I call upon you to worship God alone. I tell you I am his Messenger and his servant and that you must make pilgrimage to the *ka‘ba*, fast for one month out of twelve, that being Ramadān. Those of you who respond to me shall have paradise as your abode. Whoever opposes me will have hell-fire as his final destiny.’
"He went on, 'So we accepted Islam and he made a pact with us. He wrote a document for us as follows: ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful and most Beneficent; this is from Muhammad, the Messenger of God, to Zamal b. ‘Amr and to those in particular who accepted Islam with him. I am sending him to his people intentionally. Whoever accepts Islam is on the side of God and his Messenger. Whoever refuses can have a truce for two months. Witnessed by ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib and Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Anṣārī.’’"

Ibn ‘Asākir at this point made the comment, “Very strange!”

Sa‘īd b. Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Umawī stated in his history of the Prophet’s wars that Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd—meaning his uncle—told him that Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr said that he was told that Ibn ‘Abbās said that a demon-spirit called out to Abī Qubays, saying,

“O people of Fihr! May God find your views repugnant; how petty minds and intelligence are

When they disregard those slandering the religion of their fathers, those noble guardians!

He has allied with the spirits, the spirits of Buṣrā against you, along with the men of the palm trees and the forest

You are about to see the horsemen running (right and left) swiftly killing people in sheepskin garments.

Is there any noble man among you, who has the spirit of a free man, a man of illustrious parents and relatives,

A man to strike a blow that will be a warning and a rupture from anxiety and worry?”

Ibn ‘Abbās stated, “This poetry became a refrain for the people of Mecca, and they would recite it to one another. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘This is a devil who speaks to people through the idols; his name is Mis‘ār; and God will confound him.’ Nothing else happened for three days and then a voice cried out on the mountain:

‘We killed Mis‘ār in three days when he disgraced the spirits and advocated evil.
I slashed at his head with a sharp sword drawn because he reviled our Prophet made pure.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘This is a genie whose name is Samīj; when he believed in me, I renamed him ‘Abd Allāh; he told me he spent three days searching for him (Mis‘ār).’ ‘Ālī said, ‘May God reward him well, O Messenger of God.’”

from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahrām, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent me on a mission to Ḥadramawt before his migration. On the way, during the night, I heard a voice cry out,

‘O Abū ʿAmr, insomnia afflicted me, sleep fled and slumber was impossible
At thought of a group of men who came before and now are gone; and all mankind have their palaces disappear.

They passed away, moving to their deaths, destined (to their graves) not to a watering place.

They left, while I remained behind, alone, with no one to assist me,
Futile, unable to even deal with an issue that a child could handle (with ease).
After all, I am not remaining with a people whose tombs are like those of Thamūd And ʿĀd and the centuries are all equal to death, all being mere stalks after harvest.’

“Another voice then called out, ‘O Kharṣab, “soft twig”, has wonder taken your senses? Wonderful, wonderful things are happening between Zahra and Ḍathrib.’

“What’s happened there, ʿO Shāhīb?” He replied, ‘The Prophet of peace has been sent with the best of words to all of humanity. And he has left the holy places for the date palms and forts.’

“He asked, ‘What’s it all about, this Prophet with a mission, the Revealed Scripture and this “chosen” ummi?’ He replied, ‘He is a descendant of Luʾayy b. Ghālib, son of Fihr b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Kinas.’ The second voice replied, ‘O what a pity! I’m too old for this, my time is all gone. Al-Naḍr b. Kinas and I used to aim at the same target, drink cold milk together. Early one cold morning I accompanied him out from Dawḥa; he arose with the sun and set with it too, with him telling what he heard and verifying what he saw. If this man is of his descent then the sword is sheathed, fear has gone, sexual immorality is over, and usury is no more.’

“Then tell me what will be?” He replied, ‘Distress, misery, and hunger are over. Strength and bravery are over, except for what is to remain in the tribe of Khuzāʿa. Oppression, sufferings, along with high character are gone, except for what is to remain in the tribes of Khazraj and Aws. Conceit and arrogance are gone too, along with calumnny and perfidy, except for what is to remain in Banū Bakr, meaning Ibn Hawāzin. Regrettable and sinful deeds are over, except for what is to remain in Khathʿam.’

“Tell me what else will be?” He replied, ‘If goodness is defeated and the free woman suppressed, then leave the land of migration. If the peace is disrupted and family ties are broken, then leave the holy land.’ ‘Tell me what will be?’ He replied, ‘Were it not for ears that hear, eyes that shine, I would tell you what

72. Part of south-western Arabia, on the Arabian Sea.
would fill you with dread.' Then he went on, 'Nowhere have I slept in peace, O Ibn Ghawt, without a morning arriving for us.'

"He went on: 'And then he screamed like a woman in labour. Dawn then broke and I went to look. And what I saw was a small iguana and a snake, both dead.

"It was only through this incident that I learned that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had migrated to Medina."

Abū Nu'aym then related this story from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlt, from al-Naḍr b. Salama, from Ḥassān b. ʿUbāda b. Mūsā, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bahram, from Shahr, from Ibn Abbās, from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, as follows, "After we pledged our allegiance to the Messenger of God (SAAS) on ʿAqaba night, I left for Ḥadramawt on business. That having been concluded, I started back. Some distance along the way I fell asleep and awoke in a fright to hear a voice shouting, 'O Abū ʿAmr, insomnia has afflicted me, sleep has fled and my slumber is interrupted.'" And he recounted the whole incident as given above.

Abū Nu'aym stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlt, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Abū Ghaziyya Muḥammad b. Mūsā, from al-ʿAttāb b. Khalīd al-Wassābī, from Khalīd b. Saʿīd, from his father, who said that he heard Tamīm al-Dārī say, "I was in Syria when the Messenger of God (SAAS) received his mission. I left on some business and on the way night fell. I said, 'I claim to be under the protection of the chief spirit of this valley for this night.' When I went to bed, I heard someone I could not see calling out, 'Seek God's protection. For no spirit can give anyone protection from God.' By God,' I exclaimed, 'what are you saying?' The voice replied, 'The Messenger of the ummis, the Messenger of God, has come forth. We prayed behind him at al-Ḥajān. We accepted Islam and became his followers. The tricks of the demon-spirits are over, and they have been pelted with shooting stars. Hurry to Muḥammad, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, and accept Islam.'"

Tamīm went on, "When morning came I went on to Ayyīb's monastery, where I asked to see a monk and told him what had happened. He said, 'They spoke the truth to you. He is leaving the holy place, and the place where he is migrating is holy. He is the best of prophets. Do not let anyone beat you to him.'"

Tamīm continued, "I took the trouble to travel hurriedly until I reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) and then accepted Islam."

Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl stated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Hudhali, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Hudhali, from his father, who said, "We were at our idol named Suwāʿ, having brought some sheep of ours to him. They consisted of 200 ewes that were afflicted with mange. We brought them close to him seeking his blessing. Then I heard a voice calling out from the belly of the idol, 'The tricks
of the demon-spirits are no more; we have been pelted with shooting stars—all for a Prophet whose name is Ahmad!’

‘You have misled us, by God!’ I exclaimed. I turned the face of my sheep away, urging them towards my people, and I then saw a man who told me of the appearance of the Prophet (SAAS).’

Abū Nuʿaym mentioned this account as such, without elaboration. He then stated that ‘Umar b. Muhammad b. Ja‘far related to him, quoting Ibrāhim b. al-Sindī, quoting al-Naḍr b. Salama, quoting Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Makhzūmī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān, from Ḥakīm b. ʿAṭā al-Zafārī, who is of Banū Sulaym, descended from Rāshid b. ‘Abd Ṭabīh, from his father, from his grandfather, from Rāshid b. ‘Abd Ṭabīh, who said, “The idol known as Suwā‘ was at al-Mi‘lät, one of a group worshipped by the tribes of Hudhayl and Banū Zafar b. Sulaym.” Banū Zafar dispatched Rāshid b. ‘Abd Ṭabīh with a gift for Suwā‘ from Sulaym.

Rāshid went on, “At dawn I attended an idol before the idol Suwā‘. As I did so, all of a sudden a voice rang out from its belly, ‘How strange! How very strange that a prophet should come forth from the family of ‘Aḥd al-Muḥib who would ban fornication, usury and sacrificing to idols! And the skies are being guarded and we are being pelted by shooting stars! How strange! How very strange!’ Then another idol screamed out from deep within itself, ‘Al-Dimār has been abandoned, and he used to be worshipped! The Prophet Ahmad has come forth. He says the prayers, orders the payment of alms, fasting, piety, and kindness to relatives.’ Then another voice shouted from the belly of another idol:

‘He who has inherited the prophethood and the true religion after Mary’s son is of Quraysh, rightly guided

A prophet come to inform of what is past, and what is today the truth, or tomorrow.’”

Rāshid went on: “Next dawn I attended Suwā‘ and there were two jackals licking all around it and eating what had been sacrificed to it. And they were directing their urine on to it.”

At this Rāshid b. ‘Abd Ṭabīh spoke the verse:

“Is this a lord upon whose head two jackals urinate? Whoever has jackals urinate upon him is disgraced!”

“This occurred at the time of the emergence of the Prophet (SAAS), his migration to Medina and his acceptance by the people. And so Rāshid left and made his way to the Prophet (SAAS) in Medina, taking along a dog he had with him. Now at that time Rāshid’s name was Zālim, tyrant, evil-doer, and that of his dog Rāshid, rightly guided. The Prophet (SAAS) asked him what his name was. He replied ‘Zālim’. ‘And what is your dog’s name?’ ‘Rāshid,’ he replied.
‘Well,’ said the Prophet (SAAS), ‘Now your name is Rashid and your dog’s Zalim!’ And the Prophet (SAAS) laughed.

“And so Rashid pledged his allegiance to him and remained in Mecca with him. He then made a request to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to receive the land fees for Wahat, and he described it to him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave him the land fees right for the heights above Wahat, along with control over sha’ma al-faras, the ‘horse bridle’, monument and over the rituals there of throwing stones at it three times. He presented him with a waterskin filled with water and spat in it. He told him, ‘Empty it out at the top of the tract, and don’t deny people access to its overflow.’ And so he did. He therefore channelled the water into an open ditch which still flows to this day. Around it he planted palm trees. It is said that all Wahat uses it for their water supply and that the people there call it ‘the water of the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ The people of Wahat also wash in it. Rashid’s stone-casting site was attended by many travelling parties, called the ‘caravans of the stone’. One morning Rashid went to Suwaţ and demolished it.”

Abû Nu’aym stated that Sulaymân b. Aḥmad related to him, quoting ‘Ali b. Ibrâhîm al-Khuzâ‘i al-Ahwâzi, quoting Abû Muḥammad ʿAbd Allâh b. Dâwûd b. Dalhâth b. Ismâ‘îl b. Muṣṣîr b. Yâsîr b. Suwayd, the Companion of the Messenger of God (SAAS), from his father, from his father Dalhâth from his father Ismâ‘îl, that the father of the last-mentioned, ʿAbd Allâh, related to him from his father Muṣṣîr b. Yâsîr that his father Yâsîr related to him, from ʿAmr b. Murra al-Juhannt who used to tell the following, “Once, before Islam, I went on pilgrimage with a party from my tribe. At Mecca, during my sleep, I saw a blinding light emitting from the ka‘ba, so strong that it lit up Mt. Yathrib and the mountains overlooking the town. I heard a voice in the light that said, ‘The shadows have been dispelled, the light now shines bright, and the last of the prophets has been sent.’

“Then another light shone forth by which I could see the castles of al-Ḥîra and Chosroe’s palace. I also heard a voice in the light that called out, ‘Islam has appeared, the idols have been demolished and reconciliation has come.’

“I awoke with a start and said to my people, ‘By God, in this Quraysh quarter something tremendous is going to happen!’ And I told them what I had seen. When we got back home a man arrived who told us that someone named Aḥmad had received a mission. I went to that man, and told him what I had seen. He told me, ‘O ʿAmr b. Murra, I have been dispatched to all mankind to invite them into Islam, to command them not to shed blood, to bring about reconciliation, to worship God, to reject the idols, to make pilgrimage to the ka‘ba, and to fast one month in twelve, Ramadân that is. For those who respond there will be paradise. Whoever disobeys will go to the fire. So you, ʿAmr b. Murra, you believe and God will spare you from the fires of hell.’
“I therefore said, ‘I bear witness that there is no God but God and that you are the Messenger of God. I believe in all you have brought us regarding what is lawful and what is disallowed, even though that will give offence to many people.’ I then recited to him some verses I had composed when I had heard of him. We used to have an idol, and my father was its guardian. I went to it and demolished it and then joined up with the Prophet (SAAS). I recited,

‘I bore witness that God is truth and that I will be the first to abandon the stone idols;
I then hurried to depart to you, travelling over ravines and flat lands towards you.
To attend the very best of men in spirit and in ancestry, the messenger of man’s sovereign above the stars.’

“The Prophet (SAAS) responded, ‘Welcome indeed, 0 ‘Amr b. Murra.’ I replied, ‘O Messenger, may my father and mother be sacrifice for you! Send me back to my own people, so that God may give me to benefit them as he has given you to me.’

“So he did send me to them, saying, ‘Speak only what is right; do not be harsh, nor arrogant, nor envious.’

“When I went to my people, I told them, ‘O you, Banû Rifâ‘a, and you too, Banû Juhayna, I am a messenger to you from the Messenger of God. I invite you to paradise and warn you of the fire. I command you not to shed blood, to encourage reconciliation, to worship God, to reject the idols, to make pilgrimage to the ka’ba, to fast during Ramadân, one month in twelve. Those who respond will go to paradise. Those who disobey will go to the fires. O people of Juhayna, God, all praise be to Him, has made you better than your forebears. He made you hate, in your state of ignorance, the obscene practices which others have found acceptable. They used to unite two sisters, men would marry their fathers’ wives, and they would allow warfare during the sacred month. So respond to this Prophet (SAAS) sent to you from Banû Lu‘ayy b. Ghâlib, and you will attain respect on earth and honour in the hereafter. Hurry! Hurry to do this, so that you will find favour with God.’

“They did all respond, except for one man. He arose and said, ‘O ‘Amr b. Murra, may God embitter your life for you! Do you order us to reject our gods and break apart our community by abandoning the religion of our forefathers in favour of what this Qurayshite from Tihâma advocates? No; and you are neither welcome nor honoured here!’ He then spoke the verses,

‘Ibn Murra has come here and made a speech, but it’s not a speech of someone wanting goodness.
I consider his words and deeds will be one day, however long the wait, mere winds.
Are we to deprecate our elders now gone? Whoever seeks for that will never achieve success.’
“To that ‘Amr b. Murra responded, ‘Whoever is the liar, may God embitter his life, silence his tongue, and blind his sight!’

‘Amr b. Murra went on: ‘And by God, by the time he died his mouth had dropped, he had lost all taste for food, and he was blind and dumb.’

‘Amr b. Murra and those others of his people who had accepted Islam then went to the Prophet (SAAS). He welcomed and honoured them and wrote for them a document, the text of which was as follows, ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent, this document is from God through the tongue of the Messenger of God and is a trustworthy document, a spoken truth, (sent) with ‘Amr b. Murra al-Juhani to Juhayna b. Zayd: “You shall have the low-lying flat and fertile lands and the sides and backs of the valleys, and all their vegetation and their pure water to drink. Provided that you forsake one fifth (of the harvest), and perform the five daily prayers. Your rich shall pay alms (to the poor): one ewe for each forty sheep, and one ewe for each five camels, or two ewes for any combination thereof. The rich shall not be eligible to receive charity. The Muslims present here witness this document (written by) Qays b. Shammâs, may God bless them all.’”

That was when ‘Amr b. Murra spoke the following verses,

“Did you not see that God has made his religion apparent and made plain the proof of the Qurâân to ‘Amir,

A document from the Merciful one, a light for our community and our descendants in desert and town alike.

To the best of all walking on the earth, its very best when troubles loom thick.

We obeyed the Messenger of God when the enemy tribes were torn apart by sharp swords and valiant knights.

We are a tribe walled about by our glory, when during warfare the heads of great men are brought in.

We are the warriors, entertain the battle with strong arms and shining swords in the hands of our valiant raiders;

Around him you see the ansâr, his followers, protecting their prince with their spearpoints and the flats of their swords;

When warfare goes on at every great event, grinding with its mill the strongest of lions,

His complexion remains serene, his face gleaming like the light of the full moon amidst the stars.”

Abû Uthmân Sa‘îd b. Yahyâ al-Umawi stated in his Maghâzî collection that ʿAbd Allâh related to him, quoting Abû ʿAbd Allâh, quoting al-Mujâlîd b. Sa‘îd, and al-Ajlâh, from al-Shi‘bî, quoting a sheikh of Juhayna, who said, “One of our men became extremely sick, so ill that we dug his grave and prepared to bury him. He passed out, then opened his eyes and came to again and asked, ‘Have you dug my grave?’ ‘Yes,’ we told him. He then asked, ‘What did al-Fusâl do?’
making reference to a cousin of his. We replied, ‘Ṣāliḥ passed by a while ago and asked after you.’ ‘He’s soon going to be put in my grave; a spirit came to me after I became unconscious and said, “Weep to Hubal; don’t you see your grave is being made ready and that your mother is almost bereft of you? What do you think? Supposing we were to reverse it away from you and then filled the grave with stones and threw in it al-Fuṣal who passed by and said he would take your place, thinking he would not do so. Will you thank your Lord and pray and abandon the religion of those who worship idols and who go astray?” “Yes,” I replied. The voice said, “Get up; you are made healthy.”’”

He went on, “So the man was cured and al-Fuṣal died and was put in his grave.”

Al-Juhayni stated, “And I saw that man of the Juhayna tribe after that; he was praying, cursing the idols and striking them.”

Al-Umawi said that ‘Abd Allāh related to him, saying that once, when Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, God be pleased with him, was in a gathering where they were discussing the spirits Khuraym b. Fāṭir al-Asadi said, “Should I tell you how I came to adopt Islam?” “Yes, do,” he said.

“I was once searching for a young she-camel of mine, following a trail of hers that went up and down till finally I was at Abraq al-‘Azṣaf. There I tied my camel-mount down and spoke the words, ‘I claim protection from the chief spirit of this place; I claim protection from the leader of this valley.’ When I had done so, a voice called out the following verses,

‘Woe to you! Seek protection with the Lord of majesty, glory, exaltation, and precedence
And then recite verses from (sūrat) al-Anfāl, saying that God is One, and do not worry.’

“I was dumbfounded, but once regaining my wits, I said,
‘O voice what is it you say? Is it truth you have, or falsehood? Make plain, may God guide you, what is the way?’

“It spoke again:

‘This is the Messenger of God, he who does good deeds, at Yathrib, who calls to salvation,
Who commands piety, prayer and restrains people from sins.’

“I said, ‘I’ll not rest till I come to him, and believe in him.’ I then set my foot in the stirrup of my mount and spoke the verses,

‘Guide me, guide me on the right course, may you never hunger or lack shelter so long as you live.
May you never cease being a lord of strength; don’t keep the good you were granted from all the spirits as long as you live.’
"He replied,

'May God accompany you and lead your mount; may He enhance your wage and protect your soul;

Believe in Him, may my Lord grant you success, and give him a great victory as he will you.'

"Who are you; may God forgive you. Tell me so I can inform him when I come to him.' He replied, 'I am Malik b. Malik and am his chief over the spirits of Naṣībin. Your camel is being protected until I reunite it with your people, if God wills it.'"

The narrator went on, "So I travelled on till I reached Medina; it was a Friday and people were on their way to the mosque. There the Prophet (SAAS) was upon the minbar, the pulpit, looking wonderful as he addressed the congregation. I told myself I would make my camel kneel at the door of the mosque until he prayed. Then I would go in to him, accept Islam and tell him of it. When I had set my camel down, out to me came Abī Dhar who said, 'Welcome, indeed welcome! We heard of your having become a Muslim, so come on in and pray.'

"I did so, and later went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he told me of my accepting Islam. I commented, 'Praise be to God!' He said, 'By the way, your friend did keep faith with you, that being his nature. He did lead your camel back to your people.'"


He then recounted it as above except for saying, "Then Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, 'the trusting', came out and said, 'Come inside. We have heard about your accepting Islam.' I replied, 'But I don't know how to cleanse myself properly.' So he taught me how and afterwards I went in to the mosque where I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) looking really happy and saying, 'There is no single Muslim who has performed the ablutions, and done so properly, who then has prayed, learned it by heart and understood it, who will not enter paradise.'

"ʿUmar then told me, 'Bring us some proof of this (your conversion) or I will punish you severely.' So a sheikh of Quraysh, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, testified on my behalf and his testimony was accepted."

The same source then related this anecdote from Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. Taym, from Muḥammad b. Khalīfa, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, from his father, who said, "ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said
to Khuraym b. Fāṭik, ‘Tell me some hadīth I will enjoy.’” He then related the story exactly as in the first version.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Sulaymān b. ʿAlāmah related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAlāmah b. Ibrāhīm al-Qurashi al-Dimashqī, quoting Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, the son of ʿArabahlī’s daughter, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Ayyāsh, from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, from Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī, from Abū l-ʿAbd Allāh al-Daylami, who said that a man came to Ibn ʿAbbās and said, “We have heard that you, in reference to Saṭīḥ, maintain that God created him. But why would He have created of mankind anyone like him?” He replied, “Yes, God did create Saṭīḥ al-Ghassānī out of flesh over strips of palm bark. He had no bones or sinews except for his skull and his two hands. He was folded over from his feet to his collarbone as a robe is folded; the only part of him that moved was his tongue. When he wanted to travel to Mecca, he was carried on a board and brought there. Four men of Quraysh went out to greet him, they being ‘Abd Shāms and Hāshim, the sons of ʿAbd Manāf b. Qusayy, al-ʿAshāb b. Fīhr, and ʿUqayl b. Abū Wāqqas. They pretended different identities and told him, ‘We are men of Jumāh who have come to you. We heard of your arrival so thought we would come to you; our doing so is a right of yours and a duty of ours.’ ʿUqayl presented him with an Indian platter and a straight Rudaynī lance which were placed by the door of the holy kaʿba to determine whether or not Saṭīḥ would see them.

“Saṭīḥ spoke: ‘O ʿUqayl, give me your hand.’ ʿUqayl did so and Saṭīḥ continued, ‘O ʿUqayl, by the hidden world, by Him whoforgives sins, by the pact that is fulfilled and by the kaʿba that is built, you have presented me with a gift, the Indian platter and the straight Rudaynī spear.’ They replied, ‘You are right, O Saṭīḥ!’ He then said, ‘By Him who brings joy, by the rainbow, by all other joys, by the orphan lying prostrate, by the palm trees, the fresh plants, and by the dates, the crow as it passed by presented itself and made known that your group is not of Jumāh, and that their ancestry is of great Quraysh.’ They replied, ‘You are right, O Saṭīḥ! We are of those who guard the holy kaʿba; we have come to visit you because of what we have learned of your knowledge. So tell us what will happen in this time of ours and what will come hereafter; perhaps you do have knowledge of that.’”

He replied, “Now you are telling the truth! Take the following from me and from what God has inspired me with. You, O Arabs, are in the age of senility; your mental perception is the same as that of the non-Arabs. You have neither knowledge nor understanding. But from your descendants there will come people of understanding who will seek out all kinds of knowledge. They will destroy the idols, reach the dam, kill foreigners, and seek after booty.”

They then asked, “But who will those men be, Saṭīḥ?” He replied, “By the pillared house, by security, and by tranquillity, after you there will be your descendants; it is they who will destroy the idols, forbid the worship of Satan,
worship the All-Merciful alone, spread the best of all religions, honour the building (the ka'ba), and ask judgements of the young heroes."

"Whose progeny will they be?" they asked.

"By the most noble of all, by Him who communicates with the nobles, by Him who moves the winding dunes, by Him who multiplies by doubling, thousands will arise from the line of 'Abd Shams and 'Abd Manaf, and there will be disputation over this."

"O Sâthî," they commented, "what misery there will be for them, from what you tell us you know. From what land will those men come?"

He replied, "By Him who will remain everlasting, by Him who will reach eternity, there will come forth from this land a young man who will guide to what is right, who will reject the idol Yaghîth and illusion, who will be innocent of worshipping what is repugnant; he will worship one Lord alone. And then God will cause him to die, with all praise. From the earth he will be missed; in heaven he will be witnessed. After him al-ṣiddiq ("the trusting", i.e. Abî Bakr) will come to rule; when he judges he speaks the truth and in restoring right he is neither foolish nor intemperate. Then he will be followed to power by al-ḥanîf, ("the true believer", i.e. the Caliph Umar), he who puts to the test and is lordly, a man who disavows violent language, who gives hospitality to guests, and who is wise and prudent in his judgements. Then there will follow him a man who will be demanding and invite others to the cause, and various groups and factions will assemble about him. Then they will kill him out of envy and rage; the old man will be seized and hacked to pieces and men will speak orations over him. Then will follow al-nâṣir, "the protector", a man who will confuse right opinion with that of the unfriendly ones. Soldiers will rule over the earth. Then after him his son will reign, and take what he gathers yet gain little praise. He will consume his wealth and eat alone. Those after him of his progeny will expand that wealth. Following him will rule a number of kings; doubtless there will be much blood spilled over them. After them will come the beggars, who will soon be folded up like cloth. Then will come a strong and ruthless man, who destroys justice, subjugates Egypt and conquers the earth with brutality. Then will come a man short of stature, who will have a mark on his back, die violently and so good-bye! Then for a while a young man will rule who will leave the kingdom ruined. His brother will succeed him and continue the same way, concerning himself with wealth-gathering and speech-making. After him a fool will rule, a worldly, comfort-loving and spoiled man. His intimates and family will advise him, then rise up against him, depose him from rule and kill him. Then after him will rule al-sâhî, "the seventh", who will leave the kingdom a wasteland. His sons in his rule will be like those who are deformed, all of them. After that,
every destitute fellow will hunger for rule. He will be followed by the greedy one. A group of Qaḥṭān will favour Nizār when they meet at Damascus, in two groups between Bunyān and Lubnān. Yemen at that time will consist of two parties, those engaging in consultation, and those holding back. Nothing will be seen except failure and disintegration, prisoners in chains surrounded by swords and horses. Thereafter dwellings will be demolished, widows will be plundered, pregnant women will miscarry, and earthquakes will occur. Wā’il will seek the Caliphate and Nizār will be furious. Slaves and evil men will be favoured, while the best of men will be in disfavour. Prices will rise, in the month of Safar, and people will kill each other. Then they will move into trenches which will have hair-cloth and trees to block the rivers, and he will defeat them early in the day. The best will appear, but neither sleep nor decision will avail them. (This will continue) until he enters one of the chief cities, where death and fate will overcome him. The archers will come and assemble on foot, to kill the mail-clad warriors and to capture the defenders. The evil-doers will perish; there he will be seized, at the headwaters. Then religion will die out, all things fall into disarray, the Scriptures are disbelieved, the bridges are demolished, and the only ones who escape are those on islands in the seas. Then the seeds will go bad, the bedouin will appear, there not being among them anyone to warn them against what is immoral and sinful, at a time of great difficulty, if people had decency, but alas! Wishful thinking will do no good.”

They asked, “What then, Satīh?” He replied, “Then there will appear a man from the people of Yemen, a man like a strong, thick rope, and through him God will abolish dissension.”

The above material is a strange relic. We have recorded it here for its peculiarity, and for the references to the dissensions and battles it includes.

The story of Shiqq and Satīh with Rabi‘a b. Naṣr, king of Yemen, and how he announced the coming of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been given above. Similarly we already recounted the story of Satīh with his nephew ʿAbd al-Maṣīḥ, when the king of the Banū Sāsān sent him when the palace was shaken, the fires were extinguished, and the high priest had his visions. All that occurred on the night of the birth of him who, by his shari‘a, superseded all other religions.

CHAPTER ON THE MANNER OF THE BEGINNING OF THE REVELATION TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST REVELATION TO HIM FROM THE GLORIOUS QUR‘ĀN.

This occurred when he was 40 years of age.

Ibn Jarir recounted, from Ibn ʿAbbās and Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib, that his age at the time was 43.
Al-Bukhari stated that Yahya b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Uqayl, from Ibn Shihab, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from 'A'isha, God be pleased with her, who said, “The first indication of revelation to the Messenger of God (SAAS) came in the form of true visions in his sleep. Every vision he had came like the breaking of dawn.

“He then developed a liking for solitude. He would spend time alone in the cave Hiraz, where he would seek religious purification through devotions. He would stay there many nights and then return to his family for more provisions to continue doing so; then he would come down to Khadija and repeat the same.

“Eventually the truth came to him while he was there in that cave Hiraz.

“The angel came and told him, ‘Read!’ He replied, ‘I don’t read.’ He then said, ‘The angel then overpowered me and choked me until I could bear it no more, and then he released me. Again he said, ‘Read!’ Again I replied, ‘I don’t read.’ Once more he overpowered me and choked me till I could bear it no more, then he released me and said, ‘Read!’ I replied, ‘I don’t read.’ Again he overpowered me and choked me a third time until I could bear it no more. Then he released me and said, ‘Read in the name of your Lord who created; He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know’ (sura al-'Alaq, XCVI, v.1-5).

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) returned home with this, his heart palpitating. He went in to Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, and said, ‘Wrap me up! Wrap me up!’ They did so until the terror left him.

“He then spoke to Khadija, telling her what had happened, saying, ‘I was afraid for myself.’

“Khadija replied, ‘Oh no! I swear by God He would never abuse you. You maintain family ties, you are hospitable to guests, you support the weak, provide for the poor and help out when tragedy strikes.’

“Khadija then hurried off with him to Waraqah b. Nawfal b. Asad b. 'Abd al-Uzza, who was her cousin. He had earlier become a Christian, and used to write the Hebrew script, copying out from the Bible in Hebrew whatever God inspired him to write. He was an old man by then, and he was blind.

“Khadija told him, ‘O cousin! Listen to your nephew!’ Waraqah then addressed him, ‘O nephew, what did you see?’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told him what he had seen. Waraqah commented, ‘This was the angel Gabriel who used to come down to Moses. How I wish I were a young man again! I hope I am still alive when your people exile you!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) exclaimed, ‘Are they to exile me?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘no one has ever received what you have without being treated as an enemy. If I am alive when your time comes, I will give you every help.’

“Not long thereafter Waraqah died, and the revelation waned for a period, so that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was so depressed – as we have been told –
that he would frequently feel like throwing himself down from the summits of high mountains. Whenever he reached the top of a mountain, to throw himself down, Gabriel would appear and say, ‘O Muhammad, you are in truth the Messenger of God!’ This would relieve his distress and he would return down. And if the inspiration was again long in coming, he would feel and do the same.”

Another account gives the same wording, except that it substitutes the word “when” for the word “whenever” above.

The account is given in full in this way in the Bab al-Ta‘bir (The Chapter on Expression) in al-Bukhari’s work.

Ibn Shihab stated that Abu Salama b. ‘Abd al-Rahman informed him that Jabir b. Abd Allah al-Ansari said, in relating matters concerning the revelation period, that the Prophet (SAAS) said, “While I was walking, I heard a voice from the sky. I raised my sight and there was the angel who had come to me at Hira' seated on a throne between the sky and the earth. I was terrified and returned home, saying, ‘Wrap me up! Wrap me up!’ And so God revealed the verse, ‘O you who are all wrapped up! Arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord! Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!’ (sura al-Muddaththir, LXXIV, v.1–5). And the revelation became stronger and continued uninterrupted.”

Al-Bukhari added that ‘Abd Allah b. Yusuf and Abu Salih gave this tradition a further link, from al-Layth. And Hilal b. Raddad added a link, from al-Zuhri. Yunus and Ma'mar, moreover, gave in the prior text the word bawadir, “emotions”, in place of the word fidad, “heart”.

This tradition was related by Imam al-Bukhari, God be pleased with him, in various parts of his work. We have discussed it at length in our first commentary on al-Bukhari, in the book on The Beginnings of the Revelation, in terms of both its chain of authorities and its text. And to God is all praise and grace.

In his Sahih collection, Muslim derives this tradition from an account of al-Layth, and through Yunus and Ma'mar from al-Zuhri, just as al-Bukhari attributes it to their authority. In our own commentaries we referred to the additions made by Muslim and to his accounts of it. And to God be praise. Muslim’s account of the above goes as far as the above words of Waraqa, “I will give you every help.”

The statement, given above, of ‘A’isha, mother of the believers, that, “the first indication of revelation to the Messenger of God (SAAS) came in the form of true visions. Every vision he had came like the breaking of dawn” corroborates what Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Yasir related from Ubayd b. Umayr al-Laythi, to the effect that the Prophet (SAAS) said, “And Gabriel brought me while I was asleep a piece of silk brocade cloth with writing on it. He told me, ‘Read!’ I replied, ‘What should I read?’ Thereupon he choked me till I thought it meant death. But then he released me.” He related the rest of ‘A’isha’s statement in the same words.
This came as a prelude to the awakening that followed. The Prophet (SAAS) is reported to have expressly stated this in the book on the maghāzi, the military campaigns, by Mūsā b. Uqba, from al-Zuhri; therein it states that he saw all that in a dream, and that the angel appeared to him thereafter when he was awake.

The ḥāfiz Abu Nuʿaym al-ʿAsbahānī stated in his work Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood) as follows, “Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan related to us, quoting Muhammad b. ʿUthman b. Abū Shayba, quoting ʿJanāb b. al-Ḥārīth, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAjlaḥ, from ʿIbrāhīm, from ʿAlqama b. Qays, who said, ‘The first visitation to prophets is during their sleep, so that they will remain calm; revelation comes thereafter.’ This comment comes directly from ʿAlqama b. Qays himself. It is an appropriate one that is substantiated by both what preceded and what followed it.”

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Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Abū ʿAdī related to him, from Dāwūd b. Abū Hind, from ʿAmir al-Ṣaḥḥī, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) received his mission when he was 40 years old. The angel Iṣrāʾīl was entrusted with his prophethood for three years, during which he would teach him words and facts; the Qurʿān was not revealed then. After those three years Gabriel was entrusted with his prophethood and the Qurʿān was revealed through his voice over a 20-year period, 10 in Mecca and 10 in Medina. The Prophet (SAAS) died when he was 63 years old.

This chain of authorities back to al-Ṣaḥḥī is a correct one. It establishes that Iṣrāʾīl was entrusted with him for a 3-year period after his age of 40, and that Gabriel came thereafter.

Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, however, has stated, “ʿAʾisha’s account does not refute this. It is possible that first of all he did receive visions, and that Iṣrāʾīl was put in charge of him during the period he spent alone in Ḥīrāʾ, casting words at him at speed and not actually staying with him, and teaching him gradually. This was so until Gabriel came to him and taught him, after having throttled him three times. And so ʿAʾisha related what had happened to him with Gabriel and did not tell what had occurred with Iṣrāʾīl in order to shorten the account. Or she did not know about the story of Iṣrāʾīl.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā b. Hīṣām recounted to him, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās who said, “The Qurʿān was revealed to the Prophet (SAAS) when he was 43 years of age. He stayed in Mecca for 10 years and lived in Medina for 10. He died at the age of 63.”

Yahyā b. Saʿīd and Saʿīd b. al-Muṣayyib related the same. Then both Aḥmad b. Ghundar and Yazīd b. Hārūn related from Hīṣām, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn
Abū Shāma stated, “The Messenger of God used to see strange visions before his mission.”

On this same subject there is the material in the sahīh collection of Muslim, on the authority of Jābir b. Samura, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, “I know a rock in Mecca that would greet me before I received my mission. I still know it now.” The statement ended thus.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) only preferred the seclusion and being alone from his people because of the clear error in which he saw them engaged. This was in their worshipping and prostrating before idols. His liking for being alone increased as God’s revelation to him came closer (SAAS).

Muḥammad b. Ishāq recounted, from ʿAbd al-Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Sufyān b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ḥāritha—who was, he said a very attentive listener—from a certain scholar who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to go out to Ḥiraʾ for one month every year and pray alone, he being one of those Quraysh men who would, in the ḥijājyya, practise this prayer in seclusion. He would feed the poor who would come to him. Having left there he would not re-enter his own home without first circumambulating the kaʿba.”

This was related similarly from Wahb b. Kaysān, to the effect that he heard ʿUbayd b. Umayr telling ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr a similar account.

This shows that it was a custom for religious-minded men of Quraysh to go and stay on Ḥiraʾ for prayer. This is why Abū Ṭalib spoke the following line in his famous ode:

“By Thawr and by Him who established Thabīr in its place, and by those who ascend to Ḥiraʾ, and then descend.”

This is the correct form for the recitation of this verse, as mentioned by al-Suhaylī, Abū Shāma and our Sheikh, the hāfiẓ Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzi, God be pleased with them all. Some reciters made a mistake in this verse, making it read, “and by those who go up to ascend in ḥar, ‘heat’, and descend.” This version is weak and incorrect. Though God alone knows best.

The word Ḥiraʾ is sometimes treated as contracted or lengthened, declined or indeclinable. It is a mountain in the heights over Mecca, three miles distant from...
it, to the left side of the path to Minā. It has a summit that overlooks the ka'ba to one side, and the cave is on that side. How splendid is the verse of Ru'ba b. al-'Ajja:

“But no, by the Lord of the secure (pigeons) dwelling (at the ka'ba), and by the Lord of a corner Ḥirā', sloping downwards . . .”

The explanation (by al-Bukhārī) that al-Tahannuth means devotion, is one interpreted from the context. Otherwise, the truth of al-Tahannuth, as interpreted from its form, lies in what al-Suhaylī suggested, namely, “entering into al-hinth”, i.e. sin or perjury. However, a few words in the language were heard to mean “the departure from” rather than “entering into”. These words have a form like the verb tahannatha, i.e. “he left the state of hinth”. Examples would be tahawwaba, i.e. “he abstained from crime”, and taharraja, i.e. “he kept away from sin”, and ṭawaththama, i.e. “he abstained from iniquity”. Similarly there is tahaqṣada, a word meaning to give up al-hujūd, sleep to attend prayer. Also there are tanajjasa, “he left an impure state”, i.e. he cleaned himself, and tagadhbara, “he avoided foul actions”. Abū Shāma cited this example.

Ibn al-Aʿrābī was asked about his interpreting yatahannathu as meaning “he performs his devotions”, and he replied, “Well, I don’t actually know that, but there is the example of yatahannafu, derived from the word al-hanifyya, signifying the religion of Abraham, peace be upon him.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “The Arabs say al-tahannuth and al-tahannuf (as having the same meaning), where the letter f has replaced the letter th. This is similar to the change from jaddafa to jadhdafa, both meaning “he rowed a boat”. As Ru'ba's verse goes,

“. . . if my stones were with al-ajdāf . . .”, by which he means al-ajdāth (the graves).

Abū Ḫubayda related to me that the bedouin say fumma for thumma, meaning “then”.

I would add that some commentators say wa fumuhā when they mean wa thūmuhā, when referring to thūm, i.e. “garlic”.

The scholars differ over the devotion to prayer of the prophet (ṣaas) before his mission, whether he was following some religion, and what that was.

Some say that it was the religion of Noah.

Others suggest that of Abraham, it being the most similar as well as the most powerful.

Others say that of Moses, yet others that of Jesus.

Others say that all that is established is that he did have a religion, and that he followed and observed it.
For the interpretation of these statements and the circumstances in which they were made, one should look elsewhere in works on the origins of Islamic jurisprudence. But God knows best.

The words “eventually the truth came suddenly to him while he was in the cave Hirā” mean that it came to him abruptly and unexpectedly. As God stated, “And you had no hope that the Book would be delivered to you, but it is a mercy from your Lord” (ṣūrat al-Qaṣaṣ, XXVIII, v.86).

The first portion of this holy chapter, namely “Read in the name of your Lord who created; He created man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know” (ṣūrat al-ʿAlaq, XCVI, v.1-5) was the first part of the Qurʾān revealed, as we established in the commentary and in what will follow; it came on a Monday.

It has been similarly affirmed in the sahih collection of Muslim, on the authority of Abū Qatāda, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about fasting on Mondays. He replied, “That is a day on which I was born, and a day on which I received revelation.”

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, “Your prophet Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was born on a Monday, and he was made a prophet on a Monday.”

Ubayd b. ʿUmair, Abū Jaʿfar al-Baqir, and several other scholars similarly stated that he received revelation on a Monday; this is a matter undisputed among them.

It is said, moreover, that that occurred during the month of Rabiʿ al-Awwal; it has also been previously stated from Ibn ʿAbbās and Jābir that he was born on the 12th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal, received his mission on the same date, and also on that day he was raised to heaven.

It is also widely believed that he received his mission in Ramadān, as has been stated by Ubayd b. ʿUmair, Muḥammad b. Iṣhāq and others.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated this, using as evidence God’s statement “the month of Ramadān, during which the Qurʾān was revealed as a guidance to mankind” (ṣūrat al-Baqara, II, v.185). And it is said that this was on the 10th.

Al-Wāqidi attributed to Jaʿfar al-Baqir, to whom his chain of authorities extended, the words, “The beginning of the revelation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) occurred on Monday, the 17th of Ramadān; others, however, say it was the 24th.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Saʿīd, a freed-man of the Banū Hāshim, related to him, quoting ʿUmrān Abū al-ʿAwwām, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Malih, from Wāthila b. al-Asqa, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “The tablets of Abraham were revealed on the first night of Ramadān, the Torah on the 6th of Ramadān, and the Bible on the 13th of Ramadān, while the Qurʾān was revealed on the 14th of Ramadān.”

Ibn Mardawayh related much the same in a tradition back to the Prophet.
(ṢAAS) that is based on the authority of Jabir b. 'Abd Allāh.

Therefore, a majority of the Companions and followers of the Prophet (ṢAAS) have concluded that the laylat al-qadr, the “night of destiny”, was the 24th.

Regarding Gabriel’s order “Read!”, the reply was, “I don’t read.” The truth is that this statement, “I don’t read”, is a negation, that is, it implies, “I am not a man who knows how to read well.” Among those who prefer this interpretation are al-Nawawi and, before him, Sheikh Abī Shiima.

Those who interpret this as interrogatory are incorrect, because the prefixed ʿād, as in mā anā biqārī, i.e. “I don’t read”, is not added if the intent is to affirm.

The first interpretation is substantiated by what Abū Nuʿaym related from a ḥadīth that comes down through al-Muʿtamir b. Sulaymān from his father who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, fearful and shaking, “I have never read a document; I don’t do that well. I neither read nor write.” And so Gabriel seized him and choked him violently. He then released him and told him, “Read!” Muhammad (ṢAAS) then replied, “I don’t see anything to read; and I don’t read, or write.”

It is also read in the form fa ʿgaṭṭant or wa ʿgaṭṭant in the two saḥīḥ collections, or gād ʿgaṭṭant. These all mean “he choked me”. The phrase hattā balagha minni al-juhd, “till I could bear it no more”, is read either with a dāmāma or with a fāthā on the j (i.e. al-juhd or al-jahd); also with a fāthā or a dāmāma on the third letter, ḍ, for either the nominative or the accusative case (i.e. al-juhdu or al-juhda). He, Gabriel, did this to him three times.

Abū Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī stated, “Gabriel only did that to test his patience and to discipline him so that he would be agreeable to bear the burdens of prophethood placed upon him. Because of these burdens he would be gripped by a feverish condition and have a high temperature, that is, he would breathe hard and sweat profusely.”

Others say that Gabriel acted in this way for various reasons. He wanted to awaken him to the gravity of what was being placed upon him by treating him in such a distressing fashion. As God Almighty stated, “We are indeed placing upon you a heavy message” (ṣūrat al-Muzzammil, LXXIII, v.5). This is why, when revelation came to him, his face would turn red and he would breathe heavily and fast, like a young camel, while his forehead would stream with perspiration on an extremely cold day.

Regarding the statement quoted above, “The Messenger (ṢAAS) returned home to Khādija with this, his heart palpitating”, there is a variant reading of bawādir for the word ʿawād, “heart”, that is. Abū ʿUbaydā explains this word as referring to the flesh between the shoulder and the neck. Others interpret the word as referring to veins that tremble because of fear.

Some readings substitute the word baʿādiluḥu, singular baʿādila or baʿādil, for
that which palpitates. This would refer to the area between the neck and the collarbone. Others interpret it as the base of the breast, or as the flesh of the breast. There are also other interpretations of the word.

Regarding the phrase, "Wrap me up! Wrap me up!", when his terror had calmed he asked Khadija, "What is wrong with me? What was it appeared to me?" and then related what had happened. He then said, "I was afraid for myself." This was because he had witnessed something he had never experienced or imagined before.

That was why Khadija said to him, "Be of good cheer! Oh no! I swear by God, He would never abuse you." The word for "abuse" here is from al-khizy (disgrace); others say the word is from al-huzn, meaning sadness, that is, "He would never sadden you."

This statement relates to her knowledge of the fine behaviour characteristics God had instilled in him, and that those endowed with the qualities of goodness would not be abused in this world or the hereafter.

She then made reference to those exemplary traits that made his fine character. She said, "You maintain family ties, you are truthful." The Prophet (SAAS) was famous for that among those both who agreed and disagreed with him.

The words wa tahnimu al-kalla, i.e, "you carry the burden", that is, you do so for others imply "you provide for those in need what will alleviate their burden of supporting their family."

The phrase wa taksibu al-ma'duma, translated here as "you provide for the poor", means that you hurry to do good by giving to the poor before others do so. The poor are called by the term al-ma'dum because they are lacking in their lives, their existence or "non-existence" (a meaning also of this word) being the same. As a certain poet said,

"He who is relieved by death did not die; there are those who are dead though they are still living."

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tihāmī said, as was reported from him by al-qādi, the judge, Ḥyād, in the exegesis of Muslim,

"The poor can be considered dead, their clothing a threadbare winding-sheet, their shelter the grave."

Al-Khaṭṭābī stated, "The correct text is tuksib al-ma'dim, meaning 'you give generously to them' or that you provide earnings for the poor by giving them money by which they can live."

Our teacher, the ḥafiz Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzi, preferred to interpret "al-ma'dim" here as referring to the money being given, that is he gave money to those without it.

Some interpret this phrase to mean, "you earn by doing business with goods that are ma'dim", meaning unavailable, or valuable and scarce. But this is far-fetched and contentious and contrived without basis. Such interpretations are
rarely found laudable and Ḥayād and al-Nawawi and others find these interpretations weak. But God knows best!

The words wa taqāri al-dayf translated above as “you are hospitable to guests”, mean that you honour them by offering them food and good accommodation.

The phrase tuʿīnuʿ alā nawāfiḥ al-haqq (the final word here being also given as al-khayr) translated above as “and help them out when tragedy strikes”, means that if someone is struck by misfortune, you assist them; that is, you stand by them till they find some means of livelihood.

Regarding the words, “Khadija then hurried off with him to Waraqa b. Nawfal . . . he was an old man by then, and blind.”

We gave some information concerning Waraqa in material above relating to Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, God have mercy on him. We told how he had become a Christian before the coming of Islam and how he had left and travelled to Syria accompanied by Zayd b. 'Amr, ʿUthmān b. al-Huwayrith and Ḥubayd Allāh b. Jahsh. All of these became Christians because they found Christianity to be at that time the religion closest to the truth.

Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, however, considered that there were certain innovations, changes, corruptions and interpretations that had occurred in it that prevented him from embracing it. The rabbis and monks told him, moreover, about a prophet whose time was near.

He therefore returned seeking information about this, while continuing to believe in one God, as he had before. But death cut him down before the mission of Muhammad (SAAS).

Waraqa b. Nufayl did adopt Christianity, and used to try to prognosticate it in the Messenger of God (SAAS) as we have said above, from the way in which Khadija would describe and characterize him. She told Waraqa of the fine, pure qualities he had, and of the signs and indications there were upon him.

Therefore when there occurred as above, she took the hand of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, “O Cousin, listen to what happened to your nephew.” And when the Messenger of God (SAAS) related to him what he had seen, Waraqa replied, “By the All-Glorious God, this was the angel Gabriel who came down to Moses!”

He did not mention Jesus, though he came later, after Moses, because the system of religion of Muḥammad (SAAS) was to be a completion and fulfilment of that sent to Moses, upon both of whom be peace. The valid opinion of the scholars, in what they say on this point, is that the sharīʿa complemented, and also abrogated, certain things in the system of Moses. As God said, “And so that I may make permissible to you some of what was forbidden to you” (sūrat Al-'Imrān, III, v.49).

This comment made by Waraqa is similar to that made by the spirits, namely, “O our people, we have heard a book revealed after Moses verifying what was
before it, guiding to the truth and to the straight path” (*sūrat al-Aḥqāf*, XLVI, v.30).

Waraqa then commented, “How I wish I were a young man again!” This implies, “How I wish I were a lad endowed with faith, useful knowledge, and good work to do.”

The phrase: “I hope I am still alive when your people exile you”, implies “so that I can leave with you and help you”.

To this the Prophet (SAAS) responded, “Are they to exile me?” According to al-Suhayli he said this because to be parted from one’s homeland is very painful. To this Waraqa replied, “Yes, no one has ever received what you have received without being treated as an enemy. If I am alive when your time comes, I will give you every help.” That is, “I will strive hard to help you always.”

The words, “Not long thereafter Waraqa died” mean that his death came shortly after this event; may God have mercy on him and bless him. For what is told of him here constitutes credence in what had occurred, faith in the revelation that had come, and good intent for the future.

The Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, from Ibn Lahīfa, quoting Abū al-ʿAswad, from Urwa, from Ḥāʾisha, that Khadija asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) about Waraqa b. Nawfal. He replied, “I saw him; and on him I saw white clothing. And if he were among those of hell, he would not have on white clothing.”

This chain of authorities is good, but al-Zuhri and Ḥishām related it from Urwa in an incomplete line. So God alone knows best.

The Ḥāʾīz Abū Yaʿlā recounted, from Shurayḥ b. Yūnus, from Ismāʿīl, from Mujāhid, from al-Ṣaḥḥābi, from Ḥālib b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was asked about Waraqa b. Nawfal and he replied, “I saw him; and I saw on him white clothing. I observed him in the heart of paradise and he was wearing a silken robe.”

He was asked about Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, and he replied, “He will be resurrected on Judgement Day as one nation by himself.” He was asked about Abū Ṭalib and he replied, “I drew him forth from a deep pool in hell to a shallow shore of it.”

He was asked about Khadija because she died before the rules and ordinances prescribed in the Qurʿān. He said, “I saw her beside a river in paradise in a house made of reeds where there was no noise or hardship.”

The chain of authorities for this is good, and there are testimonies corroborating some of it in the ṣahīḥ collections. But God knows best.

The Ḥāʾīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUbayd b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Ḥishām b. Urwa, from his father, from Ḥāʾisha, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Do not revile Waraqa; I have seen a garden or two for him.”
Ibn 'Asākir related this similarly from a hadith of Abū Sa‘īd al-Ashajjī, from Abū Mu‘āwiyah, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿĀ'isha, and this chain of authorities is excellent. And it is also told in a similar way through a chain that is incomplete.

The two ḥufūz al-Bayhaqī and Abū Nu‘aym related in both their works entitled Dalā’il al-Nubuwwa (Signs of the Prophethood) from a hadith of Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Yūnus b. ‘Amr, from his father, from ‘Amr b. Sharaḥbil, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Khadija, “When I was left to myself, I heard a cry and, by God, I feared that something terrible was going to happen.”

She replied, “God forbid! He would never do anything to you! By God, you behave with loyalty, you maintain the ties of kinship, and speak truthfully.”

And when Abū Bakr came in, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was no longer there so she recounted it all to him, saying, “Good old friend, go with Muḥammad to Waraqa.”

When the Messenger of God came in, Abū Bakr took his hand and said, “Let’s go at once to Waraqa.” He asked, “Who told you?” “Khadija.” And so they went at once to Waraqa and related it to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, “When I am all alone I hear a voice behind me saying, ‘Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!’ So I rush off outside.” Waraqa told him, “Don’t do that. When it comes, stay right there to hear what it says to you. Then come and tell me.” And when he was alone, the voice did call out again, saying, “Muḥammad! O Muḥammad! Say, ‘In the name of God the most Merciful, the most Beneficent; praise be to God, Lord of the worlds . . .’” And it continued right on (to the end of the surat al-Fāṭiha; I) to the words, wa lā al-dālîna, ‘nor those who go astray’. It then said, “Say: ‘There is no God but God!’”

So he went to Waraqa and told him that. Waraqa replied, “Rejoice, then rejoice again! I bear witness that you are he of whom the son of Mary spoke. What you have is like what came to the angel Gabriel for Moses. You are a Prophet from God. You will be ordered into the struggle some time hereafter. And if I live that long, I will fight along with you!”

When he died the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I saw the priest in heaven wearing silken garments, because he believed in me and believed what I said.” He was referring to Waraqa.

This text is from al-Bayhaqī, and its chain of authorities is not fully complete. It is also strange that according to this account it was the surat al-Fāṭiha (Qurʾān, I) that was revealed first.

We have given above some of the poetry of Waraqa that shows his concealed faith in him, his confidence in it and his dedication to it. This was when Khadija told him what had happened when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been with the youth Maysara, and how the cloud had been sheltering him in the
extreme heat. Waraqa spoke some verses on that occasion, as we have already given above. These were:

"I persisted, being determined to recall both a matter that often inspired my tears
And a description from Khadija, following (another) account; my waiting has been long, O Khadija.
In the heart of Mecca, with my hoping because of your words, that I would see some solution.
From what you related as the words of a priest who was a monk, words I would hate to be wrong,
That Muḥammad will one day prevail and defeat whomever opposes him
Making a light appear in the land by which he will bring change to all creation.
Those who oppose him will meet defeat, while those who aid him will achieve success.
Would that I be there to witness, for I'll be the first of them in participating.
Sharing in that which Quraysh will hate, however much they bluster in their Mecca.
I aspire, through him whom they all hate, to reach the Enthroned One, even if they descend, aside.
Is it folly to not disbelieve in Him who chooses, He who raised the stars?
If they and I survive, things will happen at which the disbelievers will be sorely discomfited."

He also spoke the following verses in another ode:

"By news of veracity you foretold of Muḥammad, telling them about him, an adviser being absent,
Informing that the son of ‘Abd Allāh, Aḥmad, is sent to all men on earth.
My thought of him is that he will be sent to speak the truth, just as the two slaves Ḥūd and Ṣāliḥ were sent
And Moses and Abraham, so that a brightness will be seen and a clear emanation of the truth.
And there will follow him the two tribes of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib, both the young men and the lordly greybeards.
And if I survive until his age arrives for man, then I will greet him in joy and love.
If not, then I will certainly, O Khadija please know this, be travelling somewhere above the broad earth."

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, on the authority of Ibn Ishāq, that Waraqa also spoke the following:

"If it be true, O Khadija, then know that your account to us means that Aḥmad is sent.
And Gabriel will bring to him, Michael being with them both, from God a revelation that relieves the heart sent down.
Through him there will succeed those who have success through repentance, and through him will suffer those in distress, those deceived and led astray."
Two groups of them there will be: one will go to God’s gardens, and the other will be kept in pain within the enclosures of hell.

If they call out in woe therein, iron staffs will be inserted in their heads in succession, and be put in flames.

And so, glory be to Him at whose order the winds blow, and Who in all time does as He wishes,

He whose throne is above all the heavens, and He whose decrees made for those He has created may not be changed.”

And Waraqa also said,

“O for men and the changes of time and fate, though in whatever God decrees there is no change

Until Khadija calls me to tell her of a matter I see will come to people unawares.

She told me of something of which I had in the past, long, long ago already heard,

That Ahmad would be visited by Gabriel and told, “You are sent forth to humankind.”

And I replied,

“Perhaps what you wish for, God will fulfil for you; so hope for good and be patient!

Send him to us that we may question him about what it is he sees asleep, and when awake.”

So when he came to us, he gave a wondrous speech, so as to make the skin creep, and the hair stand tall.

(He said) “I saw God’s trusted servant facing me, in a figure made complete from the most magnificent of forms.

Then he continued on, while fear made me panic for what would save me from the anguish I was in.”

I said, “I think, and I don’t know if what I think will come true, that he will be sent forth to recite chapters to be revealed,

“And it will pain you if you call openly to them to engage in the struggle with neither inducement nor threat.”

In his al-Dalā‘il (The Signs) the ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī gave the text of these verses thus: I have doubts over whether they truly stem from Waraqa. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated that ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Sufyān b. al-‘Ala’ b. Jāriyya al-Thaqafi related to him – and he had a fine ear and memory – on the authority of a scholar, that the Messenger of God (SAAS), after God wished to honour him by the beginning of the prophethood, would walk far off to do his business, out of sight of dwellings. As he went off into the pathways of Mecca and deep into its valleys, every rock and tree he passed would greet him, saying, “Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!” Hearing this, he would turn all around yet see nothing but the trees and rocks. This situation prevailed, with
him seeing and hearing as long as God wished, until ultimately Gabriel brought
God's honour upon him during Ramaḍān in Ḥiraği.

Ibn Ishaq stated that Wahb b. Kaysan, the freed-man of the Zubayr tribe,
related to him, that he heard 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr say to 'Ubayd b. 'Umayr
b. Qatāda al-Laythi, "Tell me, 'Ubayd, how was the beginning of the mission
of the Messenger of God (SAAS) when Gabriel first came to him?" 'Ubayd
replied, in my presence, talking to 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and the others
there with him, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to take up residence in
Ḥirāği in seclusion for one month each year. This practice, known as
al-tahānūth, i.e. 'pious devotion', was one performed by Quraysh before the
coming of Islam.

"While the Messenger of God (SAAS) was dwelling there for that month of
each year, he would feed all the poor who came to him. When the period of that
month of devotion was concluded, the first thing he would do was go to the
ka'ba, circumambulating around it seven times or so before proceeding to his
own home.

"This was so until that month came of the year when God honoured him with
his mission. That month, it being Ramaḍān, he went off as usual for his devotions
at Ḥirāği, his family accompanying him. Then came the night when God did
honour him with his mission, thereby having mercy on all men. Gabriel came to
him then with the command of God Almighty.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'He came to me while I was asleep,
carrying a brocade cloth with writing upon it. He told me, "Read!" "Read
what?" I asked. He then choked me so hard I thought I would die, but he
released me and said, "Read!" "Read what?" I asked, so he choked me so hard I
thought I would die. He then released me and said, "Read!" I asked, "What
should I read?" I only said this to spare myself his doing the same to me again.

"Then he said, "Read; in the name of your Lord who created. He created
man from a clot. Read! Your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen.
He taught man what he did not know."

"So I recited this, and then he had finished with me and left me. I awoke
from my sleep, and it was as though a document had been inscribed into my
heart."

"He went on: 'I then went off into the mountains where I heard a voice from
the sky saying, "O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God, and I am
Gabriel!"

"'I raised my head up to the sky to look, and there was Gabriel in the image
of a man, with his feet placed evenly across the horizons of the sky. He was saying,
"O Muḥammad, you are the Messenger of God, and I am Gabriel."

"'I stood there looking up at him, neither advancing nor retreating, and began
turning my head in all directions, but wherever I looked I still saw him.
I remained standing there thus, neither advancing nor retreating, until Khadija sent her messengers to look for me. And they went all the way to Mecca and returned again to her while I still stood there where I was. Then he (Gabriel) left me.

I now returned to my family and sat down close beside Khadija. She asked me, "Where were you, O father of al-Qasim? I swear, I sent my messengers all the way to Mecca and back looking for you."

I then told her what I had seen, and she said, "Rejoice and be brave; by Him in whose hands Khadija is, I hope you will be the prophet of this nation."

She then arose, dressed, and went off to Waraqa b. Nawfal to tell him what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had reported to her. Waraqa exclaimed, 'Holy of Holies! By Him in whose hands Waraqa is, if you have told me the truth, Khadija, the Archangel Gabriel has come to him just as he did to Moses. He is to be the prophet of this nation! Tell him to be brave!'

Khadija returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him what Waraqa had said.

When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had completed his period of secluded devotion, he did as always, going first to the ka'ba and circumambulating it. There he met Waraqa b. Nawfal who was also performing the circumambulation, and Waraqa asked him, 'O nephew, tell me what you saw and heard.'

He did tell him, and Waraqa commented, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hand, you certainly will be the Prophet of this nation. You have been visited by the Archangel who came to Moses. You will certainly be called a liar, reviled, sent into exile and fought. If I live till that time, I will give God my help, and He will know it.' Waraqa then brought his head down over him, and kissed him on the top of his head. The Messenger of God (SAAS) thereupon went off home.

This is the account given by Ubayd b. Umayr, just as we have told it. It serves as a prelude to the awakening that followed it, and introduces the statement of Khadija, God bless her, who said, "Whenever he saw visions they came to him as the breaking of dawn."

It is probable that this dream came after what he had seen while awake on the morning following that same night. It is also possible it came some time after that. God knows best.

Musa b. Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, as follows, "From what we have been told, the first thing he saw - meaning the Messenger of God (SAAS) - were visions God revealed to him while he was asleep. These greatly disturbed him and he told his wife Khadija of them. God protected her from scepticism about them, opening her heart to belief. And so she said, 'Rejoice! For God has never done anything but good.'
"Thereafter he went off, but returned later to tell her how he had seen his stomach split open, and it had been washed and cleaned and all restored as before. To this she said, 'By God, I swear that this is good; so rejoice!'

"Then Gabriel appeared before him while he was on the heights above Mecca, sitting him down on a wonderful seat of honour. The Prophet (SAAS) used to say, 'He sat me down on a rug of durnak, velvet, that was decorated with pearls and precious stones.' Gabriel then announced to him the mission from God the Almighty and Glorious, and put the Messenger of God (SAAS) at ease. Gabriel then said to him, 'Read!' He replied, 'How shall I read?' Gabriel answered, 'Read: in the name of your Lord who created. He created man from a clot. Read! your Lord is the most noble, He who taught by the pen. He taught man what he did not know.'"

He went on, "And people claim that 'O you who are all wrapped up!' is the first sūrat revealed to him. But God knows best."

He went on, "And the Messenger of God (SAAS) accepted the mission from his Lord, and obeyed the commandment Gabriel had brought him from God.

"And when he was returning back home, every tree and rock he passed greeted him. And so he went back to his family in good spirits, convinced that he had seen something stupendous. When he went in to see Khadija, he said, 'You remember what I told you I saw in a vision? Well, Gabriel has now appeared plainly before me. My Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, sent him to me.' He then told her what Gabriel had told him to do and what he had heard him say. She responded, 'Rejoice! For God will never bring you anything but good. And so accept the order that has come to you from God, for it is the truth. And rejoice, for you are in truth the Messenger of God.'"

"She then left her home and set off to visit a youth who belonged to Utba b. Rabī'ā b. 'Abd Shams, a Christian originally from Nineveh, who was called 'Addās. She said to him, 'I adjure you by God to tell me, do you have any knowledge about Gabriel?' He replied, 'Holy! Holy! How is it that mention is made of Gabriel in this land, all of whose people are idol worshippers?' She replied, 'Tell me what you know of him!' 'Gabriel', he replied, 'is God's trusty servant, God's intercessor between Himself and the prophets. He it was who accompanied Moses and Jesus, upon both of whom be peace.'

"Khadija then came back from visiting him and went to see Waraqa b. Nawfal. She told him of what had happened to the Prophet (SAAS) and what Gabriel had commanded to him. Waraqa said to her, 'O fond daughter of my brother, I just don't know. Perhaps your companion is the prophet who is awaited by the People of the Book (i.e. Scriptures), about whom they find it written in their Torah and Bible. But I swear by God, that if this is he and he openly proclaims his mission while I am still live, I will express my dedication to
God by obedience to His Messenger and by giving him every assistance in maintaining fortitude and in achieving victory.'

"Thereafter Waraqa, God have mercy on him, died."

Al-Zuhri stated, "Khadija was the first person to believe in God and to give credence to His Messenger (SAAS)."

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated, after having given the account we have reported above, "The reference here to his stomach being split open probably refers to his relating what was done to him when he was a boy, that is, its being opened while he was with Ḥalima. It is also possible that it was split open a second time, and then again a third, when he was transported up to heaven. But God knows best."

The hāfiz Ibn 'Asākir related in his biography of Waraqa, with a chain of authority back to Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymi, as follows, "We have heard that God Almighty sent Muwād as a Prophet at the start of the 50th year after the rebuilding of the ka'ba.

"The first aspect of God's making him a Prophet and honouring him, was a vision he saw. He related that to his wife Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, and she told him, 'Rejoice! For, I swear by God, He will never do you anything but good.'

"One day when he was in the cave Ḥira', where he would seclude himself from his people, Gabriel came down to him. As he approached, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was mightily afraid, so Gabriel placed one hand on his chest and the other on his back between his shoulders and said, 'O God, unburden him, and give him relief! Cleanse his heart! O Muḥammad, rejoice! For you are the Prophet of His nation. Read!' The Prophet of God (SAAS) then replied, trembling with fear, 'I have never read any document; I don't read well. I neither write nor read.'

"At this Gabriel took hold of him and choked him hard, then released him and said, 'Read!' And the same happened as before. Then Gabriel seated him upon a soft rug of the durrāk type of such richness and splendour as to remind him of pearls and precious stones. Gabriel then told him, 'Read: in the name of your Lord who created... and so on to the end of the verses. He then said to him, 'O Muḥammad, do not be afraid. You are the Messenger of God!'"

"Then he left. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was overcome by anxiety and he asked himself, 'What am I to do? And what can I say to my people?'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose afraid, but Gabriel appeared before him in all his splendour. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw a sight that filled him with wonder, and Gabriel told him, 'O Muḥammad, be you not afraid! Gabriel is God's messenger. Gabriel is God's messenger to His prophets and His messengers. Be secure in God's nobility. You are the Messenger of God.'"
As the Messenger of God (SAAS) went home every tree and rock bowed down before him, saying, 'Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!' And so his soul was calmed, and he was sure of God's having honoured him. When he reached his wife Khadija, she saw from his face that something had happened, and that scared her. She arose to him and, when close, began wiping his face and saying, 'You've probably been seeing and hearing things like those before today.'

He replied, 'O Khadija, you know what I've been seeing in my sleep and the voice I've been hearing while awake and that so disturbed me? It was Gabriel! He has appeared plainly before me, spoken to me and made me read some words that gave me fear. He then came back to me and told me that I am the prophet of this nation. So I came back home and on my way trees and rocks turned to me and said, “Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God!”'

Khadija said, 'Rejoice! For, by God, I well know that God will not do you anything but good. I bear witness that you are the prophet of this nation whom the Jews await. My servant Nasih and the monk Bahira both told me this and advised me more than 20 years ago to marry you.' And she stayed with the Messenger of God (SAAS) until he had eaten, drunk, and laughed.

She then went off to see the monk, who lived close by to Mecca. When she drew near and he recognized her, he said, 'What is wrong, O mistress of all the women of Quraysh?' She replied, 'I have come to you for you to tell me about Gabriel.'

He replied, 'Glory be to God, our most holy Lord! How is it that Gabriel is mentioned here, in this land whose people worship idols? Gabriel is the trusted servant of God, and his envoy to His prophets and to His messengers. It is he who was the companion of Moses and Jesus.'

And so she knew how much God was honouring Muhammad.

Then she went to a slave of Utba b. Rabia called 'Addas, and questioned him. He told her the same as the monk had, and more besides. He said, 'Gabriel was with Moses when God drowned Pharaoh and his men. He was also there when God spoke to Moses on Mt. al-Tur. And he it was who accompanied Jesus, son of Mary, and he through whom God aided Jesus.'

She then left 'Addas and went to Waraqa b. Nawfal whom she asked about Gabriel. He told her the same. He then asked her what was the matter, and she made him swear not to divulge what she would tell him. He so swore, and she told him, 'The son of 'Abd Allaha related to me - and he is truthful and never, I swear it, either told a lie or was accused of lying - that Gabriel came down to him in Hirid, told him he was the prophet of this nation, and made him recite some verses he had been sent with.'

Waraqa was dumbfounded at this, and said, 'If Gabriel has actually placed his feet upon earth, he has done so for the best of people thereupon. And he never came down for anyone except a prophet. For he is the companion of all the
prophets and messengers, the one whom God sends down to them. I believe what you tell me of him. Send for `Abd Allāh’s son, so that I may question him, hear what he says and talk to him. I am afraid it may be someone other than Gabriel, for certain devils imitate him and by so doing can mislead and corrupt some men. This can result in a man becoming confused and even crazy whereas before he had been of sound mind.’

‘Khadija arose and left him, confident that God would never do anything but good to her husband. So she returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Waraqa had said. God Almighty then sent down the words: ‘Nūn. By the pen, and what they write! You are not, by grace of God, mad!’ and so on to the end of these verses (ṣūrat al-Qalam, LXIII, v.1). He then told her, ‘Absolutely not, by God! It was Gabriel!’ She told him, ‘I’d like you to go to him and inform him, so that God might give him guidance.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did go to Waraqa who asked him, ‘Did he who came to you appear in lightness or in the dark?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) described Gabriel to him and his majesty, and what he had revealed to him.

Waraqa then said, ‘I bear witness that that was Gabriel, and that these were words spoken by God. He has ordered you to convey certain things to your people. It is a matter of prophethood, and if I live on into your era, I will follow you.’ He then said, ‘Rejoice, 0 son of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib!’

The account went on, “And Waraqa’s words became widely known, along with the fact that he had given credence to the Messenger of God. This fact distressed most of his people.

“And thereafter the revelation faltered. So people said, ‘If he had come from God, he would have continued. But God is displeased with him.’ And so God sent down the sūras of al-Duḥā (XCIII) and A Lam Nashrah (al-Inshirāh, XCIV) in all their entirety.”

Al Bayhaqi stated that the ḥāfiz Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās, quoting Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Ishaq and Ismaʿil b. Abū Ḥakīm, the freed-man of the Zubayr family, who related to him that Khadija, daughter of Khwayyfid, said once to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) regarding his explanation of how God honoured him with his prophethood, “O cousin, can you tell me about this companion who comes to you when he actually does come?” “Yes,” he replied. “Then do tell me when he comes,” she asked.

And while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was with her, he was visited by Gabriel. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he said, “Khadija, this is Gabriel.” “Do you see him now?” she asked. “Yes, I do,” he replied. “Now come over and sit by my right side.” He changed his position and sat. She asked,
“Do you see him now?” “Yes,” he replied. “Now change your position and sit in my lap.” When he did this, she asked, “Well, do you see him now?” “Yes,” he replied. She then exposed her head and removed her veil, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) still sat there in her lap. Then she asked, “Do you see him now?” “No,” he answered. “This is no devil then, cousin; this is an angel! Take heart and rejoice!” She then believed in him and gave witness that it was the truth he brought.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, “I told ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan this story and he commented, ‘I heard my mother Fāṭima relate this account from Khadija, except that I heard her say, ‘She took the Messenger of God (SAAS) inside her shift, and it was then that Gabriel, upon whom be peace, went away.’”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “This was something that Khadija did to settle the matter, to preserve her faith and affirm her credence.”

The Prophet (SAAS) was secure in what Gabriel had said to him, in the verses he had revealed to him which we have recounted several times, and in the fact of the trees and rocks having made salutation to him.

Muslim stated in his sahih collection that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Bukayr, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, and Simāk b. Hārb, from Jaʿbir b. Samura, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “I know one rock in Mecca that used to greet me even before I received my mission; I still know it now.”

Abī Dawūd al-Tayalisi stated that Sulaymān b. Muṣādh related to him, from Simāk b. Hārb, from Jaʿbir b. Samura, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “There is in Mecca a rock that used to greet me on the nights when I was receiving my mission; I recognize it when I pass by it.”

Al-Bayhaqi related, from a tradition of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Suddī al-Kabīr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ṭalib, God be pleased with him, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God in Mecca, walking in various parts of the town, and no tree nor mountain received him without saying, ‘Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God.’”

And in another account he said, “When I entered the valley in his company, he would not pass by a single rock or tree without its saying, ‘Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God’; I heard this.”

DIVISION

Al-Bukhārī stated in his account given above, “then the revelation waned, so that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was so depressed, as we have been told, that he would often feel like throwing himself down from the summits of high mountains. Whenever he reached the top of a mountain to throw himself down, Gabriel would appear to him and say, ‘O Muḥammad, you are in truth the Messenger of
God. This would relieve his distress and he would return down. And if the revelation was again long in coming, he would feel and do the same. When he would reach the mountain summit, Gabriel would appear and speak to him as before.”

In both the sahih collections there is a tradition from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, who said that he heard Abū Salama ‘Abd al-Rahmān relate from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said that he heard the Messenger of God (ŚAAS) talking about the intermission in the revelation, say, “While I walked, I heard a voice from heaven. I raised my sight towards the sky and there I saw the angel who came to me in Ḥira, seated upon a throne amidst the sky. I knelt down before him in fear, right down to the ground, then went to my family and said, ‘Wrap me up! Wrap me up!’ And so God sent down, ‘O you who are wrapped up! Arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord! Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!’ (sūrat al-Mudaththir, LXXIV, v.1–5).

“He went on, ‘And then the revelation became stronger and continued uninterrupted.”

The above verse was the first of the Qur’ān sent down after the intermission in revelation, though not the very first of all, which was the verse, “Read: in the name of your Lord who created” (sūrat al-‘Alaq, XCVI, v.1).

It is established on the authority of Jābir that the first verse to be revealed was, “O you who are wrapped up.” It is perhaps appropriate to interpret his words as we have suggested, for in the sequence of what he states, there is evidence for the angel having come down earlier, as he recognized him from earlier. Moreover, in Jābir’s words making reference to the “intermission in the revelation”, there is a proof that revelation did precede this instance. But God knows best.

It is established in both the sahih collections, from an account of ‘Alī b. al-Mubarak, as well as in the works of Muslim and al-Awzā‘i, both of whom also quote Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr as having said, “I asked Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, ‘Which part of the Qur’ān was revealed before?’ He replied, ‘The verse, ‘O you who are wrapped up.’”

“I asked, ‘And the verse, “Read in the name of your Lord who created?” He replied, ‘I asked Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh which verse of the Qur’ān came earliest, and he replied, ‘It was ‘O you who are wrapped up.’ So I asked him, ‘What about “Read in the name of your Lord who created?”’ and he answered, ‘The Messenger of God (ŚAAS) said, ‘I spent a month in seclusion in Ḥira and when it was over I went down into the heart of the valley. I heard a voice calling out to me and I looked ahead, behind me and to left and right, but I saw nothing. Then I looked up at the sky and there he was, on a throne in the air. I was seized by a trembling” – or he used the word “anxiety” instead of the word “a trembling” – and went on to Khadija. She ordered them and they wrapped me..."
up. And then God revealed the verse, ‘O you who are wrapped up . . .’ and so on till the verse, ‘and purify your garments.’”

According to a variant account he used the words, “And there was the angel who had come to me in Hira2 seated on a throne between the heavens and the earth, and I knelt down before him.”

This is a plain reference to his prior coming to him and to his having made revelation from God to him, as we have stated. But God knows best.

There are some who claim that the first revelation that came after the intermission was the surat beginning, “By the morning hours and by the night when it darkens, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor is He displeased” (surat al-Duha, XCIII, v.1-3) and so on to the end of the surat. This is what Muhammad b. Ishāq stated.

Some Qur'ān reciters state that this is why the Messenger of God (SAAS) said the words “Allāhu Akbar” (“God is most Great!”) when he received the first part of it, out of joy.

This statement is suspect, since it is refuted by the previous account of the two authors of the sahih collections, to the effect that the first to-be revealed of the Qur'ān after the intermission was, “O you who are wrapped up” but that the surat beginning “by the morning hours” came after another intermission of a few nights.

This is established in both sahih collections and elsewhere, as well as from the account of al-Aswad b. Qays, from Jandab b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajalti, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was indisposed and did not get up for one, two or several nights. A woman commented, ‘So your spirit soon abandoned you, then!’ And so God revealed the verses, ‘By the dawn and by the night when it darkens, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor is He displeased.’”

And it was thereby that the revelation transpired for mankind, whereas it was by the former circumstances that the prophethood came about.

Some authorities state that the intermission lasted for approximately two years, or two years and a half.

What is apparent — though God alone knows best — is that it was a period comparable to that related to Mika'il; al-Sha'bi and others made this observation.

This does not refute that Gabriel first brought him revelation, in the verses, “Read in the name of your Lord who created.”

Thereafter Gabriel became associated with him, following the revelation of “O you who are wrapped up, arise and give warning! And glorify your Lord. Purify your garments! And shun idolatry!”

Thereafter the revelation intensified and continued; that is, it came uninterruptedly, little by little.

At this time the Messenger of God (SAAS) began devoting himself totally to
the mission, with energy and determination. He summoned all to God, both near and far, slaves and free men alike. And all of intelligence, excellence, and good favour believed in him, while all who were stubborn and intransigent continued to oppose and disobey him.

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddiq, “the trusting”, was the first free man to believe in him, while ʿAli b. Abū Ṭālib was the first youth to do so.

The first woman to believe was Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, his wife.

Of the freed men, the mawāli, his own mawla Zayd b. Ḥārītha al-Kalbi was the first. May God be pleased with all the above.

We have previously written about the faith of Waraqa b. Nawfal, and how he reacted to the revelation and died during the intermission period. May God be pleased with him.

Section: On preventing the demons and evil spirits from eavesdropping when the Qurʾān was revealed, so that none of them would acquire any of it, even so much as a syllable, and deliver it through the speech of his human associates, which would have led to complications and a confusion of the truth.

It was God’s mercy, grace and kindness to His creation that He excluded them from heaven. God Almighty spoke of them in His words, “and that we tried heaven, but found it filled with a strong guard and shooting stars. We used to sit in seats there to listen, but now any of us who eavesdrops finds a shooting star in wait. And we do not know whether harm is meant for those on earth, or whether their Lord intends guidance for them” (ṣūrat al-Jinn, LXXII, v.8–10).

The Almighty said, “And the devils have not brought it down. This would not be right for them; and they could not. They are kept away from hearing it” (ṣūrat al-Shuʿarā, XXVI, v.210–12).

The ḥāṣīb Abū Nuʿaym stated that Sulaymān b. Ahmad – he being al-Ṭabarānī – related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Fīrāqī, quoting Isrāʿil, on the authority of Abū Ishāq, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The devils would ascend to heaven to listen to the revelation. Having memorized the statement, they would then make nine additions to it. The statement itself would be true, but their additions thereto would be false.

“When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was given his mission, their seats were denied them. They complained of this to Satan. And prior to that they did not have shooting stars fired at them. Satan told them, ‘This is due to some event on earth.’

“He therefore sent his forces down and they found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing between two mountains and praying. They went back to him (Satan) and told him. He then said, ‘That is what has occurred on earth.’”

Abū ʿUwāna gave an account from Abū Bishr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn
ABBAS, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) left with others on a trip to the market of Ukaz. At this time the devils were being denied access to information from heaven and shooting stars had been sent against them. The devils had returned to their own people who asked them what was wrong. They replied, 'We’ve been denied access to information from heaven, and shooting stars have been fired at us.' Their people told them, 'This has to be because something has happened. So go and search the ends of the earth!'

"One group set off towards Tihama and passed over a date plantation where he was, while on their way to Ukaz. He was with his Companions there performing the dawn prayer. When the devils overheard the Quran, they listened to it and said, 'It is this that has denied us access to information from heaven.'

"So they returned home and told the rest: 'O our people, we have heard a wonderful Quran that leads to right guidance; we believe in it, and will never associate another deity with our Lord' (Surat al-Jinn, LXXII, v.1–2). And so God revealed to His Prophet (SAAS) the words: 'Say: "It was revealed to me that a group of jinn listened and said, 'We have heard a wonderful Quran'"' (Surat al-Jinn, LXXII, v.1)."

This account was included in both sahih collections.

Abu Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that Muhammad b. Fuḍayl related to him, from 'Ata b. al-Sa‘ib, from Sa‘id b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, "Every single tribe of jinn had places where they would sit and listen. When revelation began the angels would hear a sound like that of metal being cast against stone.

"When the angels heard this, they would fall down prostrate and not raise their heads until revelation had come. When it had, they would ask one another, 'What was it your Lord said?' And if it related to matters in heaven, they would say, 'He spoke the truth; and He is the All-High, the Almighty.' But if it related to matters on earth, dealing with the future, with death or other worldly affairs, they would talk about it and say, 'It would be so, and such.' The devils would listen to this and transmit it down to their human companions.

"Now when the Prophet Muhammad (SAAS) received his mission, they were chased away with shooting stars. The first to learn of this were the tribe of Thaqif. Those with livestock began making sacrifice. Those with sheep would slaughter one each day, those with camels would slaughter one similarly. They made haste to their flocks to do this. But some said, 'No, don’t do this. If it is the stars people use to find their way, (then it is right to make sacrifice) but otherwise it is just happening because of some specific event.' When they looked, they found that nothing had happened to the stars used for navigation. And so they ceased making sacrifice.

"And God sent the jinn into motion, and they heard the Quran. When they were there present, they said, 'Listen carefully!'"
"The devils would go off to Iblis (Satan) and inform him. He told them, ‘This is some event that has occurred on earth. Therefore bring me some dust from every part of it.’ And when they brought him some from Tihâma, he said, ‘This is the site of the event.’"

Al-Bayhaqi related this tradition, quoting al-Ḥākim, through Ḥammâd b. Salama, from ‘Abî Ṭârib al-Sâ`ib.

Al-Wâqidi stated that Usâma b. Zayd b. Aslam related to him, from ʿUmar b. ʿAbdân al-ʿAbsî, from Kaʿb, who said, “No stars had been cast since the ascension of Jesus until the time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a prophet. Quraysh then saw sights they never before witnessed. And so they began releasing their flocks and freeing their slaves, thinking that it meant the end of the world. News of these actions of theirs reached the people of al-Ṭā`if, and Thaqif did the same (as Quraysh).

“What Thaqif had done became known to the slave of Yzlayl b. ʿAmr, and he asked them, ‘Why have you done what I see?’ They replied, ‘There have been shooting stars, and we have seen them falling from the sky.’ He observed, ‘But it’s hard to replace properties once they have gone; don’t be in a hurry and observe. If they are stars that are recognized, then it does mean destruction for us. But if they are stars that were unknown stars, then it’s all because of some event that has occurred.’

“So they made observations, found they were unknown stars and told him of this. He commented, ‘Well, there’s still some time left then. This is because of the appearance of a prophet.’

“Soon thereafter Abî Sufyân b. Ḥarb came for his animals and ʿAbd Yzlayl went to him and told him about the stars. Abî Sufyân then commented, ‘Muḥammad son of ʿAbd Allâh has come forth and made a claim that he is a prophet who has been sent.’ ʿAbd Yslayl then said, ‘Well, that’s why there have been shooting stars.’"

Saʿid b. Manṣûr stated, from Khalîd b. Ḥusayn, from ʿAmir al-Shaʿbî, who said, “The stars were not cast until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission. People then released their flocks and set free their slaves. So ʿAbd Yzlayl said, ‘Observe; and if it is stars that are known, it means the end of mankind is near. But if they are not known, then it is happening because of some event that has occurred.’ And so they did make observations and found them to be unknown. They therefore ceased what they had been doing and soon thereafter news came to them of the emergence of the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bayhaqi and al-Ḥâkim gave the wording of this account through al-ʿAwfî from Ibn ʿAbbâs, he having said: “The world’s heavens had not been guarded over throughout the period between Jesus and Muḥammad (ṢAAS).”

Perhaps what is meant by this negative statement is that the heavens had not
been under strict guard. This must be held more likely, because of what is well established in a *hadith* through ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ibn ʿAbbās, God be pleased with him, who said, “On one occasion when the Messenger of God was sitting down, a shooting star occurred and it became light. He then asked, ‘What was it you used to say when shooting stars were going on?’ They replied, ‘We would say: ‘A great man has died; a great man is born.’’ He commented, LNo, but . . .’ He then made the statement we reported elsewhere (in part one of the work *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* (*The Beginning and The End*), relating to the creation of the heavens and the stars therein at the first Creation. And all praise be to God.

Ibn Ishaq related the story of the shooting stars in his biography of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Of the leader of Thaqif, he said that he used the words, regarding observation of the stars, “(to see) whether they are the most prominent stars of the skies, or other ones”. But Ibn Ishaq named this man as ʿAmr b. Umayya. God knows best.

Al-Suddi stated, “The heavens were only guarded when there was a prophet on earth, or when a religion of God was appearing. The devils, prior to Muhammad (ṢAAS), used to take seats in the skies above the world and overhear what was going on in heaven.

“When God sent Muhammad (ṢAAS) as a prophet, one night they had stars shot at them. This terrified the people of Taʿif, and they told one another that the people of heaven had been destroyed! This was because of the violence of the fires in the sky and the great variety of the shooting stars. So they began setting their slaves free and releasing their livestock. At this ʿAbd Yalayl b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr told them, ‘Woe upon you, O people of Taʿif! Secure your property and observe the most prominent stars. If you see them to be still set in their places, then the people of heaven are not destroyed, but it’s all because of the son of Abū Kabsha.74 But if you don’t see them there, then the people of heaven have perished.’

“And when they looked, they did still see them and so they secured their property.

“That night the devils were terrified and went to Satan and he told them, ‘Bring me a handful of earth from every place.’ When they did so, he sniffed it and said, ‘Your man is in Mecca.’

“He then dispatched seven of the spirits of Nashibin and they came to Mecca and found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the Harâm (Holy) Mosque reciting the Qurʾān. They approached him so eager to hear it that their bodies almost touched him. They then accepted Islam, and God sent down revelation to his Prophet (ṢAAS) about them.”

74. The unbelievers of Mecca used to refer to the Prophet as “the son of Abū Kabsha".
Al-Waqidi stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, from the son of Abū Ḥakīm – by whom he meant Īsāq – from `Aṭṭā b. Yāsār, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission, all the idols were overturned. So the evil spirits went and told him (Satan), ‘Every single idol on earth has been overturned.’ He responded, ‘This is due to a Prophet who has been given a mission. Look for him in villages in the countryside.’ They did so, but reported to him that they could not find him. He then said, ‘I’ll do it.’ And so he went off and looked for him. A voice called out to him, ‘Go to Ḥanbat al-Bāb’ – the ‘gate quarter’ – meaning Mecca. He looked for him there and found him at Qarn al-Tha‘ālib. Satan then went off to the devils and told them, ‘I found him, and Gabriel was with him. What’s your opinion?’ They answered, ‘We’ll make earthly pleasures delightful in people’s eyes and so make them covet them.’ ‘So no problem then,’ he commented.”

Al-Waqidi stated that Ṭālḥa b. ‘Ammr related to him, from Ibn Abī Mulayka, from Ṭālḥa b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amr, who said, “When the day came when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became a Prophet, the devils were denied access to heaven and shooting stars were fired at them. So they went to Satan and when they told him this he commented, ‘Some event has occurred. This is a Prophet who has come forth to them in the Holy Land, the place where the tribe of Israel came from.’

“So the devils went off to Syria, then returned and told him, ‘There’s no one there.’ Satan responded, ‘I’ll do it.’

“Then he went off to look for him in Mecca. And there was the Messenger of God in Ḥiṣrāṣ, and Gabriel was there with him. Satan returned to his evil spirits and told them, ‘Ahmad has received his mission and Gabriel is with him. What is your opinion?’ They replied, ‘Earthly delights; we’ll make them attractive to people.’ He replied, ‘That will do it.’”

Al-Waqidi said that Ṭālḥa b. ‘Ammr related to him, from ‘Aṭṭā b. ‘Abbās, who said, “The devils used to listen to the revelation. And when Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was assigned to his mission, they were prevented from doing so. They complained about this to Satan, and he responded, ‘Some event has occurred.’ He then went on up above Abū Qubays, the very first mountain placed on the face of the earth, and saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at prayer behind the shrine. He told himself, ‘I’ll go on down and break his neck!’ So he strutted off towards him. But Gabriel was there with him, and charged out at Satan sending him flying in all directions. So the devil took to his heels.”

Both al-Waqidi and Abū Ḥaḍram al-Zubayrī also related this, from Rabbaḥ b. Abū Ma‘rūf, from Qays b. Sa‘d, from Mujāhid. Their account was similar, with the variation, “Gabriel kicked the devil and threw him down to Aden.”
Section: On the manner in which the revelation came to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

It has previously been related how Gabriel came to him on both the first and second occasions.

Mālik stated, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from ʿAʾisha, God bless her, that al-Ḥārith b. Hishām asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) “O Messenger of God, how does revelation come to you?”

He replied, “Sometimes it comes like the ringing of a bell, it being then most painful. When it leaves me I remain conscious of what he spoke. Sometimes the angel appears before me as a man who addresses me, and I am fully aware of what he is saying.”

ʿAʾisha, God bless her, stated, “I saw him (SAAS) when revelation came to him on the extremely cold day. Then it left him, and his forehead was bathed in perspiration.”

The authors of the two sahih collections derived this hadith from the account of Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad related it from ʿAmir b. Ṣāliḥ, from Hishām b. Urwa in a similar manner.

ʿAbda b. Sulaymān and Anas b. ʿIyyād related it similarly from Hishām b. Urwa.

Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī related it from Hishām, from his father, from al-Ḥārith b. Hishām who said, “I asked the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘How does revelation come to you?’” He related the same hadith as above, but made no reference to ʿAʾisha.

In the hadith al-ʾiftik75 she stated, “By God, the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not get up, nor did any member of the family leave, until revelation came down to him. He underwent the agony that used to seize him (on such occasions) with sweat emerging like pearls from him, even though it was a winter’s day, because of the heavy burden of the revelation that came down upon him.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Yūnūs b. Ṣalīm, who said that Yūnūs b. Yazīd dictated to him, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd al-Qārī, who said, “I heard ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, ‘When revelation came down to the Messenger of God (SAAS), it would be heard like the buzzing of a bee near his face.’”

The tradition in its entirety was recounted in the section76 on the revelation of the Qurʾānic verse, “and the believers have succeeded” (sūrat al-Muʾminūn, XXIII, v.1).

75. ʿAʾisha’s account relating to certain slanderous charges made against her, see Volume III.

Al-Tirmidhi related this, quoting al-Nasā'ī from ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

After giving it, al-Nasā'ī commented, “It is objectionable; we know of only Yūnus b. Sa‘līm as having related it, and him we do not recognize.”

In the sahih collection of Muslim and others, it is recounted by al-‘Āṣim, from Hiyyān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Raqāshi, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Āṣim, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would become in pain when revelation came to him, and his face would look very serious.” According to one account, this wording should be “and his eyes would close; we recognized that in him.”

In both sahih collections there is the account of Zayd b. Thābit that relates to the circumstance when the verse “Those of the believers who sit still are not on equality with ...” (ṣūrat al-Nisā’, VI, v.95) was revealed; and when the son of Umm Maktūm complained of his disabilities, the next verse came down: “except for those with disabilities”.

His account states, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was seated with his thigh right next to mine while I was writing. When revelation came, his leg almost crushed mine.”

In the sahih collection of Muslim, there is an account by Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā, from Ṭaḥdhiḥ, from Ya‘lā b. Umayya, who is quoted as saying, “Umar said to me, ‘Would you like to look at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while revelation is coming to him?’ He raised the edge of his robe from his face while he was receiving revelation at al-Jîrāna, and he was all flushed. And he would moan like a newborn calf.”

It was established in the two sahih collections from a hadith of ‘A‘isha relating to when revelation came concerning the hijāb (the wearing of the veil) that Sawdā went out thereafter to the privies, by night. ’Umar spoke to her, saying, “We can recognize you, 0 Sawdā!” She then went back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and questioned him, while he was sitting having supper and holding his milk (mug) in his hand. God then sent down revelation to him, while the milk was in his hand. He then raised his head and said, “You women have been given permission to go out and attend to your needs.”

This shows that revelation did not fully absent his feelings from him. This is proven by his being seated; and the milk, moreover, did not drop from his hand (ṢAAS).

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Ā‘ībād b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting ‘Ikrima, from Ibn Ā‘bās, who said, “When revelation came down, the body and face of the Messenger of God would become pale; he would ignore those with him, and none of them would address him.”

In the collection of traditions made by Ahmad and others, there is an account of Ibn Lahi‘a in which he states, “Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Ṭāhir b. al-Walīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, who said, ‘I asked, “O Messenger of God, can you feel revelation coming?” He replied, “Yes, I hear ringing sounds. Then
I recover. And never once did I receive revelation without thinking that my soul was being seized by it.””

Abū Ya’qūb al-Mawsili stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting ʿĀṣim b. Kulayb, quoting his father, from his uncle al-ʿIlīyān b. ʿĀṣim, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when revelation came to him. When this happened, he could still see and his eyes remained open, while his hearing and his heart were made empty for what would come to him from God, Almighty and Glorious is He.”

Abū Nuʿaym related, from a tradition of Qutayba that ʿAlī b. Gharāb related to him, from al-ʿĀhwaṣ b. Ḥakīm, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “When revelation came down to the Messenger of God, he would get a headache and would cover his head with the henna plant.”

This is a very strange hadith.

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū al-Naḍr related to him, quoting Abī Muḥāniya Sinān, from Layth, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Asmā, daughter of Yazīd, who said: “I was holding the reins of al-ʿAḍba, the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when the whole text of the surat al-Māʿida (Qurʾān, V) was revealed to him. The camel’s back almost gave way beneath the weight of it.”

Abū Nuʿaym related this from a hadith of al-Thawrī, from Layth b. Aba Salīm.

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Hasan related to him, quoting Ibn Lahiʿa, quoting Jaʿbr b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ḥubālī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, who said, “The surat al-Māʿida was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was riding on his camel. It could not carry him, so he dismounted.”

Ibn Mardawayh related, from a hadith of ʿAbdāb b. Sahl, from ʿĀṣim al-ʿĀhwal, who said, “Umm ʿAmr related to me, from her uncle, that he was on a journey with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when the surat al-Māʿida was revealed to him. The camel’s neck was broken because of the weight of it.”

The implications of this are strange.

It is established, moreover, in both saḥih collections that the surat al-Fath (Qurʾān, XLVII) was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he was returning from al-Hudaybiyya, riding on his camel. It came at various times, according to the circumstances. But God knows best.

We have earlier given an account of the kinds of revelation that came to him (ṢAAS) in the early part of our exegesis of al-Bukhārī’s work, along with the comments of al-Ḥalīmī and other Imāms, God be pleased with them all.

DIVISION

God Almighty stated, “Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together, and to recite it. So when We do recite it, follow its recitation. And then, it is up to Us to explain it” (ṣūrat al-Qiyāma, LXXV, v.16–19).
And the Almighty said, “And do not make haste with the recitation, before its revelation to you has been completed. And say, ‘O God, increase me in knowledge!’” (sūrat Tāhā, XX, v.114).

This was in the beginning. Due to his eagerness to receive from the angel what God the Almighty and Glorious had revealed to him, he used to join him through recitation. God Almighty therefore ordered him to listen on until the revelation was completed. He assured him He would store it in his chest and enable him to recite and announce it. God also said He would clarify and explain it and enable him to understand it.

For this reason He stated, “And do not make haste with the recitation, before its revelation to you has been completed. And say, ‘O God, increase me in knowledge!’”

And He said, “Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together” – in your chest, that is – “and to recite it.” That is, and you shall recite it. “So when We do recite it” – that is, when the angel recites it to you – “follow its recitation.” That is, listen to it and consider it. And then, “it is up to Us to explain it.” This is equivalent to saying, “O God, increase me in knowledge!”

In both sahih collections there is a tradition of Mūsā b. Abī Ṭālib, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God would suffer great strain from revelation. He would move his lips and so God sent down to him, ‘Do not move your tongue with it, to speak it in haste. It is up to Us to put it together, and to recite it.’ He said ‘to put it together’ in your breast and then you will recite it. ‘And so when We do recite it, follow its recitation.’ And hear it, and listen to it. ‘And then, it is up to Us to explain it.’”

He went on, “And when Gabriel came to him he would bow his head; and when he left he would recite it just as God the Almighty and Glorious had promised him.”

**DIVISION**

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Thereafter revelation came frequently to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he fully believed in what he was receiving from God. He accepted it willingly and because of it received both the approbation and blame of other men.

“Prophethood brings burdens and troubles that can only be borne by messengers who are strong and determined through the power and aid of God. Their burdens arise from the reactions of men to them that result from what it is that God the Almighty and Glorious has brought them.

“The Messenger of God did continue to fulfil God’s orders despite the opposition and harm he met from his people.”
Ibn Ishāq went on, “And Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, believed in him and God’s messages to him, and helped him.

“She was the first person to believe in God and His Messenger, and to believe in God’s message to him.

“In this God alleviated His Messenger’s burdens; whenever he suffered some unpleasant reaction or painful rejection, God would comfort him through her. When he came back to her she would give him strength and alleviate his pain. She would express her belief in him and make light of the opposition to him; may God bless and comfort her!”

Ibn Ishāq continued to say that Hishām b. Urwa related to him, from his father, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far, who said that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣa) stated, “I was commanded to tell Khadija the glad tidings of a house made of qasab, one where there would be no rancour and no trouble.”

In the two sahih collections this hadith is derived from an account of Hishām.

Ibn Hishām explained that the word qasab in this hadith means hollowed-out pearls.

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṣaṣa) began, in secret, to inform all of his people whom he could trust about all that prophethood with which God had honoured him and His servants.”

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri, “Khadija was the first person to believe in God and in His Messenger; and this was even before prayer was made obligatory.”

I make the comment that by this is meant the five daily prayers (that were enjoined) on the occasion of the laylat al-‘isrā, the “night journey”. As for the origin of prayer, it was (already) made necessary during the lifetime of Khadija, God bless her, as we will explain.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Khadija was the first person to believe in God, His Messenger, and the mission he brought.

“Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṣaṣa) when prayer was made incumbent upon him; he made a mark with his heel on the side of the valley and a spring of water from zamzam gushed forth. Then Gabriel performed the ablution, along with Muḥammad, peace be upon them both. He then bowed in prayer twice and made four prostrations. Thereafter the Prophet (ṣaṣa) went home, God having much comforted him and brought him what he wanted. He took Khadija’s hand and led her to the well and there performed the ablution as Gabriel had done. He then made two bows in prayer and four prostrations. Thereafter Khadija and he would perform the prayer in secret.”

I wish to comment that Gabriel’s prayer on this occasion was different from the prayers he performed twice at the ka‘ba. Then he explained the five times for prayer to him, from first to last. This came after they had been made obligatory following the laylat al-‘isrā.”
Explanation of this will come later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust, all reliance.

Section: Concerning the first persons to accept Islam; also reference to those of the Companions and others who were early in becoming Muslims.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “And then ‘Ali son of Abī Talib, God be pleased with him, came the following day while they were both praying. ‘Ali asked, ‘O Muḥammad, what are you doing?’ He replied, ‘It is God’s religion that he has chosen for Himself and sent forth to His messengers. And so I summon you to God alone, He who has no partner, and to pray to Him, and to renounce al-Lāt and al-Uzza.’

‘Ah replied, ‘This is something I never heard before today. I’m not going to decide anything before I tell Abī Talib about it.’

“The Messenger of God was reluctant to have him expose his secret before he himself made it public. So he told him, ‘O Ali, even if you don’t accept Islam, do keep the matter secret.’ ‘Ali therefore did nothing that night. Then God placed Islam in the heart of ‘Ali, and he went next morning to the Messenger of God and asked him, ‘What was it you proposed to me, O Muḥammad?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘Bear witness that there is no God but God alone; He has no partner. And renounce al-Lāt and al-Uzza, and disavow any peers.’

‘Ali did this and accepted Islam; but he was afraid of Abū Talib’s displeasure whenever he went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and so he kept his acceptance of Islam a secret he did not divulge.

Ibn Haritha, Zayd that is, then became a Muslim and they went on thus (in secret) for approximately one month, during which ‘Ali frequently visited the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). A favour God had previously granted ‘Ali was his having been brought up in the care of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before the coming of Islam.”

Ibn Ishaq stated that Ibn Abū Najīh related to him, from Mujāhid, who said, “One matter in which God favoured ‘Ali was that Quraysh had a period of great crisis. Abū Talib had a large family and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his uncle, al-‘Abbās, a man who was among the wealthiest of the Banū Hashim, ‘O ‘Abbās, your brother Abū Talib has a large family, and you know how this crisis has affected everyone. So let us go and relieve him of the burden of some of his family.’ And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took ‘Ali and added him to his own family. And he was still living with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when God sent him his prophethood. And so it was that ‘Ali followed him, and believed in him and his message.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr related, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, who said that Yahyā b. Abū al-Ashʿath al-Kīndī, a scholar from al-Kūfa, related to him, quoting Ismāʿil
b. Abū ʿĪyās b. ʿAfff, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAfff, this ʿAfff being the brother of al-ʾAshʿath b. Qays on his mother’s side, who said, “I was a businessman and went to Minā during the pilgrimage season. Al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-ʿUṯṭalīb was also a merchant, and I went to him to buy and sell from him.

“While we were engaged in this, a man came out of a tent and began praying towards the kaʿba. And then a woman came out and also began to pray, then a boy emerged and prayed along with the man. I asked, ‘O Ibn ʿAbbās, what is this religion? We don’t know what religion this is.’

“He replied, ‘This is Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh. He claims that God has sent him and that the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar will be opened up for him. That is his wife, Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, and the boy is his nephew ʿAlī, son of Abū Ṭalīb, and he believes in him.’

“ʿAfff then commented, ‘O how I wish I had then believed in him; I would then have been the second!’”

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAṣd gave a similar account, from Ibn Ishaq, which gives the wording, “when a man came out of a tent near by. He looked up at the sky and when he saw the sun declining to set, he began to pray.” He then recounted how Khadija stood there behind him.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-ʾUṯtarībī related to him, quoting ʿAṣd b. Khuthaym, from Asad b. ʿAbd al-Bajali, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAfff, who said, “I went to Mecca before the coming of Islam and stayed with al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-ʿUṯṭalīb. When the sun rose and hung high in the sky as I was overlooking the kaʿba, a young man approached. He looked up at the sky then went to the kaʿba and stood there facing it. A boy soon arrived and stood there to his right, and shortly thereafter a woman came and stood behind them. The man bowed down and so did the boy and the woman. Then the man stood up straight and so did the boy and the woman. Next the man made a prostration and they both did, along with him.

“I said, ‘O ʿAbbās, this is a strange business!’

“It is,” he agreed. ‘Do you know who that is?’ ‘No,’ I replied. ‘That is Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, grandson of ʿAbd al-ʿUṯṭalīb, my brother’s son. Do you know who the boy is?’ ‘No,’ I answered. ‘That is ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭalīb, God be pleased with him. Do you know who the woman is standing behind them?’ ‘No,’ I replied. ‘That is Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, my nephew’s wife.’

“This man told me that your Lord, the Lord of the heavens and the earth, ordered him to do what you see them performing. By God, I know of no other on the face of the whole earth who engages in this religion except for these three!”

al-Raḥmān, and Abū Ḥāzim and al-Kalbi, all of whom said, “‘Ali is the first man to accept Islam.”

Al-Kalbi stated, “He accepted Islam at the age of nine.”

Ibn Ḥumayd related to us, quoting Salama, from Ibn Iṣḥāq, who said, “The first male who believed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and prayed with him was ‘Ali, son of Abū Ṭalib. At the time he was ten years of age and he had been under the care of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before the coming of Islam.”

Al-Waqī́ḍi stated that Ibrāhīm related to him, from Nāfis, from Ibn Abī Nājīh, from Mujāḥid, who said, “‘Ali accepted Islam when he was ten.”

Al-Waqī́ḍi stated, “Our companions were in agreement that ‘Ali accepted Islam one year after the Messenger of God became a prophet.”

Muḥammad b. Ka'b stated, “The first of this nation to accept Islam was Khadījā. The first two men to do so were Abū Bakr and ‘Ali, ‘Ali having done so before Abū Bakr. ‘Ali hid his faith because of his fear of his father, until his father joined him and asked, ‘Have you accepted Islam?’ ‘Ali replied, ‘Yes.’ ‘Then give your cousin all help and aid,’ he told him.”

Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, “the trusting”, was the first man to openly declare his acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Jarīr related in his work of history, from a ḥadīth of Shu'ba, from Abī Balj, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said, “The first person to pray was ‘Ali.”

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā related to us, quoting Shurayk, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Uqayl, from Jābir, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission on a Monday and ‘Ali prayed on Tuesday.” And he related, from a ḥadīth of Shu'ba from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abī Ḥamza – a supporter from Medina – who said he heard Zayd b. Arqam say, “The first man to accept Islam along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ‘Ali son of Abū Ṭalib.”

He went on, “I mentioned this to al-Nakhḵī, but he refuted it and said, ‘It was Abū Bakr who first accepted Islam.’”

He then said that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, quoting al-ʿAlāʾ, from al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “I heard ‘Ali say, ‘I am the slave of God and the brother of His Messenger. And I am the grand ʿiddīq, ‘trusting one’. No one can say this after me without being a liar and a fabricator. I prayed seven years before the people did.’”

Ibn Maja recounted this similarly, from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Rāzī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Fahmi – who was a shīʿa and a man accepted as a fully reliable source for traditions – from al-ʿAlāʾ b. Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAzdī of Kufa, a man also considered reliable. However, Abū Ḥāṭim said of him that he was from the old aristocracy of the shīʿa. And ʿAli b. al-Madhīnī stated, “al-ʿAlāʾ related objectionable accounts. Al-Minhāl b. ʿAmr is trustworthy, while his teacher, Sheikh ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh – of the Asad tribe and from Kufa – is weak.” Moreover
al-Bukhārī stated, “There is some question about him.” Ibn Ḥabbān referred to him as trustworthy.

This tradition is objectionable in any case. ‘Āli, God be pleased with him, would not have said this. How could he have prayed seven years before the people? This is simply unimaginable. But God knows best.

Others said that the first man of this nation to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, “the trusting”. Combining these various accounts we see that Khadija was the first woman to accept Islam, the leader of the pack, as it were, and also she preceded the men. Among slaves, the first to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥarītha. And the first boy to accept Islam was ‘Āli b. Abū Ṭālib; he was young then and had not reached puberty – as generally believed. These were then the family of the Prophet.

The first free man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, “the trusting”. His conversion was more beneficial than that of those mentioned before because he was a highly respected leader, an honoured chief of Quraysh and a man of wealth. He became a missionary for Islam and was very much liked and admired for spending money in the service of God and His Messenger. Details of this activity will follow.

Yunus stated, from Ibn Ishaq, “Then Abū Bakr met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him, ‘Is it true what Quraysh are saying, Muhammad? About you abandoning our gods, ridiculing our intellects, and calling our ancestors pagans?’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘Yes indeed. I am the Messenger of God, and His Prophet. He sent me to deliver his message and to invite you to God by the truth. For, I swear, God is the truth. I call upon you, O Abū Bakr, to believe in God alone, in Him who has no associate. And I call upon you to worship none but Him, and to devote yourself to obeying Him.’

“He then recited the Qur’ān to him. And he neither confirmed nor refused.

“Then he did accept Islam, disavowed the idols, repudiated the other gods, and affirmed the truth of Islam. When Abū Bakr went home he was a believer, a man of the faith.”

Ibn Ishaq stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Husayn of Tāmīn related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I never called upon any man to embrace Islam without him expressing reluctance, hesitation, and argument except Abū Bakr. He did not ‘akam (“hold back”) from Islam when I told him of it, nor did he hesitate at all.”

Here ‘akam means talabbatha, i.e. “he delayed”. That which Ibn Ishaq stated, that “he neither confirmed nor refused”, is objectionable. For Ibn Ishaq and others have told how he (Abū Bakr) was the friend of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before his mission. He was known for his truthfulness, trustworthiness, fine disposition, and excellent qualities. These prevented him from lying to other mortals, so how could he ever have given the lie to God?
Therefore, from the mere fact of his telling him that God had sent him, Abū Bakr promptly believed him, not holding back or delaying at all.

We have recounted the manner of his becoming a Muslim in the book we devoted to his biography in which we emphasized his many qualities. That book we followed with another biography, of Umar, the fārūq (i.e. he who differentiated truth from falsehood). In these works we recorded the various sayings of each of these men attributed to the Prophet (SAAS) along with legal decisions and pronouncements he made. These writings total three volumes; all praise and credit be to God for these.

In the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī there is a hadith from Abū al-Dardā relating to the feud that existed between Abū Bakr and Umar, may God be pleased with them both. In it he states that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “God sent me to you and you all said, ‘You lie!’ But Abū Bakr said, ‘He spoke the truth.’ And he dedicated himself and his fortune to me. Will you then leave this friend of mine to me?” He said this twice. And afterwards he was done no harm.

This is a direct text that he was the first to accept Islam. God be pleased with him!

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Hibbān recounted, from a hadith of Shu'ba, from Sa'īd al-Jarrī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'īd, who said that Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, may God be pleased with him, said, “Am I not the most worthy of people for it? Am I not the first person to accept Islam? Is that not my distinction?”

Ibn 'Asākir recounted, through Bahlīl b. 'Ubayd, that Abū ʿIshāq al-Sabī'i related to him, from al-Ḥārith, who said that he heard 'Alī say, “The first man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, the ‘trusting’. The first man to pray with the Prophet (SAAS) was ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalib.”

Shu'ba stated, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from Abū ʿAmmāra, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, “The first man to pray with the Prophet (SAAS) was Abū Bakr, ‘the trusting’.”

Ahmad related this, quoting al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā'i from a hadith of Shu'ba. And al-Tirmidhī stated, “It is a good and reliable hadith.”

We previously gave Ibn Jarīr’s quotation of this hadith through Shu'ba, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from Abū ʿAmmāra, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, “The first to accept Islam was ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalib.”

‘Amr b. Murra stated, “I mentioned this to Ibrāhim al-Nakhṣī, but he denied it. He said, ‘The first to accept Islam was Abū Bakr.’”

Al-Waqīfī stated, giving chains of authority from Abū Arwā al-Dawsī and Abū Muslim b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, along with a group of authorities, to the effect that the first to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, “the trusting”.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated that Abū Bakr al-Ḥumaydī related to us, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUuyayn, from Malik b. Mighwal, from a man who said, “Ibn ʿAbbas
was asked, 'Who was it who first believed?' He replied, 'It was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting'. Have you not heard the lines of Ḥassān (b. Thābit):

> When talking of grief at loss of a man to be trusted, recall your brother Abū Bakr for what he did.
> He was the best of men, the most just and honourable after the Prophet, and the most worthy, for what he bore
> The one who came next, the second, praised was sight of him, he the first of the people to believe in the messengers.
> He lived fully praised, following God's will at the order of his friend who passed away, without deviation.'

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba recounted this. One of our sheikhs related to us, from Mujālid, from Āmir, who said, "I asked Ibn 'Abbas – or Ibn 'Abbās was asked – which one of the people was the first to accept Islam? He replied, 'Haven't you heard the verses of Ḥassān b. Thābit?' He then recited them."

Al-Haytham b. 'Adi related this account similarly from Mujālid, from Āmir al-Shabī who said, "I asked Ibn 'Abbās, and he referred to it."

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawi said that Surayj b. Yūnus related to him, quoting Yūsuf b. al-Majishūn, who said, "Our sheikhs, including Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr, Rābi'a b. Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān and Uṯmān b. Muḥammad, concluded without any doubt, that the first of our people to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', God be pleased with him."

My own comment is, that this agreed with the views of Ibrāhīm al-Nakhī, Muḥammad b. Ka'b, Muḥammad b. ʿIrīs and Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm. That is what is generally accepted by the majority of scholars of orthodox religion.

Ibn ʿAsākir recounted of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, that they both agreed that, "He was not the very first to accept Islam, but he was in fact the best of all in faith."

Sa'd said that five persons accepted Islam before he did.

It is established in the saḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī, from a hadith of Hamām b. al-Ḥārith, from ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAS) and with him there were only five slaves, two women and Abū Bakr."

The Imām Aḥmad and Ibn Māja recounted from a hadith of ʿAṣim b. Abū al-Nujād, from Zīr, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, "There were seven persons who were first to openly accept Islam. They were the Messenger of God (ṢAS) Abū Bakr, ʿAmmār and his mother Sumayyā, ʾUḥayb, Bilāl, and al-Miqdād.

"Now the Messenger of God (ṢAS) was protected by God through his uncle, and Abū Bakr by God through his tribe. But the rest of them were taken away by the idol worshippers who mounted chains on them and roasted them in the sun. All except Bilāl gave way under this treatment; he, however, attached no importance to himself in suffering in God's cause. His people considered him
valueless, so they handed him over to the children who began parading him through the streets of Mecca, while he shouted, 'One! One!'”

Al Thawrī recounted this as such from Manṣūr, from Mujāhid, with an incomplete line of transmission.

Ibn Jarir related that he was informed by Ibn Ḥumayd that Kināna b. Jabala related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. Tāḥmān, from Ḥajjāj, from Qatāda, from Salīm b. Abū al-Ja’d, from Muḥammad b. Sa’d b. Abū Waqqās, who said, “I asked my father, ‘Was Abū Bakr the first one to accept Islam?’ ‘No,’ he replied. ‘More than 50 others accepted Islam before he did. But his Islam was the best of all.’”

This hadith is objectionable in both its content and its chain of authorities.

Ibn Jarir said that others stated that the first person to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha. Then he related, moreover, through al-Wāqidi from Ibn Abū Dhī‘b, who asked al-Zuhrī, “Who was the first woman to accept Islam?” “Khadijī,” he replied. “And the first man?” “Zayd b. Ḥāritha,” was his answer.

Urwa, Sulaymān b. Yāsār and others said the same, that the first man to accept Islam was Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

Abū Ḥanīfah, God be pleased with him, responded by combining these statements and concluding that the first free man to accept Islam was Abū Bakr, that Khadijī was the first woman, Zayd b. Ḥāritha the first slave, and ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalāb the first boy. God be pleased with them all.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “When Abū Bakr accepted Islam and announced this fact, he prayed to God the Almighty and Glorious. Abū Bakr was a man admired by his people, a well-liked and easy-going man. He knew more than anyone about the genealogy of Quraysh and of the good and bad in their history. He was a business man of fine character and charity.

“His people would come and consult with him on all kinds of matters because of his knowledge, his business experience and the pleasantness of his company.

“He soon began inviting those he trusted of his friends and associates to join him in accepting Islam.

“I have been told that those who accepted Islam through him were: al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, Uthmān b. ‘Affān, Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, Sa’d b. Abū Waqqās and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf, God be pleased with them.

“They all went, accompanied by Abū Bakr, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who explained Islam and its correctness to them and recited to them from the Qur’ān; they then believed.

“These eight men were the earliest to accept Islam. They prayed and believed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and in the mission he had received from God.”

at Buṣra and there, in his cell, was a monk who called out, ‘Ask the Meccans at the fair whether any man of them is from the holy quarter.’"

Talha stated, “I replied, ‘Yes; I am.’ The monk then asked, ‘Has Ahmad come forth yet?’ I asked, ‘Who is Ahmad?’ He responded, ‘He is the son of ’Abd Allāh b. ’Abd al-Muṭṭalib; this is the month during which he will appear. He is the last of the prophets. He will come forth from the holy quarter and go into exile to a place of date-palms, stony tracts, and salty earth. Be sure not to let anyone precede you to him.’”

Talha went on, “His words deeply impressed me. So I left quickly for Mecca. There I asked, ‘Is there any news?’ People replied, ‘Yes indeed; Muhammad son of Caḥd Allah, “the trustworthy”, has declared himself a prophet. And he has Abī Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa as a follower.’”

Abū Bakr then took Talha with him and they went in to see the Messenger of God (SAAS). Talha then accepted Islam and told the Messenger of God (SAAS) what the monk had said; he was delighted to hear this.

When Abū Bakr and Talha had accepted Islam they were seized by Nawfal b. Khūwaylid b. al-‘Adawi, who was known as “the lion of Quraysh”. He tied both men together with one rope; and Bānū Taym did nothing to protect them. For this reason Abī Bakr and Talha were known as “the bondsmen”. And the Prophet (SAAS) spoke the words, “O God, save us from the evil of al-‘Adawi’s son.” It was al-Bayhaqi who recounted this.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Ḥasan Khaythama b. Sulaymān al-Aṭrabulsi stated that ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Umari, the qāḍī, judge, of al-Miṣṣiṣa, related to him, quoting Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Iṣḥaq b. Mūḥammad b. ‘Umrān b. Mūsā b. Talha b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, quoting Abū ‘Ubayd Allāh, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūḥammad b. ‘Umrān b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūḥammad b. Talha, who said that his father Mūḥammad b. ‘Umrān related to him, from al-Qāsim b. Mūḥammad b. Abū Bakr, on the authority of ‘Aṣḥa, God be pleased with her, who said, “Abū Bakr went to see the Messenger of God (SAAS); he had been his friend before the coming of Islam. On meeting him, Abū Bakr said, ‘O Abū al-Qāsim, you have been missed from your tribe’s councils; and people are charging you with disloyalty to your forebears.’

“The Messenger of God replied, ‘I am the Messenger of God and I summon you to God!’ When he had finished speaking Abū Bakr accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then left him, and there was no man between Mecca’s two mountains happier than he was at Abū Bakr accepting Islam.


‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad stated that his father Muḥammad b. ʿUmrān related to him, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, from Ḥā’ishah, who said, "When the Companions of the Prophet (ṣaṣ), 38 men in number, met, Abū Bakr urged the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) to proclaim Islam openly, but he replied, ‘O Abū Bakr, we are only few in number.’

"However, Abū Bakr kept urging until the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) did appear openly (as a Muslim). Then the Muslims separated off into different areas of the mosque, each man in his own tribe, and Abū Bakr arose to address the assembly, while the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) remained seated. He was the first man to make a speech calling people to God and to His Messenger (ṣaṣ). The polytheists were very angry at Abū Bakr and the Muslims and caused violent fights all over the mosque. Abū Bakr was trampled underfoot and severely beaten. The sinner ‘Utba b. Rabi‘a went over to him and began beating him with a pair of old sandals with which he cut up his face and then so trampled Abī Bakr’s body that he was badly injured.

"After this Bāntū Taym arrived and engaged in the fight and the idolaters withdrew from Abū Bakr. Men of Bāntū Taym then carried Abū Bakr away in a cloth to his house, convinced that he was dying. After that they went back into the mosque and said, ‘By God, if Abū Bakr dies we are going to kill ‘Utba b. Rabi‘a!’

"They then returned to Abū Bakr. Thereafter Abū Qāfāfa, and the Taym tribesmen kept talking to Abū Bakr until, late in the day, he spoke back. He said, ‘How is the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ)?’ But they upbraided and attacked him verbally and rose to leave, telling his mother Umm al-Khayr, ‘Be sure to give him something to eat or drink.’ When she was alone with him she fretted over him, but he began saying, ‘How is the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ)?’ She replied, ‘I swear, I don’t know anything about your friend.’ He asked, ‘Please go to Umm Jamil, al-Khaṭṭāb’s daughter, and ask her about him.’

"She went out to visit Umm Jamil and said to her, ‘Abū Bakr asks you about Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh.’ She replied, ‘I don’t know Abū Bakr nor Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh. But if you like I will go with you to your son.’ She agreed and took her to where Abū Bakr lay stretched out near death. Umm Jamil went over to him and let out a scream, shouting, ‘By God, they’ve done this to you for the sake of a crowd of sinners and disbelievers! I just hope God takes vengeance for you on them!’"
"He asked, 'How is the Messenger of God (SAAS)?' She replied, 'This is your mother, here listening.' He insisted, 'You need fear nothing from her.' She then said, 'He is safe and sound.' 'Where is he?' Abū Bakr asked. 'In the house of Ibn al-Arqam,' she told him.

"He commented, 'God has made it incumbent on me not to taste food or to drink until I go to the Messenger of God (SAAS).'

"They did nothing until things had quietened down and people were calm again. They then helped him outside, he leaning upon them, and took him in to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) who greeted him with embraces and kisses, as did the other Muslims. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was extremely moved by his state. Abū Bakr commented, 'I swear by my mother and father, 0 Messenger of God, I'm not in bad shape, except for what that sinner did to my face. But here is my mother, who is always so kind to her son. You are blessed by God; please invite her to come to God, and pray to Him for her, to save her, through yourself, from hell-fire.'

"And the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed for her and invited her to God, and so she did accept Islam.

"They stayed with the Messenger of God (SAAS) there in that house for a month, all 39 men of them.

"Hamza b. 'Abd al-Mu'tṭalib had accepted Islam the day when Aba Bakr was beaten.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) said a prayer for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb – or for Abū Jahl b. Hishām. 'Umar awoke next morning – the prayer having been made on Wednesday – and that day, Thursday, accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) shouted out, along with all the household, the words Allāhu Akbar, 'God is most Great', so loudly at this that they could be heard in the very heights of Mecca.

"Abū al-Arqam, a man who was blind and a disbeliever, then came out saying, 'O God, forgive my young son 'Ubayd al-Arqam, for he has apostacized.'

"Umar arose and asked, 'O Messenger of God, why do we conceal our faith though we follow the truth, while their religion is displayed openly even though they follow falsehood?' He replied, 'O 'Umar, we are but few, and you saw what happened to us.' 'Umar responded, 'By Him who sent you with the truth, I'll never attend a meeting with disbelievers without declaring my faith there.'

"He then left, and circumambulated the ka'ba, passing by some Quraysh men who were waiting for him. Abū Jahl b. Hishām asked, 'So-and-so claims you've turned heretic.' 'Umar responded, 'I bear witness that there is no God but God alone, who has no associate, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger!'
The polytheists charged at him and he attacked Utba, getting him down and beating him. He poked his fingers into the eye of Utba, who began to scream. The attackers withdrew at this and Umar got up. Whenever anyone came near him he would grab some nearby old chief until the people gave up attacking him. He then attended those meetings he used to frequent, and there gave expression to his faith.

Thereafter he went to the Prophet (SAAS), having vanquished them, and said, 'Do not worry, by my father and mother! By God, I swear I've been to every meeting I used to attend as a polytheist and at every one I've expressed my faith without fear or reservation!'

So the Messenger of God (SAAS) went outside, Umar leading the way, along with Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muttalib, and circumambulated the ka'ba and performed the noon prayer as a believer. He then went back to the house of al-Arqam, Umar accompanying him. After that Umar went off alone and thereafter the Prophet (SAAS) left too.”

But the truth is that Umar only accepted Islam after those who migrated for Abyssinia had left, an event that occurred in the sixth year of the mission. Reference to this will be made in the proper place, if God wills it.

We have examined the manner in which Abī Bakr and Umar accepted Islam, God be pleased with them both, in the volume devoted solely to their biography. There we dealt with the subject fully; all praise be to God.

It is established in the sahih collection of Muslim, from a tradition of Abū Amāma, from ‘Amr b. ‘Abasa al-Sulāmi, God be pleased with him, who said, “I came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the beginning of his mission, while he was in Mecca; he was in hiding at the time. I asked him, ‘What are you?’ He replied, ‘I am a prophet.’ ‘But what is a prophet?’ I asked. ‘God’s Messenger,’ he replied. I asked, ‘Was it God who sent you?’ ‘Yes,’ he answered. ‘With what did he send you?’ I then asked. He replied, ‘With the command: Worship God alone; He has no associate. Destroy the idols. And make firm ties of kinship.’ I commented, ‘Well, that’s fine what he sent you with. Who are your followers in this?’ He replied, ‘A free man and a slave.’”

By this he meant Abū Bakr and Bilāl. He went on, “‘Amr used to say, ‘I thought myself one quarter of Islam.’

“And so I did accept Islam and said, ‘Shall I follow you then, O Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘No; join your own people. When you are informed I have gone public, then follow me.’”

It is said that the statement of the Prophet (SAAS), “a free man and a slave”, has a generic meaning. To interpret it by reference to Abū Bakr and to Bilāl alone would be doubtful, for a group of men had accepted Islam before ‘Amr b. ‘Absa. And Zayd b. Hārītha had accepted Islam before Bilāl. Perhaps he referred to being “one fourth of Islam” by his own knowledge alone, because the believers
were concealing their Islam at this time, few of their close relatives being aware of it, let alone strangers and bedouins from the desert. But God knows best.

In the *sahih* collection of al-Bukhārī, through Abū Usāma, from Ḥāshim b. Ḥāshim, there is a *hadith* from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “I heard Abū Ḥishāq Saʿīd b. Abū Waqqās say, ‘No one accepted Islam that same day I did. For seven days I remained one third of Islam.’”

His statement “no one accepted Islam the same day I did” presents only a simple issue. It was recounted by some to read: “except on the day I accepted Islam”. This would be problematic, for it suggests that no one preceded him in accepting Islam. And it is well known that Abū Bakr, ‘Ali, Khadija, and Zayd b. Ḥāritha accepted Islam before he did. Similarly, more than one authority, including Ibn al-Athīr, have reached a consensus that these people did precede in accepting Islam. Abū Ḥanīfa, God be pleased with him, gives textual evidence that each of these did accept Islam before those of his kind. But God knows best.

As for the above statement, “For seven days I remained one-third of Islam”, this is problematic. I do not know how to explain it, except for his having made the statement based on his knowledge alone. But God knows best.

Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayyālīsī stated that Ḥammād b. Salama related to him, from ʿĀṣim, from Zarr, from ʿAbd Allāh, who is Ibn Masʿūd, who said, “When I was a youth I used to tend flocks for ʿUqba b. Abū Muṣṭafī in Mecca. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr came out and joined me, having escaped from the polytheists. He said – or they both said – ‘Do you have any milk you could give us to drink, lad?’ I replied, ‘But I'm entrusted with it; I can't give it to you to drink.’ He then asked, ‘Do you have a young ewe that hasn’t yet been served by a ram?’ ‘Yes, I do’, I replied.

“I brought the ewe over to them and Abū Bakr tethered it. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of its udder and said a prayer. The udder filled and Abū Bakr brought a hollowed stone and the Prophet (ṢAAS) poured milk into it. He then drank, quoting Abū Bakr, and poured some for me too. He now spoke to the udder and told it to contract, which it did.

“Later I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Teach me some of this good speech,’ meaning the Qurʾān. He replied, ‘Consider yourself a well-taught young man.’ I then took from his mouth 70 *suras* regarding which no one can challenge me.”

This is how Imām Aḥmad related this anecdote, from ʿAffān, from an account of it by Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿArafa also recounted it, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, from ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nuʿād.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the ḥāfīz, related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Bāṭṭa al-ʿAṣbahānī, quoting al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm, quoting
al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Khālid b. al-Zubayr, from his father — or from Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Uthmān — who said, “The acceptance of Islam by Khālid b. Saʿid b. al-ʿĀṣ was early; he was the first one of his brothers to accept Islam.

“The beginnings of his becoming Muslim was that he saw himself in a dream placed on the brink of a fire, the size of which was so great as only God could have known. In his sleep he had a vision as though someone was pushing him towards it. Then he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) grip him by his waist-wrappers (so that) he would not fall. He awoke in a fright from his sleep and said, ‘I swear by God that this was a vision of the truth.’

“When he met Abū Bakr b. Abī Qāḥasa, he told him of this and Abū Bakr replied, ‘This was indeed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS): follow him. You will follow him and enter into Islam with him. Islam will prevent you from falling into it (the fire) though your father will do so.’

“And so he joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was at Ajyad, and asked him, ‘O Messenger of God, O Muḥammad, to what do you call (people)?’ He answered, ‘I invite you to come to God, the One, He who has no associate, and (to bear witness) that Muḥammad is His slave and His Messenger, and for you to abandon your practice of worshipping rocks that cannot hear, nor harm, nor see, nor benefit, nor know who it is who worship them and who do not.’

“Khālid said, ‘I do bear witness that there is no God but God, and that you are the Messenger of God.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted at his accepting Islam.

“Khālid then went away and his father learned of his accepting Islam. So he sent after him and had him brought back. His father reprimanded him and beat him with a club he held in his hand so hard that he broke it upon his head. He swore, ‘By God, I’ll prevent you from getting food!’ Khālid responded, ‘If you do so, God will provide me what I shall live by.’

“He then went off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whom he served and stayed with.”

An Account of how Ḥamza, son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, God be pleased with him, the uncle of the Prophet (ṢAAS), accepted Islam.

Yūnūs b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as saying that a man of the Aslam tribe — a man with a fine memory — related to him that Abū Jahl blocked the path of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Ṣafā, and reviled and cursed him, inflictıng insults on his religion. This was reported to Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who then went up to Abū Jahl and, standing right there over him, gave him a terrible beating with his bow on the head that fractured his skull.
Quraysh men of Banū Makhzūm tribe approached Ḥamza to give Abū Jahl help against him. They said to Ḥamza, “So, we see you’re turning heretic then!”

“And who’s going to prevent me?” demanded Ḥamza, “when I now see clearly and can testify that he is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that what he says is the truth. I’ll not retract, so you just go on and stand in my way, if you’re serious!”

Abū Jahl then spoke up, “Leave Abū Umara alone; I swear, I really did badly insult his nephew.”

When Ḥamza accepted Islam Quraysh knew that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had gained strength and was protected, and so they refrained from some of their previous treatment of him. Ḥamza spoke some verses on this subject.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Then Ḥamza went home where Satan came to him and said, ‘You, a Quraysh chief, have followed this heretic and abandoned the religion of your forefathers! Death is best for you for what you’ve done!’

‘Ḥamza then addressed his inner self, saying, ‘O God, if what I’ve done was right, then make me believe it in my own heart! Or else find me some way out of my predicament!’

‘He then spent a night worse than he ever had before due to the whisperings of the devil.

‘Next morning he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said to him, ‘O nephew, I’ve fallen into a trap from which I don’t know how to escape. I don’t know whether continuing as I am is wiser for me, or whether it’s a terrible mistake. Please talk to me. I really need you to talk to me, nephew.’

‘And so the Messenger of God went over to him and talked and preached to him, telling him both what frightened and cheered him. God placed in his heart faith at what he was told by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

‘Ḥamza therefore said, ‘I do truly bear witness that you are telling the truth. Make your faith public, O nephew; for, by God, I would not like to own what is under the sky while keeping to my former religion.’”

So Ḥamza was one of those through whom God fortified the faith.

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus from al-Ḥākim, from al-ʿAṣamm, from ʿAḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, from an account given by Yanūs b. Bukayr, quoting ʿAbd Allah b. al-Raʾīmī, quoting al-Nadr b. Muhammad, quoting Ikrima b. ʿAmmar, from an account given by Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walid,

An Account of how Abū Dharr, God be pleased with him, came to accept Islam.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated that the ḥāfīz Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, also a ḥāfīz, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād, quoting ʿAbd Allah b. al-Rūmā, quoting al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad, quoting Ikrima b. ʿAmmār, from Abū Zumayl Simāk b. al-Walid,
from Malik b. Marthad, from his father, from Abü Dharr, who said, “I was a quarter of Islam. Three persons accepted Islam before myself, and I was the fourth. I went to the Messenger of God and said, ‘Peace be upon you, O Messenger of God. I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God.’ I then saw the face of the Messenger of God (SAAS) radiate with pleasure.”

This is an abbreviated account.

Al-Bukhārī stated, regarding the acceptance of Islam by Abü Dharr, that ʿAmr b. ʿAbbas related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdi, from al-Muthannā, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said that when news of the mission of the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached Abū Dharr, he said to his brother, “Ride off into that valley and bring me information about this man who claims that he is a prophet to whom information comes from heaven. Listen to what he says, then come back to me.”

The brother then left, came to the Prophet (SAAS), heard his words, then returned to Abū Dharr. He told him, “I saw him advocating ethical behaviour, and delivering speech that was not poetry.”

Abū Dharr told him, “You’ve not solved my problem.”

He then equipped himself for a journey, carrying a large, full waterskin, and left for Mecca. There he went to the mosque and looked for the Messenger of God (SAAS) but did not know how to recognize him and he was reluctant to ask after him. When night came and he lay down to rest, ʿAli saw him and realized he was a stranger. Abii Dharr followed him without either man asking the other any questions. Next morning when he arose, Abii Dharr carried off his water-skin and provisions to the mosque, where he remained all day without the Prophet (SAAS) seeing him. When night came, he set out his bedding. ʿAli passed by and exclaimed, “Isn’t it high time the man knew his house!” He then helped him up and took him home, neither man asking the other any questions.

The third day the same thing happened and again ʿAli accommodated him. But this time ʿAli asked him, “Won’t you tell me what brought you here?” Abū Dharr replied, “I will if you’ll promise faithfully to guide me.” ʿAli agreed and so Abū Dharr explained. ʿAli then told him, “He is truth; he is the Messenger of God (SAAS). Tomorrow morning follow me and if I see anything that makes me fearful for you, I will get up as if I need to urinate. If I leave, follow me and go where I do.”

ʿAli did this and Abū Dharr followed on behind him and accompanied him when he went in to the Prophet (SAAS). Abū Dharr heard him speak and he accepted Islam then and there.

The Prophet (SAAS) then told him, “Go back to your people and tell them; then wait till you hear from me.”
But Abū Dharr replied, “No, by Him who sent you with the truth, I’ll shout it out in full public!”

He then left and went to the mosque, where he shouted at the top of his voice, “I bear witness that there is no God but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God!” At that everyone there set about beating him till they laid him low.

Then al-ʿAbbās came and, bending over him, exclaimed, “Woe unto you! Don’t you realize that he is from Ghifār, and that your trade route is to Syria?” He then rescued Abū Dharr from them. But the next day Abū Dharr did the same and was again attacked and then saved by al-ʿAbbās.

This is the story as told by al-Bukhārī.

Abū Dharr’s acceptance of Islam is elaborated in the sahīh collections of Muslim and elsewhere.

Imām Ahmad stated that Yazīd b. Hārūn related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughira, quoting Ḥumayd b. Ḥilāl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣāmit, who quoted Abū Dharr as saying, “We – that is I, my brother Anis, and our mother – left our tribe of Ghifār because they used to disregard the restrictions of the holy month.

“We took up residence with an uncle of ours who was a man of wealth and status; he honoured us and treated us extremely well. But his family envied us and told him, ‘If you were to go away from your people, Anis would take your place over them.’

“Our uncle then came to us and reported what he had been told. I then said to him, ‘You’ve cancelled out all your prior generosity to us. We’ll have no communion with you henceforth.’

“So we assembled our herd of camels and set off with them, while our uncle covered himself up in his robe and began to weep.

“We rode on until we made camp on the outskirts of Mecca. My brother Anis then made a wager, betting our flock of camels and an additional number equal to our herd. He (and his competitor) then went to a diviner who decided in favour of Anis. Anis returned to us with our herd and a like one.”

Abū Dharr continued, “Now, my nephew, I had been praying for three years prior to meeting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” I asked, “To whom?” “To God.” “In which direction?” “Wherever God directed me. And I would pray each evening till deep into the night, when I find myself under my blanket, until the sun would rise.”

“Well any way,” Anis said, “I have business in Mecca; await me until I return.” He left and was away for what seemed a long time, then he came back. I asked him, “What kept you?” He said, “I met a man who claimed that God had sent him with your religion.” “And what do people say of him?” I asked. “They say that he is a poet and a soothsayer.” Anis was himself a poet.
He went on, “Anis commented, ‘I’ve heard soothsayers and he does not speak like them. And I’ve checked his utterances against the measures of poetry and, by God, it doesn’t fit anyone’s tongue as poetry. And, I swear, he is truthful, whereas the rest are liars.’

“I asked him, ‘Could you stand in for me while I leave?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘but watch out for the Meccans. They have pilloried and berated him.’

“So I left and went to Mecca, where I asked a weak-looking man, ‘Where is the one people refer to as the heretic?’ But he pointed at me and the people of that valley pelted me with clods of earth and bones until I was injured with wounds and fainted. When I got up later, I was like a red pole. I made my way to zamzam, drank its water and washed the blood off myself. I then positioned myself between the ka‘ba and its hangings. And there I stayed, O nephew, for 30 days and nights without sustenance except for water from zamzam. But I gained weight and developed folds of fat on my belly, finding no evidence on my body of the emaciation of starvation.

“One night when the moon was very bright and the Meccans were fast asleep, there were only two women circumambulating the ka‘ba. As they came past me they were saying prayers to the gods Isāf and Na‘ila. I commented, ‘Make one of them have intercourse with the other!’ This did not deter them, so I then said, ‘They’re just like bits of wood, but I’d not lean on them!’

“At this they scurried away, wailing, ‘If only one of our menfolk were here!’

“‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr, on their way down from the mountain, met these women and asked them what was the matter. ‘It’s that heretic between the ka‘ba and its hangings.’ They asked them what I had said, and the women replied, ‘He said a real mouthful to us!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companion then came along, kissed the stone, circumambulated the ka‘ba, then prayed. I went over to him and was the first person to address him with the greeting of the community of Islam. He replied, ‘Peace be upon you, and God’s mercy. Who are you?’ I told him I was from the Ghifār tribe. He brought his hand to his forehead in a gesture of surprise and I told myself, ‘He dislikes my being from Ghifār!’

“I made as if to take him by the hand, but his Companion pushed me away, knowing him better then I did.

“The Prophet (SAAS) then asked, ‘How long have you been here?’ ‘I’ve been here for 30 days and nights,’ I answered.

“‘And who has been feeding you?’ he asked.

“‘There’s been nothing except zamzam water, but I’ve gained so much weight that I developed folds of fat on my belly. And I feel no emaciation from hunger.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘It’s blessed! Wonder food!’

“Abū Bakr then asked, ‘Please, O Messenger of God, permit me to give him some food tonight.’ And he agreed.
“The Prophet (SAAS) then left and I went with them. Abū Bakr opened a gate and began picking some grapes from Ta'if for us. And that was the first food I ate there. I stayed some time in Mecca.

Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, ‘I have been directed to go to a land of palm trees, none other than Yathrib, I believe. Will you go and inform your people about me? Perhaps God will benefit them through you, and give you reward among them too.’

“So I left and rejoined my brother Anis. He asked me, ‘What did you do?’ ‘What I did was, I accepted Islam and believed.’

“He commented, ‘I’ve nothing against your religion. I too accept Islam and believe.’

“We then went to our mother and she said, ‘Well, I’ve nothing against your religion. I accept Islam and believe.’ We then packed up and rejoined our tribe of Ghifār, and some of them accepted Islam before the Messenger of God migrated to Medina. Khufāf b. Aymā' b. Rakhṣa the Ghifārī led them as he was their chief at that time. The remainder of them said, ‘If the Messenger of God (SAAS) comes, we will accept Islam.’

“And the Messenger of God (SAAS) did come and the remainder of them did accept Islam. Then the Aslam tribe arrived and said, ‘O Messenger of God, we’ll accept Islam just as our Ghifar brothers did.’


Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khalid from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra in much the same words. The story of Abī Dharr’s acceptance of Islam is also told along with strange additions. But God knows best.

The account of the acceptance of Islam by Salmān al-Fārist has been given previously in the book recounting the miraculous signs of the mission of the Prophet (SAAS).

An Account of the acceptance of Islam by Dimād.

Muslim and al-Bayhaqī related a hadith of Dawūd b. Abū Hind, from ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said that Dimād came to Mecca, he being a man of the Azd tribe from Shanū’a. He used to say incantations to protect people from those winds. He overheard some Meccan fools saying, “Muḥammad is crazy.” He asked them, “Where is this man? Perhaps God will cure him at my hands.”

He recounted, “I met Muḥammad and said, ‘I use incantations against these winds. And God cures at my hands whomever He wishes. Do come along.’
“Muhammad (SAAS) replied, ‘Praise be to God! We praise Him and seek His help. Whomever God leads aright, no one can lead astray. Whomever God leads astray, no one can lead aright. I bear testimony that there is no God but God alone who has no associates.’ He repeated this three times.”

Dimād said, “I swear, I have heard the speech of soothsayers, sorcerers, and poets, but I never heard the like of these words. Give me your hand and I’ll pledge you my allegiance in Islam.”

The Messenger of God accepted his pledge and asked him, “For your tribe too?” “Yes, for my tribe too,” he agreed.

The Prophet (SAAS) dispatched an army that passed by the people of Dimād. The army commander asked his troops, “Have you seized anything from these people?” One of the men replied, “I did take one strong-backed camel from them.” He ordered the man, “Give it back to them; they are from the tribe of Dimād.”

In another account Dimād said to the Prophet (SAAS), “Repeat these words of yours to me; they are the epitome of oratory.”

Abn Nu'aym devoted a long chapter in his work al-Dalā'il (The Signs) to accounts of the prominent men who accepted Islam. He gave it in fine detail, may God have mercy on him and reward him.

Ibn Ishāq gave a list of the names of the Companions, God be pleased with them, who accepted Islam early on. He stated, “Then Abū Ubayda accepted Islam, as did Abū Salama, al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam, Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith and Sadıd b. Zayd, along with his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb.

Also there were Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, and Ā'ishah, also daughter of Abū Bakr, when she was young.


Then there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, Abū Aḥmad b. Jaḥsh, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalib, along with his wife Asmā' daughter of Umays.

Others included Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith and his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Mujallil, and also Ḥāṭāb b. al-Ḥārith and his wife Fuhayya, daughter of Yāsār, Maṭmar b. al-Ḥārith b. Maṭmar al-Jumahī, and al-Sāʿīb b. Uthmān b. Maẓ'ūn, al-Muṭṭalib b. Azhar b. ʿAbd Manāf and his wife Ramla, daughter of Abū ʿAwf b. Šubayra b. Saʿīd b. Sahm, al-Nahḥām, whose name was Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Asid, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, Khalid b. Saʿīd, Umayna, daughter of Khalaf b. Asad b. ʿĀmir b. Bayada, of Khuza'a, and

Also there were Khalīd b. al-Bukayr, ʿĀmir b. al-Bukayr, ʿAqīl b. al-Bukayr, Iyās b. al-Bukayr b. ʿAbd Yālāyīl b. ʿAḍī. The given name of ʿAqīl (a word meaning “wise”) had originally been Ghāfīl (a word meaning “heedless”) and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had renamed him ʿAqīl. These were all allied to the tribe of ʿAdī b. Kaʿb.

Also there were ʿAmmār b. Yāṣir and Ṣuhayb b. Sinān.

Thereafter people began accepting Islam in large numbers, men and women both, so that it became a prominent subject of discussion in Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “God then ordered his Messenger (ṢAAS), after three years of his mission, to announce it openly and to remain firm against the evil of the polytheists.

“The Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) would go off along mountain trails when they prayed, to hide this from their people.

“While Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās was at prayer, along with a small group of others, on a mountain trail, some polytheists came at them. They upbraided them, reviled them for what they were doing, and attacked them.

“Saʿd struck one man with a camel’s jawbone and cut him open; this was the first blood spilled in Islam.”

Al-Umawi related this incident at length in his maghāzi study of the early campaigns, through al-Waqqāṣī, from al-Zuhri, from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from his father. His account states that the man wounded was ʿAbd Allāh b. Khaṭṭāl, God damn him.

CHAPTER: GOD’S COMMAND TO HIS MESSENGER (ṢAAS) TO ANNOUNCE HIS MISSION PUBLICLY.

This chapter deals with God’s command to his Messenger (ṢAAS) to announce publicly his mission to high and low and how He told him to be patient and stoical, and to oppose those who remain stubborn, mendacious and ignorant even after the evidence had been brought against them and the Messenger had been sent to them. It also mentions the damages they had done to him and to his Companions, may God bless them all.

God Almighty stated, “And warn those of your people closest to you and bring down your wing to protect those believers who follow you. And if they disobey you, say, ‘I am innocent of what you do’. Put your trust in the Almighty and All-Merciful, who sees you when you arise and when you turn about among those prostrating in prayer; He is the All-Hearing, the All-Knowing” (ṣūrat al-Shūʿārāʾ, XXVI, v.214–20).
And the Almighty stated, “It is surely a message to you and to your people, and you will all be questioned” (ṣūrat al-Zukhruf, XLIII, v.44).

Also He stated, “He who imposed the Qurʾān upon you will bring you back to an after life” (ṣūrat al-Qasas, XXVIII, v.85). This means, He who has made a demand upon you and has required you to announce the Qurʾān will return you to the hereafter, which is the maʿād, the afterlife, and He will question you about that. As the Almighty stated, “And, by your Lord, we will question them all for what they have done” (ṣūrat al-Ḥijr, XV, v.92-3).

The verses and statements concerning this are numerous, and we have given these in detail in our Exegesis. We addressed this issue at length in commenting on the verse, “And warn those of your people closest to you” in ṣūrat al-Shūʿarāʾ, XXVI, v.214. There we gave many references to that.

On this subject, Imām Ahmad stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr related, from al-ʿAʾmash, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When God sent down, ‘And warn those of your people closest to you’, the Prophet (ṢAAS), went up on Mt. Ṣafā and called out, ‘Ya Ṣabāḥa!’

“People gathered there around him; they consisted of men who had come to him themselves and others who had sent messengers.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressed them, saying, ‘O tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, O tribe of Fihr, O tribe of Kaʿb! If I were to tell you that there were horsemen on the heights of this mountain who planned to attack you, don’t you think you would believe me?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. He then announced, ‘Well, I am come to warn you of a terrible punishment.’

“ʿAbū Lahab, God damn him! said, ‘Damn you! May you perish all day long! You called us here for this?’

“And so God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed ‘Damn the hands of ʿAbū Lahab! Damn him!’” (ṣūrat al-Lahab, CXI, v.1).

Both of the sources gave this ḥadīth from an account of al-ʿAʾmash in similar form.

Aḥmad stated that Muʿawiya b. ʿAmr related to him, quoting Zaʿida, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from Musā b. Ṭalḥa, from Abū Hurayra, who said that when this verse, “And warn those of your people closest to you” was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) summoned the people of Quraysh, high and low alike, and told them, “O Quraysh, save yourselves from hell-fire! O tribe of Banū Kalb, save yourselves from hell-fire! O tribe of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, save yourselves from hell-fire! O Fatima, daughter of Muḥammad, save yourself from hell-fire! For I, I swear by God, have nothing to protect you from God, except the fact that you have kinship (to me) for which I shall care.”

Muslim related this from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, and it was published in both saḥīḥ collections from an account of al-Zuhri, from Saʿīd b.
al-Musayyib and Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra. The account has other provenances from Abū Hurayra in the musnad collection of Ahmad and elsewhere.

Ahmad also stated that Waki' b. Hishām related to him, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, God bless her, who said, "When there was revealed the verse, 'And warn those of your people closest to you' the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and said, 'O Fāṭima, daughter of Muḥammad! O Ṣafiyya, daughter of Abī al-Muṭṭalib! O family of Abī al-Muṭṭalib! I have nothing to protect you from God; ask whatever you will from my wealth.'" Muslim also related this.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi stated in his work al-Dalāʾil (The Signs) that Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥūfa related to him, quoting Abū ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Abī al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. 'Ubayy, quoting Abī al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that someone who concealed his name from him told him that he heard Abī ʿAbbās al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal relate from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿAlī b. Abī ʿAbbās, who said, "When there was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the verses, 'And warn those of your people closest to you and bring down your wing to protect those believers who follow you', the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'I realized that if I announced it to my people I would see from them what I would hate, and so I kept silent. Then Gabriel, peace be upon him, came to me and said, 'O Muḥammad, if you do not act as your Lord has ordered you, He will punish you with hell-fire.'"

ʿAlī continued, "So he called for me and said, 'O ʿAlī, God has commanded me to warn my closest relatives. So prepare for us a sheep on a platter of food, along with a large pot of milk, then assemble Banū Abī al-Muṭṭalib for me.'"

"I did so and they assembled on that day. There were 40 men, more or less; among them there were his uncles Abī Talib, ʿAmmar, and Al-ʿAbbās, along with Abū Lahab, the vile polytheist.

"I served the food platter to them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took from it a piece of meat, split it with his teeth and tossed it in all directions, saying, 'Eat, in the name of God!' Everyone ate until satiated, nothing being seen left but the marks of their fingers. No one ate like that ever before! Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Now give them to drink, ʿAlī!' So I brought the large pot of milk, and they drank it up till they were full. I swear, no one ever drank that way before!

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the point of addressing them, Abū Lahab, God damn him! forestalled him by saying, 'Well, what a feast your host served to you to eat!' At that they dispersed without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) addressing them.

"Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'Prepare for us the same food and drink as yesterday; that fellow forestalled me by saying what he did before I could address them.'"
I did so, then gathered them for him and the Messenger of God (SAAS) did as he had the previous day. They ate till they were full; I swear, none of them ate like that ever before! Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Give them to drink, ‘Ali!’ So I brought them the pot and they drank of it till they were satiated. I swear, none of them drank like that before!

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was about to address them, Abū Lahab, God damn him! forestalled him by saying, ‘Well, what a feast your host served to you to eat!’ So they dispersed without the Messenger of God (SAAS) addressing them.

“Next day the Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, ‘Ali, prepare food and drink for us as you did yesterday. This fellow forestalled me by saying what you heard before I could address the people.’

“I did so and assembled them again. The Messenger of God (SAAS) acted as he had the day before. They ate till they were satiated, and then I served them from the pot until they were full. I swear, I never saw people eat and drink like that!

“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke, “O Family of ‘Abd al-Mu‘t̄alib, I know of no Arab man, by God, who brought his people anything better than I have brought you. I have brought you what deals with this world and the afterlife as well.”

Al-Bayhaqi related this anecdote in this way through Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, from a sheikh of uncertain identity, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith.

Abū Ja‘far b. Jarir related it from Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Rāzī, from Salama b. al-FA‘l al-Abraš, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Abū Miryām b. al-Qāsim, from al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibn Abbās, from ‘Ali. His account is similar but adds after the words, “I have brought forth for you the good of this world and the next”, “And God has ordered me to call upon you to come to Him. And whoever of you will aid me in this matter I must consider my brother.” And so on.

‘Ali continued, “But everyone drew back from that. Since I was the youngest, had the most bleary eyes, the largest stomach and the shortest legs, I called out, ‘O Prophet of God, I will be your wāzir (i.e. your deputy) in this!’

“The Prophet (SAAS) took me by the neck and said, ‘This is my brother’ and so on and so forth, ‘so listen to him and obey him!’

‘Ali went on, “Everyone began laughing and saying to Abū Ṭalib, ‘He has ordered you to listen to your son and to obey him!’”

Abd al-Ghaffār b. al-Qāsim Abū Maryam is the sole authority for this account, and he was a liar and a shi‘ī whom ‘Ali b. al-Madini and others accused of inventing the hadith; the other scholars consider him a weak source.

But Ibn Abū Ḥātim related, in his work of exegesis of the Qurān, from his father, from al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥaṣā b. Maysara al-Ḥārithi, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd
al-Quddūs, from al-A’mash, from al-Munḥāl b. ‘Amr, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Ijārīth, who said, “‘Ali stated, ‘When the verse “And warn those of your people closest to you” was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to me, “Make me a leg of lamb on a platter of food and a beaker of milk, and invite Bani Ḥāshim for me.” I did invite them and on that occasion they were 40, give or take a man.’”

This account is much the same up to the words, “Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forestalled them in speaking and asked, ‘Which of you will settle my debt for me, and be my successor for my family?’”

‘Ali went on. “They were all silent. Al-‘Abbās kept quiet because he feared the issue might involve his money. And I kept quiet because of al-‘Abbās’s age.

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) repeated his question and al-‘Abbās kept silent and, witnessing this, I said, ‘I will, O Messenger of God!’ ‘You?’ he replied.

‘Ali explained, “At that time I was the most homely looking person there. I was bleary eyed, had a large stomach and short legs.”

This wording of the anecdote substantiates the previous one, except that it does not have Ibn ‘Abbās as one of the chain of authorities. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad related in his musnad collection from a hadith of ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Asadī and Rabi‘a b. Nājīdh from ‘Ali an account approximating to the former, or giving testimony to it. But God knows best.

His statement in this hadith, “Which of you will settle my debt for me, and be my successor for my family” carries the implication “if I should die”. It seems that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) feared that if he announced his mission to the Arab polytheists they might kill him. He therefore wanted to establish that whoever came in his place thereafter would be beneficial to his family and fulfil his obligations. But God removed his concern at that with His words, “O Messenger, announce what has been revealed to you from your Lord. If you do not, then you will not have fulfilled your mission. God will protect you from the people” (ṣūrat al-Mā’ida, V, v.67).

The outcome was that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued to call upon people to believe in God Almighty day and night, secretly and openly, without anyone being able to deter, dissuade, or prevent him. He followed people everywhere, into their celebrations, meetings and gatherings, to the fairs and to the pilgrimage stations. Everyone he met, free man or slave, weak or powerful, rich or poor he urged; as far as he was concerned all were equal and alike.

Violent and powerful Quraysh polytheists inflicted harm both verbal and physical upon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and upon those powerless individuals who followed him.

One of the most violent of those opposed to him was his uncle Ābu Lahab; his full name was ‘Abd al-‘Uzza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. His wife, Umm Jamīl, was named Arwā, daughter of Ḥarb b. Umayya, the sister of Ābu Ṣufyān.
Another uncle, Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was at variance with Abū Lahab, for he favoured the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) above all other men for his fine qualities. He treated him with the utmost compassion and kindness and gave him his support and protection. In doing this he was in opposition to his own people, even though he shared their religion and their friendship. God had, however, put his heart to the test by making him love the Prophet (ṢAAS) by natural disposition rather than for religious reasons.

His persisting in the religion of his people was, in fact, an expression of the wisdom of Almighty God and a factor in the protection He was affording to His Messenger. For if Abū Bakr had accepted Islam, he would have no longer held any weight or leadership among the Quraysh polytheists; they would have held no respect for or fear of him. They would have penalized him and done him verbal and actual harm. For your Lord determines and establishes whatever He wills! And He has divided up His creation into many different types and kinds.

Both these uncles, Abū Ṭālib and Abū Lahab, were infidels. But whereas the former will be at the very surface of the fire, the latter will be deep down in its lowest depths. About him God made revelation in one of the chapters of the Qurʾān to be recited from the pulpit and read in sermons and prayers. It contains information that he will roast in flaming hell-fire, along with his wife, that “firewood hawker”.

Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, from his father who said that a man named Rabiʿa b. Abū al-ʿAbbas related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father who said that a man named Rabiʿa b. Abū al-Dīl, who had been an idol-worshipper and had accepted Islam, recalled, “I saw the Messenger of God, before the coming of Islam, at the fair of Dhū al-Majāz, and he was saying, ‘O you people, say, ‘There is no God but God’, and you will prosper.’ There were people gathered all around him, while behind him stood a mean-looking, squint-eyed man wearing two plaits who was saying, ‘He’s a lying Sabian!’ This man followed him wherever he went. I asked who he was and was told it was his uncle, Abū Lahab.”

Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, from his father who said that a man named Rabiʿa b. Abū al-Dīl, who had been an idol-worshipper and had accepted Islam, recalled, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Dhū al-Majāz following people into their dwellings urging them to believe in God, while behind him went a squint-eyed man with scarred cheeks who was saying, ‘O people, let not this fellow entice you away from your religion, the religion of your forefathers!’

“I asked, ‘Who is he?’ And I was told, ‘That’s Abū Lahab.’”

77. A reference to the words of sūrat Abū Lahab, CXI, v.4.
He then related this anecdote through Shu'ba, from al-Ash'ath b. Sa'dim, from a man of Kināña, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the Dhū al-Majāz fair. He was saying, ‘O people, say “There is no God but God” and you will prosper.’ There was a man standing there behind him scattering dust on him. It was Abū Jahl, and what he was saying was, ‘O people, let not this fellow entice you away from your religion. He just wants you to give up worship of al-Lāt and al-‘Uzza.’”

This anecdote states it was Abū Jahl, but it is obvious that it was Abū Lahab. We will give details of his biography when we report his death, which occurred after the battle of Badr. If God Almighty wills it, so shall it be.

Abū Tālib, as will be apparent from both his actions and his qualities, was a man of great natural kindness and compassion. He showed this by his support for the Messenger of God (SAAS) and for his Companions, God bless them all.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that he was informed from Tālha b. Yahiya, from ‘Abd Allah b. Musa b. Tālha, that Uqayl b. Abū Tālib related, “Quraysh came to Abū Tālib and said, ‘This nephew of yours is disturbing our meetings and our mosque; keep him away from us!’ He asked me, ‘O Uqayl, go and bring me Muhammad.’ So I went off and brought him out from a khanas.’ This word means a “tent”; or he might have used the word khanas, a “hide-out”, or alternatively as some say, a “small house”. He arrived back at midday in the full heat. When he came in, Abū Tālib told him, ‘These relatives of yours charge that you are annoying them in their meetings and in their mosque. Stop annoying them!’

“At this the Messenger of God (SAAS) gazed upwards to the sky and asked, ‘Do you see that sun?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. He then said, ‘I’m no more capable of stopping that than you are of getting a flame from it.’

“Abū Tālib then said, ‘By God, I swear that my nephew never lied. So go home!’”

Al-Bukhārī related this story in his history, from Muḥammad b. al-‘Ala’, from Yūnus b. Bukayr. And al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-‘Asamm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbar in the same words.

Moreover al-Bayhaqī related it through Yūnus, from Ibn Ishāq, who stated, “Ya’qūb b. Utba b. al-Mughīrah b. al-Akhnas related to me that he was told that when Quraysh made this complaint to Abū Tālib, he sent for the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, ‘O nephew, your relatives have come to me and told me this and that. Do right by me and by yourself by not burdening me with what neither you nor I could bear. Stop telling your relatives what they dislike hearing!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) thought that Abū Tālib’s attitude towards himself and his Muslims had changed and that his support for them had weakened. And so he addressed Abū Tālib as follows, ‘O uncle, if the sun were placed in my right hand and the moon in my left, I would not give up this matter until
either God gives me success in it, or I perish in its pursuit.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then broke down into tears.

“When he turned to leave, Abū Talib said, having seen how deeply the Messenger of God (SAAS) had been moved, said to him, ‘O nephew!’ When he turned to him, he said, ‘Continue as before; do as you like. By God, I will never abandon you for any reason.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated that Abū Talib spoke the following verses on that subject:

“By God, they’ll never get their gang to you until I’m laid to rest, buried in the ground.

Carry on with your work that is beyond reproach; rejoice, and may you be content in doing so.

You invited me, and I knew you were advising well; you spoke the truth, and you were ever trustworthy.

You offered a religion I knew to be the best religion of mankind.

Were it not for people’s blame and anger, you’d find me giving it my favour openly.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Ibn Ishāq related various verses of Abū Talib on that subject.”

All this gives evidence that God Almighty gave the prophet (SAAS) His protection through his uncle, even though he differed in his religion. And God had protected him when his uncle was not there; God’s will is final and unchallenged.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated that Muḥammad b. Ishāq related to him, quoting a man originally from Egypt some 40 years previously, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, a long anecdote relating what transpired between the polytheists of Mecca and the Messenger of God (SAAS). When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arose, Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, “O Quraysh, Muḥammad is persisting, as you know, in criticizing our religion, reviling our forefathers, ridiculing our values and insulting our gods. I swear by God that I’ll sit and wait for him tomorrow carrying a rock, and if he prostrates in his prayer, I’ll smash his head with it! And let ʿAbd Manāf’s people do whatever they like about it afterwards.”

Next day Abū Jahl, God curse him! took a rock and sat to wait for the Messenger of God (SAAS). That morning, the Messenger of God (SAAS) came as usual; his direction of prayer at that time was towards Syria. When he prayed he positioned himself between the corner (of the kaʿba) with the “black stone” and the Yemeni corner, facing so that the kaʿba was between himself and Syria. By the time he came to pray Quraysh were already sitting in their meeting places, waiting. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) prostrated in prayer, Abū Jahl did pick up the rock and approached him. When he got near him, he retreated in fear, his colour pale in terror. His hands lost their grip on the rock and it fell.
Quraysh men went up to him and asked, "What's the matter with you, Abū al-Ḥakam?" He answered, "When I got up to do as I told you yesterday I would and got near him, a stallion camel blocked my way to him. And, by God, I never saw a stallion so big as it, with a neck and fangs like it had! It was about to devour me!"

Ibn Ishaq related, "It was reported to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘That was Gabriel. And if he had come near me, he would have taken him.’"

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh, the ḥāfīz, related to him, quoting Abū al-Nadr, the jurist, quoting ‘Uthmān al-Dārāmī, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Šāliḥ, quoting al-Layth b. Sa’d, from Ishaq b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Abān b. Šāliḥ, from ‘Aṭī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, from his father, from ‘Abbās b. Abī-Muṭṭalīb, who said, ‘One day I was in the mosque when Abī Jahl, God curse him! arrived. He said, ‘I swear by God, that if I see Muḥammad prostrating in prayer, I’ll stomp on his neck’!”

‘I then left and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him what Abī Jahl had said. He left home in a rage and went to the mosque. He was in a hurry to enter through the door, but he hit the wall instead. I told myself that this was an evil day; I put on my cloak and followed him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered then, recited the verse, ‘Read in the name of your Lord who created, created man from a clot.’ When he reached the passage relating to Abī Jahl: ‘No; man is indeed impious, to see himself self-sufficient’ (sūrat al-‘Alaq, XCVI, v.1, 2; 6, 7), a man said to Abī Jahl, ‘O Abī al-Ḥakam, that’s Muḥammad.’ Abī Jahl replied, ‘Can’t you see what I see? By God, the vistas of heaven have been barred to me!’ When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached the end of the sūrat he prostrated himself in prayer.”

Imām Ahmad stated that ‘Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma’mar, from ‘Abd al-Karīm, from Ikrima, who said, “Ibn ‘Abbās stated, ‘What Abī Jahl said was, ‘If I see Muḥammad praying at the ka’ba, I will tread on his neck!’”

“This comment reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he said, ‘If he does any such thing the angels will take him, in full view!’”

Al-Bukhārī related this in the same way from Yahyā, from ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

Dawūd b. Abī Hind stated from Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “Abī Jahl passed by the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was praying and addressed him with the words, ‘Hey, Muḥammad, didn’t I forbid you to pray? You know there to be no one who can call upon more people in council than I can.’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) reprimanded him and Gabriel spoke the words, ‘Let him call his henchmen; we will summon the angels of punishment! (sūrat al-‘Alaq, XCII, v.17–18). By God, if he does summon his people, the angels of justice will inflict punishment on him.’”
Aḥmad and al-Ṭirmidḥi related this; and al-Naṣāḥ b. Yazīd authenticated it through Dāwūd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ismāʿīl b. Yazīd Abū Zayd related to him, quoting Furāt, from ‘Abd al-Karīm, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Abū Jahl stated, ‘If I see Muḥammad at the kāʿba praying, I’ll fight him till I tread on his neck!’”

He said that he (the Prophet) also used the words, “If he does so, then the zabāniyya, (the angels of punishment) will take him away in full view.”


“And so God Almighty sent down the verses, ‘Read in the name of your Lord who created’ up to the verse ‘We will certainly smite his forehead, the lying, sinful forehead; let him summon his henchmen, and we will summon the zabāniyya’ (sūrat al-ʿAlaq, XXVI, v.15–18).

“Then the Prophet (ṣaḥḥā) came and prayed and Abū Jahl was asked, ‘Well, what’s stopping you?’ He replied, ‘(The space) between myself and him is black with his squadrons.’”

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, “And, by God, if he had so much as moved, the angels would have seized him, while the people looked on.”


The account continues, “So he said, ‘By al-ʿLāt and al-ʿUzza, if I see him praying like that, I’ll stomp on his neck and I’ll flatten his face down into the dust!’ So he went to the Messenger of God (ṣaḥḥā) while he prayed in order to tread on his neck, but everyone was surprised to see him retreat and put his hands out as if to protect himself.”

He went on, “So he was asked what was the matter, and Abū Jahl replied, ‘Between him and myself there is a trench of fire, terrifying things, and wings.’”

The account continues, “And the Messenger of God (ṣaḥḥā) commented, ‘If he had come near me the angels would have picked him apart limb by limb.’”

He said, “And God Almighty revealed – I don’t know whether or not this is in the ḥadīth from Abū Hurayra – ‘No, man is indeed impious, to see himself self-sufficient’ (sūrat al-ʿAlaq, XXVI, v.6–7), and so on to the end of the sūrat.”

Ahmad, Muslim, al-Naṣāḥī, Ibn Abū Ḥātim and al-Bayhaqī related this from a ḥadīth of Muṭāmir b. Sulaymān b. Ṭārkhan of Taym.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Ishaq, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “I never saw the
Messenger of God (SAAS) say a prayer against Quraysh except on one occasion. He was praying while a group of Quraysh sat there; there was the placenta (salā) of a sacrificed camel near by him. Quraysh asked, ‘Who will pick up that placenta and throw it over his back?’ ‘Uqba b. Abū Mu‘āyṭ replied, ‘I will.’ And he picked it up and threw it over his back. The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained there prostrating until Fāṭima came and removed it off his back. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘God take this crowd of Quraysh! O God, take away ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a! O God, take away Shayba b. Rabī‘a! O God, take away Abū Jahl b. Hishām! O God, take away ‘Uqba b. Abū Mu‘āyṭ! O God, take away Ubayy b. Khalaf – or Umayya b. Khalaf – they’re like a patch of thorns!’’

‘Abd Allāh stated, “And I saw all of them killed at the battle of Badr, and they were carried off to al-Qalīb; except for Ubayy, or Umayya b. Khalaf; he was a very large man and so was kept separate.”

Al-Bukhārī related this tradition in several places in his sahih collection, and Muslim related it with lines of authority from Ibn Ishaq.

The man who should rightly be referred to in this tradition is Umayya b. Khalaf. It was he who was killed at the battle of Badr. His brother Ubayy, however, was killed at the battle of Uḥud, as we will explain hereafter. The word al-salā, “placenta”, used above is what emerges in birth with a baby camel, like the placenta of a woman’s baby.

In some versions told in the sahih collection, when Quraysh did this they laughed so hard they fell right over one another; that is, one would collapse onto the one next to him because of the violence of their laughter. God curse them!

Regarding the same incident, when Fāṭima threw it off him, she drew near Quraysh and insulted them. And also it is said that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) finished his prayer he held up his hands to curse them. And when they saw him do this their laughter died down, fearing his imprecation. They say he cursed all the Quraysh chiefs, singling out in his prayer seven of them. In most accounts six of these are named, they being ‘Utba and his brother Shayba, the two sons of Rabī‘a, al-Walīd b. ‘Utba, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, ‘Uqba b. Abū Mu‘āyṭ, and Umayya b. Khalaf. Ibn Ishaq stated, “I forget the seventh.” But I state that he was ‘Umāra b. al-Walīd; his name is given in the sahih of al-Bukhārī.

The Story of al-Irāshī, the man from Irāsh.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, who said that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafi stated, “A man from Irāsh brought in to Mecca some camels he owned and Abū Jahl b. Hishām bought them from him. But he was slow in paying for them and so the man from Irāsh came to the place where Quraysh met; the Messenger of God (SAAS) was also there at the time, sitting
near the mosque. The man asked them, 'O Tribe of Quraysh, which man of you will give me help against Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām? I am a stranger, a traveller, and he has cheated me.'

"The Quraysh council replied, ‘You see that person’ – indicating the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) both to mock him and because of the enmity they knew existed between him and Abū Jahl – ‘go to him. He will help you against him.’

"So the man from Irāsh went and stood before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and related his story to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) got up and left with him. When Quraysh saw him do so they told one of their men to follow and see what he would do.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left and went to Abū Jahl’s house and knocked on the door. Abū Jahl said, ‘Who is there?’ He replied, ‘It’s Muḥammad; come outside!’ So Abū Jahl came outside, there being not a drop of blood in his face, his colour having turned pale. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said to him, ‘Give this man his due!’ Abū Jahl replied, ‘Don’t leave before I give him what I owe.’ He then went back inside and returned with the money he then paid to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left and said to the man from Irāsh, ‘Now, go to your destination.’ The man then went again before the Quraysh council and said, ‘May God reward him well; I have received what was due to me.’

"The man Quraysh had sent to watch came back to them and they asked what he had seen. He replied, ‘It was incredible! I swear, when he knocked on Abū Jahl’s door and he came out, his spirit was not accompanying him! He told him to give the man his due, and Abū Jahl replied, ‘Don’t leave till I bring it out for him.’ He then went back inside, then came out and gave it to him.’

"Soon thereafter Abū Jahl arrived and Quraysh asked, ‘Well, what’s wrong with you? By God, we never saw the like of what you did.’ He replied, ‘It was terrible! As soon as he knocked on my door and I heard his voice, I was filled with terror. Then when I went outside to him, there on his head was a stallion camel more fearful than any I ever saw before; its neck and teeth were unlike those of any camel. I swear, if I had refused, it would have eaten me!’"

**DIVISION**

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Ayyāsh b. al-Walid related to him, quoting al-Walid b. Muslim, quoting al-Awzā‘ī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhím al-Taymī (who said) that Urwa b. al-Zubayr related to him that he asked Ibn ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, “Tell me what the worst thing was the polytheists did to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”
He replied, "While the Prophet (SAAS) was praying at the hijr (the outer enclosure of the ka'ba) Uqba b. Abi Mu'ayt went up to him, drew his robe around his neck and began choking him hard.

"Abu Bakr, God bless him, approached, took him by the shoulders and pulled him off the Prophet (SAAS) saying, 'Would you murder a man for saying, "God is my Lord; He has brought you clear signs from your Lord" to the end of the verse'' (surat Ghafir, XL, v.28).

Ibn Ishaq gives the same hadith but uses the words "Yahyâ b. Urwa related to me: I asked 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr . . .".

'Abya gives it in the form: "from Hishâm, from his father, who said, 'Amr b. al-'Ash was asked . . .'. And Muhammad b. 'Amr said, 'from Abu Salama, who said, 'Amr b. al-'Ash related to me . . .'"

Al-Bayhaqi stated it, and Sulayman b. Bilal related it, from Hishâm b. Urwa as 'Abda gave it.

Al-Bukhari is the sole authority giving this anecdote; he told it in several places in his sahih collection. In one of these he related it to 'Abd Allâh b. Amr b. al-'Ash. That account is closest to that of Urwa. The fact that it was related from 'Amr (rather than from the son of 'Amr) is more likely, since the incident had occurred so early.

Al-Bayhaqi narrated from al-Ḥakim, from al-Āṣamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbar, from Yûnus, from Muḥammad b. Ishâq, who said that Yahyâ b. Urwa related to him, from his father 'Urwa, who said that he asked 'Abd Allâh b. Amr b. al-'Ash, "What is the worst thing you saw Quraysh inflict on the Messenger of God (SAAS)?" He replied, "I saw them once when all their chiefs had gathered at the hijr of the ka'ba and they were discussing the Messenger of God (SAAS). They said, 'We've been extraordinarily patient in putting up with this man; he has ridiculed our values, reviled our forefathers, criticized our religion, made divisions among us and insulted our gods. We've put up with a lot from him.' They used words such as these."

He went on, "While they were thus engaged, the Messenger of God (SAAS) appeared. He approached on foot, kissed the 'black stone', then passed on by them as he circumambulated the ka'ba. They, as I recognized from the face of the Messenger of God (SAAS) then said some insulting things to him. He went on his path but when he came round past them on his second circuit they again, as I saw from his face, insulted him. When he came round for the third time, they did the same.

"He then spoke, 'Are you listening, O Quraysh? By Him in whose hands is my soul, I'm bringing you slaughter!'"

"His words had such great impact on them that they went totally silent. Then those previously most harsh to him addressed him with kindness, saying, 'Why
don't you be sensible and leave, Abū al-Qāsim? You've never acted foolishly.'
And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) left.

"Next day Quraysh met again in the hajr and I was there with them. They discussed their interactions with him and said to one another, 'You mentioned what he did to you and what you did to him, until he brought out what you didn't like; so you let him go?"

"While they were engaged in this discussion, the Messenger of God (SAAS) appeared and they leapt upon him as one man and surrounded him, accusing him, 'Haven't you said so-and-so?' making reference to the negative comments they had heard he had made about their gods and their religion.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'Yes; I am the one who said that.'

"Then I saw one man grab him by the top fastening of his robe. At this Aba Bakr put himself between them, weeping, and said, 'Shame on you! Would you murder a man for saying, "My Lord is God?"' At this they let him go.

"That incident was the worst treatment he ever had from Quraysh."

Section: On the uniting of the Quraysh chiefs against the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions, and their meeting with his uncle Abū Ṭalib who was protecting and aiding him; their pressure upon Abū Ṭalib to deliver him to them, and how he resisted them in that objective, through the aid and strength of God.

Imām Ahmad stated that Wākiʿ related to him, from Hammad b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, 'I've suffered harm for God, whereas no one should be harmed; I've been frightened for God, whereas no one should be afraid. At one time, 30 days and nights had passed, and neither I nor Bilāl had what any human can eat except what could be concealed by Bilāl's armpit!'"

Al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Māja gave this text from a hadith of Ḥammād b. Salama. Al-Tirmidhi stated, "It is a fine, true tradition."

Muhammad b. Ishāq stated, "His uncle Abū Ṭalib showed his compassion and gave his protection to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and stood in front of him.

"And the Messenger of God (SAAS) continued performing God's work by practising his religion openly and allowing nothing to deter him.

"When Quraysh saw that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would not give up anything they had complained to him about, neither his separating from them nor his criticism of their gods, and they recognized that his uncle Abū Ṭalib was sympathetic towards him and was standing in front of him and refusing to deliver him to them, some of the Quraysh leaders went to Abū Ṭalib. These men were: Utba and Shayba, two sons of Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd al-Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Qūsayy, Abū Sufyān Sākhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya, Abū al-Bakhtari

“They said, ‘O Abū Ṭalīb, your nephew has cursed our gods, criticized our religion, ridiculed our values and said our forefathers erred. Either you interpose yourself between us – you disagree with us just as we do – or we’ll take care of him for you!’

“Abū Ṭalīb gave them a polite and gracious reply and they then left him.

“Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as before, openly practising God’s religion and calling upon people to embrace it. But then things between them became more heated until the men were mutually hostile and alienated from one another.

“Quraysh discussed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a great deal, complaining to one another and urging one another on to take action against him.

“They then went again to Abū Ṭalīb, and told him, ‘O Abū Ṭalīb, you have seniority, prestige, and position among us, and we have asked you to keep your nephew away from us, but you have not done so. We can’t any longer put up with his behaviour in reviling our forefathers, ridiculing our values, and criticizing our gods until such time as you make him desist, or we will battle with him and you in this matter, until one or other side perishes.’ They said something of this sort, and then they left.

“It grieved Abū Ṭalīb to be alienated from his people, and he was neither sympathetic to the call for Islam by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) nor to the idea of abandoning him.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated that Ya‘qūb b. Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him that he was told that when Quraysh, made these comments to Abū Ṭalīb, he sent a message to the Prophet (ṢAAS) in which he said, “O Nephew, your people have come to me and stated various things” – referring to what they had told him – “so protect me and yourself, and don’t burden me with more than I can bear.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thought that Abū Ṭalīb had changed his attitude, and that he had abandoned him and his fellow Muslims, and lacked the strength to help and protect him.

“So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘O Uncle, if they were to place the sun in my right hand and the moon in my left on condition I abandon this course until God decide it or I perish, I would not abandon it.’

“Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) broke down in tears and rose to leave.
“As he turned away, Abū Ṭalīb called out to him, ‘Come close, nephew!’ So the Messenger of God (SAAS) approached him and Abū Ṭalīb told him, ‘Go ahead, nephew, and say whatever you wish. I will never give you up for any reason.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When Quraysh learned that Abū Ṭalīb had refused to abandon the Messenger of God (SAAS) and was determined to break with them in enmity because of this, they went to him, bringing ‘Umrā b. al-Walīd with them. They told him, as I have heard, ‘O Abū Ṭalīb, this is ‘Umrā b. al-Walīd, the strongest and best-looking young man of Quraysh. Take him and use his mind and strength and adopt him as your own son; he is yours. And hand over to us this nephew of yours who has opposed your religion and that of your forefathers, broken up the unity of your people and ridiculed our values, so that we may kill him. It will be just one man for another!’

“Abū Ṭalīb responded, ‘By God, what evil is this you ask of me! Will you give me your son to feed for you, while I give you mine for you to kill? This, by God, will never happen!’

“Al-Muṭṭim b. ‘Adī b. Nawfāl b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy then said, ‘By God, Abū Ṭalīb, your people have been fair with you and have done their best to avoid offending you. But I don’t see you give them anything in return.’

“Abū Ṭalīb replied to al-Muṭṭim, ‘I swear by God they have not been fair with me. You have agreed to ostracize me and turn the people against me. So do what you think fit.’ Or words to that effect.

“The situation worsened and the conflict became more heated, with the people adopting different sides and expressing mutual hostility.

“Abū Ṭalīb spoke verses about all this criticizing al-Muṭṭim b. ‘Adī and those of Banū ‘Abd Manāf and the other Quraysh tribes who were hostile to him. In these verses he made reference to their request to him and to their alienation:

‘Tell ʿAmr, al-Walīd and Muṭṭim: “Instead of your (worthless) protection I’d rather have a camel calf
That was sickly and ungainly, that moaned a lot, its urine dripping down its legs,
That was left behind the herd and couldn’t keep up, one that looked more like a stoat when climbing the dunes.”

I see both our brothers, sons of our father and our mother, who reply when asked,
“It’s someone else’s problem.”

No, it is their concern, though they disappeared with the speed of a rock dropping from atop Mt. Dhū ʿAlaq.

I single out ʿAbd Shams and Nawfāl, both having dropped us like hot coals
They have slandered and insulted their brothers (in front of) the people; their hands now hold nothing for them
They have shared their prestige with men whose fathers are unknown except for being of low repute.
Section: Concerning their use of excessive violence against individual, powerless Muslims.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Quraysh then incited each other against those individual tribesmen who were Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and had accepted Islam.

“Each tribe persecuted the Muslims among them, using violence and trying to seduce them from their faith.

“God gave protection to the Messenger of God (SAAS) against them through his uncle Abii Talib.

“When Abii Talib saw what Quraysh were doing, he called upon Banii Hashim and Banii 'Abd al-Muttalib to join him in aiding and defending the Messenger of God (SAAS). They did join with him and agreed to his request, except for Abii Lahab, that enemy of God.

“He spoke some verses on this subject, praising them and urging them to fulfill their promises of help and support for the Messenger of God (SAAS):

‘If Quraysh were to assemble one day to express their pride, the 'Abd Manaf would be their heart and core

And if the chiefs of 'Abd Manaf were counted, then in Hisham would be their most noble and ancient of line.

If Quraysh do one day express their pride, then Muhammad will be the one chosen from their core, and their noble one;

Quraysh had their men, both high and low, against us, but they have not succeeded and their hopes are dashed.

In former times we never tolerated evil; if people turned their heads down, we straightened them out.

We defended their sanctuary every evil day, knocking from its walls those attacking it.

Through us the withered stalk is renewed, under our care its roots turn moist and grow.’”

Section: Concerning the objections presented by the polytheists to the Messenger of God (SAAS); how they troubled him with their asking of him various kinds of signs and miracles, and how this was due to their obstinacy rather than to their seeking guidance.

They were therefore not granted many of their requests or wishes because The Truth, glory be to Him, knew that if they had seen what they wanted, they would have continued straying in their tyranny, error and sin.
God Almighty stated, “And they swear by God, with their mightiest oaths, that if a sign came to them they would believe in it. Say: ‘Signs are with God alone.’ And what would make you perceive that if such came, they would still not believe? Supposing we turn their hearts and their vision upside down, they will not believe, as at the first time. So we will leave them straying in their tyranny. Even if we sent down the angels to them, and even if the dead spoke to them, and even if we gathered together all things from before, they would not believe unless God wished it. But most of them are foolish” (ṣūrat al-An‘ām, VI, v. 109-11).

And He said, “Even those against whom God’s word has proved true will not believe, even if all signs were to come to them until they see the painful punishment” (ṣūrat Yūnūs, X, v. 96-7).

The Almighty spoke, “Nothing prevented us from sending the signs except the fact that the earlier peoples disbelieved in them; We did give Thamīd the she-camel in full view, but they used it for evil. We do not send signs for any purpose but to warn” (ṣūrat al-Isrā‘, also known as ṣūrat Banū Isrā‘īl, XVII, v. 59).

And the Almighty said, “And they said, ‘We will not believe in you until you break forth a spring from the earth for us. Or until you have a garden of date-palms and grapes amidst which you make streams gush forth. Or until you make the sky fall upon us in pieces, as you have claimed you will. Or until you bring God and the angels before us. Or until you have a house of gold cloth. Or until you rise up to heaven. And we will not believe in your ascension until you bring down for us a book we can read.’ Say: ‘Glory be to God; am I anything but a mortal man, a messenger?’” (ṣūrat al-Isrā‘, XVII, v. 90-3).

We have discussed these verses and those similar to them in their places in the Ṭafṣīr (Exegesis). And all praise be to God.

Yūnūs and Ziyād related, from Ibn Ishaq, and from a certain scholar, namely a sheikh from Egypt named Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr and ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Leaders from Quraysh chiefs met – and he enumerated their names – after sunset at the rear of the ka‘ba. Some said, ‘Send for Muḥammad and speak with him and argue with him so you will find excuse for him.’

“So they sent a message to him, saying, ‘The chiefs of your people have assembled to speak with you.’

“The Messenger of God (ṣa‘īd) came to them quickly, believing that there had been a change in their attitude to him. He was eager for them to accept the truth for their error, which was painful to him. He sat down with them.

“They said, ‘O Muḥammad, we sent for you to reconcile with you. By God, we know of no Arab man who has ever brought his people as much trouble as you have. You have reviled the forebears, criticized the religion, ridiculed the
values, cursed the gods, and divided our community. Every unpleasant thing possible you have done to make a rift between you and us.

"If you had come to say these things merely to seek wealth, we would have collected money for you from our own until you were the richest among us. If what you wanted was prestige, we would have placed you in leadership over us. If you had wanted sovereignty, we would have made you king over us. If what you were bringing us was because of a spirit that had possessed you (they used the word *ra'ī* for *tābil* meaning spirit) and that may be the case, we would expend our resources seeking a potion to free you from him, or we would excuse you."

"The Messenger of God replied, 'What you have said does not apply to me. I have not brought you my message seeking your money, nor honour among you, nor sovereignty over you. God has sent me to you as a Messenger; He has revealed a document to me and has ordered me to bring you good news and to warn you. I have brought you a message from my Lord and have given you counsel. If you accept what I have brought you, then that is for your good on earth and in the hereafter. If you reject it, I will await God's decision, until He decides between myself and you.' The Messenger of God used some such words.

"They responded, 'O Muhammad, if you will not accept what we are offering you, then you will realize that there are no people with less land than us, nor any less wealthy, nor any with a more difficult life. So ask for us your Lord who has sent you with whatever he has sent you, to level out for us these mountains that close us in, and spread out our country and give us some rivers here that flow like those in Syria and Iraq. Ask him to resurrect for us some of our dead forefathers, including among them Qusayy b. Kilâb, since he was a truth-telling sheikh. We will then ask them whether what you say is true or false.

'If you do what we ask and they believe you, we will believe you and recognize your status with God, and that he has sent you as a messenger, as you say.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'This is not why I have been sent. I have only brought you from God what He has sent me with. I have informed you of what I was sent to convey to you. If you accept it, then that is your good fortune on earth and in the hereafter. If you reject it, I must wait patiently for God's decree and for Him to judge between us.'

"They responded, 'If you won't do this for us, take something for yourself. Ask your Lord to send us down an angel who will verify what you say and make us leave you alone. Ask him to provide for us some gardens, some castles and treasures of gold and silver, and to take care of those needs we see you have, for we see you engage in business and earn your living like us. That way we will know the favour and prestige you have with your Lord - if, that is, you are a messenger as you claim.'
“He replied, ‘I’m not going to do so. I’m not one to ask such things of his Lord. That is not why I have been sent to you. God has sent me to announce and to warn. If you accept my message, then that is your good fortune here on earth and in the afterlife. If you reject it, then I must be patient and leave the matter up to God, until He decides between myself and you.’

“They replied, ‘Well then, make the sky fall down as you have claimed your Lord can do if He wishes. We’ll not believe in you unless you do this.’

“He answered, ‘That is up to God. If He wishes, He will do that to you.’

“They commented, ‘O Muḥammad, did your Lord not know we would sit with you and ask you questions as we have asked and make requests we have made, and so come forward to you and inform you how to respond to us, and tell you what He would then do about us if we did not accept the message from you?’

“We have learned that you just receive this instruction from a man in al-Yamāma known as al-Raḥmān; we will never, by God, believe in that al-Raḥmān! We’ve made every excuse for you, Muḥammad, but, by God, because of what you’ve done to us we’ll not leave you alone until we destroy you or you destroy us!’

“One of them said, ‘We worship the angels who are God’s daughters.’ Another said, ‘We’ll not believe in you till you bring us God and the angels beforehand.’

“When they had said this, the Messenger of God (-SAAS) arose to leave them. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm, who was his cousin, being the son of his aunt ʿĀtika, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, got up with him and said to him, ‘O Muḥammad, your people have made certain offers to you that you have not accepted. Then they made requests for themselves so that they could discover your status with God, but you did nothing. Then they asked you to send promptly some punishment that would scare them. By God, I’ll never believe in you until you put up a ladder to heaven then climb it, with me watching, until you reach there, bring back with you a copy of a document accompanied by four angels who testify that you are as you claim! And yet, by God, even if you did that, I think I’d not believe you!’

“He then left the Messenger of God (-SAAS), who went off home sad and regretful at his failure to achieve what he had expected when his people had summoned him, and at the alienation he had seen them express towards him.”

This assembly where those leaders met with him had been one of injustice, antagonism, and stubbornness. Divine wisdom and God’s mercy decreed that they not be granted what they had requested, because God knew that they would not have faith thereby, and that it would hasten their punishment.

78. Apparently a reference to the “false prophet” Musaylima.
Imām Ḫāmad stated that ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Jarir, from al-ʿAʾmah, from Jaʿfar b. Iyās, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The people of Mecca asked the Messenger of God (SĀAS) to turn Mt. al- Ṣafā into gold for them and to move away the mountains so that they could grow crops. He was told, ‘It is up to you whether you give them respite, or what they ask, and then if they disbelieve they will perish as did those nations who came before them.’"

“He replied, ‘No; I will give them respite.’

“And so God Almighty sent down, ‘Nothing prevented us from sending the signs except the fact that the earlier peoples disbelieved in them; We did give Thamūd the she-camel in full view, but they used it for evil. We do not send signs for any purpose but to warn’” (ṣārat al-Īsraʾ, XVII, v.59).

Al-Nasāʾī related this tradition from Jarir:

Ahmad stated that ʿAbd al-ʿRahman related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from Umrān b. Ḥakīm, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Quraysh said to the Prophet (SĀAS), ‘Pray to your Lord for us to turn Mt al- Ṣafā into gold and we will believe in you.’ ‘You would really do so?’ he asked. ‘Yes,’ they replied.

“So he did pray and Gabriel came to him and spoke, saying, ‘Your Lord greets you and tells you, ‘If you wish, then al- Ṣafā will become gold for them. But all those who disbelieve thereafter I will either punish as I never have any humans before, or, if you wish it, I will open up for them the door of forgiveness and repentance.’”

“He replied, ‘No, let it be forgiveness and repentance.’”

Both these two chains of authority are excellent and were transmitted by a group of followers of the Prophet (SĀAS) including Saʿīd b. Jubayr, Qatāda, Ibn Jurayh and others.

Imām Ahmad and al-Tirmidhī recounted from a hadith of ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, who said that Yahyā b. Ayyūb related to him, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. Zaḥr, from ʿAlī b. Yazid, from al-Qāsim, from Abu Umāma, from the Prophet (SĀAS) who said, “My Lord, Almighty and All-glorious is He, proposed to me that he would transform the Mecca valley into gold. But I replied, ‘No, O God, one day I am satisfied, the next hungry, or something close thereto; and when I am hungry, I humble myself before you and think of You, and when satisfied I give praise and thanks to You.’”

(Imām) Ahmad gave this tradition without comment. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “This hadith is good.” And ʿAlī b. Yazid considered it weak.

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated that an Egyptian sheikh, who came to him some 40 years before, related to him from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Quraysh sent al-Nāṭr b. al-Ḥarīth and Uqba b. Abū Muʿayyāt to the Jewish rabbis at
Medina, telling the two men, ‘Ask them about Muhammad; describe him to them and relate to them what he says. They are the people of the first scriptures. They have knowledge we don’t possess about prophets.’

“So al-Nadr and ‘Uqba went off to Medina and asked the rabbis about the Messenger of God (SAAS), describing him and what he said to them. The two men told them, ‘You are the people of the Torah; we have come for you to tell us about this countryman of ours.’

“The rabbis told them, ‘Ask him about three subjects we will inform you about. If he responds, he is a prophet with a mission. If he does not, he is a pretender for you to treat as you will.

‘Ask him about the young warriors who passed away in earlier times and what happened to them. They had a very strange experience.

‘Also ask him about the great traveller who went far out to the east and far to the west, and what became of him. Then ask him what the rūḥ (soul or spirit) is.

‘If he answers these questions, then he is a prophet and so follow him. If he does not, then he is a fake and you should do with him what seems right to you.’

‘Al Na&r and ‘Uqba returned to Quraysh and told them, ‘0 Quraysh, we bring you the means to decide the issue between yourselves and Muhammad. The rabbis told us to ask him certain questions.’ They then told Quraysh what these were.

“So Quraysh went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said to him, ‘O Muhammad, answer us these.’ They then questioned him as they had been told. The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘I will tomorrow give you the answer to what you have asked.’ But in saying this, he omitted the phrase, ‘if God wills it’.

“They then left him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) thereafter remained for 15 days without revelation or any visitation from Gabriel. And so the Meccans spread rumours, saying, ‘Muhammad promised us it would be the next day, but it’s been 15 now without him having answered any one of the matters we asked him.’ The cessation of revelation greatly troubled the Messenger of God, and he was hurt by what the Meccans were saying about him.

“Then Gabriel, peace be upon him, brought him from God, the Almighty and All-Glorious, the surat al-Kahf (XVIII). In this there is reprimand for his sadness about them and information on the matters concerning the ancient warriors and the mighty traveller about whom they had questioned him. God Almighty also stated, ‘And they ask you about the rūḥ (the soul). Say, the rūḥ is by order of my Lord. And you are given but little knowledge’ (surat al-Isrā‘ (or Banū Isrā‘il), XVII, v.85).

“We have spoken about that at length in the Tafsir (Exegesis); the reader wishing more information on this will find it there.

“Also revealed was God’s statement, “or did you think that the men of the cave and the inscription were a wonder from among our signs?” (surat al-Kahf, XVIII, v.9).
He then proceeded to detail their story. In the course of this God interjected by his commanding the use of “the exception” as a matter of determination, not comment, in His words, “And do not say of anything, ‘I will do that tomorrow,’ unless God wills it. And remember God when you are forgetful” (sūrat al-Kahf, XVIII, v.23–4).

He then made mention of the story of Moses, because it is related to that of al-Khadr, and then he proceeded to tell about Dhū al-Qarnayn. God then said, “They will ask you about Dhū al-Qarnayn. Say, I will relate you an account of him” (sūrat al-Kahf, XVIII, v.83). He then explained all about him and what happened to him.

God stated in the sūrat (beginning with) Subhān: “And they ask you about the rūḥ (i.e. soul or spirit). Say: the rūḥ is by order of my Lord” (sūrat al-Isrā’, XVII, v.85). That is, the rūḥ, is a strange and marvellous part of His creation, something God ordained; He said “Be” (Let there be rūḥ), and so it “was”. And it is not up to you to scrutinize all He has created. To represent or portray real nature and essence would be too difficult for you. It is something related to the power and (ultimate) wisdom of the Almighty. This is why He stated: “And you are given but little knowledge” (sūrat al-Isrā’, XVII, v.85).

It is well established in both sahih collections that the Jews asked this of the Messenger of God (ṣAAS) when he was in Medina, and so he recited this verse to them.

This verse was either revealed a second time or he made reference to it as a response, even though its revelation came previously. Those who maintain it was revealed only at Medina and exclude it from the sūra Subhān (i.e. sūrat al-Isrā’) are wrong. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When Abū Ṭalib feared that the crowds of Arabs would overwhelm him and his people, he composed his ode in which he claimed refuge at the Mecca sanctuary because of his position there. In it he expressed his friendship for his people’s leaders, but told them and others in his poem that he was not surrendering the Messenger of God (ṣAAS) and that he would never abandon him for any reason, even if it meant dying in his defence. Abū Ṭalib spoke the verses:

‘Having seen that the people are without friendship and that they have severed all ties and connections
And have openly expressed their enmity, inflicted harm and obeyed the orders of the implacable enemy
And have allied with a people against us who are suspicious, and bite their fingers in rage at us behind our backs,
I have remained firm towards them, my spear flexible, my sword sharp and of royal provenance.
I assembled my brothers and kin at the ka'ba and gripped the ropes of its covering,
Standing together and facing its doors, the place where those having made oaths
fulfil them,
The area where pilgrims kneel their mounts and where the flow of blood comes
from the gods Isâf and Na'îl,
Their mounts branded on their shoulder or neck base, prime pampered beasts
between seven and nine years old.
On them you see ornaments of cowry shells and marble tied to their necks which
are like fronds heavy with dates.
I seek sanctuary with the Lord of men from all aggressors seeking evil and men who
persist in lies,
From those who hate and strive to harm us and from those who attach to the religion
what we have not attempted.
By Thawr and by Him who set Thabîr in its place and by those who both ascend
Hîrâ and descend,
By the ka'ba, the true House in Mecca's valley, and by God, I swear, God is never
unaware.
By the "black stone" when it is touched by those who move around it at morn and
evening,
By Abraham's tread upon the moist rock, both feet bare and wearing no sandals,
By the courses run between al-Marwatayn and al-Sâfâ and by the images and statues
at both places.
By all those who ride in to pilgrimage at God's house and all who make vows and all
who come on foot.
By the furthest shrine they head for, for Mt. 'Arafât, and the place where the
streams meet and flow
And the places where they halt at evening above the mountains, where they make
their mounts stop by placing their hands on their animals' foreparts.
By the night of the assembly at the Minâ stations; are there any shrines or stations
above them?
And by the crowding when the horses swiftly pass by as if they are escaping a
falling rain.
By the great Jamra, the mound of stones, when pilgrims approach it, casting their
stones at its top.
By Kinda tribe when at evening at al-Ḥisâb and the pilgrims of Banû Bakr b. Wâ'il
pass them by.
Both allies who have affirmed the bond between them, and referred back to it all
kinds of relationships
And by their breaking down the very tallest of trees and bushes as they race by, like
swift-paced ostriches,
Is there after this any better refuge for one seeking it? Does anyone offer refuge
who is just and fears God?
Our enemies had the best of us and wished we were used to block the gates to Turk
and Kabul.
You have lied, by God's House; we leave Mecca and our land without you being confounded?
You have lied, by God's House; we subdue Muhammad, not fight and resist in his defence?
We give him up before we are piled up dead around him, and leave behind our children and our wives?
A people will rise up with steel against you, like camels rising when they bear waterskins,
Until we see our enemy stretched out from his wounds, all awry, like a cripple.
We will, by God, if what I see is in earnest, have our swords become mixed with others like them
In the hands of a young fighter like a flame, a brave man, trustworthy, defending the truth, heroic.
And so months, days, a year become inviolate for us, and then will come another season, after the next.
How, curse you, could a people abandon a chief who protects his honour, not some foul-mouthed coward
And a noble for whom the clouds are made to rain, the provider for orphans and supporter of widows?
The most needy of the Hashim tribe resort to him; with him they find mercy and respect
By my life, Usayd and his first born led us to being hated, and they cut us up for anyone to eat.
Neither Uthman nor Qunfudh had sympathy for us, but obeyed the order of those tribes
They obeyed Ubayy and the son of their 'Abd Yaghuth, neither of them caring what others said of us
We fared the same from Subay and Nawfal, and all turned away in opposition, not acting kindly.
If they both should be discovered or God take hold of them, we'll take revenge measure for measure
And that Abû 'Amr insisted on hating us, to drive us out to join herdsmen of sheep and camels
Whispering about us at morning and evening; whisper away, O Abû 'Amr, and then deceive!
He swears to us by God, he'll not deceive us; but yes, we perceive him obviously untrustworthy.
His hate for us has made all the high ground between Akhshab and Majudil too constrained for him.
Question Abû al-Walid, "How did you benefit us by coming to us, then turning away, like a deceiver?"
"You used to be a man whose opinion and kindness had influence over us, for you were once no fool.
"And so, Utba, do not listen to those who secretly hate us, envious, mendacious, hate-filled slanderers."
As Abū Sufyān passed by me he looked away, as though he were a royal prince of a
great line.

He gets away to high Najd and its cool waters, claiming, “No, I’m not abandoning
you.”

He tells us, as though a true counsellor, that he is sympathetic but he hides his
innate ill-will.

O Muṭʿim, I did not desert you when needing help, nor any critical time needing
deeds of valour

Nor on that day of conflict when they attacked you violently, fierce men, implacable
enemies.

O Muṭʿim, the people have entrusted a task to you, and I, when given a task, don’t
shun it;

May God punish ʿAbd Shams and Nawfal for us, soon, not delayed, and harsh.

In proper measure, not a grain-weight less, it being testimony about itself, not that
of some miscreant.

Fools are they who would exchange in barter the Banū Khalaf and al-Ghayāṭal for
us.

We are the very heart of the essence of Hāshim and the tribe of Quṣayy in all prime
regards.

Sahm and Makhzūm have biased and incited against us in enmity every scoundrel
and sinner.

O ʿAbd Manāf, you men are the best of your people, so do not ally in your affairs
with every sponger.

By my life, you have gone weak and ineffectual, failing badly in the view of anyone
of good judgement;

Till recently you were the firewood for one pot, but now you’re the fuel for various
pots and cauldrons.

Let Banū ʿAbd Manāf enjoy our plight and abandonment, and our being forsaken
in our refuge.

If indeed a tribe, we will have revenge for your acts and you will taste the fruits of
indiscriminate warfare.

Tell Quṣayy that news of us will spread, and announce to Quṣayy that after us they
will be defeated.

Yet if great misfortune had one day befallen Quṣayy, we would not have stood
away, forsaking them;

If they had fought valiantly amidst their homes, we would have helped them with
their women and children.

So all we considered friends or relatives we’ve found, I swear, of no avail

Excepting a group of the Kilāb b. Murra tribe who are innocent of the fault of
falseness to us.

The finest of the tribe is our nephew Zuhayr, without dispute, a sharp sword,
alone, unsheathed,

The tallest standing of the pride of the chieftains, a fine man, belonging to a line at
the very centre of glory.
By my life, I am utterly devoted to Ahmad and his brethren, with all the constancy of a close admirer.

For who of all is like him, who could be hoped to compete when judges assess him for superiority?

He is mild-tempered, intelligent, just, stable, the ally of a God of whom he is ever aware.

Noble in his work, noble and noble-born, a man with an inheritance of glory, constant and unbroken

And the Lord of men has aided him with victory, and he has brought forth a religion the truth of which shall stay.

By God, were I not thereby to cause disgrace that would be brought out against our sheikhs in the assemblies

We would have followed him regardless of fate, in all seriousness, not mere talk.

They know that our son is not thought a liar by us, nor does he pay attention to silly nonsense.

Among us Ahmad is so deeply rooted that the best efforts of upstarts fall short of him.

I cared for him myself, protected him, and defended him by our heads and chests."

Ibn Hishām commented, "These seem to me the verses of this poem that are genuine. But some scholars expert in poetry reject most of them."

I would say that this ode is truly fine and very effective. No one but he to whom it is ascribed could have spoken it; it is more perfect than the seven mu‘allaqat odes! It is more effective in conveying its meaning than all of them are.

Al-Umawi gave its text in his maghāzi history at greater length, with additions. But God knows best.

**DIVISION**

Ibn Ishāq stated: "They then became aggressive towards those who had accepted Islam and followed the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"Each tribe attacked all the defenceless Muslims in them, imprisoning them or persecuting them by beating them, depriving them of food and drink and by putting them out on the burning hot ground of Mecca when the heat was most extreme. They were trying to deter them from their religion.

"Some, due to the severity of their suffering, were dissuaded from it, while others stood up to them, God giving them His protection.

"Bilal, who became Abū Bakr’s freed-man, at that time belonged to Banū Jumah, being one of their slaves born to a foreign mother. His name was Bilal b. Rabah and his mother’s name was Ħamāma. He was sincere in Islam, a man pure of heart. Umayya b. Khalaf would place him outside at heat of noon, then
order that a huge rock be placed on his chest. He would then tell him, ‘By God, you’ll stay like this till you die, unless you disavow Muhammad and pray to al-Lāt and al-Uzza!’

“Bilāl, while in this state, would say only, ‘One! One!’”

Ibn Ishaq stated that Hishām b. Urwa related to him, from his father, who said, “Waraqa b. Nawfał used to pass by Bilāl when he was being persecuted in this way as he was saying, ‘One! One!’ Waraqa would then say to Bilāl, ‘One! One! by God, O Bilāl!’

“Waraqa would then go to Umayya b. Khalaf and the others of the Banū Jumāḥ who were doing this and say, ‘I swear by God, that if you murder him I’ll use his tomb as a shrine!’”

I observe that some consider this hadith as dubious, since Waraqa died directly after the Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission, during the period of intermission of the revelation. Those who first accepted Islam did so following the revelation of the verse, “O You who are all wrapped up” (ṣūrat al-Muddaththir, LXXIV, v.1). And so how could Waraqa pass by Bilāl as he was being tortured? The tradition is doubtful.

Then Ibn Ishaq recounted how Abo Bakr passed by Bilāl as he was under torture and bought him from Umayya by exchanging a black slave he owned. Thereafter he manumitted Bilāl and so saved him from persecution.

He then related how Abo Bakr purchased a number of slaves, both male and female, who had accepted Islam. These included, with Bilāl, Āmir b. Fuhayra, Umm ‘Umayys and Zinnīra, who lost her sight but had it restored by God Almighty. Also there were al-Nahdiyya and her daughter, both of whom he bought from Banū ‘Abd al-Dār; their mistress had sent them both to mill some flour, and Abo Bakr heard her say to them, “By God, I will never free either of you!” Abo Bakr then told her, “Retract that, Umm so-and-so!” The woman replied, “I retract. Now you have spoiled them, so you free them!” “How much are they?” he asked. She named a price and he agreed, “All right, I’ll take them. They are free now. So return her flour to her.” They asked, “Shouldn’t we finish milling it, and then give it back to her?” “That’s fine, if you want to.”

He purchased a slave-girl of Bana Mu’ammil, a clan of the Banū ‘Adī; ‘Umar used to strike her over Islam.

Ibn Ishaq continued to say that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abo ‘Atīq related to him, from Āmir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from one of his family, who said, “Abo Quḥafa said to his son Abo Bakr, ‘Son, I see you are setting free people who are powerless. If you want to do this, why don’t you free some powerful men who could protect and defend you?’

“Abo Bakr replied, ‘I’m only doing what it is I want.’”

Ibn Ishaq went on: “And it is related that the following verses were revealed specifically about him and what his father had said, ‘To those who give, are
pious and believe in goodness we will provide ease and facilitate’ and so on to the end of the *ṣūrat*’ (ṣūrat al-Layl, XCII, v.5–7).

We have previously given the account of Imam Ahmad and Ibn Maja, from Ḍāsim b. Bahdala, from Zarr, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said that, “The first who openly became Muslims were seven persons: the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abū Bakr, ‘Ammār and his mother Sumayya, Ṣuhayb, Bilāl, and al-Miqdād.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) was protected by God through his uncle, and Abū Bakr was protected by his tribe. The others were seized by the polytheists, bound in chains and set in the hot sun. All ultimately complied with their persecutors’ wishes except for Bilāl; he subjugated himself to God Almighty. His people did not care for him, they ultimately gave him over to the guards who paraded him in the quarters of Mecca while he repeated, ‘One! One!’”

Al-Thawrī related this from Manṣūr, from Mujahid, but it lacks a complete chain of early authorities.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, “Banū Makhzūm used to set ‘Ammār b. Yāsir and his father and mother, all of whom had become Muslims, outside at heat of noon, torturing them with the hot ground of Mecca. The Messenger of God (SAAS) would pass by them and say to them, as I have heard, ‘Be patient, O family of Yāsir; you are destined for paradise.’”

Al-Bayhaqī related, from al-Ḥakim, from Ibrāhim b. Iṣmat al-ʿAdl, who said that Al-Sarri b. Khuzayma related to him, quoting Muslim b. Ibrāhim, quoting Hishām b. Abū Ubayd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by ‘Ammār and his family while they were being tortured. He said, “Be of good cheer, O family of ‘Ammār, O family of Yāsir; you are destined for paradise.”

His mother, however, they actually did kill, for she refused anything but Islam.

Imām Āḥmad stated, “Wakī related to us, from Sufyān, from Manṣūr, from Mujahid, who said, ‘The first martyr to meet her death early in Islam was ‘Ammār’s mother Sumayya. Abū Jahl thrust a spear into her heart.’”

This account lacks a complete chain of early authorities.

Muḥammad b. Iṣḥaq stated, “That sinner Abū Jahl was the one who incited the men of Quraysh against them. When he heard of a man of status and influence who had accepted Islam he would upbraid and insult him, saying, ‘You have abandoned the religion of your father, a man better than you. We will deprecate your values, deride your opinions, and destroy your reputation.’ If the Muslim were a merchant, he would say, ‘We will, by God, boycott doing business with you and will ruin you.’ If the Muslim were defenceless, Abū Jahl would beat him and incite others against him. May God damn and punish him!”
Ibn Ishaq also said that Hakim b. Jubayr related to him, from Sa'id b. Jubayr, who said, “I asked 'Abd Allâh b. 'Abbâs, ‘Did the polytheists so persecute the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) that they were forgiven if they gave up the faith?’

“‘Oh yes,’ he replied. ‘They would so beat people and so deprive them of food and water that they would be unable to sit up. Eventually they would do whatever their persecutors incited them to. If they were asked, ‘Are al-Lât and al-'Uzza gods in their own right, other than God?’ they would reply, ‘Yes; they are!’ This was just to avoid their torture.”

I here observe that it was concerning this that God sent down, "Whoever disavows God after having believed in Him, except for those who are compelled (to do so) while their hearts are content in the faith, but whoever allows himself to accept disbelief shall have God’s wrath upon them, and they shall receive terrible punishment" (sûrat al-Nahl, XVI, v.106).

These people were forgiven because of the contempt and extreme pain they suffered; may God, in all his power and strength, preserve us from the like.

Imâm Ahmad stated that Abu Mu'âwiya related to him, quoting al-'A'mash, from Muslim, from Mas'rûq, from Khabbab b. al-Aratt, who said, “I was a chieftain and I was owed money by al-'Âs b. Wâ'il. So I went to him to get payment but he told me, ‘No, by God, I’ll not pay you until you express disbelief in Muhammad!’ I replied, ‘I will never, by God, express disbelief in Muhammad until you die and then are resurrected!’ He responded, ‘Well, if I do die and am resurrected and you come to me and I then have property and sons, then I’ll pay you!’ And so God Almighty sent down: ‘And have you seen him who disbelieves in our signs yet says: “I will certainly be given wealth and sons . . .” and so on, to the verse ending “and he shall come to us alone’”’ (sûrat Maryam, XIX, v.77–80).

In both sahih collections and elsewhere this tradition is given in various lines of transmission from al-'A'mash.

According to al-Bukhârî’s text, the wording should be “I was a chieftain in Mecca, and I made a sword for al-'Âs b. Wâ'il and went to him for payment.”

Al-Bukhârî stated that Al-Humaydî related to him, quoting Sufyân, quoting Bayân and Ismâ'il, both of whom said that they heard Qays say that he heard Khābāb say, “I went to the Prophet (SAAS) when he was using his cloak as a pillow in the shadow of the ka'âba; we had recently suffered violence from the polytheists. I asked him, ‘Aren’t you praying to God?’

“He sat up, his face flushed red, and said, ‘Those who came before you did would be combed with metal down through their flesh and sinews to the bone, but that would not deter them from their religion. They would have saws put on their hair parting and have their heads split in two, but would not be deterred from their religion. God will certainly so conclude this matter that a person will
be able to ride from Yemen to Ḥadramawt and fear only God, Almighty and All Glorious is He.’”

Another statement is also added “and wolves attacking his sheep”. And in one account there are also the words, “But you are impatient”.

Al-Bukārī alone, and not Muslim, gives this tradition. It was also reported from another line of transmission from Khabbāb, but in a shorter form than this. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Sufyān and Ibn Jaʿfar, that Shuʿba related to them, from Abū Ishāq, from Saʿīd b. Wahb, from Khabbāb, who said, “We complained to the Prophet (SALLAH) at the intensity of the heat of the ground, but he would not make a complaint for us; that is, in prayer.” Ibn Jaʿfar said “but he would not listen to our complaint.”

He also said that Sulaymān b. Dāwūd related to him, as did Shuʿba, from Abū Ishāq, who said that he heard Saʿīd b. Wahb say that he heard Khabbāb say, “We made complaint to the Messenger of God (SALLAH) about the intensely hot ground, but he would not listen to our complaint.”

Shuʿba stated, “that is, at the heat of midday”.

Muslim related this, quoting al-Nasāʾī and al-Bayhaqī from a hadith of Abū Ishāq al-Sabīṭī, from Saʿīd b. Wahb, from Khabbāb, who said, “We made a complaint to the Messenger of God (SALLAH) about the intense heat of the ground” – to this al-Bayhaqī added the words “on our faces and palms” – “but he would not listen to our complaint.”

Ibn Miṣṣa related it, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭanāfusī, from Wāqq, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥarīthah b. Madriḥ al-ʿAbdī, from Khabbāb, who said, “We complained to the Messenger of God (SALLAH) about the intense heat of the ground, but he would not listen to our complaint.”

It occurs to me – though God knows best – that this hadith is abbreviated from the former one. That is, they complained to him at the treatment they were receiving from the polytheists. They were being tortured on the intensely hot ground and so using their hands to protect themselves while being dragged along on their faces, as well as being given those other forms of torture mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and others. They therefore requested him to pray on their behalf that God might punish the polytheists, or to seek help against them. He promised to do so, but did not fulfil this for them in the current circumstances, but reminded them of those who had preceded them. Those people had received treatment far worse than they were getting, but this had not deterred them from their religion. He cheered them by assuring them that God would bring this matter to a conclusion, and would do so openly, clearly and decisively over an area far and wide, so that a traveller would be able to go from Ṣanʿa to Ḥadramawt and have nothing to fear but God, and nothing to fear for his sheep from wolves. But, he told them, they were being impatient.
For this reason, he stated, “We made complaint to the Messenger of God (SAAS) about the intense heat of the ground on our faces and palms, but he would not listen to our complaint”, i.e. he would not pray for us at that time.

As for those who see evidence in this for not deferring the midday prayer until it is cooler, or on the need to touch the place of prayer with the palms, as is a judgement reached by al-Shafi`i, these views may be debated or considered. But God knows best.

CHAPTER: THE ARGUMENTATION OF THE POLYTEISTS AGAINST THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS), AND THE COGENT ARGUMENTS THAT REFUTED THEM; HOW WITHIN THEMSELVES THEY RECOGNIZED THE TRUTH, EVEN THOUGH THEY EXPRESSED DISAGREEMENT OUT OF STUBBORNNESS, ENVY, MALICE AND DENIAL.

Ishaq b. Rähawayh stated that 'Abd al-Razzâq related to him, from Ma‘mar, from Ayyûb al-Sakhtiyâni, from ʻIkrima, from Ibn ʻAbbâs, that al-Walid b. al-Mughira went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who recited the Qurân to him. Al-Walid seemed to be impressed by it, and this fact reached Abû Jahl. He therefore went to al-Walid and told him, “Uncle, your people want to collect for you some money.” Al-Walid asked why, and he went on, “To give it to you. Because you went to Muḥammad to oppose his influence!”

Al-Walid replied, “But Quraysh know that I am one of their wealthiest men.”

Abû Jahl said, “Well, do make some statement telling your people that you disavow him.”

He replied, “What should I say? By God, there’s not one man among you with a better knowledge than myself of poetry, of its various metres and odes, or of the verses by spirits. But, I swear, what he speaks is nothing like these; by God, there is a spendour in what he says. There’s a gracefulness about him. He is effective and productive at all levels. He achieves greater heights than anyone. He overwhelms all beneath him.”

Abû Jahl commented, “Your people will not be pleased with you until you make a statement about him.”

“Well”, al-Walid asked, “leave me alone till I can give it some thought.”

When he had done so, he said, “This is nothing but sorcery brought him by others.” And so God revealed the verses, “Leave Me (to deal with) him whom I created, alone; and I made for him extensive wealth, and sons to be seen” (sûrat al-Muddaththir, LXXIV, v.11–13).

Al-Bayhaqi related it thus, from al-Ḥākim, from ʻAbd Allâh b. Muḥammad al-Sanâ‘i at Mecca, from Ibn Ishaq’s account. Ḥammad b. Zayd related it from Ayyûb, from ʻIkrima, but with an incomplete chain of early authorities. That
account states that the Prophet recited to al-Walid the verses, “God enjoins justice, kindness and charity to one’s kinsfolk, and prohibits immorality, evil and wickedness. He admonishes you, so that you may take heed” (sūrat al-Nāhīl, XVI, v.90).

Al-Bayhaqi stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Āṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Išāq, who said that Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad related to him, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, or ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that al-Walid b. al-Mughira met with a group of men of Quraysh. He was, at that time, one of their respected elders. The time was that of the pilgrimage. He addressed them, saying, “Delegations of Arabs will now be coming to you, and they will have heard of this associate of yours. So unite in one opinion about him, without dissension between you that would make you contradict one another.”

He was told, “O Abū ʿAbd Shams, you tell us; you establish a position for us that we can uphold.”

He replied, “No; you must speak, and I will listen.”

They responded, “We say he is a soothsayer.”

He replied, “No; he is no soothsayer. I have seen soothsayers and he doesn’t engage in the rhymed mumbling doggerel they use.”

They commented, “Well, then we say he is crazy, possessed by spirits.”

“No,” he replied, “he is not crazy; we have seen and known those who are crazy, and he has none of their choking, erratic movement and mumbling.”

“Then we say he is a poet.”

“No,” he disagreed, “he is no poet. We know poetry in all its metrical forms, and what he speaks is not poetry.”

“Then we say he is a sorcerer.”

“No,” he said, “he is no sorcerer. We’ve seen sorcerers and their magic and he doesn’t do any of their tying and untying.”

“What are we to say then, O Abū ʿAbd Shams?”

He replied, “By God, there is a splendour in what he speaks. In essence he is like a palm tree whose branches give much fruit. All you have been saying will be recognized as false. The closest thing is for you to say, ‘This man is a sorcerer who comes between a man and his religion, a man and his father, a man and his wife, a man and his brother, and a man and his tribe.’”

They then dispersed and set about taking seats (and waiting) for people when they arrived for the festivities. They would warn them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whenever they passed by, and told them all about him.

And God revealed concerning al-Walid, “Leave Me (to deal with) him whom I created, alone; and I made for him extensive wealth, and sons to be seen” (sūrat al-Muddaththir, LXXIV, v.11–13). And concerning those men who had rendered the Qur’ān into disparate parts, God stated, “And so, by your Lord, we will
certainly question all of them concerning what they have been doing” (sūrat al-Ḥijr, XV, v.92–3).

And I comment that God Almighty also stated, indicating their ignorance and lack of wisdom, “And they even said, ‘A jumble of dreams! He just made it up! He’s a poet! So let him bring us a sign, like those that former (prophets) were dispatched with!’” (sūrat al-Anbiyā’, XXI, v.5). And so they were at a loss what to say of him; everything they did say was false. For he who deviates from the truth is mistaken in all he says. God Almighty stated, “See how they made comparisons to you! They have gone astray, and they will find no path” (sūrat al-İsrā’, XVII, v.48).

Imām ʿAbd b. Humayd stated in his musnad collection of hadīth that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting ʿAli b. Mishar, from al-Ajlāh, the son of ʿAbd Allāh al-Kindī, from al-Dhayyāl b. Harmala al-Asadī, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “Quraysh met one day and agreed to determine who among them was the most knowledgeable in magic, sorcery, and poetry. That person would then approach the man who had caused dissension and division amongst them and had found fault with their religion, talk to him and decide how to respond to him. They agreed that Utba b. Rabiʿa was the obvious choice, and they approached him and told him, ‘It is to be you, 0 Abū al-Walid.’

“Utba then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, ‘O Muḥammad, who is better, you or ʿAbd Allāh?’ The Messenger of God (SAAS), remained silent.

“Then he said, ‘Who is better, you or ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalīb?’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained silent.

“Utba then said, ‘If you claim those men to be better than you, the fact is they worshipped the gods you have criticized. If you claim to be better than them, then speak so we can hear what you say. By God, we’ve never seen any fool more harmful to his people than you; you have caused division and dissension among us, criticized our religion and so disgraced us in the eyes of the Arabs that the rumour is current among them that there is a magician or a sorcerer amidst Quraysh. By God, fellow, it seems all we have to await is the cry of a pregnant woman for us all to be at one another with swords till we wipe ourselves out! If it is need that is your problem, we’ll make a collection for you till you’re the wealthiest man in Quraysh; if it is status you want, choose any women of Quraysh you like and we’ll marry you to ten of them.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, ‘Are you done?’ ‘Yes,’ replied Utba. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spoke: ‘In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. Hā Mim. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent. A book whose verses have been detailed in an Arabic Qurān for a people who are aware . . .’ and so on until he reached the verse, ‘But if they turn aside, say: “I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed ʿAd and Thamūd”’ (sūrat Hā Mim, also called sūrat al-Fussilat, XLI, v.1–13).
“Utba said, ‘That’s sufficient. You’ve nothing else?’

‘No,’ he replied.

‘Utba then went back to Quraysh and they asked what had happened. He replied, ‘I didn’t omit saying to him anything you talked about.’

‘And did he respond?’ they asked. ‘Yes,’ he answered. Then he stated, ‘Well, no; by Him who erected it as a building, I didn’t understand anything he said, except that he warned you of a terrible punishment like that of ‘Ad and Thamūd.’

‘They commented, ‘Woe upon you! The man speaks to you in Arabic, but you don’t know what he said?’

‘He replied, ‘I swear, I didn’t understand a thing, except for the reference to the terrible punishment.’’

Al-Bayhaqi and others related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Asa’mī, from ʿAbdās al-Dūrī, from Yahyā b. Maʿṣīn, from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl, back to al-Ajlāh. There is some dispute about it.

This version added “and if all you want is leadership, we’ll swear allegiance to you, and you can be our chief for life.”

And in that version, when he had finished speaking the verse, “But if they turn aside, say: ‘I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed ‘Ad and Thamūd’”, Utba put his hand over the mouth of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and implored him for mercy to stop. Utba, moreover, did not return to his people, but hid himself from them.

And so Abū Jahl said, “By God, 0 Quraysh, Utba must have been quite taken by Muḥammad, and enjoyed himself with him. If you’re in need, we’ll collect money for you so you can dispense with Muḥammad’s food.”

Later Abū Jahl said, “Well, Utba, I swear, we concluded you must have been quite taken by Muḥammad, and enjoyed yourself with him. If you’re in need, we’ll collect money for you so you can dispense with Muḥammad’s food.”

“Utba became angry and swore he would never speak to Muḥammad again. He told Abū Jahl, ‘You well know I’m one of the wealthiest men of Quraysh. I did go to him and . . .’ He then related the story to them and concluded ‘and he responded to me with something I swear was not magic, not poetry and not sorcery. He recited, “In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. ʾHā Mim. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent,” until he reached, “But if they turn aside, say: ‘I warn you of a terrible punishment like that which destroyed ‘Ad and Thamūd.’” I then put my hand over his mouth and implored him for mercy to stop. And you all well know that Muhammad does not lie in whatever he says. I was afraid that punishment would descend upon you.’”

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Asa’mī, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, who said that Yazīd b.
Abū Ziyād, a freed-man of the Banū Hashim, told him from Muḥammad b. Ka'b, who said that it was related to him that ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, who was a wise leader, said one day while he was sitting in the Quraysh meeting hall and the Messenger of God (SAAS) was sitting alone in the mosque, “O Quraysh, should I not go to this fellow and make him offers, some of which he might accept, and then leave us alone?”

“Yes, do that Abū al-Walid!” they told him.

ʿUtba then arose and sat next to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and gave him his speech—as given above—and offered him wealth, leadership and so on.

Ziyād b. Ishaq stated that ʿUtba said, “O Quraysh, should I not go to Muḥammad and talk to him and make him offers, some of which he might accept, so we give them to him and he would leave us alone?” That occurred when Ḥamza had accepted Islam and Quraysh recognized that the followers of the Messenger of God (SAAS) were increasing and expanding. So they said, “Yes, Abū al-Walid, do go and talk to him.”

ʿUtba then arose and sat down near the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, “O nephew, you know the status and respect your people give you, and the nobility of your lineage, but you have caused much trouble to your people. By this, you have destroyed their unity, ridiculed their values, criticized their gods and their religion, and claimed that their forefathers were unbelievers. Listen to me now, as I make you some offers to consider; perhaps you might be able to accept some of these.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, “I am listening, Abū al-Walid.”

ʿUtba went on, “O nephew, if all you want by bringing up this matter is wealth, we will collect money from ourselves for you and so you will be the richest of us all. If what you are seeking by it is honour, we will make you our leader and never make decisions without you. If what you want by it is sovereignty, we will make you our king. If whatever comes to you is some spirit you see but can’t remove by yourself, we will seek out a potion for you and spend our own money to free you from it. A spirit may well take possession of a person until he is cured of it.” His words were similar to these.

When he had finished, the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, “Well, Abū al-Walid, are you done?”

“Yes,” he replied.

“Then listen to me.”

“I will,” said ʿUtba.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spoke, “In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. ʿIšāʾ ʾMīm. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent. A book whose verses have been detailed in an Arabic book for a people who are aware...” He went on reciting it, while ʿUtba listened, placing his hands behind his back and using them as a support as he did so.
"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to the ending where prostration is sought, he prostrated himself, then asked, "Well, did you hear, Abū al-Walid?"

"Yes, I heard," he replied.

"Now it's up to you," observed the Messenger of God (SAAS). Utba then arose and went to his associates who told one another, "By God, Abū al-Walid looks quite different now from what he did before he left."

When they sat down with him, they asked, "Well, what happened to you, Aba d-Walid?" "What happened, by God," he replied, "was that I heard speech such as I never did before. I swear, it was not poetry, nor sorcery; obey me and do as I shall. Keep away from him and what he does; avoid him. For, by God, what I heard him speak is going to cause a stir. If the Arabs destroy him, others will have taken care of him for you. But if he betters the Arabs, his dominion will also be yours, his power your power, and you will be most pleased with him."

They replied, "By God, he has bewitched you with his tongue, O Abū al-Walid."

"Well, that's my advice to you; do with it as you see fit," Utba told them.

Yūnus then related, from Ibn Ishaq, some poetry Abū Ṭalib spoke in which he praised Utba.

Al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-ʿAshbahānī informed him, quoting Abū Qutayba Salama b. al-ʿAnf al-ʿAdāmī of Mecca, quoting Abū Ayyūb Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Ṭayalīstī, quoting Dāwūd b. ʿAmar al-Ḍabbī, quoting al-Muṭḥanā b. Zurʿa, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from Nāfīʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had recited 'Hā Mim. A revelation from the Most Merciful and Beneficent', he went to his people and told them, 'O people, obey me now in this matter, though you may oppose me later. For, by God, I heard from this man words the like of which my ears never heard before. I didn't know what to reply to him.'"

This hadīth is very strange to come from such a source.

Al-Bayhaqi then related, from al-Ḥakīm, from al-ʿAṣamm, from Aḥmad b. Ṭābārī, from Yūnus, from Ibn Ishaq, who said that al-Zuhrī said to him, "I was told that Abū Jahl, Abū Sufyān and al-Akhnas b. Shartīq went out to overhear the Messenger of God (SAAS) as he prayed at night in his home. Each of them sat down to listen to him, none knowing where the others were sitting. They spent the night listening to him until dawn when they left individually. On the way back they met and each criticized the other, saying, 'Don't do that again. For if some foolish person were to see you, he'd have his suspicions about you.' They then parted.

"The next night each of these men returned to where he had sat and they spent the night listening to him. When dawn came they dispersed, but met on the way. They said to one another what they had before and then left."
The third night each again took his seat and spent the night listening to him. At dawn they dispersed and met on the way home. ‘This time’, they told one another, ‘let’s not leave without making a pact not to return.’ They made this promise to one another and parted company.

‘That morning al-Akhnas b. Shariq took his stick and went off to see Abū Sufyān at home. He told him, ‘Abū Ḥanṣala, give me your views on what you have heard from Muḥammad.’ He replied, ‘Abū Thaqla, I swear, I’ve heard certain things I know, and I also know what was implied by them, but others I’ve heard I don’t know, nor what was implied by them.’ Al-Akhnas commented, ‘Me too, I swear!’

‘Al-Akhnas then left and went to see Abū Jahl at home. He asked him, ‘Abū al-Ḥakam, what’s your view on what you’ve heard from Muḥammad?’ ‘You mean what have I heard? We and Bana ‘Abd Manāf have been rivals for status. They feed the poor, and so do we. They help people, and so do we. They give to charity, and so do we. We’ve kept pace with them like two racehorses. Then they say, one of us will be a prophet who receives revelation from heaven! How can we compete with that? I swear, we will never listen to him, nor believe him.’ Having heard this, al-Akhnas b. Shariq left.’

Then al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh, the hāfiz, related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās, quoting Aḥmad, quoting Yūnus, from Hishām b. Saʿd, from Zayd b. Aslām, from al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba, who said, “The first day I knew the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was when I was walking along an alley in Mecca accompanied by Abū Jahl b. Hishām. When we met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said to Abū Jahl, ‘Abū al-Ḥakam, come to God and to his Messenger. I invite you to God!’

‘Abū Jahl replied, ‘Muḥammad, have you stopped cursing our gods? Don’t you just want us to testify that you have fulfilled your mission? We testify that you have. And, I swear, if I knew that what you say is the truth, I would follow you.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, and Abū Jahl came over to me and said, ‘By God, I really do know that what he says is true, but something is holding me back. Banī Qusayy have said, “We want the privilege of the ḥūṣba” (the placing of the cloth over the kaʿba). We agreed. Then they said, “We want the privilege of the ṣaqāya” (the provision of drink for the pilgrims). We agreed. Then they said, “We want the privilege of the nadwa” (feasting the pilgrims). We agreed. Then they said, “We want the privilege of the liwā” (the ceremonial unfurling of the banners). We agreed. They provided food, and we did too. Then, when we were running neck and neck, they said, “We have a prophet among us!” By God, I’ll not do it!’”

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allāh, the hāfiz, informed him that Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-ʾAsamm related to him, quoting Muḥammad
b. Khalid, quoting Ahmad b. Khalaf, quoting Isrā'il, from Abū Ishāq, who stated, "The Prophet (SAAS) passed by Abū Jahl and Abū Sufyān while they were both seated. Abū Jahl said, 'This is your prophet then, O Banū 'Abd Shams.' Abū Sufyān replied, 'You're surprised that one of us could be a prophet? A prophet could arise among those fewer in number and lower in status than us!'

"Abū Jahl commented, 'I'm surprised that a young man among sheikhs of age and maturity could be a prophet!'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) overheard them and approached. He addressed them, 'As for you, Abū Sufyān, it's not because you care for God and His Messenger that you became angry; you're just burned for the lineage. As for you, Abū al-Ḥakam, you are going to laugh very little and weep a great deal.' Abū Jahl commented, 'So, nephew, what an evil you promise me coming out of your being a prophet!'

This hadīth is lacking early links in its chain of authorities, and it is somewhat strange; equally strange are the comments of Abū Jahl, God curse him! In reference to him and people like him, God Almighty stated, "And when they see you, they take you for a joke, saying, 'Is this fellow he whom God sent as a messenger? He might almost have enticed us away from our gods, if we had not stayed patiently with them.' They will know when they see the punishment who it is who strays furthest from the path" (ṣūrat al-Furqān, XXV, v.41-2).

Imām Ahmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Abī Bishr, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "This verse was sent down while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was in hiding in Mecca, 'and do not speak the prayer loudly, nor speak it too softly'" (ṣūrat al-Isrā', XVII, v.110).

He went on, "When he prayed with his followers, he would raise his voice as he recited the Qurān. On hearing this, the polytheists would curse the Qurān, along with him who sent it down and him who conveyed it. And so God Almighty told his Prophet Muhammad (SAAS), 'and do not speak the prayer loudly' that is, when you recite it, lest the polytheists hear it and curse the Qurān. And 'nor speak it too softly' lest your followers won't hear the Qurān and learn it from you. And so 'seek a path between these'" (ṣūrat al-Isrā', XVII, v.110).

This tradition is similarly given by both authors of the saḥīḥ collections, from a hadīth of Abū Bishr Ja'far b. Abū Ḥayya.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Dawūd b. al-Ḥusayn related to him from Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the Qurān loudly as he prayed, people would move away and refuse to listen to him. If anyone did want to hear any of what the Messenger of God was reciting as he prayed, he had to strain his ears away from the rest. And if he knew that they were aware that he was listening he would have to leave, for fear
of harm from them. And so he would not listen. But if the Messenger of God (SAAS) were to lower his voice, those who were listening would hear nothing. Therefore God Almighty revealed, ‘and do not speak the prayer loudly’ or they will disperse away from you. And also ‘nor speak it too softly’ or those trying hard to hear it, believing it may be beneficial to them, will not be able to do so. And so, ‘seek a path between these.’”
ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abi when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭalib would mean Ṭalib’s father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭalib, would mean ‘the son of Ṭalib’s father’. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters ‘al-’ before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, ‘the’.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word ‘Ibn’, ‘son’. Thus, the name ‘Ya‘qūb b. Ṣūba’ means ‘Ya‘qūb, son of Ṣūba’.

In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as ‘Ya‘qūb b. Ṣūba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas’ the names of Ya‘qūb’s father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are given.

The letters bt, a shortened form of the Arabic bmt, indicates ‘girl’ or ‘daughter’. Thus the name ‘A‘īsha bt. Abū Bakr refers to ‘A‘īsha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters SAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muhammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words sallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as ‘May God’s peace and blessings be upon him’.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhadh: plural of fakhdh (q.v.).

ahādīth: plural of ḥadīth (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father’s side.

ʿālim (pl. ʿulamāʾ): scholars or theologians of Islam.

ansār: the plural of nāṣir, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who
officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

\textit{‘arab al-\textsuperscript{c}āriba}: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Ya'rub b. Qahtān.

\textit{‘arab al-musta‘riba}: ‘the arabized Arabs’, initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Hijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

\textit{‘Arafāt} (also \textit{‘Arafa}): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the \textit{hājj} pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

\textit{‘ashīra} (pl. \textit{‘ashā‘ir}): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An \textit{‘ashīra} is composed of several \textit{afkhādh} (q.v.), while several \textit{‘ashā‘ir} form a single \textit{qabīla} (q.v.).

\textit{badana}: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the \textit{hājj} (q.v.).

\textit{baraka}: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believe suffused with \textit{baraka}, which radiates from them to those around them.

\textit{Bakka}: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb \textit{bakā}, he wept, applied to Adam’s sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

\textit{ba‘n} (pl. \textit{butn}): an agnatic group smaller than a \textit{qabīla} (q.v.) but larger than a \textit{fakhdh} (q.v.).

\textit{daf}: the word used to denote the act of departure from \textit{‘Arafāt} during the pilgrimage rites.

\textit{fakhdh} (pl. \textit{afkhādh}): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

\textit{al-fajr}: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two \textit{rakīt} (q.v.) to be recited audibly.
fasīla (pl. fasā'ila): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one’s ĉashīra (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. ghazawāt): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as sarāyā (pl. of sariyya).

hadīth (pl. āhādīth): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An isnād (q.v.) precedes the hadīth and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

hadīth marfū’: a hadīth related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see šāhīb) and quoted directly from the latter.

hafiz (pl. hufāz): a person who has memorized the entire Qurān. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

haj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of Dhū al-Ĥiǧja.

hanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

hanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the hanīfs.

haram (or harām): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

hijāba: the office of the custodian of the kaʿba; he is known as the ĥājīb.

hiṭra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a hadīth and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāda: the movement or departure or pilgrims from ‘Arafāt following their performance of the wuqūf, ‘the standing’.

ihrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the ihrām state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.
**isonad:** the prefatory material to a hadith (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muhammad up to the time when it was written down.

**izār:** the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of ihram.

**jāhiliyya:** denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

**jamra (pl. jamrāt):** ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Mina. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as jamrāt.

**ka'ba:** the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring zamzam (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see qibla).

**al-Khalīl:** 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

**liwa':** 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the ka'ba.

**maqām Ibrāhīm:** the ‘station’ of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the ka'ba where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

**maghrib:** the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three rak'āt; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

**masjid:** the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

**Minā:** a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

**hadith mursal:** a hadith which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

**al-Muzdalifa:** a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafāt spend the night.
nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the ka'ba.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a farsakh. One parasang equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabila (pl. qabā'il): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A qabila is larger than an 'ashīra (q.v.) but smaller than a šā'īb (q.v.).

qādi: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muhammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the ka'ba there.

rak'a (pl. rak'āt): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These rak'āt total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramadān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during Ramadān that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muhammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridā: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the ihram state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-sa'y: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

saba': the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muhammad.

ṣahib (pl. asḥāb, saḥāba): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muhammad during his mission.
**sahih**: a hadith (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such ahadith.

**sam'an**: the receipt of a hadith (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a hadith was considered the most trustworthy of all.

**sha'b** (pl. shu'âb): a tribal group larger than a qabîla (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

**shahâda**: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: 'There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Messenger'.

**shaykh** (pl. shuyukh): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

**shi'a**: the doctrine and its adherent, a shîra, that considers 'Ali, son of Abû Tâlib and husband of the Prophet Muhammad's daughter Fâtîma, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

**sunna**: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muhammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qur'ân being the first and prime source. In the plural form, sunan, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

**tafsir**: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qur'ân.

**tasmiyya**: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate' prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

**tawâf**: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the ka'ba.

**tubba'** (pl. tabâbî'a): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

**wudu'**: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

**zamzam**: the sacred well positioned close to the ka'ba (q.v.) within the harâm al-sharif, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham's wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.
This index gives the names of all persons and places mentioned in the text, except for those to whom only passing and minimal reference is made. In some cases Ibn Kathir refers to an individual by several different names. For example, Abû Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr is sometimes referred to by that name, and elsewhere by the abbreviation Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, or even Abû Umar. These alternative referents are listed here with cross references where appropriate.

In some cases Ibn Kathir gives an honorific – for example, Abû Ţalib (Talib's father) – by which that person, usually of great fame, was commonly known, sometimes without further full designation anywhere in the text. Such names are listed in this index as they appear in the body of the work. Place names are listed here in full, with the exceptions of Mecca and Medina, to which cities there are innumerable references throughout.

It has been seen as unnecessarily cumbersome to index certain prime sources for Ibn Kathir's work – such as Ibn Is̄haq – to whom reference is made on almost every page. Similarly, quotations given from the Qur'ān are cited in full in the text, but without separate listings in this index.
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The Life of the Prophet Muhammad

Volume II

Al-Sīra al-Nabawīyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick
Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed
The Life of the Prophet Muhammad

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Garnet Publishing
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In the Name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

FOREWORD

The interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilizations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzi (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilization as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam's Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilization in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria, used to select individual books, were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from
another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today’s world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani
Chairman of the Board of Trustees
ABOUT THIS SERIES

This series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

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The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

This series is distinguished from other similar intercultural projects by its distinctive objectives and methodology. These works will fill a genuine gap in the library of human thought. They will prove extremely useful to all those with an interest in Islamic culture, its interaction with Western thought, and its impact on culture throughout the world. They will, it is hoped, fulfil an important role in enhancing world understanding at a time when there is such evident and urgent need for the development of peaceful coexistence.

This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Muhammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a

* Died 1994, may Allāh have mercy on him.
Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.
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INTRODUCTION

The work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fīdā' Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. 'Umar b. Kathīr, and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muhammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qur'ān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr's own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr's chief work, his opus on history, the al-Bīdāya wa al-Nihāya. He argues that the ṣīra section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muhammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the al-Bīdāya. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it al-Ṣīra al-Nabawīyya li Ibn Kathīr.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabi, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qarāfī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr's was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his


2. According to C. Brockelman in his Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Birzālí’s chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).
colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzt, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣālihiyya. 3

Ibn Kathir, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the muḥaddith, the scholar of hadith traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muḥammad: the hadith literature and the sira; the Qurʾān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of hadith material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, “followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of hadith, and that of the tribes (i.e. the ayyām anecdotes as narrated by the akhbāris and the rumāt), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities. “These two lines”, he explains, “reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life.” 4 According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muḥammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʾān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of hadith traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, “a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the hadith which flourished in the second and third centuries.” 5 A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

3. Curtis, 23.
4. Professor Duri’s article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls “the tribal type of history.” See in this regard “The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century”, in Historians of the Middle East, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).
rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (fitna), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, prima facie, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate isnād system where every hadith was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (matn) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (sanad) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathir’s method in this particular work is more that of the hadith scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhārī, Muslim and more so, al-Bayhaqi, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and Abū Nuʿaym thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Hishām or al-Ṭabarī. But, as ʿAbd al-Wahid rightly points out, Ibn Kathir, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Mūsā b. Uqba, and the al-Rawḍ al-Anf of al-Suyūṭi are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hishām, are Ibn Kathir’s copious citations of poetry, host all of which seem to have been taken from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq’s biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Kaʿab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, Bānāt Suʿād; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Hishām, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Ḥassān b. Thabit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathir, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of hadith methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Isḥāq, but also, at times, the very hadith material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the sahih of Bukhārī or that of Muslim. ʿAbd al-Wahid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathir was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat unconvincing for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathir possessed not one, but an entire set of hadith works unique to his library alone!
The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Tabari, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathir's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of hadith literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, "If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the sirah material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth." Not that the method of Ibn Kathir is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for sirah studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathir's sirah are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., sirah material contains, in the first instance, virtually "nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet." And so, "when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muhammad", Rudi Paret warns, "we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way."

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of "sacred biography", and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathir's, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer's "quest of the historical Christ" would be appropriated by
scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muhammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the sira seems to betray a casual disregard for the Sitz im Leben of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former’s mission— if it can be described as such— is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article “The Quest of the Historical Muhammad” points out, that “even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear.”

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabari was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to “holy orders”. Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there “not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must he discarded in order to embrace their system.” As for Muḥammad, he was for many in that era “so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption.” Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars vis-à-vis the study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, The true nature of imposture fully display’d in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex’d

12. Ibid., 300.
13. Ibid., 300.
for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age. Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored *The History of the Saracens*, a "much more solid contribution to historical knowledge" as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did "not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muhammad in his first line, as 'the great Imposter' and then describing the Arab conquests as 'that grievous calamity'." The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muhammad, *La vie de Mahomet*. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: "With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muhammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his." The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel "the historical person of Muhammad", Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating "the possibility of the critical analysis of the *sira*". Lammens' efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muhammad *per se*, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. "Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam's obstinacy and insensitivity to the missionary influence."

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the *hadith* traditions as well as the *sira* material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the *hadith* material was but a "pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (ismād) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the 'Companions' who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

15. Ibid., 311.
INTRODUCTION

in pertinent ways." Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnād* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that "hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards." From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: "that the bulk of the *sira* . . . consists of second century *hadiths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as concededa.

Not all Western scholars, however, were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht's conclusion. He thus maintains that "In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a 'tendential shaping' of the material . . ."

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *hadith* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnād* and the *mutātun* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahḍa al-Islāmiyya*). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *hadith* and *sira* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history. He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *hadith* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title "al-Aḥādith al-Dā'ifah wa al-Mawdū'ah" in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islāmi*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilah al-Aḥādith al-Dā'ifah wa al-Mawdū'ah*.a

23. Ibid., 6.
Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on hadith literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early hadith literature has attempted to show that hadith literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

"In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the ahadith narrated by 'Amr b. Shu'ayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr's books. Urwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet's letters in a very early period."24

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than "the rubble of early Muslim history". For Patricia Crone therefore, the "inertia" of material such as appears heretofore "comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam."25 "The bulk of it", she argues, "has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles."26

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable solution intermédiaire, "a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship."27 For him therefore, the hadith traditions "taken as a whole" do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and "a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports . . . collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of 'what really happened'."28

28. Ibid., 7.
Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*, "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."  

Muneer Fareed  
_Reviewer of Volumes II–IV_

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30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.
TRANSLATOR’S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathir repeats anecdotal *ahādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathir’s objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *ahādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing — of which this work is essentially a record — would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted
have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial ‘readership’ of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathir’s preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text — such as Abū and sūrat — change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial hamza, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathir himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator — and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters — apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that ‘to err is human’. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 1997
Chapter: Concerning the migration of those Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) who escaped from persecution with their faith from Mecca to Abyssinia.

It has been recounted above how the polytheists abused those believers who lacked power or protection and treated them with severe violence and great humiliation.

God, Almighty and Glorious is He, had kept them away from His Messenger (SAAS), and had given him the protection of his uncle, Abü Țalib, as was mentioned above. And all praise and recognition is due to God.

Al-Waqidi has related that their passage to Abyssinia occurred in the month of Rajab in the fifth year of the Mission, and that the first group to migrate consisted of eleven men and four women. He told how they made their way to the sea, either on foot or riding, and there they hired a boat to Abyssinia at a cost of one-half of one dinar.

These persons were: 'Uthmân b. ʿAffân and his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abu Ḥudhayfah b. ʿUtba and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad and his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, ʿUthmân b. Maẓʿūn, ʿAmir b. Rabiʿa al-ʿAnzi, his wife Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm, Ḥāṭib b. ʿAmr, Suhayl b. Bayḍa and ʿAbd Allah b. Masʿūd. God bless them all! Ihn Jarir stated, "Others say, however, that the group consisted of 82 men, not counting their women and children. About ʿAmmār b. Yāsir we have doubts; if he was among them, they totalled 83 men."

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS), witnessed the trials descending upon his Companions, he compared this with his own good state that derived from his own status with God and from his uncle Abī Ṭalib, and, recognizing that he was unable to prevent the evil befalling them, he told them, 'I wish you would go forth into the land of Abyssinia, for there is a king in whose realm no one is harmed, where truth prevails. Stay there until God gives you relief from your plight.'

"The Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), thereupon left for Abyssinia, fearing the unrest and fleeing with their faith unto God. This was the first emigration that occurred in Islam. The first Muslim to depart was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān along with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqī related, similarly, from a hadīth of Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from ʿAbdās al-ʿAnbārī, from Bishr b. Mūsā, from al-Ḥasan b. Ziyād al-Burjumi, who said,
Qatada stated to us, ‘The first man to emigrate to God Almighty along with his family was Uthman b. `Affan, God be pleased with him.’

I heard al-Nadr b. Anas state, ‘I heard Abū Ḥamza (by whom he meant Anas b. Mālik) say, “Uthman b. `Affan, along with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), left for Abyssinia. A long time elapsed without the Messenger of God (SAAS), having news of them, until a Quraysh woman came to him and said, ‘O Muhammad, I saw your son-in-law with his wife in his company.’ ‘In what state did you see them?’ he asked.

‘She replied, ‘I saw him leading a decrepit old donkey on which his wife was mounted.’

‘The Messenger of God (SAAS), exclaimed, ‘May God be with them both! Uthman is the first man since Lot, upon whom be peace, to take himself and his family into exile.’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “And (they also included) Ābū Hudhayfa b. Utba and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl b. `Amr; and in Abyssinia she bore him a son, Muhammad b. Abū Hudhayfa.

And there were al-Zubayr b. al-`Awwām, Muṣṭafā b. `Umayr, Ābū al-Rahmān b. `Awf, Abū Salama b. `Abd al-Asad, along with his wife Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira, to whom Zaynab was born there. Also travelling were Uthmān b. Maz`ūn, and Āmir b. Rabī`a, who was allied to the al-Khaṭṭāb family; he was from the tribe of `Anz b. Wāfīl. His wife was Laylā, daughter of Abū Ḥathna. Then there was Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm al-`Amīrī, with his wife Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Suhayl b. `Amr; the latter is also known as Abū Ḥāṭib b. `Amr b. `Abd Shams b. `Abd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Malik b. Ḥisl b. Āmir. He is also said to have been the first to arrive there.

Also there was Suhayl b. Baydā?.

These ten men, so I have been told, were the first Muslims to leave for Abyssinia.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Uthmān b. Maz`ūn was in command of them, according to some scholars.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Then Ja`far b. Abū Ṭalib left, accompanied by his wife Aṣmā?, daughter of Umayys. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja`far was born to him in Abyssinia.”

The Muslims followed on after one another, eventually being reunited in Abyssinia.

Mūsā b. `Uqba has claimed that the first migration to Abyssinia occurred when Abū Ṭalib and those who had allied with him in support of the Messenger of God (SAAS), went into the sḥīb.1 There are differing views on this. But God knows best.

He also claimed that the departure of Ja`far b. Abū Ṭalib came only in the second migration to Abyssinia, after the return of some of those who had gone

1. The defile in Mecca where he was permitted by Quraysh to take up residence.
there initially. (They returned) when they heard that the polytheists had accepted Islam and were praying. When they arrived in Mecca, Uthmān b. Maz‘ūn among them, they did not find it true that the polytheists had accepted Islam, as they had been told. Some of them then returned to Abyssinia, while others remained in Mecca. Other Muslims also went to Abyssinia at the time of the second migration. This will be explained hereafter.

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, “Ja‘far b. Abū Ta‘līb was among those who left the second time.” But Ibn Isḥāq’s referring to his having gone on the first migration is very plain, as will be shown. But God knows best.

However, he clearly was in a second group of the emigrants who went on the first migration; he acted as their spokesman and translator before the Negus and others. We will report this at length.

Then Ibn Isḥāq went on to list those who left in the company of Ja‘far, God be pleased with them all.

They were: 'Amr b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Ās and his wife Fāṭima, daughter of Ṣafwān b. Umayya b. Muḫarrith b. Shiqq al-Kinānī.

And his brother Khālid, accompanied by his wife Umayna, daughter of Khalaf b. As‘ād al-Khuzā‘ī; she bore him Sa‘īd and Amma, the latter ultimately marrying al-Zubayr by whom she gave birth to ‘Amr and Khālid.

Also there were ‘Abd Allāh b. Jāḥsh b. Ri‘āb and his brother ‘Ubayd Allāh, who was accompanied by his wife Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān.

And Qays b. ‘Abd Allāh of the Banū Asad b. Khazīma along with his wife Barakā, daughter of Yāsār, the freed-woman of Abū Sufyān.

And Mu‘ayqib b. Abū Fāṭima, a freed-man of Sa‘īd b. al-‘Ās. Ibn Hishām stated, “He was of (the tribe of) Daws.”

And Abū Mūsā al-Asbā‘ī, that is ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays, an ally of the family of ‘Utbā b. Rabi‘a; we will discuss this later and also the authority.


Also there were ‘Amr b. Uthmān b. ‘Amr b. Ka‘b b. Sa‘d b. Taym b. Murra and Shammās b. Uthmān b. al-Sharīd al-Makhzūmī. He (Ibn Isḥāq) stated that
he was named “Shammas” (i.e. perhaps “Sunny”, tr.) because of his good looks; his original name was Uthmān b. ‘Uthmān.


Also included were Qudāma and ‘Abd Allāh, the two brothers of Uthmān b. Maṣ‘ūn, al-Sa‘īb b. Uthmān b. Maṣ‘ūn, Ḥatīb b. al-Ḥarīth b. Ma‘mar, accompanied by his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Mujallil and his two sons by her, Muḥammad and al-Ḥarīth. Also there were Ḥatīb’s brother Khāṭāb, accompanied by his wife Fukayha, daughter of Yasār, Sufyān b. Ma‘mar b. Ḥabib and his wife Ḥasana, along with his two sons by her, Jābīr and Junāḍa, as well as a son of hers by another husband. This son’s name was Shurahbīl b. ‘Abd Allāh, a member of the family of al-Ghawth b. Muzāḥim b. Ṭāmīm; he was known as Shurahbīl b. Ḥasana.


Also there were Abū Qays b. al-Ḥarīth b. Qays b. ‘Adī, along with his brothers al-Ḥarīth, Ma‘mar, al-Sa‘īb, Bishr and Sa‘īd, all sons of al-Ḥarīth, along with the brother of Sa‘īd b. Qays b. ‘Adī on his mother’s side, his name being Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr al-Tamīmī.


2. Ibn Hishām adds this link.
Ibn Ishaq stated, “The number of those Muslims who migrated and went to Abyssinia, not counting the little children and those born there, totalled 83. This assumes that 'Ammar b. Yāsir was among them, but there is some doubt about him.”

I would comment that the inclusion by Ibn Ishaq of Abū Mūsā al-Asḥārī among those who migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia is very strange.


“Then Quraysh dispatched to him ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmār b. al-Walīd with a gift.

“When they went in to the Negus, they bowed down before him. Then they took up positions to the left and right before him and said, “A group of our people have taken up residence in your land, after having turned away from us and from our religion.”

“‘Where are they?’, he asked.

“‘In your land. Send for them,’ they suggested.

“‘He did so and Ja‘far said, “I will be your spokesman today.” And they followed him.

“‘He made salutation, but did not bow down. They asked him, “What is wrong with you, not bowing down before the king?”

“‘He replied, “We bow down only before God, the Almighty and Glorious.”

“‘What is this all about?’ he was asked.

“‘He answered, “God has sent a messenger to us and told us to bow down to no one but God, the Almighty and Glorious. He also ordered us to pray, and to give alms.”

“‘Amr commented, “They differ with you about Jesus, son of Mary.”

“‘He (the Negus) asked, “What do you say about Jesus son of Mary and His mother?”

“‘He (Ja‘far) replied, “We say as God did: He is His word and His spirit which He cast into the Virgin whom no man had touched and no child had been inside.”

“The Negus then picked up a stick from the ground and said, “O people of Abyssinia, and you, priests and monks; by God, they are not so much as the size of this stick away from what we say! Welcome to you and greetings to him from whom you come! I bear witness that he is the Messenger of God, and that it is him we find in the Bible. He is the Messenger of whom Jesus, son of Mary, made prophecy. You may reside wherever you wish; and, by God, were it not for my role as king, I would go to him so that I could be the one who carries his shoes for him!”
"He then commanded that the present the two messengers had brought be returned to them.

"Abd Allah b. Mas'ud hurried forth thereafter, and lived to take part in the battle of Badr.

"He claimed that the Prophet (SAAS) prayed for forgiveness for him (the king) when news of his death reached him."

The chain of authorities for this is excellent, and the narrative is good. It gives evidence that Abū Mūsā was among those who migrated from Mecca to Abyssinia, even though this ḥadith is not recorded by some authorities. But God knows best.

This event is related on the authority of Abū Ishāq al-Sabīṭī from another chain.


"Also, Abī ʿĀhmād related to us, from ʿAbd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Shṭrawayh, from Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, he being Iḥbād b. Rāhawayh, from ʿUbayd Allah b. Mūsā, from Isrāʿīl, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered us to depart with Jaʿfār b. Abū Ṭalīb, to the land of the Negus.'

"Quraysh heard of this and so they sent ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Umāra b. al-Walīd, having obtained a gift for the Negus.

"They went in to the Negus with the present, which he accepted, and they made obeisance before him.

"Then ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ said, 'Certain people from our land have abandoned our religion. They are here in your country.'

"'In my country?' the Negus asked.

"'Yes,' they replied.

"So he sent for us and Jaʿfār told us, 'Let none of you speak. I will be your spokesman today.'

"And so we went to the Negus when he was seated on his throne, with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ on his right, Umāra on his left, and the priests seated in two ranks. ʿAmr and Umāra had told the king, 'They will not make obeisance to you.'

"When we arrived, some of his priests and monks there with him hurried to us and told us to bow down before the king. But Jaʿfār replied, 'We bow down only before God, the Almighty and Glorious.'

"When we reached the Negus, he asked, 'What prevents you from bowing down?'

"Jaʿfār replied, 'We bow down only before God.'

"The Negus then asked him, 'Well, what is this all about?'
"Ja'far explained, 'God sent a messenger among us; he is that same Messenger Jesus, son of Mary, God's prayers and peace be upon Him, said would come after himself, his name being “Ahmad”. He ordered us to worship God and to associate no god with Him, to perform the prayers, to pay alms, to be good, and to abstain from what is forbidden.'

"His speech astonished the Negus.

"When 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ saw this, he exclaimed, 'May God save the king! They disagree with you concerning Jesus, son of Mary.'

"The Negus then asked Ja'far, 'What does your master say about the son of Mary?'

"Ja'far replied, 'He says of Him what God stated – that he is God's spirit and His word, and that He brought him forth from the Virgin whom no man had approached and in whom there had been no child.'

"The Negus then picked up a stick from the ground and raised it up, saying, 'Ye priests and monks, these people do not add so much as the weight of this to what we say about the son of Mary.'

"'Welcome to you,' he continued, 'and greetings to him from whom you have come. I bear witness that he is the Messenger of God and that it is he of whom Jesus made prophecy. Were it not for the duties of my kingdom, I would go to him to kiss his shoes. Stay in my land as long as you wish.'

"He then ordered that food and fine garments be brought for us. And he said, 'Give back to those other two their gift.'

"'Amr b. al-'Aṣ was short, while 'Umāra was a handsome man. While at sea, they had been drinking. 'Amr had his wife with him and, after they had been imbibing, 'Umāra said to 'Amr, 'Tell your wife to kiss me!' 'Amr replied, 'You should be ashamed!' Then 'Umāra picked up 'Amr and flung him into the sea. 'Amr kept calling out to 'Umāra until he brought him back on to the boat.

"'Amr hated him for this, and told the Negus, 'If you were to leave, 'Umāra would take your place with your wife.' At that the Negus summoned 'Umāra and had air blown into his urethra so that he flew away with the wild birds.'

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi related it thus in Dalā'īl (The Signs), through Abū 'Ali al-Hasan b. Sallām al-Sawwāq, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā. He relates it similarly, with the same chain of authorities, up to the words, "He then ordered that food and fine garments be brought to us."

He then stated, "This chain of authorities is good; what it apparently shows is that Abū Mūsā was at Mecca, and that he did go with Ja'far, son of Abū Ṭalib, to Abyssinia.

What is true according to Yazid b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Burda, on the authority of his grandfather Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, is that the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS) became known to them while they were in Yemen. They therefore went out into exile along with some 50 persons in a boat that took them to the Negus in Abyssinia. They found that Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalib and his companions were already living there. Ja'far told them to stay, and they did stay.
with him until they joined the Messenger of God (SAAS), at the time of Khaybar.

He stated, "Abu Musa witnessed what took place between Ja'far and the Negus and reported this."

He also said, "And perhaps the narrator was using his imagination in saying, "The Messenger of God (SAAS), ordered us to depart." But God knows best.

This is how al-Bukhari related this in his chapter on the migration to Abyssinia: "Muhammad b. al-'Ali related to us, quoting Abu Usama, quoting Burayd b. 'Abd Allah from Abu Burda, from Abu Musa, who said, 'The departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS) became known to us while we were in Yemen. So we embarked on a boat which took us to the Negus, in Abyssinia. There we found Ja'far b. Abu Talib, God bless him, and we stayed there with him until we left and joined the Prophet (SAAS), when Khaybar was conquered. And so the Prophet said, "For you people of the boat there are two migrations."'" Muslim related this in this way from Abu Kurayb and Abu Amir 'Ahd Allah h. Barrad, both of whom used Abu Usama as a source. They both related this at length in other places. But God knows best.

This narrative concerning Ja'far and the Negus was also related by the hafiz Ibn 'Asakir in his biography of Ja'far b. Abu Talib. His account is on his own authority and that of 'Amr b. al-As, both of whom related the hadith. It is also recounted by Ibn Mas'ud, as given above, and by Umm Salama, as will be shown later.

This following account given by Ja'far is extremely valuable. Ibn 'Asakir related it from Abu al-Qasim al-Samarqandi, from Abu al-Husayn b. al-Naqir, from Abu Tahir al-Mukhallis, from Abu al-Qasim b. al-Baghawi, who said, "Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Ju'i related to us, from 'Abd Allah b. Umar b. Aban, quoting Asad b. 'Amr al-Bajali, from Mujahid b. Sa'id, from al-Sa'ib, from 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far, from his father, who said, 'Quraysh sent 'Amr b. al-As and 'Umara b. al-Walid with a gift from Abu Sufyan to the Negus. They told him -- and we were there with him -- 'Some low-class and silly people of ours have come to you. So hand them over to us.'"

"He replied, 'No, not until I hear what they have to say.'"

Ja'far went on, "So he sent to us and asked, 'What's all this they say?'"

"We replied, 'These are people who worship idols. God sent a messenger to us in whom we believed and trusted.'"

"The Negus then asked them, 'Are these people slaves of yours?'"

"'No,' they replied.

"'Do they have debts owing to you?' he then asked.

"'No,' they answered.

"'Then leave them alone,' he said.

"At this we left his presence, but 'Amr b. al-As told him, 'These people speak different things of Jesus from what you do.'"
He replied, 'If they do not say about Jesus as I do, I will not allow them to stay in my land a single hour of the day!'

And so he sent for us, this second invitation being harder upon us than the first.

The Negus asked, ‘What does your master say about Jesus, son of Mary?’

We replied, ‘He says that He is the spirit of God and His word that He cast to a chaste virgin.’

He then dispatched a messenger, saying, ‘Summon to me such-and-such a priest, such-and-such a monk.’

Some men of theirs came and he asked, ‘What do you say concerning Jesus, son of Mary?’

They replied, ‘You are the most knowledgeable of us; what do you say?’

The Negus replied, having picked something up from the ground, ‘Jesus is no more different from what these people say than this much.’

He then asked, ‘Is anyone harming you people?’

They replied, ‘Yes.’

So then a crier announced, ‘Whoever harms any one of them is to be fined four dirhams.’

Then he asked, ‘Is this enough for you?’

We replied, ‘No.’ So the king doubled the fine.

Ja'far went on: “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) emigrated to Medina and proclaimed himself there, we told him (the Negus) ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) has proclaimed himself and gone to Medina; he has killed those we told you about. We wish to travel to him, so send us back.’

‘Yes, I will,’ he replied. He gave us mounts and provisioned us, then said, ‘Inform your master how I have treated you. This man, my friend, will go with you. I bear witness that there is no god but God and that he is the Messenger of God. Ask him to pray for forgiveness for me.’

Ja'far went on: “So we left and went to Medina where the Messenger of God (SAAS) met us. He embraced me, then said, ‘I don’t know what pleases me more – the victory at Khaybar, or the arrival of Ja'far!’”

This coincided with the victory at Khaybar. He then sat down.

The envoy of the Negus then said, “This man, Ja'far, ask him how our master treated him.”

So he, Ja'far, said, “Yes, he acted in such-and-such a way, then gave us mounts and provisions and bore witness that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God. He also told me, ‘Ask him to pray for forgiveness for me.’”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose, performed the prayer ablutions and prayed three times: “O God, forgive the Negus!” And the Muslims present said, “Amen”.

Then Ja'far said, “I then told the envoy of the Negus, ‘Leave now, and tell your master what you saw of the Messenger of God (SAAS).’”
Ibn 'Asākir commented after this hadith: “It is hasan gharib (good but unique).”

Regarding the narrative given by Umm Salama, Yūnus b. Bakayr stated, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishaq, who said, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥārith b. Hishām, that Umm Salama, God bless her, said, ‘When events turned threatening and even violent in Mecca for the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and actual harm was done to them because of their faith, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was unable to defend them, being himself under the protection of his family and his uncle, so that he experienced none of their sufferings, he told them, “In Abyssinia there is a king who allows no one to be persecuted in his domain. So go to his country until such time as God provides for you some relief and solution to your troubles.”’

“And so we did set out in groups and rejoined one another there. We found hospitality, friendship and security to engage in our religion in Abyssinia, and had no fear of harm.

“When Quraysh saw that we had gained accommodation and security there, they were angered and agreed to make representations to the Negus to remove us from his country and send us back to them.

“They therefore dispatched ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa. They gathered gifts for the king and for all his generals, without exception. They told their two envoys, “Give a present to each general before you speak among them, and then give the king his gifts. And if you are able to have him hand over the exiles to you without him speaking to them, then do so.”

“The envoys did go to the king, not having omitted giving the presents to each of his generals. They then addressed them, saying, “We have only come to see the king about some fools of ours who have abandoned their people and their religion, and who have not joined your faith. Their people have sent us to have the king return them to them. When we speak with him, then indicate that he should do so.” They agreed to this.

“The envoys then gave their gifts to the Negus. The most favoured of their gifts from Mecca to him were leather products.’”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that they presented to him a mare, a gown and a silk garment.

Umm Salama continued, “When they took their gifts in to him, they told him, ‘O king, some of our foolish young have abandoned their people’s religion and have not entered your faith. They have come here with a fabricated religion we do not know and have taken refuge in your land. Their tribes, their own fathers and uncles, have sent us to you so that you will return these people to them. They know them best. They will not adopt your faith, and you should prevent them from doing so.’

“The king was angered at this and replied, ‘No! By God’s life, I will not return them to them before summoning these people and talking to them to discover
their views. They are a group who have taken refuge in my land and have chosen my company above that of all others. If they are indeed as your people say, I will return them to them. But if they are otherwise, I will protect them, give their people no access to them and no satisfaction.”

Musa b. Uqba related that his generals indicated to him that he should return them to their people, but the king refused, saying, “No! By God, I will not, not until I hear what they have to say and what their position is.”

Umm Salama went on, “When the exiles came before him, they greeted him by saying, ‘Peace be upon you’, but they did not bow down before him. He addressed them, ‘Will you not tell me why you do not greet me in the same manner as others of your people who have come to me? And tell me what it is you say about Jesus and what your religion is. Are you Christians?’

“No,’ they replied.

‘Are you Jews then?’

‘No.’

‘Do you worship in your people’s religion?’

‘No.’

‘What is your religion?’

‘It is Islam.’

‘What is Islam?’

‘We worship God,’ they replied, ‘and we associate no other god with Him.’

‘Who was it brought you this faith?’

‘A man from among ourselves, whose face and genealogy we know. God sent him to us as He sent messengers to those who came before us. He ordered us to behave with kindness, honesty, trustworthiness and good faith. He forbade us to worship idols and ordered us to worship God alone who has no associate. We believed him and recognised God’s words. We realized that what he presented came from God. But when we did all this our people behaved with enmity towards us and towards the truthful Prophet; they disbelieved in him and wanted to kill him. They wanted us to worship idols, and so we fled to you, bringing our faith and our blood to you away from our own people.’

‘By God,’ he exclaimed, ‘this is the very niche from which Moses’ affair emerged!’

‘And regarding our greeting,’ Ja’far explained, ‘the Messenger of God (SAAS) told us that the people of paradise greet one another with a wish for peace and he ordered us to do the same. We greeted you the same way we greet one another.

‘And regarding Jesus, son of Mary, he was the servant and messenger of God, His word that He cast to Mary and also His spirit. He was the son of the chaste Virgin.’

The king then picked up a stick and said, ‘By God, Mary’s son did not add to this the weight of this stick more!’
“The Abyssinian leaders then said, ‘By God, if the Abyssinians heard this they would depose you!’

‘By God,’ he responded, ‘I will never say anything about Jesus different from this; God did not acquiesce to the people about me when He restored my kingdom to me. Shall I then obey the people concerning God’s religion? God forbid such a thing!’”

Yûnus stated, from Ibn Ishaq, “And so the Negus sent for them and assembled them, nothing being more distasteful to ʿAmr b. ʿAṣ and ʿAbd Allah b. Abu Rabîʿa than that he should hear their words.

“When the Negus’s messenger came to them, the exiles assembled and asked one another what to say.

“What can we say?” they asked, and decided, ‘By God, we will tell what we know and all about the religion we follow, what it was our Prophet (ṣaas) brought to us, come what may!’

“When they went in to him their spokesman was Ja’far b. Abu ʿAlîb, God be pleased with him. The Negus asked him, ‘What is this religion you follow? Have you left the faith of your people without entering either Judaism or Christianity?’

“Jaʿfar replied, ‘O king, we were a people of polytheism. We worshipped idols, ate the meat of animals that had died, offended rules of hospitality and permitted things forbidden, as in the shedding of one another’s blood and so on. We completely ignored matters of right and wrong. And so God sent to us a prophet, from among ourselves, whose honesty and trustworthiness we knew well. He summoned us to pray to God alone and without associate, told us to respect rights of kinship, to honour rights of hospitality, to pray to God the Almighty and Glorious, to fast for Him and to worship none other than Him.’”

Ziyâd stated, from Ibn Ishaq, “And so he called us to God, to affirm His oneness, to worship Him, and to tear down all the other stones and idols we and our forefathers had worshipped apart from Him. He ordered us to be truthful in our speech, to keep to our trust, to respect kinship ties and hospitality rights and to abandon things forbidden and the shedding of blood. He forbade us to do anything immoral, to tell lies, to misuse the funds of orphans, or to make false accusations against women of virtue. He ordered us to worship God and to associate no other god with Him. He told us to pray, to give alms and to fast.” He stated, “And he enumerated for him all aspects of Islam.

“And so we believed in him and trusted him, following him in the instructions he brought from God. We worshipped God alone, without partner and associating no one with Him. We forbade what he had forbidden and considered permissible what he allowed us.

“But our people aggressed against us and harmed us, seeking to draw us out of our faith, to return us to the worship of idols instead of God, and to have us again consider permissible the abominations we had previously allowed.
“When they treated us with violence and persecution, besieged us and prevented us from performing our religion, we left for your country and chose you above all others. We desired your hospitality and hoped we would not be harmed in your domain, O king.”

She (Umm Salama) went on to state, “The Negus replied, ‘Did you bring anything with you from what he brought?’

“Ja’far then recited to him a passage from KHYṢ (ṣūrat Maryam: XIX) and, I swear, the Negus wept so hard his beard was soaked! And all his bishops cried so hard they wet their bibles!

“He then said, ‘These words certainly come from the niche that Moses brought with him! Pass on, rightly guided! No, by God, I will not return them to you and I will not give you satisfaction.’

“So we did leave his presence. The more sensible of the two envoys, in our view, was ‘Abd Allah b. Rabi’a, for ‘Amr b. al-‘Ās said, ‘By God, I will go to him tomorrow and tell him something that will turn them all upside down: I will tell him that they claim that the god he worships, Jesus, son of Mary, is a servant (of God)!’ But ‘Abd Allah b. Rabi’a told him, ‘No, don’t do that; even if they have opposed us, they are related to us and have a certain right.’

“But he insisted, ‘By God, I will do it!’

“The next day he went in to the king and said, ‘O king, they say terrible things about Jesus. Send for them and question them about him.’

“He did indeed do so, and nothing like this had happened to us before. We asked one another what we should say about Jesus if he were to ask about him. All agreed that we should definitely say about him what God had said and our Prophet had told us to say.

“The exiles then went in to the king who had his generals with him. He asked, ‘What is it you say about Jesus, son of Mary?’

“Ja’far replied, ‘We say he is God’s servant, His messenger, His spirit and His word that He cast into Mary, the chaste Virgin.’

“The Negus stretched his hand down to the ground and picked up a stick between two fingers, saying, ‘Jesus, son of Mary is not more than the size of this little stick different from what you say.’

“His generals grumbled at this and he responded, ‘Grumble away, by God! You people may leave now and you are shuyūm in my land! (The word shuyūm means in their language: those who are secure, i.e. those whose life is safe.) Whoever reviles you will be fined! (He repeated this phrase three times.) I’d rather not have dabr than that I harmed one man among you! (Dabr in their language means: gold.)’”

Ziyād stated, on the authority of Ibn Ishaq, that what he said was, “I’d rather not have a dabr of gold.” Ibn Hishām stated that others say the word zabr was used, meaning a mountain in their language.
The Negus then said, “I swear, God took no bribe from me when He returned my kingdom to me. And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to acquiesce to them about him? Return their presents to the two envoys. I don’t need them. And, you two, get out of my country!”

The two men did depart in disgrace, with what they had brought having been returned to them.

Umm Salama continued, “And so we stayed on there in comfort and security. “But soon a certain Abyssinian rose in revolt and challenged the rule of the Negus. And, I swear, nothing had ever caused us so much grief as this, since we feared that that rebel would defeat him and then there would be a king who might not recognise our rights as the Negus had done.

“And so we began saying prayers to God, supplicating Him to give victory to the Negus who went out to do battle.

“The Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked one another which one of them should go and witness the engagement to see which side would be victorious.

“Al-Zubayr, one of the youngest of them, volunteered.

“They then blew air into a skin which they attached to his chest and he set off on it, swimming across the Nile. He came out on the other bank, went to the site where the two sides were meeting and witnessed the battle.

“God defeated and killed that rebel leader, giving the Negus victory over him.

“Al-Zubayr then returned to us, waving his shirt and yelling, ‘Rejoice! God has given victory to the Negus!’ ”

Umm Salama concluded, “I swear by God we were never happier than at the Negus’s victory. Thereafter we remained there with him, until some of us returned to Mecca while others stayed there.”

Al-Zuhri stated, “I related this hadith on the authority of Umm Salama to Urwa b. al-Zubayr and he asked, ‘Do you know what was meant by the Negus’s words? “I swear, God took no bribe from me when he returned my kingdom to me; so am I to accept a bribe about Him? And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to obey them about him?”’

“I replied, ‘No; Abū Bakr b. Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, relating on the authority of Umm Salama, did not tell me that.’

“Urwa explained, ‘Well, Aḥishā related to me that his father had been the king of his people and had a brother who had fathered twelve sons. Whereas his own father had only one son, the Negus himself. The Abyssinians discussed this among themselves and decided to kill the father of the Negus and to appoint his uncle over them in his place. For since the uncle had twelve sons of his own who would inherit the kingship, then Abyssinia would remain for a long time free from unrest. They therefore attacked and killed the father of the Negus and made his brother king.
"The Negus then went to live with his uncle; eventually he had such influence over him that no one but he could direct his affairs. He was intelligent and judicious. When the Abyssinians saw his status with his uncle, they told one another, "We have seen how this young man ranks with his uncle, and we could never be safe if he ruled over us, because he knows we killed his father. If he became king, he would not fail to kill every nobleman among us. Let us therefore speak to the king about him so that he will kill or exile him from our land."

"So they went to his uncle and told him, "We have seen how this young man ranks high with you, but you know that we killed his father and put you in his place. We could never be safe if he ruled over us, for he would kill us. You should either kill him or exile him from our land."

"What?" he responded, "You killed his father yesterday and today I am to kill him! No, but I will exile him."

"So they took him out and stood him in the market where they sold him to a certain merchant for 600 or 700 dirhams who put him aboard a ship and sailed away with him.

"When evening came, autumn storm clouds arose and his uncle went outside beneath them to pray for rain; he was struck by a thunderbolt which killed him.

"They then went in fright to his sons but they turned out all to be idiots, with not a good one among them. The Abyssinians were most disturbed at this and some said to others, "You realize, by God, that the only king fit to solve your problems is the man you sold this morning. If you are concerned about Abyssinia, then go and get him before he leaves."

"So they did set off to find him, located him and sat him on the throne and declared him king.

"The merchant then said, "Return to me my money since you have taken my slave from me."

"The Abyssinian replied that they would not and he said he would talk directly to the king.

"He went to him and said, "O king, I bought a slave and those who sold it received the price for him. But then they acted unjustly with me regarding the slave by seizing him and not returning my money."

"The first thing told about the stability and justice of his rule was that he replied, "Let his money be returned to him or let the hand of his slave be placed in his own so that he may take him wherever he wishes."

"His people replied, "No, we will give him his money." And so they did.

"That is why he said, "God did not take a bribe from me, so am I to take a bribe when He returns my kingdom to me? And He did not acquiesce to the people about me; so am I to obey the people about him?""

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, "The father of the Negus had been the king of Abyssinia but died when the Negus was a small boy. The king had entrusted him to his
own brother, saying, ‘You rule your people until my son comes of age; thereafter, he shall be king.’

“But the king’s brother wanted to rule and so he sold the Negus to a merchant. However, the uncle died that night and the Abyssinians restored the Negus, placing the crown on his head.”

He then related it in brief. But Ibn Ḩishāq’s account is better and fuller. But God knows best.


Umāra was one of the seven persons against whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke prayers when they ridiculed him on the occasion when they put the placenta of the sacrificial animal on his back when he was bent over in prayer at the ka‘ba.

Similarly they were named in the previous accounts given by Ibn Masciid and Abī Miṣa al-Ash’ari.

What is implied is that when they left Mecca, ‘Amr’s wife was with him and also that Umāra was a handsome young man. They were together in the boat and Umāra was attracted to the wife of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. So he threw ‘Amr into the sea to kill him, but he swam back to the boat. Umāra then told him, “If I’d known you could swim so well, I wouldn’t have thrown you in!” ‘Amr consequently hated him.

Having failed to achieve their objective with the Negus regarding the Emigrants, Umāra ingratiated himself with some of the Negus’s people. But ‘Amr warned the Negus of this and the latter had Umāra bewitched so that he lost his mind and wandered off into the desert with the wild beasts.

Al-Umawi related his story at very great length, to the effect that he lived on into the time of the reign of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, when some of the Companions hunted him down and seized him. He then began saying, “Dispatch me! Dispatch me! Or I will die!” Since they did not dispatch him, he died right then and there. But God knows best.

It has been said that Quraysh sent twice to the Negus regarding the Emigrants. The first occasion involved ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and Umāra, the second ‘Amr and ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Rabī‘a. Abū Nu‘aym gives such a text in Dalā’il (The Signs). But God knows best.

It is said that the second mission occurred after the battle of Badr. Al-Zuhri stated this. Its purpose was to gain vengeance through the Emigrants there. But the Negus, God bless him, did not grant them any part of their request. But God knows best.

Ziyād related, from Ibn Ishāq, that when Abū Ṭalib saw Quraysh engaged in this he wrote to the Negus some verses urging him to act with justice and kindness towards those of his people who were living with him:
"Would that I knew how it is so far off for Ja'far and 'Amr, and it is relatives who can be the most bitter enemies.

And whether the actions of the Negus towards Ja'far and his companions are still kind, or whether some mischief-maker has hindered that.

You should know, may you avoid disaster, that you are noble, and that no alien would have complaint to you.

We know that God has given you much abundance, and that the means of all goodness is attached to you."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishaq, "Yazid b. Rūmān related to me that Urwa b. al-Zubayr said, 'It was really 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, God bless him, who spoke with the Negus and it is well-known that it was Ja'far, God bless him, who was the translator.'"

Ziyād al-Bakkār stated, from Ibn Ishaq, "Yazid b. Rūmān related to me from Urwa, that 'A'isha, God bless her, said, 'After the Negus died, it was said that a light could still be seen at his grave.'"

Abū Dāūd related this from Muḥammad b. 'Amr al-Rāzi, from Salama b. al-Fadl, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, as follows, "When the Negus, God bless him, died, we used to say that a light could still be seen at his grave."

Ziyād related, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, "Ja'far b. Muḥammad related to me that his father said, 'The Abyssinians gathered together and told the Negus, 'You have abandoned our faith.' Then they revolted against him.'

'He sent to Ja'far and his companions and prepared boats for them, telling them, 'Embark on these, and remain as you are. If I am defeated then leave for wherever you want. If I am victorious, then stay.'

'He then made his way to a document and wrote down the words, 'He testifies that there is no god but God and that Jesus is His slave, His messenger, His spirit and His word that he cast unto Mary.' He then placed the document inside his gown at his right shoulder.

'He then went outside to the Abyssinians who were lined up before him and said, 'O Abyssinians, am I not your rightful leader?' 'Yes,' they replied.

'And how,' he asked, 'do you rate my conduct towards you?'

'As fine conduct,'

'So why are you discontented?'

'You have abandoned our faith and claimed that Jesus is His slave and His messenger.'

'And what is it you say of Jesus?' he asked them.

'We say that he is the son of God.'

'Placing his hand across his chest over his gown, he then gave his testimony that, 'Jesus, son of Mary, was no more than this.' But he meant what he had written.

'His people were satisfied and left.
“This reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and when the Negus died he prayed for him and sought God's forgiveness for him.”

It is established in both *sahih* collections, on the authority of Abū Hurayra, God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) lamented the death of the Negus on the day he died and went with others to the place of prayer. There he lined up with them and four times recited the litany, *Allāhu Akbar*, God is most great. Al-Bukhārī stated: “The Death of the Negus. Abī al-Rabi‘ related to us, as did Ibn ‘Uyayna, from Ibn Jurayj, from ‘Āṭa‘, from Jābir, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated on the day when the Negus died, “Today a good man died; arise and pray for your brother Ašhama.”’”

This is also related from a *hadith* of Anas b. Mālik, Ibn Mas‘ūd, and others.

In some accounts he is named Ašhama, though in one it is Mašhama. His name was Ašhama b. Bahr. He was an honest, devout and intelligent man, just and honourable. May God be pleased with him.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishaq, “The name of the Negus was Mašhama.” In one manuscript al-Bayhaqi has corrected this to Ašhama. ‘The name means in Arabic ‘atyya; gift. The word ‘Negus’ is the title for a king, equivalent to using the word ‘Chosroe’ or ‘Heracleius’.”

This, I observe, is how this text reads; no doubt he meant “Emperor”, the title used for all kings who rule Syria along with the Roman peninsula. “Chosroe” is the title of those ruling Persia, “Pharoah” that for those ruling all Egypt, “al-Muqawqis” for he who rules Alexandria, “Tubba” for those ruling Yemen and al-Shahr, the “Negus” for those ruling Abyssinia, “Batlimus” for those ruling Greece, and, it is said, India, and “Khāqān” for those ruling the Turks.

Some scholars said that he only prayed for him because he kept his faith hidden from his people and there was no one there with him to pray for him the day he died. These scholars thus maintain that for someone not present, if the funeral prayers were said for him in the place where he died, then such rites are not ordained for him in another country. This is why funeral prayers were said for the Prophet (SAAS) only in Medina and not by the people of Mecca or elsewhere. The same was true of Abū Bakr, Umar, Uthmān and others of the Companions; it is not reported that funeral prayers were said for them in towns other than the ones in which they died. But God knows best.

I add the comment that the fact that Abū Hurayra, may God be pleased with him, witnessed the prayers for the Negus points to his having died after the conquest of Khaybar, the year when the remainder of the Emigrants to Abyssinia arrived along with Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭalib, God bless him, namely on the day of the conquest of Khaybar.

It is therefore related that the Prophet (SAAS) said, “By God, I don’t know which makes me happier – the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Ja‘far b. Abū Ṭalib!”
They brought with them presents and treasures from the Negus, God be pleased with him; and accompanying them as passengers on their Yemeni boat were the followers of Abū Mūsā al-As‘ārī and his people the As‘āris, may God be pleased with them.

And with Ja‘far and the presents of the Negus were the nephew of the Negus, Dhū Nakhtar, or Dhū Mikhmar, whom he had sent to serve the Prophet (SAAS) instead of his uncle.

Al-Suhayli stated that the Negus died in Rajab in the year 9 of the hijra, though there is dispute about that. But God knows best.


He (al-Bayhaqī) then stated, “And Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Asbahānī informed me, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿArabī that Hīlāl b. al-ʿAṣār related, quoting my father, quoting Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd, from al-Awzāʿī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathir, from Abū Salama, from Abū Qatāda, who said, ‘The delegation from the Negus went in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he arose to serve them. His Companions said, ‘We’ll do that for you, O Messenger of God.’ He replied, ‘They honoured my Companions and I wish to repay them.’’”

Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd narrated this, from al-Awzāʿī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān related to us, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. ʿIsḥāq, quoting al-Ḥumaydī, quoting Sufyān, quoting ʿAmr, as follows, ‘When ʿAmr b. al-ṣāḥib arrived from Abyssinia he sat at home. Since he would not go out to them, people wondered why this was. ʿAmr then said, ‘Aṣḥama claims your man to be a prophet.’’”

‘UMAR B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB ACCEPTS ISLAM.

Ibn ʿIsḥāq stated, “When ʿAmr b. al-ṣāḥib and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabīʿa arrived back to Quraysh, having failed to achieve their aims with the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and having been rudely rejected by the Negus, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb accepted Islam. He was a forceful man, capable of defending his supporters, and the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had protection through him and through Ḥamzā, so that they could stand up to Quraysh.

“ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd used to say, ‘We were unable to pray at the kaʿba until ʿUmar accepted Islam; having done so, ʿUmar battled Quraysh until he was able to pray at the kaʿba, and we prayed with him.’”
I comment that it is well established in the *sahih* collection of al-Bukhārī, that Ibn Mas‘ūd said, “We have been powerful ever since ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb accepted Islam.”

Ziyād al-Bakkaʾi stated, “Misʿar b. Kidām related to me, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhim, who said, ‘Ibn Masʿūd stated, “The acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar was a victory, his migration was a help, and his reign was a mercy. We could not pray at the kaʿba until he accepted Islam; when he did so ʿUmar battled Quraysh until he was able to pray at the kaʿba, and we prayed with him.”’

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar occurred after the departure of some of the supporters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Abyssinia.

ʿAḥd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭayyār related to me, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Bāḥr, from his mother Umm ʿAbd Allāh, daughter of Abū Ḥathma, who said, “We were preparing to depart for Abyssinia – ʿĀmir having gone off to get something we needed – when ʿUmar came along and stopped, he being a polytheist at the time. We had suffered violence and harm from him.

“ʿHe said, “So you’re leaving then, Umm ʿAbd Allāh?”

“‘Yes,” I replied. “We’re leaving for one of God’s countries, since you have so maltreated and harmed us, so that God may provide us some way out.”

“‘He commented, “Well, God be with you!”

“‘I saw in him a gentleness I never had before. He then left, our departure, so it seemed to me, having saddened him.

“ʿĀmir then arrived with our things and I commented, “O father of ʿAbd Allāh, I wish you could have seen ʿUmar just now, his gentleness and concern for us.”

“‘He asked, “Do you look to his accepting Islam?”

“‘Yes, I do,” I replied.

“‘He commented, “That man you saw won’t accept Islam before al-Khaṭṭāb’s donkey does!”

“‘He said this in despair at him, for all his harsh opposition to Islam that had been seen.”

I comment that this refutes the claim of those who maintain that he brought the number of Muslims to 40. For the Emigrants to Abyssinia were more than 80 persons. Unless, that is, it be said that he was the 40th to convert after the departure of the Emigrants.

This is supported by Ibn Ishāq’s report here concerning the acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar, God bless him, individually, and the account of that.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The acceptance of Islam by ʿUmar, so I have been told, came about as a result of the conversion of his sister Ṣāfīya, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb, who was married to Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl. Her husband had also converted, and they were concealing their conversion from ʿUmar.
"Nu'aym b. 'Abd Allah al-Nahham, a member of the Banu 'Adi tribe, had also converted but concealed this fact from his people.

Khabbab b. al-Aratt was attending the home of Fatima, daughter of al-Khaṭṭāb, to read the Qur'an to her. One day 'Umar went out, his sword at his waist, looking for the Messenger of God (SAAS) who, along with a group of his followers, he had been told, were in a house at al-Safā. The group with him, including men and women, totalled some 40 persons. Among these, along with the Messenger of God (SAAS), were his uncle Ḥamza, Abū Bakr b. Abn Quhafa, al-Siṣiq, "the Trusting", and 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalib, God be pleased with them, along with other Muslim men who had stayed behind in Mecca and not departed for Abyssinia.

"Nu'aym b. 'Abd Allah met him and enquired, 'Where are you heading, 'Umar?'

He replied, 'I'm looking for Muhammad, that Šabian who has disunited Quraysh, ridiculed their dreams, criticized their religion and slandered their gods. I'm going to kill him!'

"Nu'aym told him, 'By God, you've lost your mind, 'Umar! Do you think that Abū Manāf would allow you to walk on the face of the earth once you killed Muhammad? Why don't you go home and sort out your household!'

"What about my household?'

"Your brother-in-law and nephew Saḥd b. Zayd and your sister Fatima. They have accepted Islam and become followers of Muḥammad (SAAS) in his religion. Look to them!'

'Umar then returned to his sister Fatima where Khabbab b. al-Aratt was; he had with him a manuscript of surat Tāhā that he was reading to her.

When they heard 'Umar's approach, Khabbab hid inside a bedroom, or somewhere else in the house, and Fatima took the manuscript and hid it under her thigh. But 'Umar had heard Khabbab reciting it as he approached the door.

"As he came in, he demanded, 'What was that murmuring sound I heard?'

"I heard nothing,' they both replied.

"Well I did,' he insisted. 'And I've been told you are following Muḥammad in his religion.'

He then struck out at his brother-in-law Saḥd b. Zayd, and when his sister Fatima rose to defend her husband he hit her and wounded her.

"When he did this, his sister and brother-in-law admitted, 'Yes, we have accepted Islam and do believe in God and in His Messenger. Do whatever you want!'

"When 'Umar saw the blood on his sister he was sorry for what he had done and repentant and he told her, 'Give me that document you were just reading so that I can see what it is Muḥammad brings.' 'Umar was literate.

"When he said that, she replied, 'We don't trust you with it.'

"Don't be afraid,' he told her, and swore by his gods to return it to her when he had read it.
"When he said this she had hopes of his accepting Islam and so she said, 'But being a polytheist you are unclean, and only the purified may touch it.'

"So 'Umar arose and washed himself, and she gave him the sheet on which surat Tāhā was written. When he had read a passage of it, he said, 'How fine, how wonderful these words are!'

"When Khabbāb b. al-Aratt heard this he came out and said, 'By God, 'Umar, I do so hope that God has selected you because of the prayer of His Prophet (SAAS), for yesterday I heard him say, 'O God, give help to Islam through Abū al-Hakam b. Hishām, or through 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb!' So come now to God, 'Umar!'

"At that 'Umar said, 'Khabbāb, lead me to Muḥammad so that I can accept Islam.'

"'He is in a house at al-Šafā with a group of his Companions,' Khabbāb replied.

"'Umar picked up his sword and put it on then left for the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions. He knocked on the door and when they heard his voice, one of the Companions got up and looked outside through a chink in the door. He saw 'Umar, wearing his sword, then went back in to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in a fright and exclaiming, 'O Messenger of God, it's 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, armed with his sword!'

"Hamza said, 'Well, let him in. If he has come with good, we'll reciprocate, but if he's come in evil, we'll kill him with his sword.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) also said, 'Let him in!'

"So the Companion did so, and the Messenger of God (SAAS), got up and went across the room to meet him, taking him by his waist or by the place where his cloak joined, and giving him a strong pull, saying, 'What brings you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb? By God, I don't see you stopping until God sends down a thunderbolt upon you!'

"'Umar replied, 'O Messenger of God, I come to you to believe in God, in His messenger, and in what has come down from God!'

"At this the Messenger of God (SAAS) let out a great cry of Allāhu Akbar, and the people in the house all knew that 'Umar had accepted Islam.

"The Companions of the Messenger of God left their places elated that now 'Umar had accepted Islam along with Ḥamza, knowing that these two men would protect him and help them obtain justice from their enemies.'

Ibn Ishāq concluded, "This then, is the account given by the hadith scholars of Medina concerning the acceptance of Islam by 'Umar, God bless him."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīh al-Makki related to me, from his Companions 'Aṭā, Mujāhid and others, that regarding 'Umar's acceptance of Islam, he himself would say, 'I used to be very remote from Islam. Before Islam I used to be a great man for wine; I loved drinking it. We used to have a place at al-Ḥazwara where we would meet.
“One night I went out looking for my drinking partners, but found not one of them there. So I told myself I should go off to a wine dealer named so-and-so to get some for myself to drink.

“But I could not find him. So I told myself I might as well go to the ka‘ba and circumambulate it seven or seventy times.

“So I went to the mosque and there, standing praying, I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS). When he prayed he would face towards al-Shām, placing the ka‘ba between himself and it. The spot he prayed at was between the two corners, al-asmus (the one with the ‘black stone’) and al-yamāni (the one towards Yemen).

“When I saw him, I told myself I might just as well spend the evening listening to Muḥammad. If I came too close to him to listen I might scare him, so I approached from the hijr side, passing beneath its covering and walking slowly while the Messenger of God (SAAS) continued standing there reciting the Qur‘ān. Eventually I stood facing towards him with nothing there between us but the covering over the ka‘ba.

“When I heard the Qur‘ān my heart was touched by it, I wept and Islam entered within me.

“I stayed where I was until the Messenger of God (SAAS) had finished his prayer and departed. When he left he would pass by the home of Ibn Abū Husayn, whose dwelling happened to be at Dār al-Ṛaqṭā‘, which was owned by Muṣṭawiya. I followed him until, as he went between the house of ‘Abbās and that of Ibn Azhar, I caught up with him. When he heard my voice he recognized me and thought I had followed him only to harm him. So he told me to keep away, then said, “What brings you here at this hour, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?”

“I replied, “I have come to believe in God and in His messenger, and in what has come down from God.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) expressed thanks to God at this and then he said, “God has guided you, ‘Umar!” He then touched my chest and prayed for me to be constant.

“After that I left and the Messenger of God (SAAS) went inside his house.”

Ibn Ishaq then commented, “God alone knows best which of these versions really happened.”

I point out that I have investigated the manner in which Umar, God bless him, accepted Islam and related all the statements and evidence thereto at length in the first part of the biography I devoted to him alone. All praise and credit be to God!

Ibn Ishaq said, “Naft, the freed-man of Ibn Umar, related to me that ‘Umar’s son said, ‘When Umar accepted Islam, he asked, “Which man of Quraysh is best at making announcements?”

“‘Jamil b. Ma‘mar al-Jumahī,” he was told.

“Next morning Umar went to the man.” Ibn Umar continued, ‘So I followed him to see what he would do; I was a lad at the time, but understood all I saw.
‘When ‘Umar reached him, he asked, “Jamil, do you know that I have accepted Islam and entered into the faith of Muḥammad (ṢAAS)?”

‘Ibn ‘Umar went on, ‘Well, I swear, he had no sooner told him this than off he went, his gown trailing. ‘Umar followed him and I did so too until he stopped at the mosque gate, where he shouted at the top of his voice, “O Quraysh!” (They were there at that time in their chambers around the ka‘ba.) “Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb has become a Sabian!”

‘‘Umar, standing right behind him, yelled, “He lies! But I have become a Muslim. I do testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God!”

‘People were most enraged against him and soon he was battling hard against them, they against him. They kept up this fighting until the sun was high over their heads.

‘At last he was exhausted and sat down, while they stood all around him. He told them, “Do what you want! But I swear by God that if we were 300 men strong, either we’d have left the battlefield to you or you would have to us!”

‘While they were so engaged, a Quraysh sheikh finely dressed in a robe from Yemen and an embroidered shirt came up and stood there. He asked, “What’s going on with you?”

‘‘‘Umar has become a Sabian,” they replied.

‘‘So what? If a man chooses to do something, what’s it got to do with you? Do you think his tribe, the Banū ʿAdī, will give him over to you like this? Let the man go!’"

‘Ibn ‘Umar went on, ‘And I swear, they drew back like a garment being stripped from him.’

‘And when my father ‘Umar went off into exile to Medina, I asked him, “Father, who was that man who drove the people away from you at Mecca who was fighting you the day you accepted Islam?”

‘‘That, my son,” he replied, “was al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil al-Sahmāt.”’’

This chain of authorities is extremely strong. It points to the tardiness of ‘Umar’s acceptance of Islam. This is because Ibn ‘Umar fought at Uhud for the first time, when he was 14. That battle, Uhud, occurred in the year 3 AH. He was at the age of discrimination on the day his father accepted Islam, an event that must have occurred some 4 years before the emigration to Medina. And that is some 9 years after the beginning of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS). But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī said, “Al-Ḥakim related to us, al-ʿAṣamm informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, and Yūnus related to us, all from Ibn ʿĪshāq, who stated, ‘Then 20 men came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was in Mecca, or nearby; these were Christians, news having spread about him to them from Abyssinia. They found him at the meeting place and spoke with him and asked him questions, while the men of Quraysh were in their chambers there around the ka‘ba.
“‘When they had finished putting the questions they wanted to ask the Messenger of God, he invited them to come to God, the Almighty and Glorious, and he recited the Qur’ān to them. When they heard it, their eyes overflowed with tears. They then responded positively to him, believed in him and accepted and trusted him, recognising what had been described to them about him in their scripture.

“‘When they arose to leave him, Abū Jahl and a group of Quraysh blocked their path and told them, “What a hopeless party you are! You were sent here by your co-religionaries back home to undertake an investigation for them and to return with information about this fellow, yet no sooner did you sit down in comfort with him than you abandoned your faith and believed all he told you. We’ve never known a group more foolish than you.” Or words to that effect.

“‘They replied, “We do not denigrate you; peace be upon you! We act as we see fit, as do you as you see fit. We spare no pains to attain what is good.”’

It is said that the group of Christians were from Najrān; but God alone knows whether that was so.

It is also said, though God alone knows, that the following verses were revealed about them, “And those to whom we gave the book before it do believe in it. When it is recited to them, they say, ‘We do believe in it; it is the truth from our Lord. We were accepting (its message) even before it came.’ Those shall receive their reward twice, for they have been steadfast and repay evil with good and expend from what We have given them. And when they hear idle gossip they turn away from it and say, ‘We act as we see fit, as do you as you see fit. Peace be upon you; we do not desire the ignorant and foolish?’” (sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ, XXVIII, v.52–5).

DIVISION

Al-Bayhaqī in his book Dalā'il (The Signs) entitles a chapter “On the contents of the document sent by the Prophet (SAAS) to the Negus.”

He then relates, from al-Ḥakim, from al-ʿAsāmm, from Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus, from Ibn Ishaq, as follows, “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate: this is a document from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (SAAS), to the Negus, al-ʿAshām, the great leader of Abyssinia: Peace be upon those who follow guidance, believe in God and His messenger, and testify that there is no god but God alone, Who has no partner, Who took no female partner for Himself, and Who has no child, and they testify that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger. I call out to you in God’s name, for I am His messenger. So submit (to Him) and be at peace! O People of the Book, come to an agreement that is equal between us both; that we will worship none but God and associate no other god with Him; that we will not take one another as masters to the exclusion of God. But if they do turn aside, then
say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims' (ṣūrat ʿĀl-ʿImrān; III, v.63). But if you refuse, then upon you is the sin of those of your people who are Christians.'

Al-Bayhaqī related it thus after the narrative of the migration to Abyssinia. There are various opinions concerning this account. It is clear that this document was to the Negus who, in addition to being a Muslim, (was also) the friend of Ja'far and his companions.

It relates to the time when he (Muḥammad) wrote to all the rulers on earth inviting them to God, the Almighty and Glorious, shortly before the conquest (of Mecca). He wrote to Heraclius, the head of the Romans and the Caesar of Syria, to Chosroe, the king of the Persians, to the ruler of Egypt as well as to the Negus.

Al-Zuhri stated, 'The letters to them from the Prophet (ṢAAS) were all the same, i.e. copies, and all quoted this same verse which comes from ṣūrat ʿĀl-ʿImrān, a chapter that is incontrovertibly from the Medina period. The verse comes from the early part of the ṣūrat.'

Eighty-three verses of this ṣūrat, from its beginning, relate to the delegation from Najrān, as I asserted in my Tafsīr (Exegesis). And to God belong all praise and credit.

And so this document was to the second Negus, not to the first.

Regarding the words therein, "To the Negus al-Aṣḥām ..." perhaps the word "al-Aṣḥām" is an interpolation by the narrator, based on his understanding. But God knows best.

More relevant here than this is what al-Bayhaqī also narrated, from al-Ḥākim, from Abū al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Faqīh, of Merve, who stated, "Ḥammād b. ᾱḥmad related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʾIṣḥāq and Ṣalāma b. al-Faḍl, all from Muḥammad b. ʾIṣḥāq, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ʿAmr b. ᾱmāraya al-Ḍamrī with a letter he wrote to the Negus concerning Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib and his companions: "In the name of God the most Merciful and Compassionate: from Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to the Negus al-Aṣḥām, king of Abyssinia: Peace be upon you. I express to you my praises for God the King, the All-Holy, the Faithful, and the Protector; I testify that Jesus is the spirit of God and His word that He cast unto Mary, the good, chaste, unviolated Virgin. And so she bore Jesus, whom He created from His spirit and His breath, just as He created Adam by His hand and breath. I call upon you to believe the One God Who has no associate. To Him all obedience is due. (I call upon you, tr.) to follow me, to believe in me as well as in that which has come down to me. For I am the Messenger of God. And I have sent to you my nephew Jaʿfar along with a group of Muslims. When they come to you receive them hospitably. Do not be haughty, for I invite you and your forces to God the Almighty and Glorious. I have conveyed my message and given advice. So accept my advice. And peace be upon those who follow the true path."
“The Negus wrote back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) as follows: “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate: To Muhammad the Messenger of God from the Negus al-Asham b. Abjar: Peace be upon you, O Prophet of God, from God, along with the mercy and blessings of God. There is no god but Him who guided me to Islam. Your letter, O Messenger of God, in which you made reference to Jesus, has reached me. And, by the God of the heavens and the earth, Jesus is no more than what you stated. We recognize what you have been sent with to us. We have received your nephew and his friends with hospitality. And I do testify that you are the Messenger of God, that you speak the truth and are to be believed. I pledge my allegiance to you and to your nephew, accepting Islam at his hands for God, the Lord of the universe. I have sent to you, O Prophet of God, Arība b. al-Asham b. Abjar, for I possess nothing but myself. If you wish for me to come to you, I will do so, O Messenger of God, for I testify that what you say is truth.”’”

An Account of the disagreement of the Quraysh tribes of the Banū Ḥāshim and the Banū Ṭālib ibn Mutṭalib in helping the Messenger of God (SAAS). Also concerning their confinement of them in the quarter of Abū Ṭālib for a lengthy period and their writing an evil, brazen document to that effect. And the signs of the prophethood and proofs of the truth that became evident regarding all this.

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri: “The polytheists thereafter became so violent in their actions against the Muslims that the plight of the latter became extreme. And Quraysh so united in their evil intent as to agree to kill the Messenger of God (SAAS) in full view.

“When Abū Ṭālib realized their purposes, he gathered the Banū Ṭālib and told them to include the Messenger of God (SAAS) in their enclave and to protect him against those wishing to murder him.

“The Muslims and non-believers of the tribe did agree to this, some out of a desire to uphold traditions of protection, others out of their faith and conviction.

“When Quraysh realized that these were in agreement to protect the Messenger of God (SAAS), the polytheists among them made a pact not to sit down with, nor to do business with them, nor to enter the homes of these people until they surrendered the Messenger of God (SAAS) to execution. They cunningly drew up agreements and pacts to the effect that they would never accept peace or reconciliation with the Banū Ḥāshim until they delivered him up for death.

“The Banū Ḥāshim therefore remained for three years confined to their enclave, suffering great deprivation. Their markets had been cut off; no food was allowed into Mecca for them, and all their business dealings were interrupted.
"Their purpose in all this was to spill the blood of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"When it was bed time, Abū Ṭalib would tell the Messenger of God (SAAS) to sleep on the former's bed, and he would do the same, the intent being that anyone wishing to harm or assassinate him would be unaware of this. And while people slept, Abū Ṭalib made sure that one of his sons, brothers or nephews would lie on the bed of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he would tell the latter to take their places instead.

"At the start of the third year certain men of the tribes of 'Abd Manāf and Qūṣayy, along with others whose mothers were from the Banū Ḥāshim, became critical of this and recognized that they were breaking the bonds of kinship and disregarding what was right. They therefore decided one night to revoke what they had previously agreed to, and to free themselves thereof.

"They discovered, however, that God had dispatched woodworm to attack their documents; they devoured everything making reference to their pact.

"It is said that these documents were hung from the ceiling of the temple. Every reference to God's name was devoured; all that remained was material relating to polytheism, injustice and destruction of ties of kindred.

"God, the Almighty and Glorious, made His messenger aware of what He had done to their documents, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) told this to Abū Ṭalib.

"But Abū Ṭalib responded, 'No! May the stars never mislead me!'

"He then hurried off with a band of the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and went to the mosque which was full of Quraysh. When the latter saw them heading for them they were surprised, believing them to be doing so because of the extent of their suffering and that they were coming to deliver the Messenger of God (SAAS) to them.

"Abū Ṭalib spoke to them as follows: 'Various things we don't need to tell you of have occurred between you. Bring now your deeds referring to the pacts you have made; perhaps now there can be peace between us all.'

"The reason he said this was because he was afraid they might look at the deeds before bringing them.

"They did now bring them down, proud of them and not doubting that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was to be delivered to them. They placed them down, saying, 'Well, the time has come for you to proceed to a reconciliation with your people. Only one man has caused this rupture between us. You have placed him in a position where he has brought the danger of destruction and corruption to your people.'

"Abū Ṭalib responded, 'I have only come to you now to offer you justice. My nephew has informed me – and he never lied to me – that God will have no part of that document there before you and that He has erased all of His names from it, leaving only references to your treachery, your breaking of the bonds of kinship and your unjust public demonstrations against us.
"If what my nephew has said is so, then you should recognize that and, by God, we will never surrender him to you before the last of us is dead!

"But if what he said is false, then we will deliver him to you for you to kill or to spare his life."

"We'll agree to that", they replied.

"They then opened up the deed and found that he (Muhammad), the truthful and the trustworthy (SAAS) had proved correct. When Quraysh saw it to be as Abū Tālib had said, they said, 'By God, this has to be some magic done by your man!'

"They then reneged and reverted to even worse impiety and violence against the Messenger of God (SAAS) than before, doing their best to destroy him as they had formerly compacted.

"That group of men of the Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib responded by saying, 'It is others, not us, who are more blameworthy in telling lies and using magic. We very well know that the boycott of us you agreed on was closer to sorcery and magic than what we did. If you had not agreed to use magic the deeds before you would not have been spoiled and God's name would not have been erased while reference to your evil was retained. Is it we who rely on magic, or you?'"

"Thereafter some men of ʿAbd Manāf and Quṣayy, along with those of Quraysh born to women of the Banū Hashim, including Abū al-Bakhtūr, al-Muṭṭām b. ʿAdi, Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira, Zam'a b. al-Aswad and Ḥishām b. ʿAmr, of the Banū ʿAmir b. Luʿayy (the last-mentioned having had charge of the deed), along with other prominent members of their community, stated that they disavowed the action.

"To this Abū Jahl, God damn him, responded, 'But this matter is not revocable!'"

"Abū Tālib spoke verses regarding their deed and praised the men who had disavowed their former agreement, and he also commended the Negus."

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Our sheikh, Abū ʿAbd Allah, the hāfiz, also related it thus, that is through Ibn Lahī'a, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, meaning in the same context as that given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, God bless him."

We have previously told of Mūsā b. ʿUqba that he stated, "The migration to Abyssinia only occurred following their entry into the enclave, and was the result of the Messenger of God (SAAS) having told them to do so." But God knows best.

I observe that it is most likely that Abū Tālib spoke his lāmiyya, his ode rhyming in 'l', as previously quoted, also only after they went into the enclave. And so making reference to it here is most appropriate. But God knows best.

Thereafter al-Bayhaqī related, through Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, as having said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) set out to fulfil the mission entrusted to him, the Banū Hashim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib undertook to
protect him and refused to deliver him. Even though they were opposed to him and were engaged in the same religion as their people at large, they were none the less reluctant to humiliate themselves and deliver him over, conscious of the loathing Quraysh had for him.

“The Bani Hashim and the Banu al-Mu‘taylib having taken their stand and Quraysh having recognized that they had no access to Muhammad, they met and agreed to write a document defining their relationship to the Banu Hashim and the Banu ‘Abd al-Mu‘taylib. They agreed that they would not marry them nor allow their women to marry them, nor engage in buying or selling with them. They wrote a document to that effect which they hung up in the ka‘ba.

“They then attacked the Muslims, restricting their movements and subjecting them to violence. Their plight and insecurity became extreme.”

Thereafter Ibn Ishaq related the story in full, telling of their entry into the enclave of Abn Taliib and of the severe trouble they suffered there, to such a degree that their children would be overheard inside writhing with the pangs of hunger.

Eventually most Quraysh regretted their plight and expressed their hatred for their accursed document. They then told how God, in His mercy, sent down woodworm against the document and these demolished every word relating to God, leaving therein only what referred to evil, to the boycott and to slanderous talk. Also related was how God Almighty informed the Messenger of God (SAAS) of this and how he told this to his uncle Abu Taliib.

He then went on to mention in full the remainder of the story as narrated by Musa b. Uqba.

Ibn Hishâm stated, from Ziyâd, quoting Muhammad b. Ishâq, “And when Quraysh saw that the supporters of the Messenger of God (SAAS) had gone to live in a land where they had attained security and where the Negus had offered his protection to those seeking refuge with him, that Umar had accepted Islam and had now, along with Hamza, joined the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions, and that Islam was spreading out into the tribes, they met and decided to write down a document. This would record their mutual agreement concerning the Banu Hâshim and the Banu ‘Abd al-Mu‘taylib. It specified that they would neither marry with them nor offer their womenfolk into marriage with them nor engage in any buying or selling with them. Having agreed to this, they wrote it down in a deed to which they gave their solemn pledge. They then suspended the document inside the ka‘ba in affirmation of this.


Ibn Hishâm said, “He was also named as al-Na‘îr b. al-Hârith. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said prayers against him and he lost the use of some of his fingers.”
Al-Waqidi stated, “The man who wrote down the agreement was Țalḥa b. Abū Țalḥa al-’Abdari.” My own view is that it is well established that the man was Mansūr b. Ikrima, as Ibn Ishāq related. It was he who lost the use of a hand; Quraysh used to say among themselves, “Look what happened to Mansūr b. Ikrima!”

Al-Waqidi said, “And the document was suspended in the middle of the ka'ba.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When Quraysh had done this the Banū Ḥāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib allied with Abū Ṭālib and entered his enclave and joined forces with him.

“But Abū Lahab b. Ābd al-‘Uzza b. Ābd al-Muṭṭalib left the Banū Ḥāshim and gave his support to Quraysh.

“Husayn b. Ābd Allah related to me that Abū Lahab met Hind, daughter of Ṭub'a b. Rabi'a when he parted with his own people and gave his support to Quraysh against them. He asked her, ‘O daughter of Ṭub'a, have I not given my support to al-Ľāt and al-‘Uzza and broken with those who have abandoned them and given their support against them?’

“Yes, indeed,’ she replied. ‘And may God reward you well, O Abū Ṭub'a!’”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “I was told that one of the things he would say was, ‘Muḥammad promises me things I do not see that he claims to exist after death. What apart from that had he put in my hands?’

“He then blew into his hands and addressed them thus: ‘May you both perish! I see nothing in you of what Muḥammad talks!’

“And so God Almighty sent down His words: ‘May the hands of Abū Lahab perish, and may he perish too!’” (ṣūrat al-Lahab; CVI, v.1).

Ibn Ishāq went on, “When Quraysh had agreed in this way and acted towards him as they did, Abū Ṭālib spoke the following verses:

‘O do announce our disagreement to the Lu‘ayy, to those Lu‘ayy of the Banū Ka‘b:
Do you not know that we have found Muḥammad to be a prophet like Moses of whom it is written in the very first books?
And that among men there is love for him and that none is better than those endowed by God with love,
And that the document you have put up is an evil thing, like the raging young camel? ³
Wake up, wake up before the moist earth is dug (for your graves) and those without sin will be just like sinners.
Do not follow the orders of those who lie, and so cut your ties with us after friendship and kinship,
Drawing on an endless warfare; and the milk of war can turn very bitter to those who taste it.

³. Apparently a reference to the camel of Šāliḥ which was killed by his people, Thamūd, contrary to his express wish. See ṣūrat al-Shu‘arā'; XXVI, v.155–8.
We will not, by the Lord of the temple, deliver up Ahmad because of the tribulations of time or the agony,

And when our necks and hands and yours will otherwise be cut by glinting blades of Qussai steel.\footnote{4}

In a narrow battlefield where broken spears will be seen, over which vultures hover, like drinkers at a party,

And the space where the horsemen gallop and the heroes cry out will make it like a battle in a war.

Was our forefather Hashim not courageous, and did he not advise his sons to thrust and to strike?

We do not tire of warfare before it tires of us, nor do we complain at whatever misfortunes may strike.

We are people who stay firm and prudent at times when the spirits of brave men fly off in terror."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "And they remained under those conditions for two or three years in the utmost distress, with nothing getting into them unless secretly, from those members of Quraysh who wanted to keep ties with them.

"Abū Jahl b. Hishām, so they say, met Ḥākim b. Ḥizām b. Khūwaylid b. Asad with whom was a slave bearing wheat for Ḥizām's aunt Khadija, daughter of Khūwaylid, who was in the enclave along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Jahl took hold of him and said, 'Are you taking food to the Banū Hashim? I swear, you'll not go, you and your food, without me making a scandal about you in Mecca!'

"Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad then came up to him and asked, 'What's going on between you and him?'

"He replied, 'He's carrying food into the Banū Hashim.'

"Abū al-Bakhtari commented, 'This is food belonging to his aunt that she had sent him and he had at home. Would you prevent him from taking to her her own food? Get out of the man's way!'

"But Abū Jahl, God damn him, refused and they began to fight. Abū al-Bakhtari picked up a camel's jawbone and struck him with it, giving him a head wound. He then stomped on him.

"Hāmza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was nearby and saw all this. But they did not like to tell the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions of this incident lest they gloat over them."

\textit{THOSE WHO MOCKED.}

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) continued as before, calling upon his people by day and night, secretly and openly, calling out the commands of God Almighty, fearing no man.

4. Swords of Qusas were reknowned for their high quality.
God having provided the Messenger of God (SAAS) with protection against Quraysh through the aid of his uncle and his relatives of the Banū Hashim and the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Quraysh were unable to treat him with the violence they wished. Consequently they set about mocking, ridiculing him and disputing with him.

The Qurʾān then began coming down concerning the evil deeds of Quraysh and those who had declared themselves to be his enemies.

Some of these were mentioned by name to us, while others were inferred among those polytheists to whom general reference was made.

Ibn Ishaq mentions Abī Lahab and the revelation of a chapter concerning him; also, he referred to Umayya b. Khalaf and the revelation of the words of the Almighty, “Woe to every defaming slanderer!” (sūrat al-Humaza; CIV, v.1). The whole sūrat refers to the latter man.

Also there was reference to al-‘Āṣ b. Wā‘il in the revelation, “And have you then seen him who disbelieved in our signs and who said, ‘Certainly I will be awarded wealth and children’” (sūrat Maryam; XIX, v.77). Some part of this has been quoted previously.

And then there was Abū Jahl h. Hisham and his saying to the Prophet of God (SAAS), “You had better stop insulting our gods, or we will insult your God whom you worship.” Regarding this, God’s revelation came: “Do not insult those whom they worship besides God, for they, in enmity and without knowledge, will insult God” (sūrat al-An‘ām; VI, v.108).

Also, there was al-Nadr b. al-Harith b. Kalada b. ‘Alqama, or ‘Alqama b. Kalada according to al-Suhayli and others, who used to sit down after the Prophet of God (SAAS) had finished one of his sessions in which he would recite the Qurʾān and pray to God. Al-Nadr would then narrate tales of Rustum and Isfandiyār and the wars between them in ancient Persia. Then he would comment, “I swear by God, Muḥammad is no better a story-teller than me. His talk is only of ancient legends from which he borrows, just as I do.”

And so God Almighty sent down: “And they say: ‘These are only legends of the Ancients that he has borrowed; they are dictated to him morning and evening’” (sūrat al-Furqān; XXV, v.5). And also: “Woe to every sinful liar” (sūrat al-Jāthiya; XLV, v.7).

Ibn Ishaq stated, “One day, so we have been told, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sat down in the mosque with al-Walīd b. al-Mughira. Al-Nadr b. al-Hārith came over and sat with them; also present were several men of Quraysh.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke, but al-Nadr argued with him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then addressed al-Nadr and ultimately silenced him. Having done so, he then recited to them all, ‘You, along with that which you worship besides God, are the firewood for hell; you are on your way there. Were these gods they would not be ending up there; and all there will remain therein forever. Therein wailing is their lot, and therein they hear not’ (sūrat al-Anbiyā; XXI, v.98–100).
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose just as 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ziba'rā al-Sahmi approached and sat down.

'Al-Walid b. al-Mughīrā spoke to him, 'I swear, al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārīth's foregoing argument with Ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (i.e. Muḥammad) was indeed short lived! Muḥammad (silenced him by) claiming that we and those gods of ours we worship are to be firewood for hell-fire!'

'Abd Allāh b. al-Ziba'rā replied, 'If I'd found him saying that, I'd have disputed with him. Ask Muḥammad: 'Is everything besides God that is worshipped, along with those who worship them, to be firewood for hell? We worship angels, the Jews worship ʿUzayr, and the Christians worship Jesus.'

'Al-Walid and those with him at the meeting were impressed by what Ibn al-Ziba'rā had said, and thought he had made a cogent and winning argument.

'This was reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who replied, 'All those wanting to be worshipped aside from God will be there in hell with those who worship them. Those people merely worship devils, and those they (the devils) have ordered them to worship.'

'God Almighty then revealed, 'Those to whom good has already gone from us will be kept far away from it (hell). They will not hear its slightest sound, but will remain forever in what it is they have so desired' (ṣūrat al-Anbiyāʾ; XXI; v.101–2).

This verse is referring to Jesus, ʿUzayr and those rabbis and monks who lived in obedience to God Almighty. And regarding their assertion that they were worshipping angels and that these were the daughters of God, He sent down: "And they say that God the Beneficent has taken a son for himself. All glory be to Him! No, (not that) but they are honoured servants" (ṣūrat al-Anbiyāʾ; XXI, v.26).

And then there were the verses following that.

Concerning the good impression made upon the polytheists by what al-Ziba'rā said, God sent down: "And when the son of Mary is mentioned as an example, your people make a great outcry. They ask, 'Are our gods better, or is he?' They only raise this objection for argument's sake. They really are contentious people!" (ṣūrat al-Zukhruf; XLIII, v.57–8).

This argumentation they pursued was futile.

And they were aware of that, because they were an Arab people. It is part of their language that mā, i.e. "that which," in the above quotation implies in Arabic something that does not think. The statement: "You, along with that which you worship besides God are the firewood for hell; you are on your way there" (ṣūrat al-Anbiyāʾ; XXI, v.98) refers to the rocks fashioned as idols. It does not include the angels that they claimed to be worshipping inside these images. Nor does it include Jesus, ʿUzayr or any of the holy persons because that item of language, mā, cannot include them, directly or by implication.

They well knew that the comparison they were making to Jesus, son of Mary, was futile. As the Almighty stated, "They only raise this objection for argument's sake. They really are contentious people" (ṣūrat al-Zukhruf; XLIII, v.57–8).
God also stated, “He”, (meaning Jesus) “was merely a servant whom We favoured” (that is, by prophethood) “and We made him an example for the people of Israel” (sūrat al-Zukhruf; XLIII, v.59). That is, as an indication of the totality of God’s power to achieve His wishes, having created him from a female without a male. Similarly, God created Eve from a male without a female, and Adam without either, while He created all the rest of mankind from both male and female.

As God stated in another verse, “And certainly We are creating him as a sign for all mankind.” That is, as a proof and an indication of His evident power, and as a “mercy from Him”, by which He gives mercy to those He wishes.

Ibn Ishāq also mentions al-Akhnas b. Sharif and Almighty God’s revelation regarding him: “And do not obey every base oath-maker” (sūrat Nūn or al-Qalam; LXVIII, v.10).

He referred also to al-Walid b. al-Mughira as having said, “Does God make revelation to Muḥammad and not me, even though I am chief and leader of Quraysh and also ignores Abū Mas‘ūd ‘Amr b. ‘Amr al-Thaqafī, lord of Thaqif, even though we are the greatest men of the two towns?”5 Regarding this statement, God sent down: “And they say, ‘Why was this Qur’ān not revealed to some great men of the two towns?’” (sūrat al-Zukhruf; XLIII, v.31), along with other verses thereafter.

Ibn Ishāq also referred to Ubayy b. Khalaf who said to Uqba b. Abū Mu‘ayt, “Have I not heard that you sat down with Muḥammad and listened to him? I’ll never set eyes on you again unless you spit in his face!” And ‘Uqba, that enemy of God, God damn him, did that! And so God sent down, “And a day (will come) when the evil-doer will bite his hands and say, ‘Would that I had taken my path with the Messenger; woe is to me! How I wish I had not taken so-and–so as my friend!’” (sūrat al-Furqān; XXV, v.27, 28), along with following verses.

He also related, “And Ubayy b. Khalaf took an old, disintegrating bone to him and said, ‘O Muḥammad, do you claim that God can restore this after it has disintegrated?’ He then crumbled it in his hand and blew it into the air towards the Messenger of God (S.A.W.). He replied, ‘Yes, I do say that. God will restore it and you too, even after you are like that. And then He will place you in the fire!’ And God revealed, ‘He coins a metaphor for us, forgetting his own creation, saying, “Who will give life to bones that are rotten?” Say, “He will give life to them who first created them! He has knowledge of all creation”’” (sūrat Yāsīn; XXXVI, v.78–9) to the end of that sūrat.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “I have been told that once, when the Messenger of God (S.A.W.) was making a circumambulation of the ka‘ba, near its doorway, he was obstructed by al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, al-Walid b. al-Mughira, Umayya b. Khalaf and al-‘Āṣ b. Wāṭil. They said to him, ‘O Muḥammad, come on! We’ll

5. Thaqif were associated with al-Ṭā’if.
worship what you do if you'll worship what we do. Let's just co-operate, you and us, in the whole thing!

"Regarding them God revealed, 'Say: 'O you disbelievers! I will not worship what you worship''' (sūrat al-Kāfīrūn; CIX; v.1–2).

"When Abū Jahl heard reference to the al-zaqqūm tree, he said, 'Do you know what this al-zaqqūm is? It is dates mashed in butter!' He added, 'Bring it along; we'll enjoy it!'

"And so God revealed, 'The zaqqūm tree is the food of sinners'" (sūrat al-Dukhān; XLIV, v.43–4).

Ibn Ishāq also related, "Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra was standing talking with the Messenger of God (SAAS) who was addressing him, wishing to convert him to Islam, when Ibn Umm Makkūm, that is, the son of 'Āṭīka, daughter of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ankatha, passed by. Ibn Umm Makkūm, who was blind, addressed the Messenger of God (SAAS) and began asking him to recite the Qur'ān. This so upset the Messenger of God (SAAS) as to anger him, and this was because he was interfering with his efforts to convert al-Walīd to Islam as he was hoping.

"When the blind man persisted, he turned away from him frowning and ignored him. And so God Almighty sent down, '... and he frowned and turned away when the blind man came to him ...' up to the words, '... exalted, purified'" (sūrat 'Abasa; LXXX, v.1–14).

It is also said that the person who was talking to the Messenger of God (SAAS) when Ibn Umm Makkūm came along was Umayya b. Khalaf. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq then related the names of those who returned to Mecca from the migration to Abyssinia. They did so when news reached them of the adoption of Islam by the Meccans. This information was incorrect, though there was a reason for it.

What is well established in the sahih collections of traditions and elsewhere is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sat down one day with the polytheists and God revealed to him, "By the star when it sets, your companion has not gone astray" (sūrat al-Najm; LI, v.1–2). When he had recited this sūrat completely, he prostrated in prayer as did the Muslims, polytheists and spirits all.

But that (the prostrations of the polytheists along with the Muslims) had a reason which is mentioned by exegetes in their commentary on the words of Almighty God, "And we did not send before you any messenger or any prophet without him wishing something and the devil then influencing his wish; and so God annuls whatever the devil has inspired, and affirms His own signs. And God is knowledgeable, wise" (sūrat al-Ḥajj; XXII, v.52). They then refer to the story of the gharāniq.6

6. The word seems to have two possible connotations. It can mean either a high-flying crane or a particularly attractive young person, male or female. At issue here are two verses said, in the
We preferred to refrain from mentioning it openly here lest it come to the attention of those unable to place it in context. The origins of the story are, however, present in the *sahih* collections.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Abū Ma‘ṣmar related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārīth, quoting Ayyūb, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) prostrated himself in prayer having recited *sūrat al-Najm*, and all the Muslims, the polytheists and men and spirits alike prostrated too.’”

Al-Bukhārī is unique in giving this tradition; Muslim does not relate it.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “Muḥammad b. Bāshshār related to us, as did Ghundar and Shu‘ba, from Abū Ishāq, who said, ‘I heard al-Awsad say, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) recited *sūrat al-Najm* in Mecca and prostrated in prayer. And those there with him also prostrated except for one old man who picked up a handful of dust or dirt which he raised to his forehead, saying, ‘This suffices for me.’ And later I saw him killed as an unbeliever.’’”

Muslim related this, as did Abū Dāūd and al-Naṣārī, from a *hadith* from Shu‘ba.

Imām Ahmad (b. Hanbal) stated that Ibrahīm recounted to him, saying, “Rabbāḥ related to us, from Ma‘ṣmar, from Ibn Tāwus, from ʿIkrima b. Khalīd, from Jaʿfar b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadāʾa, who heard his father say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited *sūrat al-Najm* in Mecca and then prostrated, and all those there with him did the same. But I lifted up my head, declining to prostrate.’ Al-Muṭṭalib had not then accepted Islam. After that he never heard anyone recite *sūrat al-Najm* without him prostrating along with the reciter.”

Al-Naṣārī related this from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, from the account of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal.

It may be gathered from this account and the preceding one that this man did prostrate, but then raised his head in pride. However, the old man whom Ibn Masʿūd considered an exception did not prostrate at all. But God knows best.

What is implied here is that when the narrator saw that the polytheists had prostrated themselves in imitation of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he believed that they had accepted Islam, made peace with him and that there was no longer any dispute between them.

The news of that quickly spread and reached the Emigrants in Abyssinia, and they believed it to be true. A group of them, hoping that was so, came back, while another group remained there. Each of them was well intentioned and correct in acting as they did.

Ibn Ishāq gave the names of all of them that returned. These were: ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān and his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba b. Rabiʿa and his wife Sahla, daughter of Suhayl, ʿAbd Allāh works of tradition, to have immediately followed the reference to the goddesses of pre-Islam, al-Lat, al-Uzza and Manār, in *sūrat al-Najm*, v.19, 20. These extra verses, not in the Qurʾān but preserved in the tradition literature, suggest that these goddesses are *gharānīq* and that their intercession is to be hoped for on judgment day.
THE LIFE OF THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD


Also there were Salama b. Hishām and ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Rabīʿa who were imprisoned in Mecca until after the battles of Badr, Ḫud and al-khandaq.

There is some dispute over ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, as to whether or not he ever went to Abyssinia.

There also returned Muʿattib b. ʿAwf, ʿUthmān b. Māzʿūn, his son al-Ṣāib, along with his two brothers Qudāma and ʿAbd Allāh, both sons of Māzʿūn. Then there were Khunays b. Ḥudhafā and Hishām b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāḍīl, the latter being imprisoned in Mecca until after the battle of al-khandaq. ʿAmīr b. Rabīʿa and his wife Laylā, daughter of Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥathma, also returned, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. Makhrama.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Suhayl b. ʿAmr also returned, but he was imprisoned until the battle of Badr, when he joined the Muslims and fought on their side.

Also Abū Sabra b. Abū Ruhm returned, along with his wife Umm Kulthūm, daughter of Suhayl. As did al-Sakrān b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Shams and his wife Sawdā, daughter of Zamʿa. He died in Mecca before the migration to Medina and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), thereafter married his widow.


They totalled 33 men; may God be pleased with them!

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Aʾisha reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I was given a vision of your abode in exile, a place of date-palms between two tracts of black stones.’”

Some (of those who had returned from Abyssinia) then migrated to Medina, while the rest of those who had remained in Abyssinia did so as well.

And there is a report to this effect from Abū Mūsā and Asmāʾ, God be pleased with them both, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Already mentioned above is the account of Abī Mūsā, that being in both sahīth collections. The account of Asmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmays, will come later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust. Her story relates to what happened after the battle of Khaybar, when the latecomers from among the emigrants to Abyssinia arrived.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Yahyā b. ʿĀmmār related to us, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from Sulaymān b. Ibrāhīm, from ʿAlqama, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘We used to greet the Prophet (ṢAAS), while he prayed, and he would reply to us. But when we came back from the land of the Negus we would greet him the same way, but he would not reply. So we said to him, ‘O Messenger of God, when we used to greet you, you would reply to us. But since our return from the land of the Negus, you don’t reply.’”
“He responded, ‘Prayer keeps one engrossed.’”

Al-Bukhari also related this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā’ī, by different chains of authority, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān, from al-‘A’mash.

This substantiates the interpretation of those who explain the authentic account of Zayd b. Arqam that is in both sahih collections: “We used to talk during the prayer, until God’s revealed verse was sent down, ‘Stand up before God in humility’ (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.238). And so we were ordered to remain silent and were forbidden to talk.”

However, those referred to here were the “Companions of the Prophet” generally, for Zayd himself was a “Companion”, (but) from Medina, and the prohibition against speaking during the prayer was established in Mecca. And so the report is being applied to what had gone before.

Regarding his reference to this particular verse which is of the Medina period, it is indeed difficult to explain. Perhaps he believed that it was this verse that prohibited speaking during the prayers, when in fact there were other prohibitions of it along with it. But God knows best.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, “Among those emigrants who returned under an agreement of protection, or named to us as such, were Uthmān b. Maẓ‘ūn, protected by al-Walīd b. al-Mughira, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad, protected by his uncle Abū Ṭalib; his mother was Barra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

“Regarding Uthmān b. Maẓ‘ūn, Šāliḥ b. ʿIbrāhim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Awf related to me from someone who was told the following about Uthmān, ‘When Uthmān b. Maẓ‘ūn saw the plight of the followers of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he himself was able to come and go freely under the protection of al-Walīd b. al-Mughira, he said, ‘By God, here I am moving about freely under the protection of a polytheist while my friends and followers in religion suffer harm and insult for God that do not afflict me, and this constitutes a great deficiency in me!’”

“So off he went to al-Walīd b. al-Mughira and told him, ‘O Abū ‘Abd al-Shams, you have fulfilled your pledge, but now I’m giving back to you your protection.’

‘Why is that, cousin?’ he asked. ‘Has any one of my people harmed you?’

‘No,’ he replied, ‘it’s just that what I want is the protection of God, the Almighty and Glorious. I don’t want the protection of anyone else.’

‘Well then,’ al-Walīd said, ‘you should go to the mosque and give me my protection back in public, just as I declared my protection over you.’

“And so they both did go to the mosque, where al-Walīd b. al-Mughira announced, ‘This is Uthmān, and he has come to relieve me of my protection of him.’

“Uthmān said, ‘He speaks the truth. I have found him to be trustworthy and honourable in his protection, but I prefer to be protected only by God. I have given him back his pledge of protection.’
"Uthmān, God bless him, then left and joined an assembly of Quraysh who were being addressed by Labid b. Rabī‘a b. Malik b. Ja‘far. Uthmān sat down with them. Labid spoke a verse:

‘Is not all but God vanity?’

‘Uthmān commented, ‘You speak the truth!’

‘Labid then said,

‘And all pleasures must fade.’

‘At this Uthmān protested, ‘You lie! The pleasures of paradise will last forever!’

‘Labid commented, ‘O men of Quraysh, those who sat with you used not to be so insulted; when did this come about so?’

‘One man replied, ‘This is just one of those fools allied with him; they have abandoned our faith. Don’t take to heart what he says.’

‘Uthmān spoke back to this man and they became angry with one another. The other man then got up and hit Uthmān in the eye, making it black. Al-Walid, who was nearby and saw what had happened to Uthmān, commented, ‘Well, nephew, your eye didn’t need to suffer so; earlier you were fully protected!’

‘Uthmān replied, ‘Not so; I swear the only problem is that my good eye is in need of what the other one suffered for God’s sake! Actually I am under the protection of One stronger and more capable than yourself, O Abū ‘Abd al-Shams!’

‘To this al-Walid replied, ‘Come on now, nephew, just come back under my protection.’

‘No,’ Uthmān told him.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Regarding Abū Salama b.‘Abd al-Asad: my father, Ishaq b. Yasār related to me that Salama b.‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Salama told him that when Abū Salama sought the protection of Abū Ṭalib some men of the Banū Makhzūm went to the latter and asked him, ‘O Abū Ṭalib, you’ve already given protection from us to your nephew Muḥammad; how is it you are now doing the same for one of our own men?’

‘Abū Ṭalib replied, ‘He sought out my protection, and he is my sister’s son. And if I am not to protect my sister’s son, how could I protect my brother’s son?’

‘Abū Lahab then arose and said, ‘O men of Quraysh, you’ve treated this sheikh harshly, and you’re constantly attacking him for giving protection to his own people. Either put an end to this, or let’s all take his side in this so he attains his goal.’

‘They replied, ‘All right, Abū Lahab, we’ll stop behaving contrary to your wishes.’ He had been their ally and assistant against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and they wanted to maintain that.

‘Abū Ṭalib had high hopes of him when he heard him speak thus and anticipated his aid regarding the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And so he spoke the
following verses urging Abū Lahab to support himself and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS):

'A man with Abū Utayba as his uncle is secure from harm as in a pasture;
I tell him - though how could my advice benefit him - O Abū Mu'tib, hold your ground firmly,
And do not as long as you live accept a course you'll be blamed for, whenever you attend a gathering,
Leave the path of the weak to others than yourself, for you were not created to stay weak,
And fight, for fighting is just and you will never see a real warrior humbled until he surrenders.
And why is it, when they have done you no great harm, nor abandoned you when having victory or defeat?
May God punish ʿAbd Shams, Nawfal, Taym and Makhzūm for us with disaster and death,
For their deserting our alliance after friendship and affection in order to attain things forbidden.
You lie, by God's temple! Us dispossess Muhammad? Not even at the enclave did you see (us) turn against (him).''

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted one verse from this poem."

An Account of the determination of Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", to emigrate to Abyssinia.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "I was told by Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from ʿA'isha, that when Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', God be pleased with him, experienced suffering in Mecca and witnessed the antagonism of Quraysh for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his own supporters, he asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to move away and he granted him this request.

"And so Abū Bakr, God bless him, did leave and, having travelled a day or two away from Mecca, was met by Ibn al-Daghina, brother of the Banū al-Ḥarīth b. Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāţ b. Kināna, who was at that time the leader of the Aḥābīsh."

Al-Waqidi gave this man's name as al-Ḥarīth b. Yazid, he being of the tribe of Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāţ b. Kināna. Al-Suhayli, however, gave his name as Malik.
(ʿA'isha continued) "'What are you heading for, Abū Bakr?' the man asked. Abū Bakr replied, 'My people have offended me, treated me badly and forced me to leave.'

"'Why is that? By God, you're a credit to the tribe, aiding those in distress, and you are kindly towards the needy. Go back; you are under my protection!'

"He did return with him and, back in Mecca, Ibn al-Daghina stood up with him and stated, 'O Quraysh, I have placed the son of Abū Quḥāfa under my protection. Let no man do anything but good to him.'"
"And they did leave him alone."

'A'isha went on, "Abū Bakr used to have a mosque at the gate of his home among the Banū Jumāh and there he would pray. He was a very sensitive man and would shed tears when reciting the Qurʾān. Young men, slaves and women would stand nearby astonished at his behaviour.

"Some Quraysh men went to Ibn Daghina and told him, 'O Ibn Daghina, surely you didn't protect this man to harm us? When he prays and recites what Muhammad brought he is moved (to tears) and he then attracts attention; we fear that he may influence our young men, women and the weak. Go and tell him to go inside his house, where he can do as he wishes.'"

She went on, "So Ibn al-Daghina did go to Abū Bakr and told him, 'I didn't give you protection so that you could do your people harm. They take offence at the place you attend and feel that you are harming them. Go inside your house and do there whatever it is you want.'

"(Abū Bakr asked) 'So shall I give you back your protection and rely on God?'

"'Do return my protection.'"

"'Consider it returned.'"

"Ibn al-Daghina then stood and stated, 'O Quraysh, the son of Abū Quḥāfa has given me back my protection over him. Do with him whatever you wish.'"

The Imam al-Bukhārī alone gives an account of this hadith and his account is nicely expanded. He stated, "Yahyā b. Bukayr related to me, quoting al-Layth, from Uqayl, Ibn Shihāb stated, and Urwa b. al-Zubayr informed me, that 'A'isha, the wife of the Prophet (SAAS) said, 'I have no consciousness of my parents not actively participating in the faith. Not a day would pass for us without the Messenger of God (SAAS) coming to us, either early in the day or late.

"'And when the Muslims were being persecuted Abū Bakr left, travelling in the direction of Abyssinia. When he reached Bark al-Ghimād, he was met by Ibn al-Daghina, who was chief of the Qāira. The latter asked him where he was heading. Abū Bakr replied, 'My people expelled me, and so I want to travel in the land praying to my Lord.'"

"'Ibn al-Daghina commented, 'But men like you, Abū Bakr, neither leave nor are expelled. You are charitable, maintain family ties, make sacrifices for others, are hospitable, and help out in times of disaster. I shall be your protector. So go back and worship your Lord in your own land.'"

"'So he went back and Ibn al-Daghina travelled with him. At evening Ibn al-Daghina made the rounds of the Quraysh chiefs and told them, 'The like of Abū Bakr does not leave, nor is he expelled! Would you exile a man who is charitable, maintains family ties, makes sacrifices for others, is hospitable to guests, and helps out in times of disaster?'

"'Quraysh did not deny Ibn al-Daghina's right to give protection, but asked him, 'Tell Abū Bakr to worship his Lord inside his house; there he can recite..."
what he likes without harming us or advertising it. We’re concerned that he might subvert our women and sons.”

“Ibn al-Daghina told that to Abū Bakr and the latter did therefore pray to his Lord in his house, without announcing what he was doing, and he recited only at home. But later Abū Bakr decided to build a mosque in the courtyard of his house and there he would pray and recite the Qurʾān. The women of the polytheists and their sons would crowd around staring at him in wonder; Abū Bakr was a man prone to tears, and he could not restrain his eyes when he recited the Qurʾān.

“This upset the polytheist Quraysh leaders and they sent for Ibn al-Daghina. When he came, they told him, “We’ve acknowledged your protection of Abū Bakr on the understanding that he would worship his Lord in his house. But he has gone beyond that, built himself a mosque in his courtyard and openly prays and recites there. We’re concerned that he will subvert our young men and our womenfolk. Make him stop. If he will restrict himself to worship at home, then well and good. But if he insists on so doing only in full view, then ask him to give back to you your protection. We don’t want to break with you, but we cannot agree for Abū Bakr to advertise.”

“‘A’isha went on, ‘Ibn al-Daghia then went to Abū Bakr and told him, “You know what it was I agreed to with you. Either you restrict yourself to that, or give me back my protection. I don’t want the Arabs to hear it said that I’ve had my covenant broken because of a man to whom I had given my protection.”

“‘Abū Bakr replied, “Then I give you back your protection and will rely on that of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.”’

Al-Bukhārī then recounted the rest of the tradition concerning the emigration of Abū Bakr, God bless him, with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as will be described hereafter.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, the son of b. Abū Bakr, ‘the Trusting’, as follows: ‘He was confronted — that is Abū Bakr was confronted — after he had left the protection of Ibn al-Daghina, on his way to the kaʿba by some fool from Quraysh who tossed dirt up over his head. Then al-Walid b. al-Mughira — or perhaps it was al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā’il — passed by Abū Bakr, who spoke as follows: “Don’t you see how this idiot is behaving?” He was told, “You brought this on yourself.” Meanwhile Abū Bakr kept repeating, “O God, how forbearing You are!”’

DIVISION

Ibn Ishaq made mention of these incidents to show the contradiction between the pact made by Quraysh with the Banū Ḥashim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, and their drafting of that damnable document against the latter and their confinement to the enclave, with all the resultant consequences. These are matters appropriate for consideration in this era. Al-Shāfiʿi, God be pleased with
him, therefore stated, "He who wishes to know about the maghāzī, the early military engagements, is reliant upon Ibn Ishaq."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "While the Banū Hashim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib were living in their house assigned to them by Quraysh in the document they had written, a certain group of Quraysh set about abrogating that document.

"No one took more pains to do this than Hishām b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥabīb b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisīl b. ʿĀmir b. Luʿayy; this was because he was the nephew of Naḍla b. Hishām b. ʿAbd Manaf by his mother, and Hishām had close ties to the Banū Ḥāshim. He was, moreover, deemed highly by his people.

"When, at night, the Banū Ḥāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib were restricted to their building in the enclave, he would, as I have been told, bring up a camel loaded down with food. When he reached the entrance to the enclave he would release the halter from the camel’s head and strike its side to send it on down to them. Next time he would bring it loaded with wheat and do the same.

"He went to Zuhayr b. Abū ʿUmayya b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Makhzmūm, whose mother was ʿĀṭīka, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and said, ‘Zuhayr, does it please you to eat and dress well and to marry women while your uncles are where you know them to be, engaging in no buying nor selling, arranging no marriages, nor having any arranged with them? For my part, I swear that if they were the uncles of Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām and you were to ask him to treat them as you have been asked to do, he would never have agreed to your request."

"‘Shame on you, Hishām! What can I do? I’m just one man. If someone else would join me, I’d set about abrogating it.’

"Hishām replied, ‘You have found one such man.’ ‘Who is that?’ he asked. ‘Myself,’ came the answer. ‘Well,’ Zuhayr went on, ‘find us a third then.’

"And so Hishām went to al-Muṭṭim b. ʿAdī and told him, ‘Muṭṭim, are you pleased to have two clans of the Banū ʿAbd Manaf suffer while you look on, in agreement with Quraysh about that? By God, if you enable them to do this they will soon be treating you the same way.’

"‘Damn it! What am I to do? I’m just one man,’ Muṭṭim commented.

"Hishām replied, ‘I have found you a second.’ ‘Who?’ ‘Myself.’

"‘Then find a third,’ Muṭṭim asked. ‘I already have.’

"‘Who is that?’

"‘Zuhayr b. Abū ʿUmayya.’

"‘Then find us a fourth,’ asked Muṭṭim.

"So Hishām went to Abū al-Bakhtari b. Hishām and told him what he had said to Muṭṭim b. ʿAdī.

"Abū al-Bakhtari asked, ‘Can you find anyone else to help in this?’

"‘Yes, I can,’ Hishām replied.

"‘Who?’ he asked.

"‘Zuhayr b. Abū ʿUmayya, Muṭṭim b. ʿAdī and myself are with you.’

"‘Find us a fifth,’ he asked.
“And so Hisham went to Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Mu'talib b. Asad, spoke to him and reminded him of their kinship and their rights.

‘Is there anyone else helping in what you are inviting me to do?’ asked Zam'a.

‘Indeed yes,’ Hisham replied, naming the others.

And so they agreed to meet at night on the promontory of Mt. al-Ḥajjun on the upper outskirts of Mecca. There they met and agreed to defy the document until they were able to revoke it. Zuhayr told them, ‘I will begin and be the first to speak out.’

Next morning they went off to their assembly meeting and Zuhayr attended wearing a ceremonial robe. He made seven circumambulations of the ka'ba then went before the gathering and said, ‘O people of Mecca, shall we eat all kinds of food and dress at will while the Banū Hashim are in distress, unable to engage in any trade? By God, I won’t take my seat until this damnable boycott document is torn up!’

Abū Jahl, who was over to one side of the mosque, retorted, ‘By God, it will not be torn up!’

Zam'a b. al-Asad then said, ‘By God, you are the worst liar! We weren’t pleased with the document when it was written.’

‘Zam'a speaks the truth,’ Abū al-Bakhtari joined in. ‘We do not like or agree to what is written there.’

Al-Mu'tim b. 'Adī then spoke up, ‘You are both right, and anyone denying that is a liar. We are innocent before God of the document and what is written on it.’

Hisham b. 'Amr then stated something similar.

Abū Jahl observed, ‘This is something decided at night, something discussed elsewhere.’

Meanwhile, Abū Talib was seated to one side of the mosque.

Al-Mu'tim b. 'Adī then arose to tear up the document but discovered that worms had already consumed it, all except for the words, ‘In your name, O God!’

‘It was Mansūr b. Ḥikrīma who had written it and, so they say, his hand had become paralysed.’

Ibn Hisham stated, ‘Some scholars relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Abū Ṭalib, ‘Uncle, God has sent worms to work upon the document of Quraysh and they have left alone only names relating to God and have removed the evil, boycott and lies from it.'

Abū Ṭalib asked, ‘Is it your Lord who told you this?’

‘Yes,’ he replied.

‘Well, I swear by God,’ Abū Ṭalib commented, ‘no one has come in to you.'

Abū Ṭalib then went out to Quraysh and asked, ‘O Quraysh, my nephew has informed me of such-and-such things. Bring your document, and if it is as he says, then withdraw and remove the boycott. But if he is lying, I will hand my nephew over to you.’
“‘We’ll agree to that,’ they said, and so compacted.

“They then looked and found it as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said. But this only increased their malice.

“Thereupon the group of Quraysh men took their action to revoke the document.”

Ibn Ishâq stated that when it had been torn up and its contents revoked, Abû Ṭâlib spoke the following verses in praise of those who had taken action to annul the document:

“Has our Lord’s action reached our men at sea, despite their distance, for God is most kind to people,

And will tell them that the document has been torn up, and that all things that displease God come to nought.

Falsehood and deceit alternated and conjoined in it, but ultimately deceit is not bound to prevail.

Those uninvolved in it gathered together on a level plateau, while its fate remained undetermined.

It was an incident so worthy of being considered evil as to have arms and necks severed for it.

And for the people of all Mecca to leave in flight, their hearts quaking in fear of its evil,

The ploughman was left to ponder his options, whether because of it to head for low ground or for high,

So let him of Mecca’s people whose prestige intoxicates him know that our glory in Mecca’s heart is longer lived.

We grew up there when those there were few and we have always had our prestige and praise for us increase.

We fed our guests until they were forced to leave leftovers, and till the hands of those inundated with food began to give out.

God reward that group who united at al-Ḥâjûn behind a chief who guides rightly and decisively,

Who sat on the heights at al-Ḥâjûn as though they were kings, though even more noble and glorious than that.

Each hero helping in that, though walking with difficulty and impeded by his chainmail,

Courageously moving to great deeds, like a flame flaring in a torchbearer’s hands

Men of the most noble of Lu’ayy b. Ḥâlib whose faces burn in anger if they are insulted,

Men tall in stature, their swords reaching to the middle of their shanks, men for whom the clouds receive rain and bring joy.

Generous lords and sons of lords, urging their guests to eat, piling the food,

Constructing safety and paving the way for their tribesmen when we travel the country.

Every blame-free man strives to keep this peace; (every) leader of great renown for that reason.

They spent part of the night asleep then awoke quietly, while the rest still slept.
They sent back Sahl b. Bayḍāʾ well pleased, and Abū Bakr and Muḥammad were delighted by it.

When was it that other clans helped out in our affairs, though of old, before that, we have been well liked?

In former times we never acquiesced in injustice, and achieved our aims without using violence.

O Tribe of Qusayy, will you not consider, and do you want what tomorrow will bring?

The relationship between you and me is like the saying, ‘O Mt. Aswad, you could explain it, if only you spoke.’”

Al-Suhaylī stated, “Aswad is the name of a mountain where a man was killed without anyone discovering his murderer. And so the relatives of the dead man recited the line, ‘O Mt. Aswad, you could explain it, if only you spoke.’ That is, ‘O Mt. Aswad, if you spoke you could explain to us who it was killed him.’”

At this point Ibn Ishāq quoted poetry of Ḥassān in praise of al-Muʿtim b. ‘Adi and Hishām b. ‘Amr for their having torn up that damnable, sinful and iniquitous document.

And here too al-Umawī quoted many lines of verse, whereas we have thought what Ibn Ishāq transmitted to be sufficient.

Al-Waqīdī stated, “I asked Muḥammad b. ʿAṭīaḥ and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, ‘When did the Banū Hashim come out from the enclave?’ They replied, ‘In the tenth year, after the beginning of the mission that is, three years before the migration.’”

I add that in that year, following their release, Abī Ṭālīb, uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, as also did his wife Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, God bless her. An account of all this will come hereafter, if God, Almighty is He, so wishes.

DIVISION

Muḥammad b. Ishāq related, following the account of the revocation of the document, many stories involving the enmity of Quraysh for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and how the Arab tribes and those making the lesser or the full pilgrimage to Mecca, or coming for some other reason, were driven away from (Muḥammad by the enemy). He also recounted how God made miracles happen through him to give proof of the veracity of the signs and guidance he brought, as well as to put to the lie the charges they were making against him of immorality, aggressiveness, deception and trickery, and accusations that he was mad, a magician, a soothsayer or a forger. But God was to give him victory.

Ibn Ishāq then related the story of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsī, but with an incomplete chain of authorities.
Al-Ṭufayl was an honoured and respected man of Daws. He came to Mecca where he was met by the Quraysh chieftains, who warned him about the Messenger of God (SAAS), and forbad him to meet with him or to listen to him talk.

Al-Ṭufayl related, “By God, they kept on at me until I agreed not to hear him nor to speak to him. I even stuffed my ears with cotton when I went to the mosque to prevent myself hearing anything he said; I didn’t want to listen to him.

“I went to the mosque, and there was the Messenger of God (SAAS) standing in prayer at the ka♭ba. I went over near to him, and God required me to hear some of what he said.

“And I heard wonderful speech. So I told myself, ‘May my mother not be bereft! I swear, here am I, a man who is intelligent and a poet, and someone who can well distinguish good from bad! What prevents me from hearing what this man is saying? If what he says is good, I will accept it; if bad, I will reject it.’”

He went on, “So I stayed there until the Messenger of God (SAAS) went off home and I followed him till he went inside his house. Then I went in to him and said, ‘O Muḥammad, your people have told me such-and-such.’

He continued, “And I swear, they so scared me that I stuffed my ears with cotton so as not to hear what you say. But then God insisted on making me hear your words. And I heard fine speech. So explain your situation to me.’

Al-Ṭufayl continued, “And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) explained Islam to me and recited the Qur’an to me and, I swear, I never heard words more sweet than those, nor any matter more just.

“And so I accepted Islam and bore true witness, saying, ‘O Prophet of God, I am a man who is obeyed by his people. I am now returning to them and will invite them to Islam. Pray to God to give me a sign that will help me with them when I do so.’

“And so he said, ‘O God, give him a sign.’

“I then left for home and travelled till I came to a pass that enabled me to look down on to my village. But then there appeared between my eyes a light like that of a lamp. I said to myself, ‘O God, not right in my face, for I fear that they will think it some exemplary punishment that has struck my face for my abandoning my faith.’

“Then the light moved and alighted on the head of my whip. And the villagers watched that light atop my whip that resembled a suspended candle, and they continued to do so as I was descending to them from the pass, right until I was there among them.

“When I dismounted, my father, an aged sheikh, came over to me, but I told him, ‘Off with you, father; you and I must have nothing to do with one another.’

“‘Why is that, my son?’ he asked.

“‘I have accepted Islam, and adopted the religion of Muḥammad (SAAS).’

“‘Well, son, your religion shall be mine.’
"'Then go and wash yourself, clean your clothing and come to me so that I can instruct you in what I have been taught.'

'He did go and wash himself and cleaned his clothing. When he returned, I explained Islam to him and he accepted it.

'Then my wife came to me and I told her, 'Go away; you and I can have nothing to do with one another.'

'Why is that, my father and my mother be your ransom?'

'Islam has divided me from you; I have adopted the religion of Muḥammad (ṢAAS).'

'Well, your religion is mine,' she said.

'I told her, 'Go to the ḥimā, the sacred shrine, of Dhū al-Sharā and purify yourself of it.' Dhū al-Sharā was an idol of Daws and the ḥimā was a shrine around it that they kept sanctified; it had a stream whose water descended from a mountain.

'She replied, 'May my father and mother ransom you, don't you fear something will happen to the children because of Dhū al-Sharā?'

'Not at all; I guarantee that,' I replied.

'She did go and wash herself and, when she returned I explained Islam to her and she accepted it.

'I then called upon the Daws tribe to accept Islam, but they resisted. I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca. I told him, 'O Messenger of God, fornication has defeated me with Daws; say a prayer to God for them.'

'He said, 'O God, lead Daws aright.' Then he said to me, 'Return to your people, preach to them and be kind to them.'

'And so I remained in Daws territory asking them to embrace Islam until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), emigrated to Medina. Then the battles of Badr, Uhud and the khandaq, the trench, took place. Thereafter I went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), taking those of my people who had become Muslims, while he was at Khaybar. I set up camp, with some 70 or 80 tents of Daws families at Medina, and then we joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar; there he gave us an equal share of the spoils, along with the other Muslims.

'I remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until God conquered Mecca through him. Then I asked him, 'O Messenger of God, dispatch me to burn Dhū al-Kaffayn, the idol of 'Amr b. Ḥumāma.'"

'And he did leave to do so. As al-Ṭufayl set fire to the idol he spoke the verse,

'O Dhū al-Kaffayn, I am not one of your worshippers; our history is older than yours;
I have stuffed your heart with fire.'

'He then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and remained at Medina with him until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died.
“When the Arabs apostatized, al-Ṭufayl campaigned with the Muslims until they had subdued Ṭulayḥa and all of Nejd. Then he travelled with the Muslim forces to al-Yamāma, his son ʿAmr b. Ṭufayl accompanying him.

“On his way to Yamāma he had a vision and he asked his companions to interpret it to him. He recounted, ‘I saw that my head had been shaved, a bird came forth from my mouth, and a woman met me and placed me in her vagina. Then I saw my son frantically searching for me, but he was withheld from me.’

“‘Let’s hope it’s a good omen,’ they told him.

“He said, ‘I’m going to interpret it myself.’

“What, then?” they asked.

“He explained, ‘The shaving of my head means its being laid down. The bird exiting it is my soul. The woman who placed me in her vagina is the earth that will be dug out for me, and into which I will disappear. As for my son’s searching for me, and then his being kept from me, I see him striving to have happen to him what has happened to me.’

“He was killed, God bless him, as a martyr in al-Yamāma, and his son was severely wounded but later recovered. Eventually he was martyred in the year of the battle of al-Yarmūk, during the caliphate of ʿUmar. God bless him.”

That was how Muḥammad b. Ishaq recounted the story of al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr, with an incomplete chain of authorities. There is testimonial to his account to be found in authenticated hadith collections.

Imām ʿAbd al-Muṭṭaqqī al-Bukhārī related this from Abū Nuʿaym, from Suwayn al-Thawrī.

Imām ʿAbd al-Muṭṭaqqī also stated, “Yazīd related to us, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr informed us, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, God be pleased with him, as follows, ‘Al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsi arrived with his companions and they said, ‘O Messenger of God, Daws are being disobedient and difficult; say a prayer for them.’”

“Abū Hurayra said, ‘And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) raised up his hands and I commented, ‘Well, Daws are destroyed!’ But he spoke, ‘O God, give guidance to Daws and bring them (to Islam).’”

The chain of authorities for this is excellent, but the (other) scholars did not narrate it.

The Imām Ahmad stated, “Ṣulaymān b. Ḥarba related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ḥajjāj al-Sawwaf, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr al-Dawsi came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, ‘O Messenger of God, don’t you wish you had an impregnable, inaccessible fortress?’ He replied, ‘Daws had a fortress during the jāhiliyya.’”
The Messenger of God (SAAS) rejected that idea because of the rewards God had in store for the ansār, “the Helpers”.

“When the Prophet (SAAS) emigrated to al-Medina, al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr joined him, along with another of his people. They hated the town and (the second man, tr.) fell ill and, depressed, took an arrow head and used it to cut between his fingers. Blood streamed from his hands and did not stop until he was dead.

“Al-Ṭufayl saw the man in a dream in pleasant circumstances and observed that he had his hands covered. So he asked him, ‘What did your Lord do?’ He replied, ‘He forgave me because I had gone to join His Prophet (SAAS).’ Al-Ṭufayl asked, ‘Why do I see you covering your hands?’ He answered, ‘I was told that what I had spoiled would never be restored!’”

The account continued, “And al-Ṭufayl recounted this to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who spoke the words, ‘O God, do forgive him for his hands.’”

Muslim related this from Abu Bakr b. Abu Shayba and Ishaq b. Ibrāhim, both of them giving as their source an account of Ibn Harb.

If it were asked, “What is the connection between this hadith and what is established in both canonical collections from al-Ḥasan, from Jundub”, he replied, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘Among those who preceded you there was a man who became afflicted and depressed and so he took a knife and cut open his hand with it, the blood streaming out until he died. And God, Almighty and Glorious is He, said, “He foisted himself too hastily on Me, so I denied him paradise.”’”

And so the answer could have several aspects. One is that the one man might have been a polytheist, the other a believer.

And God may have made of this one action an independent cause of his entering hell. And though his disbelief might have been self-sufficient (to confine him to hell), God none the less made reference to this act so that His people give heed. The second possibility is that the one could have been knowledgeable of what was forbidden, while the other was not, since he had so recently accepted Islam.

The third is that the one could have been doing what he did thinking it permissible, while the other did it knowing it to be impermissible, and, indeed, in error.

The fourth is that the one could have intended to kill himself by his aforementioned action, whereas the other, in contrast, might not have intended to kill himself but have had some other purpose.

The fifth is that the one might have been someone of few good deeds which did not measure up to the gravity of his aforementioned sin and so went to hell, while the other might have been a man of many good deeds which did equal his sin and therefore he did not go to hell but was forgiven because of his having joined the Prophet (SAAS).

The damage, however, did remain, though only in his hands. The rest of his form was good and he only covered the damaged part of it. And so when al-Ṭufayl b. ʿAmr saw him covering his hands and asked him what was the
matter with him, he replied, "I was told that what I had spoiled would never be restored." When al-Ṭufayl told this story to the Messenger of God (SAAS) he prayed for him in the words, "O God, do forgive him for his hands." That is, "Do restore of them whatever was damaged."

What is certain is that God did respond to the Messenger of God (SAAS) concerning the companion of al-Ṭufayl b. Ḍamr.

The Story of Aṣḥā b. Qays.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Khallād b. Qurra b. Khalīd al-Sudūsī, and other sheikhs of Bakr b. Wā’il told me, from certain scholars, that Aṣḥā b. Qays b. Tha’labā b. Ṣukāba b. Ṣa‘b b. ‘Ali b. Bakr b. Wā’il went to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) intending to accept Islam. He spoke the following verses in praise of the Messenger of God (SAAS),

‘Did your eyes not close that night, O bleary-eyed one? You lay awake all night through restlessness.
And the sleeplessness was not for love of a woman, for before that you had forgotten your lover of Mahdad,
But I see that fate, that traitor, spoils what my hands restore.
I have thus lost age, youth and wealth, for by God this fate, how it changes!
I have constantly pursued wealth throughout my progression from childhood to youth to maturity to old age.
Daily I raced fast red-grey camels across the distance between al-Nu‘ayr and Sarkhada.
O you enquiring where she has gone, she has an appointment with the people of Yathrib.
And if you enquire about me, then (know that) there are many kind-hearted ones who ask about Aṣḥā, enquiring where he went.
My mount stretches her swift legs and draws them back, carefully turning out her hooves, not splaying them.
Sprightly she is, even in noonday heat, when you would imagine even the afternoon chameleon bending its neck.
I swore I’d not assuage her fatigue nor her sore feet until she reached Muḥammad.
When she should kneel at Ibn Ḥashim’s door, only then would it rest and receive, through his munificence, some generosity.
(He is) a prophet who sees what you do not, whose fame, I swear, has spread high and low in the land.
He has gifts and favours that do not end, and his giving today does not prevent him giving tomorrow.
Did you not, I repeat, hear the advice of Muḥammad, the Prophet of God, when he preached and testified?
If you did not travel with cargo of piety and after death met with others who have done so,
You will surely regret not being like them; so, therefore, prepare for a fate that is definitely arranged.
Beware of carrion; do not approach it, and do not take the share of that which some weapon has already allotted (to others)

And do not venerate raised monuments, nor worship idols, but pray to God alone.

Do not go near a free woman; her privacy is forbidden you; marry or be celibate.

Do not cut off ties with your relatives for some motive, nor take them as captives under restraint.

And glorify God at evening and at morning; do not praise the devil; praise only God. Do not ridicule those suffering poverty, and do not consider wealth man's way to eternity.'

Ibn Hishām stated, "And when al-Ă’shā was in Mecca or near thereto, some Quraysh polytheists stopped him and asked what business he had there. He told them that he had come seeking the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"One of the Quraysh commented, 'But Abī Başīr, he is forbidding sex!' Al-Ă’shā responded, 'I swear, that's no desire of mine.'

"'But he's also forbidding wine,' the man objected.

"'Well, that's something I do hold dear; I'll go off and have my fill of it for a year, then I'll come back and accept Islam!'

"And leave he did. But he died that same year without returning to the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Thus does Ibn Hishām tell this story here. He extracts a great deal from Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, God bless him, and this is one thing added to his account by Ibn Hishām, God bless him!

Wine was not in fact forbidden in Medina until after the fighting with the Banū al-Nādīr, as will be explained hereafter.

It is apparent that the decision of al-Ă’shā to accept Islam was taken only after the migration. There is evidence for this in his poetry. One verse reads,

"0 you enquiring where she has gone, she has an appointment with the people of Yathrib."

It would have been more appropriate for Ibn Hishām to have recounted this anecdote within material relating to the post-migration period, rather than here. But God knows best.

Al-Suhayli stated, "This is an error on the part of Ibn Hishām and those who follow him, for everyone agrees that use of wine was only prohibited in Medina after the battle of Uhud."

He has also stated, "It is said that the person who spoke to al-Ă’shā was Abū Jahl b. Hishām in the house of Ṣūba b. Rabī‘a."

Abū Ubayda, however, related that the one who spoke to him thus was Āmir b. al-Tufayl in Qays territory while he was on his way to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

He stated, "And his saying '... then I will come to him and accept Islam' definitely does not bring him out of a state of disbelief. But God knows best."
Ibn Ishaq at this point recounted the story of the man from Irash and how he appealed to the Messenger of God (SAAS) against Abu Jahl over the price of a camel he had sold him, and how God abased Abu Jahl and forced him to make payment for it at the agreed time.

We recounted this in the material relating to the beginning of the revelation and the consequent harm done by the polytheists.

The Story of the contest with Rukana and how the Prophet (SAAS) showed him a tree that he summoned and it came to him.

Ibn Ishaq quoted his father, Ishaq b. Yasar, as having related to him as follows:

"Rukana b. 'Abd Yazid b. Hashim b. al-Muttalib b. 'Abd Manaf was the strongest man of Quraysh.

"Once he was alone in one of the defiles of Mecca with the Messenger of God (SAAS), who asked him, 'Rukana, won't you fear God and accept my invitation to you?'

"He replied, 'If I knew that what you say is true, I would follow you.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked him, 'If I were to wrestle you down would you know that what I say is true?'

"'Yes, I would,' Rukana replied.

"'Come on then, let's wrestle,' the Messenger of God (SAAS) said.

"And so Rukana did wrestle with him and when the Messenger of God (SAAS) went after him, he threw him down, powerless.

"Rukana then said, 'Another round, Muhammadi!'

"Once again he threw him. Rukana then said, 'Muhammadi, I swear, Muhammadi, this is amazing! Can you really throw me?'

"He replied, 'I'll show you something even more amazing, if you like, if you will fear God and follow me.'

"'What is it?'

"'I'll call out to that tree you see and it will come to me.'

"'Call for it then.'

"He did so and it came and stood there right before the Messenger of God (SAAS). Then he told it, 'Go back to your place!' And it did so.

"And so Rukana went to his people and told them, 'O Banu 'Abd Manaf, you could have your man compete in magic with the whole world. I swear I've never seen a better magician than him.' He then recounted to them what he had seen and what he had done."

Ibn Ishaq related this story thus, with an incomplete line of transmission.

Abu Da'ud al-Tirmidhi related, from an account of Abu al-Hasan al-Ashkalanî, from Abu Ja'far b. Muhammadi b. Rukana, from his father, Rukana, who said he had wrestled the Prophet (SAAS) who had defeated him. Then al-Tirmidhi commented, 'Strange! We know nothing of Abu al-Hasan, nor of Rukana's son.'
My comment is that Abū Bakr al-Shāfi‘ī related, with an excellent chain of authorities, from Ibn ‘Abbas, God bless them both, that Yazīd b. Rukāna wrestled the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who threw him three times, each time for a wager of 100 sheep. The third time Rukāna said, ‘Muhammad, no one has ever put my back on the ground before you, and no one was more hateful in my sight before this than you! I testify that there is no god but God, and that you are the Messenger of God.’ At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood up from him and gave him back his sheep.

As for the story of his calling out to the tree and its going to him, many accounts of that, from several excellent sources, will appear in the chapter on “Proofs of Prophethood” after this biography, if God wills it, and in Him is our trust.

Earlier on, it was reported from Abī al-Ashdin that he (Rukāna) wrestled the Prophet (ṢAAS) who threw him.

After this Ibn Ishaq related the story of the arrival in Mecca of the Christians from Abyssinia, some 20 riders in number. They all embraced Islam. We gave this earlier, after the story of the Negus. And to God be all praise and credit.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to have some of his most vulnerable Companions sit close by him in the mosque, such Muslims as Khabbab, ‘Ammār, Abū Fukayha Yūsuf, the freed-man of Ṣafwān b. Umayya and Ṣuhayb. Quraysh would ridicule these people, telling one another, ‘These are his companions, as you see, but has God really chosen them from among us to receive guidance and the true religion? If what Muhammad brought were any good, they would not have joined him first; God would certainly not have put them before us.’”

And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, “Do not drive away those who pray to their Lord morning and night seeking His face. You are not accountable for them in the least, nor are they for you. If you repulse them you will be acting unjustly. Thus have we put some to the test through others, so that they would say, ‘Are they those of us whom God has favoured?’ ‘Does God not know best who gives thanks?’ And when those who believe in our revelation come to you then say, ‘Peace be upon you; your Lord has prescribed for Himself mercy so that if one of you does wrong in ignorance, then later repents and reforms – He is indeed merciful, forgiving’” (ṣūrat al-An‘ām; VI, v.52–4).

He went on: “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used often to sit at al-Marwa near the shop of a young Christian named Jabr, a slave of the Banū al-Hadrami. People would say, ‘By God, it is merely Jabr who teaches Muhammad most of what he says!’

“And so God Almighty revealed about their saying that, ‘It is merely some mortal who teaches him. The language of him to whom they allude is foreign; yet this language is plain Arabic’” (ṣūrat al-Naḥl; XVI, v.105).
Then Ibn Ishāq recounts how surat al-Kawthar (CVIII) was revealed concerning al-Ṣāḥib b. Wā'il when he said of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “He is without a male child, that is, he has no male offspring. If he dies, memory of him will be gone.” And so God Almighty stated, “He who hates you shall be childless.” That is, he would not be remembered after his death, even if he were to have thousands of offspring. For remembrance, reputation and credibility do not depend on multiplicity of children and offspring. We discussed this surat in our Tafsir (Exegesis). And to God be all praise.

It has been related from Abū Ja‘fār al-Baqir that al-Ṣāḥib b. Wā’il said the above following the death of al-Qāsim, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He had reached an age when he could ride a mule and sit on a thoroughbred mount.

Ibn Ishāq then related the revelation of the verse “... and they say, ‘Now if only an angel had been sent down to him.’ If We had sent down an angel, it would all have been finished!” (surat al-An‘ām; VI, v.8).

This referred to Ubayy b. Khalaf, Zaynāb b. al-Aswad, al-Ṣāḥib b. Wā’il and al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith having said, “If only God had sent down for you an angel to tell the people about you.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so we have been told, passed by al-Walid b. al-Mughira, Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Jahl b. Hishām, and they insulted and mocked him. This angered him, and at that God Almighty revealed about them, ‘Prophets before you were mocked, but it was their mocking that trapped them’” (surat al-An‘ām; VI, v.10).

I observe that God Almighty also stated, “Prophets before you were mocked. Yet they bore with fortitude the falsehoods and persecutions until Our help came to them. No one can change the words of God. And you have received information about the messengers sent” (surat al-An‘ām; VI, v.34). And the Almighty also said, “We will protect you against those who mock” (surat al-Ḥajar; XV, v.95).


“He then pointed out to him al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib and Gabriel gestured towards his neck, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“He then pointed out al-Aswad b. Abū Yaghūth and Gabriel gestured to his head, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“He then pointed to al-Ḥārith b. ‘Ayṭil and Gabriel gestured to his stomach, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“Then al-Ṣāḥib b. Wā’il passed by and Gabriel gestured towards the sole of his foot, saying, ‘So much for him!’

“As for Al-Walid, he later stopped by a man from Khuzā‘a who was mounting feathers on an arrow for him, but the arrow struck his fingertips and severed them.
“Al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghuth had ulcers grow out of his head, and he died of them.

“Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib went blind. The cause of that was that he once dismounted under a gum tree and began calling out, ‘O Son, help, can’t you protect me! I’m dead!’ His companions responded that they could see nothing, but he repeated, ‘O Son, can’t you protect me? I’m perishing! I’m being pricked with thorns in my eyes!’ Again they said they saw nothing, but he kept saying the same until his eyes were blind.

“Al-Ḥārith b. 'Aytil was afflicted with yellow bile in his stomach until his excrement emerged from his mouth and he died of that.

“Al-Ḳāṣ b. Wā'il one day had a thorn enter his head and caused it to be filled (with pus), and he died of this.’

Others, however, narrate this account thus: ‘... and he rode to Ta'if on a donkey that let him down on to a thorn and it pierced the sole of his foot and killed him.’

Al-Bayhaqi related this tradition in much the same way.

Ibn Ishāq stated, ‘The chief men who engaged in ridicule, as I was told by Yazid b. Rawmān, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, were five in number. They were all men of maturity and highly regarded among their people. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke a curse against al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib Abū Zam'a: ‘O God, blind his sight and make him bereft of his son!’

“The others were al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghuth, al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, al-Ḳāṣ b. Wā'il, and al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṭalāṭil.’

He also recounted that Almighty God revealed about them, ‘Announce what you have been ordered, and turn aside from the polytheists. We will take care of the mockers for you, those who establish another god alongside God. They shall learn!’ (ṣūrat al-Ḥajar; XV, v.94–6).

He related, ‘Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while these men were circumambulating the ka'ba. Gabriel stood up, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at his side, while al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib went by. Gabriel threw a green leaf into his face and he became blind.

“Al-Aswad b. 'Abd Yaghuth next passed and Gabriel pointed at his stomach. It became swollen and so he died of dropsy.

“Al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra went by and Gabriel pointed at the scar of a wound at the base of his ankle that he had suffered years before when he had passed by a man of Khuzā'a re-feathering an arrow, the head of which had caught on his robe and slightly cut him. After this, however, it burst open and so he died.

“Al-Ḳāṣ b. Wā'il passed and Gabriel pointed to the underside of his foot. Al-Ḳāṣ later left on a donkey for Ta'if. The donkey threw him on to a thorn which pierced his foot and killed him.

“Al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṭalāṭil went by and Gabriel pointed at his head. It filled with pus and so killed him.’
Ibn Ishaq then stated, “When al-Walid b. al-Mughira felt the approach of death he made a request of his three sons Khalid, Hisham, and al-Walid by name. He told them, ‘Sons, I charge you with three tasks. My blood is on Khuzâ‘a, and do not leave it unreveled. I well know that they are innocent of it, but I fear that you may be maligned by it later. Thaqîf have debts owing me. Don’t leave them alone until you get paid. And my dowry money is with Abu Uzayhir al-Dawrî; don’t let him keep it from you.’ Abu Uzayhir had married al-Walid to a daughter of his but later had kept her from him and had not let him in to her up to the time he died. And he had taken the money al-Walid had paid for her, which was her dowry.

“When he died the Banû Makhzûm hastened to Khuzâ‘a seeking from them blood money for al-Walid. They said, ‘It was an arrow of one of your men that killed him!’ Khuzâ‘a refused and they spoke angry poetry against one another, and the situation deteriorated greatly between them. But then Khuzâ‘a did pay some of the blood-money, and they made peace and reconciled.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Then Hisham b. al-Walid attacked and killed Abu Uzayhir while he was at the Dhu al-Majzû market.

“He was a chief of his tribe and his daughter was Abu Sufyân’s wife. This happened after the battle of Badr. Yazid b. Abu Sufyân went out and gathered his men against the Banû Makhzûm since his father was then absent. When Abu Sufyân returned he was angered by what his son Yazid had done and berated and struck him for it. He then paid the blood price for Abu Uzayhir and told his son, ‘Did you plan to have Quraysh kill one another over one man from Daws?’

‘Hassan b. Thabit wrote an ode goading Abu Sufyân over the spilling of Abu Uzayhir’s blood. Regarding this poem, Abu Sufyân commented, ‘It’s a really bad idea of Hassan that we should kill one another, now, after our chiefs died at the battle of Badr.’

“When Khalid b. al-Walid accepted Islam and was present at Ta‘if with the Messenger of God (SAAS), he asked the latter for payment of the interest due his father from the people of Ta‘if.”

Ibn Ishâq went on, “Some scholars informed me that the following verses were revealed about this, ‘O you who believe, fear God and give up whatever interest payments are due, if you are indeed believers’” (surat al-Baqara; II; v.278).

Ibn Ishâq stated, “And we know of no vengeance taken by Abu Uzayhir’s people up to when Islam put an end to conflict between these men. Although Dirar b. al-Khaṭṭab b. Mirdâs al-Aslami left with a group of Quraysh men into Daws territory. There they stayed with a woman named Umm Ghaylân, a freed-woman of Daws. She would comb the women’s hair and prepare brides for marriage. The Daws wanted to kill the Quraysh for killing Abu Uzayhir, but Umm Ghaylân and some women who were with her stood in their way and protected the Quraysh men.”

Al-Suhayli said, “It is said that she hid him inside her clothing.”
Ibn Hisham said, “In the days when 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb ruled, Umm Ghaylān came to him, believing that 'Dirār was his brother. 'Umar told her, ‘I am only his brother in Islam. I know of your favour to him. He gave her a gift as though she were a traveller.’”

He went on, “'Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb met up with 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb at the battle of Uhud, and began striking him with the flat of his spear, saying, ‘Save yourself, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, I shall not kill you!’ 'Umar thus acknowledged this act of his after Islam. God bless them both.

**DIVISION**

Al-Bayḥaqī related at this point the imprecation of the Prophet (ṣaṣ) against Quraysh when they withheld from him, resulting in seven years similar to the seven in Joseph’s case.

His account tallies with those in the sahih collections narrated through al-ʾA ḥam, from Muslim b. Ṣubayh, from Masrūq, from Ibn Musʿūd. He (the Prophet (ṣaṣ)) said, “Five things have come to pass; al-lizām, the punishment, the Romans, the ‘smoke,’ the conflict, and the moon.”

There is an account from Ibn Musʿūd saying, “When Quraysh rejected the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ), and refrained from accepting Islam, he (the Prophet (ṣaṣ)) said, ‘O God, bring down upon Quraysh for me the seven years like those for Joseph!’

The account went on, “And they were afflicted for a year until everything was completely ruined. They were reduced to eating carrion, and some, out of hunger, hallucinated so that they would imagine seeing smoke all the way to the heavens. Then he prayed, and God gave them relief. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Musʿūd) thereafter recited the following verse, ‘We are withdrawing from you the punishment for a while; but you will revert’ (sūrat al-Dukhān; XLIV, v.15). They did revert and disbelieved, and so were put off till Judgement Day. Or he said, ‘and they were put off till the battle of Badr.’ ʿAbd Allāh said, ‘If the reference were really to Judgement Day, he would not have exposed them to the words, ‘... the day when we confront them with the great conflict. We will take revenge!’ (sūrat al-Dukhān; XLIV, v.16). He said, ‘At the battle of Badr.’

In (another) account from him, he said, “When the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) saw the people backing away, he said, ‘O God, (inflict) seven years (of calamity) like those of Joseph.’ And so they suffered a year so bad that they ate carrion, leather and bones. Abū Sufyān and other Meccans came to him and said, ‘O Muḥammad, you claim to have been given your mission of mercy. Here your people are perishing. Pray to God for them.’

“And so the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) did say a prayer and profuse rain descended on them. It poured down on them for seven days and people complained about the volume of rain. And so he said the words, ‘O God, around
us, but not upon us!' The clouds were then withdrawn from above his head, and the people around them were watered."

He said, "The verse of surah al-Dukhān was mentioned earlier and it referred to the starvation that had afflicted them. This refers to God's statement, 'We are withdrawing from you the punishment for a while; but you will revert.' And the verses of surah al-Rūm (XXX), and those referring to the 'grievous hold' (of surah al-Dukhān; XLIV, v.16), and the 'splitting of the moon' (of surah al-Qamar; LIV, v.1), all came true at the battle of Badr."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "What he means, though God alone knows best, is that the 'grievous hold', 'the smoke' and the verse relating to the lizām, God's punishment, all these (prophecies) came true at the battle of Badr."

He said, "Al-Bukhāri made reference to this account. He then mentioned it through 'Abd al-Razzāq from Ma'amār, from Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, in the words, 'Abū Sufyān came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) seeking relief from the hunger because they had nothing to eat, even consuming spoiled meat. God Almighty then revealed the words, 'We brought punishment down on them, but they would not submit to their Lord, nor were they humble' (surah al-Mu'minīna; XXIII, v.76). And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) said a prayer for them, so that God gave them relief.'

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated, "There is given in the story relating to Abū Sufyān material suggesting that it applied to the period after the migration. Perhaps it happened twice. God knows best."

**DIVISION**

Then al-Bayhaqi related the story of the Persians and the Byzantines and Almighty God's revelation of the verses: "Alif. Lam. Mīm. The Byzantines have been defeated in the neighbouring territory, yet after their defeat they will overcome, after a few years. God makes the decision, both before and after. And on a certain day the believers will rejoice at God's assistance. God assists whomever He wishes, for He is the Almighty, the Merciful" (surah al-Rūm; XXX, v.2).

He then related through Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ḥālib b. Abū 'Amr, from Sa'id b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "The Muslims would have liked the Byzantines to be victorious over the Persians because the former were the 'People of the Book'. The polytheists wanted the Persians to overcome the Byzantines because the former were idol worshippers. The Muslims mentioned this to Abū Bakr, who spoke about it with the Prophet (SAAS). The latter commented, 'They will prevail.' Abū Bakr related this to the polytheists who said, 'Set a term for us and if they do prevail, then you get so-and-so while if our side wins we get so-and-so.' Abū Bakr then related this to the Prophet (SAAS), who said, 'So now I've made it a wager!' He went on, 'In less than ten (days).’ And thereafter the Byzantines were victorious."
We gave various lines of transmission for this hadith in our Tafsir (Exegesis) and recounted that the one who engaged in the wager with Abū Bakr was Umayya b. Khalaf, that the bet was for five young ostriches and that it had a time limit. To this “the Trusting”, Abū Bakr, made an increased bet on the orders of the Messenger of God (SAAS). The victory did go to the Byzantines over the Persians and it occurred on the day the battle of Badr was fought. Or it may have been the day of the Ḥudaybiyya truce. God knows best.

It is also related through al-Walid b. Muslim, who said, “Usayd al-Kilābī related to us that he heard al-‘Al‘ā’ b. al-Zubayr al-Kilābī relate from his father, as follows, ‘I saw the victory of the Persians over the Byzantines and then that of the Byzantines over the Persians. I then saw the victory of the Muslims over both Rome and Persia, and their conquering of Syria and Iraq. And all of that over a period of 15 years!’”

Section: Concerning the isrā’, the night journey, of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from Mecca to Jerusalem, his ascent from there to heaven, and the signs he saw there.

Ibn ‘Asâkir related traditions about the night journey in materials telling of the early beginnings of the mission. Ibn Ishaq, however, gave them in this location, some ten years after the mission.

Al-Bayhaqi related, through Mūsā b. Uqba, from al-Zuhri whom he quoted as saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was taken on the night journey one year prior to his departure to Medina.”

He said, “And Ibn Lahi‘a related it thus, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa.”

Also, Al-Ḥākim related, from al-Asamm, from Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbar, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Asbāt b. Naṣr, from Ismā‘il al-Suddi, who said, “The five daily prayers were enjoined upon the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Jerusalem the night of his journey there, 16 months prior to his emigration.”

According to al-Suddi’s statement, then, the night journey occurred in the month of Dhū al-Qa‘da, whereas the reports of al-Zuhri and Urwa place it in Rabi‘ al-Awwal.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated, “Uthmān related to us, from Sa‘d b. Mīnā, that Jābir and Ibn ‘Abbās said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) was born in the year of the elephant, Monday the 12th of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, and on that same day and month he was appointed Prophet, was taken up to heaven, emigrated, and died.’”

The chain of transmission of the aforementioned hadith is flawed. The ḥāfiz ʿAbd al-Ghānī b. Sūrīr al-Maqdisī, however, included it in his biography, and he also quoted a tradition whose chain of authorities is unsound. We made mention of it in the material relating to the virtues of the month of Rajab. This tradition states that the night journey took place on the night of the 27th of Rajab. But God knows best.
There are some who claim that the night journey took place on the first Friday night of Rajab, this having been the “night of the al-ragha’ib”, the night of the great gifts, wherein the common system of prayer was first established. But there is no foundation for that. But God knows best. Some recite the following line concerning this:

“It was a Friday night when the Prophet was made to ascend, the night of Friday, the first of Rajab.”

This poetry is somewhat weak, but we have quoted it merely as testimonial for those who maintain this.

We gave reference to the traditions relating to this in detail regarding God’s words, “Glory be to Him who carried His worshipper on a journey by night from the masjid al-haram, the ‘sacrosanct mosque’, to the masjid al-aqṣā, the ‘further mosque’, whose precincts We had blessed that We may show him Our signs. He it is who hears all, sees all” (surat al-Isrā; XVII, v.1).

Let us then record herewith the lines of authority and the sources and the support for or criticism of these. This will be convincing and sufficient in itself. And all praise and credit goes to God.

We will give here the gist of the words of Ibn Ishaq, God bless him. Having recounted the earlier sections, he went on, “Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) was taken by night from the masjid al-haram to the masjid al-aqṣā, the latter being the holy temple of Aelia. By then Islam had spread in Mecca into Quraysh and all the Arab tribes.”

He continued, “Concerning the night journey of the Messenger of God (SAAS), I learned what follows from a hadith that came down from Ibn Mus‘ūd, Abū Sa‘īd, ʿĀlīsha, Mu‘āwiya, Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭalib, God bless them all, and al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan, Ibn Hishām al-Zuhri, Qatāda and other scholars. Individually they gave information that combines in this account.

“The night journey of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was filled with trials and tribulations and (instances) of God’s power and authority; it provides a lesson for men of intelligence, a guidance, a mercy and an affirmation for those with faith and belief. It was certainly an act of God.

“He carried him on this journey as and how He wished, to show him those of His signs He so desired. He thus surveyed some of the might of God, His will, power and authority by which He accomplishes His purposes.

“ʿAbd Allah b. Mas‘ūd would say, as I have been informed, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS), was brought al-Burāq, that being the name of a mount on which previous prophets were carried; its stride was such that it could place its hooves as far as it could see. He was borne away on it.

“His companion (Gabriel) then took him off to see the signs between heaven and earth. Eventually he reached Jerusalem, where he found Abraham, Moses and Jesus, in a company of prophets assembled for him. He led them in prayer.
“Then he was brought three vessels, containing milk, wine and water. He said that he drank the vessel of milk and was told by Gabriel, ‘You have been given guidance, and so has your nation.’”

Ibn Ishaq related through al-Hasan al-BAṣrī, but with an incomplete line of transmission, that Gabriel woke him up then conducted him to the door of the masjid al-ḥarām, where he set him upon al-Burāq, a white mount that was a cross between a mule and a donkey; on its flanks it had wings with which it set its feet in motion. It could place its hooves as far ahead as it could see. The account quotes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, “He placed me upon it and then took me away, he not out-distancing me, nor I him.”

I may add that in the hadith, which came down from Qatāda, as related by Ibn Ishaq, it says that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to mount al-Burāq, it became restive and so Gabriel placed his hand upon its neck where the mane grows and said, “Now Burāq, aren’t you ashamed to do that? I swear, no servant of God more noble than Muhammad has ever ridden you.” He commented, “And it was so ashamed it burst out in sweat, then quietened down until I mounted it.”

Al-Hasan stated, in his hadith, “And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed, Gabriel accompanying him, until they reached Jerusalem. There he found Abraham, Moses and Jesus among a group of prophets. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted as their Imam and led them in prayer.”

He then explained his choice of the vessel of milk over that of the wine, and how Gabriel told him, “You have been given guidance, as has your nation, and you have been forbidden wine.”

He went on, “And then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed for Mecca and set about telling Quraysh of all that.”

He recounted that most of the people disbelieved him and that one group reneged after having previously accepted Islam.

Abū Bakr, “the Trusting”, responded by expressing his belief and said, “I give him credence in communication from heaven, early in the day or in the evening, so how should I not believe him regarding Jerusalem?”

(In his account al-Hasan) recounts that Abū Bakr asked him to describe Jerusalem, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did so.

And, he states, “From that day on Abū Bakr was known as al-Ṣiddīq, ‘the Trusting’.”

Al-Hasan said, “And on that subject God revealed, ‘And we rendered the visions we showed you nothing but a way of testing people’” (sūrat al-Isrā’; XVII, v.60).

Ibn Ishaq related, quoting Umm Ḥanīfah as his source, that she said, “It was from nowhere but my home that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his night journey. He slept that night after having made the final evening prayer. When it
was just before dawn he woke us up and when it was morning we prayed together
and he said, ‘O Umm Hānē?’ last evening I prayed with you in this valley, then I
went to Jerusalem and prayed there. And now here I am having said the morning
prayer with you, as you see.’

‘He then arose to leave, but I took hold of the hem of his cloak and said, ‘O
Messenger of God, do not make that statement to people; they will surely
disbelieve you and do you harm.’

‘But he replied, ‘By God, I will certainly tell it to them!’ And he did tell them
and they did disbelieve.’

Ibn Ishaq went on (and the Prophet (ṢAAS) told the sceptical, tr.) “And the
proof of this is that I passed by the caravan of such-and-such a tribe in such-
and-such a valley, and the sound of the animal (al-Buraq) startled them and so
one of their camels ran away. I led them to it, being then on my way to al-Shām.
Then I continued on until I reached Dajanān, where I passed a caravan of such-
and-such a tribe. I found the people asleep. They had a vessel with water in it that
they had covered over with something. I took off the cover and drank the water
and replaced its cover. And the proof of this is that their caravan is now making
its way down from the pass at al-Tanīm al-Bayḍa. Leading it is an ash-coloured
camel on which are two sacks, one of which is black, the other black and white.

‘On hearing this, people hurried to the pass. The first camel, which was as he
had described to them, was insufficient proof for them, so they asked about the
vessel and the camel, and those in the caravan did tell them just as the Prophet
(ṢAAS) had recounted.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr related, from Asbāt, from Ismā‘īl al-Suddi, that the sun had
almost set before that caravan arrived and so he prayed to God, Almighty and
Glorious is He, who slowed it down until they came, just as he had described it
to them.

He stated, “And the sun was never slowed for anyone except on that day for
him, and also for Yūsha‘ (Joshua) b. Nūn.”

Al-Bayhaqi related this account.

heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “When I had finished in Jerusalem, the
mirāj, the ladder, was brought to me. Never before did I see anything finer; it is
that to which your dying turn their eyes at the point of death.

“‘My companion (Gabriel) led me up it until I reached one of the gates of
heaven known as the bāb al-hāfi?‘, ‘the guards’ gate’. It is overseen by an atten-
dant who is an angel, and his name is Ismā‘īl. He commands 12,000 angels, each
of whom controls 12,000 more.’”

“He (Abū Sa‘īd) stated, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) whenever he tells this
hadith recites, “And no one but He knows the armies of your Lord” (ṣūrat
al-Muddaththir; LXXIV, v.34).
He then recounted the remainder of the hadith and it is very lengthy. We gave it in full with all its lines of transmission in our Tafsir (Exegesis), and discussed it there. It is one of the strangest of hadiths, and there is some weakness in its line of transmission.

The same is true of the text of the hadith of Umm Hani. What is well established in the sahihayn is the account of Shurayk b. Abii Nimr, from Anas, that the "night journey" took place from the mosque (the ka'ba), at the hijr, the sacred enclosure.

There are also several peculiarities in that text which we have discussed there. One such is his statement, "And this occurred before he received revelation." The fact is that their (the angels) coming on the first occasion was before he received revelation, but on that night nothing occurred. Then, on another night, the angels did come to him. So, he was not referring to the latter occasion when he said, "And that was before revelation came to him." In fact, he (Gabriel) came to him after he had received revelation.

The "night journey" certainly occurred after revelation (began), either shortly thereafter, as one group maintains, or much later, perhaps by as much as ten years, as others claim. And the latter is more likely.

The cleansing of his chest (by the angel) before the night journey was the second, or some say the third cleansing, and it was a prerequisite for the assembly on high and the Divine Presence.

He then rode upon al-Burāq, this being in veneration and honour of him. When he came to Jerusalem, he (Gabriel) inducted him into that circle by which the prophets were joined. He then entered Jerusalem and prayed at its prayer niche in salutation to that mosque.

Hudhayfa, God be pleased with him, denied his entry into Jerusalem, his tying up his mount, and his praying there. And this is strange. And a text that is affirmative is preferable to one that is negative.

There is also disagreement over his meeting the prophets and leading them in prayer, as to whether it was prior to his ascent to heaven, as the preceding account shows, or after his descent from there, as some accounts indicated. We will state that this latter view is to be preferred. But God knows best.

It is also said that his prayer with the prophets took place in heaven. Also there is disagreement over whether his making a choice between the vessels of milk, wine and water occurred in Jerusalem, as given above, or in heaven, as established in authentic traditions.

What is implied is that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) finished in Jerusalem the miraj, the ladder, was set up for him; this was the ladder he used to ascend to heaven. The ascent was not upon al-Burāq, as some people imagine. Al-Burāq was tethered at the door of the mosque in Jerusalem to take him back to Mecca.
He rose one heaven to another on the ladder until he passed over the seventh heaven. Whenever he reached a heaven its favoured attendants and the most important angels and prophets therein would meet him.

He made reference to major persons from among the mursalin, the messengers of God, like Adam in the nearest heaven, John and Jesus in the second, Idris in the fourth, Moses in the sixth, and Abraham in the seventh, leaning his back against the bayt al-ma'mur, the "eternal abode", that is entered each day by 70,000 angels who worship therein in prayer and circumambulation, and they do not return there again until Judgement Day.

He then ascended above their ranks and reached a level where the squeaking of pens could be heard. There the sidrat al-muntahā, the "lote tree at the boundary", stood high before the Messenger of God (SAAS); its leaves were like the ears of an elephant, its fruit like summits of Mt. Hidjr, and covered all about by great deeds and many splendid colours, with angels perching upon it as numerous as starlings on a tree. And there was a canopy of gold, bathed in the light of our Lord, All-Glorious is He.

There also he saw Gabriel, peace be upon him. He had upon him 600 wings with the space between each two wings as great as that between heaven and earth. It is Gabriel of whom God Almighty spoke thus: "And he certainly saw him in another revelation, at the sidrat al-muntahā, at which is the garden of eternity. When the tree was shrouded in its covering, sight did not turn aside, nor did it exceed its bound" (sūrat al-Najm; LIII, v.13-17). That is, it (i.e. sight, tr.) did not turn aside to the right or to the left, nor did it look up at that which was out of bounds.

This was both tremendous fortitude (on the part of Muhammad) and a great show of respect (for God).

This second vision (that he had) of Gabriel, peace be upon him, in the natural form in which God created him, is in accord with the statements transmitted by Ibn Mus'ūd, Abū Hurayra, Abū Dharr and 'A'īsha, God be pleased with them all.

The first vision (that Muḥammad had of Gabriel) was, in the words of the Almighty, when, "(an) all-powerful (angel) taught him, the one endowed with supreme power, who (appeared) in his natural form while in the highest point on the horizon. He then drew near and came close, until he was two bow lengths away, or closer. Then he made his revelation to His servant" (sūrat al-Najm; LIII, v.6-10).

That took place at al-Abtāh. Gabriel stretched out over the Messenger of God (SAAS), the enormity of his being dominating all between earth and sky, until there was only the space of a bow's length or two between them both.

7. A reference to the Islamic belief that angels, working as scribes in the service of God, record the fate and destiny of the universe as dictated to them by Him.
8. A tree believed to be positioned to the right side of God's throne.
9. The name of a place near Mecca.
This is what is authentic in the exegesis, as is affirmed by the words of the eminent Companions mentioned heretofore, God be pleased with them all. As for Shurayk’s comment about Anas concerning the tradition relating to the night journey, “and then al-jabbār, the Omnipotent, the Lord of Glory drew close and descended, becoming as close as a bow’s length or two,” this might be the understanding of the reciter, and so he inserted it into the hadith. But God knows best.

Even if this interpretation is correctly preserved, it is no interpretation of the holy verse, but relates to something quite different from that at issue. But God knows best.

It was on that night that God Almighty and Glorious enjoined the daily prayers upon His servant Muḥammad (God’s peace and blessings be upon him and upon his nation); these were to number fifty prayers each day and night. Thereafter he repeatedly went between Moses and his Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, until finally the Lord, All Resplendent is He, and to Him is all credit due, decreed that they be five. He stated, “They are five and (yet) they are fifty, credit being ten times the number.”

That evening speech came to him directly from the Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. The Imāms of the orthodox faith are unanimous regarding this. They differ regarding his seeing Him. Some consider that he saw God twice, in his heart. Ibn ʿAbbās and his adherents maintain this. Ibn ʿAbbās generalized (in discussion) about the vision, but others have offered a more narrow interpretation.

Those who spoke in general terms about the vision include Abū Hurayra and Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, God be pleased with them.

Some authorities, however, state their conviction that the vision was by means of his eyes.

Ibn Jarir preferred this and insisted upon it, being followed in this by others of the more recent authorities.

Among those considering that the sight occurred through the naked eyes included Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, as reported by al-Suhaylī and it is the preferred view of Sheikh Abū Zakariyyā al-Nawawī in his fatwa, his legal decisions.

One faction maintains that the vision never occurred, because of the hadith in the saḥih collection of Muslim, from Abū Dharr. It states, “I said, ‘O Messenger of God, did you see your Lord?’ He replied, ‘A light! How could I have seen it!’ In another account the words are, ‘I saw a light.’”

These scholars say that the sight of the Everlasting could never be through eyes that are ephemeral.

Therefore God Almighty said to Moses, as is reported in certain holy texts, “O Moses, no mortal being can see me until he dies, nor any dry thing until it moves.”

10. The plural of fatwa, a term used to denote the pronouncements of a mufti, one who delivers formal legal opinions.
The dispute over this question perplexed the early scholars just as it does those who succeeded them. God alone knows best.

Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) came back down to Jerusalem. And it seems clear that the prophets descended with him to express their respect for him on his return from the glorious Divine Presence, as is the custom for those who visit; visitors do not assemble with others before meeting that person to whom they have been summoned.

That is why when he passed by one of them Gabriel would say, as each approached to greet him, “This is so-and-so; greet him.”

If he had met with them before his ascent he would not have needed introduction to them a second time.

Substantiation for this is given in his saying, “And when it was time for the prayer, I acted as their Imam.” The only time for that, then, would have been the dawn prayer. He came forward as their Imam on the instruction of Gabriel, relaying what his Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, told him.

Some scholars deduce from this that the most eminent Imam takes precedence over the master of the house, since Jerusalem was their (the other prophets) place of residence.

He then left there, riding on al-Burāq, and returned to Mecca. Next morning he was back, in a state of complete security, peace and dignity.

That night he saw such signs and things as to make anyone else who saw them, even in part, either utterly amazed or even insane.

He, however, became merely sombre, quiet that is, and was fearful that if he started to tell his people what he had seen they would have promptly disbelieved him.

And so at first he told them calmly that he had been to Jerusalem that night.

That was when Abū Jahl, God damn him, saw the Messenger of God (SAAS), in the sacred mosque sitting in sombre silence and spoke to him, asking, “Well, anything new?” He replied, “Yes.” “What is it?” Abū Jahl asked. “I was taken this night to Jerusalem.”

“To Jerusalem?”

“Yes.”

Abū Jahl asked, “If I were to call your people over to you for you to tell them, would you say to them what you said to me?”

“Yes, I would,” he replied.

Abū Jahl wanted to assemble Quraysh to hear that from him, and so too did the Messenger of God (SAAS) also want to gather them to tell them and so give them information.

Abū Jahl then said, “Come, O tribe of Quraysh!” They gathered there from their assemblies. He then said, “Well, tell your people what you told me.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) related to them what he had seen, that he had gone to Jerusalem that night and prayed there.
Amidst clapping and whistling of disbelief and derision at this report, the news spread quickly over Mecca.

People then went to Abī Bakr, God bless him, and told him that Muḥammad (ṢAAS) was saying such-and-such a thing.

He responded, “You are telling lies about him!”

They replied, “No, we swear it, he is saying that.”

“Well,” said Abī Bakr, “if he said that, he spoke the truth.”

He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was surrounded by the pagans of Mecca, and asked him about that. He told him of it all and Abī Bakr asked him to describe Jerusalem, so that the polytheists would hear him and recognize the veracity of what he had told them. In the saḥīḥ collection the account has it that it was the polytheists who asked the Messenger of God about that.

He said, “I then began telling them about His signs, and I became somewhat confused. And so God made Jerusalem clear to me until I could see it beyond ‘Uqayl’s house, and I described it to them.”

He (Ibn Isḥāq) went on, “In his description he was correct.”

Ibn Isḥāq recounted the information we gave earlier about him telling them of his having passed by their caravan and of having drunk their water.

And so God provided proof for them and illuminated the straight path for them. Some did believe because of their conviction from God, while others disbelieved despite the proof they had.

As God Almighty said, “And we only made the visions we have shown you as a test for the people” (sūrat al-Isrā’; XVII, v.60). That is, they were a way of testing and trying them.

Ibn ‘Abbās said, “These were visions perceived by the eye that were shown to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

This view, that of the majority of scholars both ancient and more recent, holds that the night journey was both a physical and a spiritual experience for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This is shown in the clear accounts of his making a journey and of his ascending on the ladder, and such-like. God therefore stated, “Glory be to Him who took his servant by night from the ‘sacrosanct mosque’ to the ‘further mosque’ whose precincts we have blessed, to show him our signs” (sūrat al-Isrā’; XVII, v.1). Such evocation of glory would only occur for truly great and extraordinary signs. And this proves that it was by both body and spirit, and the word “servant” gives expression to both of these together.

Also, if it had been a dream, the Quraysh polytheists would not have promptly expressed their disbelief and outrage. For that would not have been so important a matter. And so it shows that he did tell them that he had been taken on his night journey while awake, not asleep.

And then there is the statement of Shurayk, from Anas: “Then I awoke and found myself inside the ḥijr, the sacred enclosure.” This is either to be considered an error of Shurayk, or it must be concluded that the movement from the one state to the other is to be noted as “wakefulness”.
This will also be suggested in the hadith from ʻĀ'isha, God bless her, when the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to Tāʾīf but they disbelieved him. (In it) he said, "I returned in a state of depression, and I only came out of it at Qarn al-Tha'ālib."

Also there is the hadith of Abū Usayd, when he brought his son to the Messenger of God (SAAS) for the taḥnīk ceremony. He placed him in the lap of the Messenger of God (SAAS) who was engaged in conversation with the people. So Abī Usayd lifted his son up. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS), ʻistayqaza, he "awoke or became aware", and did not find the boy there. He asked about him, and they said he had been lifted off; and so he named the boy al-Mundhir, the rooster or awakener.

This interpretation is preferable to considering it an error. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq related as follows, "A member of Abā Bakr’s family related to me that ʻĀ'isha, “mother of the believers”, used to say, ‘The body of the Messenger of God (SAAS), was never found to be missing, but God did journey away with his spirit.’"

He also said, “Ya'qūb b. Utba related to me as follows, ‘When he was asked about the night journeys of the Messenger of God (SAAS), Muḥāwiya would say, “These were true visions from God.”’"

Ibn Ishaq stated, “That is not refuted by the statement of both these authorities, according to the words of al-Ḥasan, to the effect that, ‘The following verse was revealed on that subject: “and We only made the signs We have shown you as a test for the people.”’"

Similarly Abraham, peace be upon him, said, “O my son, I see in my sleep that I am sacrificing you” (sūrat al-Sādūq; XXXVII, v.102). And in the hadith literature there is the statement: “My eyes are asleep while my heart is awake.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “God knows best which of that it was. He did go there and did see there what he saw of God Almighty, whether he was asleep or awake. All of that is, however, factual and true.”

My own comment is that Ibn Ishāq stopped at that point, having combined both possibilities in one whole. But one thing beyond doubt or disagreement is that he was certainly awake, for all the reasons given above.

It is not necessary to interpret the words of ʻĀ'isha, God bless her, that it was not his body, but his spirit that made the journey, as implying that he was asleep, as Ibn Ishāq understood it. The journey might well have in fact occurred for his soul while he was awake and not asleep; he could have ridden al-Burāq, gone to Jerusalem, ascended into heaven and seen all he did while awake and not asleep.

11. This is an ancient Islamic custom of blessing a new-born by chewing dates and rubbing therewith the palate of the baby.
This may well be the purpose of ‘A’isha, “mother of the believers”, God bless her, as well as of those who agreed with her, and not what Ibn Ṭabari understood, which is that thereby they all implied that he was asleep. But God knows best.

I observe that we do not deny the occurrence of sleep visions before the experience of the night journey, as happened thereafter. For whenever he had visions they came (clearly) like the breaking of dawn. The hadith dealing with the beginnings of revelation contained material to this effect. In such cases, what he saw when awake happen to him he had previously seen when asleep. That prior vision had been for the purpose of laying the foundation, making an introductory step, and giving him a sense of security and ease. But God knows best.

There is also disagreement among scholars over whether the night journey and the ascent took place on one night or whether each occurred on a different night. And some claim that the night journey came while he was awake and the ascent while he slept.

Al-Muhallah b. Abū Ṣufra has told, in his exegesis of al-Bukhari’s hadith compendium, about some scholars maintaining that the night journey occurred twice, once with his spirit while he slept and once with both his body and his spirit when he was awake.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qasim al-Suhaylī related this, from his teacher, the jurist Abū Bakr b. al-ʿArabi.

Al-Suhaylī stated, “This view combines the accounts. In the hadith of Shurayk, from Anas, are the words, ‘And that related to what his heart saw while his eyes slept. His heart was not asleep.’ At the end of his account the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Then I awoke and found myself in the hijār.’”

This was sleep. Something else would suggest wakefulness.

There are some who also claim that there were several journeys while he was awake. One scholar stated, “There were four night journeys.” Some claim that some took place in Medina.

Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāma, God bless him, tried to reconcile the differing interpretations of the night journey by grouping them variously. He concluded that there were three night journeys. One was from Mecca specifically to Jerusalem, mounted on al-Buraq. One again was from Mecca to heaven also upon al-Buraq, according to the hadith of Hudhayfa, and one was from Mecca to Jerusalem and thereafter to heaven.

We comment that if it is merely the differences in the accounts that leads him to these three views, then the wording relating thereto differs even more than these three.

Anyone wishing to understand these matters should peruse the research materials we compiled in our book of exegesis relating to the words of the Almighty, “Glory be to Him who took his servant by night” (sūrat al-Isrāʾ; XVII, v.1).

Even if one concluded that such division was restricted to three possibilities relating to Jerusalem and to heaven, such mental computations have no impact on actual events. But God knows best.
It is strange that Imam Aḥāʾ Allāh al-Bukhm, God be pleased with him, gave the account of the night journey after recounting the death of Aḥā Talīḥ. He was thus in accord with Ibn Iṣḥāq in referring to the ascent to heaven in the later materials, but differed with him in reporting it after the death of Aḥā Talīḥ.

Ibn Iṣḥāq positioned his account of the death of Aḥā Bakr after the description of the night journey. But God alone knows how it really was.

This means that al-Bukhārī made a distinction between the night journey and the ascent. Each of these he therefore dealt with in a separate section.

His text reads, *Section on the night journey and the statement of God Almighty, ‘Glory be to Him who took His servant by night.’*

“It was related to us by Yahyā b. Bukayr quoting al-Layḥ, from ‘Uqayl, from Ibn Shihāb who said that Aḥā Salama b. ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān related to him as follows, ‘I heard Jabār b. ‘Abd Allāh say that he heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘When Quraysh expressed their disbelief in me I was in the ḥijr. And God made clear Jerusalem to me and so I set about telling them its distinctive features while I viewed it.’’”

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Naṣrī related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhrī, from Aḥā Salama from Ḥabīr.

Muslim, al-Naṣrī and al-Tirmidhī also related it from a *ḥadīth* of ‘Aḥā Allāh b. al-Fadl, from Aḥā Salama, from Aḥā Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS) in similar terms.

Al-Bukhārī’s text goes on, *Section on the Ascent:*

“It was related to us by Hudba b. Khālid, from Hammām and Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, from Mālik b. Ṣaṣaṣa, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) related to them as follows about the night he was taken on a journey, ‘While I was lying down there in the ḥatīm’—or he may well have said the ḥijr—‘an apparition came to me and began cutting.’ (Mālik b. Ṣaṣaṣa, tr.) then heard him say, ‘And he split open from this to this.’ I asked al-Jārūd who was by my side, ‘What does he mean by that?’ And he replied, ‘From the hollow of his neck down to his pubic hair.’ And I heard him say, from ‘his breastbone down to his pubic hair.’”

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on, ‘Then he withdrew my heart and a basin of gold filled with faith was brought to me. He then washed my heart and it was stuffed and replaced. After that I was brought a white mount that was smaller than a mule but larger than a donkey.’


“The Prophet (ṢAAS) continued, ‘It could span with its stride as far as it could see. I was mounted upon it and Gabriel led me away until he reached the lowest heaven. He asked for me to go in and a reply came, ‘Who is this?’’

“Gabriel,” he replied. “And who is with you?” He replied, “Muḥammad.” ‘And

12. The semi-circular walled area next to the *ka’ba.*
has he been given a mission?” “Yes,” Gabriel answered. “Then welcome to him! His arrival is a pleasure!”

“Then and so he opened up. When I went in I found Adam therein. Gabriel said, “This is your father Adam; greet him!” I did so and he saluted me in return, saying, “Welcome to my pure son, to the pure Prophet!”

“I was then taken up to the second heaven and when he asked to go inside, he was asked who it was. The same responses and questions as before followed and when I went in there were John and Jesus, who were cousins on the maternal side. Gabriel again introduced me and we exchanged the same greeting as with Adam.

“Then I was taken up to the third heaven where Gabriel again asked entry and was met with the same questions and responses. When I went in, there was Joseph, whom I greeted, and I received welcome from him as before.

“Taken to the fourth heaven, there were the same questions and responses and when I went in I found Idris there, exchanged greetings, and he welcomed me as before.

“Brought up to the fifth heaven, the same questions and responses were made, and when I entered there was Aaron, with whom I exchanged greetings and from whom I received welcome.

“Then at the sixth heaven the same questions and responses were made and when I entered, there was Moses, with whom I exchanged greetings and who made me welcome.

“And when I went further on, he wept. When he was asked why, Moses replied, “I weep because a young man who has received his mission after me will have a greater number of his nation enter paradise than will of mine.”

“I was then taken to the seventh heaven where the same questions and responses were made. When I went in there was Abraham, with whom I exchanged greetings and who welcomed me.

“Then I was raised up to the sidrat al-muntaha; there were four rivers, two open to see, two hidden. I asked Gabriel, “What is this, Gabriel?” He replied, “The two hidden rivers are those of paradise, while the two visible ones are the Nile and the Euphrates.”

“Then the bayt al-ma‘mur was raised for me to see, wherein each day 70,000 angels enter. I was then brought a vessel of wine, another of milk, and a third of honey. I took the milk. Gabriel said, “That is al-fitr that you and your nation follow.”

“Prayer was then enjoined on me, 50 prayers each day. Then I went back and when I passed by Moses, he asked, “What orders were you given?”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, “I was ordered to pray 50 times each day.”

“Moses commented, “Your nation can’t manage 50 prayers a day. I swear, I put people to the test before your time and I made some very severe requirements

13. The word has connotations of “God’s way of creating”, and therefore His plan or purpose. See the Encyclopaedia of Islam.
of the people of Israel. Return to your Lord and ask him for some relief for your nation.”

“‘And so I did return and ten prayers were lifted from me.

“‘I went back to Moses, he said as he had before, I returned and ten more were removed.

“‘Again back to Moses, I returned once more and ten more were removed.

“‘Once more to Moses, he said as before, and I returned and was ordered to make ten prayers each day.

“‘Moses then spoke as before, and again I returned and was ordered to make five prayers each day.

“‘When I went back to Moses, he asked, “What were your orders?” I replied, “To make five prayers each day.”

“‘He commented, “Your people can’t manage five prayers each day. I tried my people before your time and made severe requirements of the people of Israel. Return again and ask your Lord for some alleviation for your nation.”

“‘I replied, “I have already made such requests of my Lord as to make me ashamed; therefore I’d much rather accept and be satisfied.” As I passed on, a voice called out to me, “I have completed my decree. I have alleviated the burden upon my servants.””

Thus al-Bukhārī related this hadīth here. He also recounted it in other places of his compendium and so did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā’ī through various chains from Qatāda, from Anas, from Malik b. ِSa‘ṣa‘a.

We gave it by the account from Anas b. Malik from ‘Ubay b. Ka‘b, as well as by the account of Anas from Abū Dharr. And we gave it by several paths from Anas, from the Prophet (SAAS).

We related all that in detail with its various chains of transmission and phraseology in our Tafsīr (Exegesis).

In this text there is no mention of Jerusalem. It is as though some of the sources omit some information because of the broad knowledge of it. Or they forgot it, or mention only what are in their views the most important matters. Sometimes they elaborate and give the entire account in detail, while at others they omit selectively to stress what they consider most useful. Those who make each account of the ʿṣrāʾ a separate experience, as we have indicated of some above, have strayed too far from the truth. This is so because each of these accounts includes reference to the greeting made to the prophets, and in each the Messenger of God (SAAS) is introduced to them. Also in each one prayer is made obligatory for him. How is it possible to claim that all these would have occurred several times? This is extremely unlikely and implausible. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, “Al-Ḥumaydī related to us, that Sufyān narrated to him from ʿAmr, from Ṭirīma, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who commented as follows about the words of God Almighty, ‘And we only made the signs we have shown
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you as a test for the people.' He (Ibn 'Abbas,) said, 'These were visions seen by the eye, shown to the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the night he was taken to Jerusalem.' And of the shajarat al-maţâma, the 'accursed tree', mentioned in the Qur'an he said, 'It is the al-zaqqûm tree.'

Division

On the morning following the night of his journey, Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at about noon. He then explained to him the manner of prayer and its times.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) told his followers to assemble and Gabriel led him in prayer all that day until the next, with the Prophet (SAAS) acting as the Imam of the Muslims, and following the example of Gabriel. This is told in the hadith from Ibn 'Abbâs and Ja'âbir, "Gabriel led me in prayer twice at the house (of God)."

He thus explained to him the two times, the beginning and the end, that is, of the five daily prayers. The expanse of time between them is called the al-waqi al-muwassa't the 'extended period', but he made no mention of such an extension of time for the prayer at sunset.

This is affirmed in the hadith of Abu Mûsâ, Burayda and 'Abd Allâh b. 'Amr, all of which are in the compendium of Muslim. Discussion of this occurs in our book al-Ahkâm (The Regulations). And to God is all praise.

Also affirmed in the hadith of the compendium of al-Bukhârî is the statement brought down from Ma'amâr, from al-Zuhri, from Úrwa, from ‘A'îsha, who said, "When prayer was first prescribed it was just two rakâ', prostrations; this was subsequently established only for the prayer on travel, with more rakâ being added for prayer when in residence."

Al-Awza’î related it thus, from al-Zuhri, and al-Shâbî gave it from Masrûq back to ‘A'îsha.

This is problematic in view of the fact that ‘A'îsha used to perform the prayer in its entirety while travelling, as also did Úthmân b. Affân. We discussed this matter with regard to God's words, "And if you journey in the world there is no blame on you if you shorten the prayer if you fear incitement from those who disbelieve" (sûrat al-Nisâ; IV, v.101).

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "Al-Hasan al-Başri held the view that prayer while resident when first prescribed was made to be four rakâ'. He similarly referred to it, through a hadith with an incomplete chain of authorities, regarding the prayer made by the Prophet (SAAS) on the morning after the night journey,

14 A tree said to produce bitter, poisonous fruit.
15 A reference to the ka'ba in Mecca.
16 In Islam the daily prayers are made up of liturgies and physical movements that are divided into cycles each of which is called a rak'a (plural rak'â).
namely to the effect that there should be four rak'āt at midday, four in the late afternoon, three at sunset, with the prayers of the first two being recited aloud, four at night with just two being recited aloud, and two in the morning, both recited aloud.”

My own view is that 'A'isha may have meant that before the night journey the prayer consisted of two rak'āt, recited twice, separately, and then, when the five were made compulsory they were kept the same while in residence, and that permission was given that two rak'āt be prayed while travelling, as had been the case previously. Based on this explanation, there would be no controversy at all. But God knows best.

Section: Concerning the splitting of the moon in the time of the Prophet (SAAS).

God did provide the Messenger of God (SAAS) with a sign to prove the veracity of the guidance and religion of truth he brought, and that was at the time of his pointing (to the moon).

God Almighty spoke the following in His noble book, “The hour has drawn near and the moon bas split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away, saying, ‘Just more trickery!’ They call it deceit and follow their fancies, while all things are pre-determined” (sūrat al-Qamar; LIV, v.1–3).

Muslims are agreed that this did occur in the time of the Messenger of God (SAAS); traditions with complete lines of transmission, through numerous paths, provide decisive proof for those who examine it and comprehend it.

We will provide some of those easily available traditions, if God wills it and in Him is all faith and reliance. We detailed this in our Tafsir (Exegesis), and there gave the various chains of authorities and differences in phraseology verbatim. Here we will refer to some aspects of these and will attribute them to well-known texts, with the power and strength from God.


Regarding the ḥadith of Anas, Imam Āḥmad stated, “‘Abd al-Razzāq related to us that Ma‘mar related to him, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘The people of Mecca asked the Prophet (SAAS) for a sign. And so the moon over Mecca was split twice. And he spoke the words, “The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder”’” (sūrat al-Qamar; LIV, v.1).

And Muslim related this, from Muḥammad b. _RAFFI_ from ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

This is one of the texts known as the _mursalāt al-ṣaḥābā_. And it is plain that he received it from a large mass of the Companions, or from the Prophet (SAAS), or from everyone.
Both al-Bukhari and Muslim related this hadith on a path through Shayban. In his line of transmission al-Bukhari added Sa'id b. Abu Uruba. Muslim added Shu'ba to his. All three (sic) of them drew from Qatada, from Anas. The tradition states that the people of Mecca asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) to show them a sign. He showed them the moon in two parts, so that they could see Mt. Hira? between them both.

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhari.

Regarding the traditions quoted by Jubayr b. Mut'imin, the Imam Ahmad stated, “Muhammad b. Kathir related to us, that Sulayman b. Kathir related to him, from Husayn b. 'Abd al-Rahman, from Muhammad b. Jubayr b. Mut'imin, from his father, who said, ‘The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and became two parts; one was over this mountain, the other over that mountain. People said, ‘Muhammad has performed a trick on us.' Then they said, ‘He may have tricked us, but he can't trick everyone.'”

A'Hamd alone gives this hadith.

Ibn Jarir reported it similarly from a hadith of Muhammad b. Fudayl and others, from an account of Husayn.

Al-Bayhaqi related it through Idris b. 'Abd al-Muttamin and Hushaym, both of them from Husayn b. 'Abd al-Rahman, from Jubayr b. Muhammad b. Jubayr b. Mut'imin, from his father and grandfather. His account adds one further man to the chain of transmission.

As for Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman’s tradition, Abu Nu'am related in the Dalail (The Signs), on a line through 'Ata' b. al-Sa'ib from Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami, as follows: “Hudhayfa b. al-Yaman made an address to us at al-Madina. He gave thanks and praise to God and then said, ‘The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. Yes indeed, the time is near. And yes, the moon did split. The world really is close to partition. Today we have the race-track, and the race is tomorrow!'”

“The next Friday I went with my father to the mosque. Again he praised God and repeated what he had said, adding, ‘And yes, indeed, the winner is he who comes first on Fridays.'

“On our way back, I asked my father what he had meant when he said, ‘the race is tomorrow.' He replied, ‘For who first reaches paradise.'”

Regarding the tradition of Ibn 'Abbâs, al-Bukhari stated, “Yahya b. Bukayr related to us that Bakr related to him, from Ja'far, from 'Irak b. Malik, from Ubayd Allah b. 'Abbâs, who said, ‘The moon did split during the time of the Prophet (SAAS).’”

Al-Bukhari also, along with Muslim, related this from a hadith of Bakr, who was Ibn Nasr, from Ja'far. Regarding “… the time is near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away, saying 'Just more trickery!'” He said, “That time is past. That was before the hijra. The moon did split, and people could see both parts of it.”
Al-‘Awfi related it thus, from Ibn ‘Abbās, God bless him, this being one of his mursal traditions.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu‘aym stated, “Sulaymān b. Ahmad related to us, quoting Bakr b. Suhayl, quoting ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Sa‘īd, quoting Mūsā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Jurayj, from ‘Ata‘, from Ibn ‘Abbās—also, it came from Muqāṭil, from al-Dāhḥāk, from Ibn ‘Abbās—with reference to God’s words, ‘The hour has drawn near and the moon has been split asunder’ as follows, ‘The polytheists gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they included al-Walīd b. al-Mughirah, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, al-‘Aṣ b. Wā‘il, al-‘Aṣ b. Hishām, al-Aswād b. ‘Abd Yaghūṯ, al-Aswād b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza, Zam‘ā b. al-Aswād and al-‘Ather b. al-Ḥārith, along with many other such men. ‘They said to the Prophet (ṢAAS), ‘If you are telling the truth, then split the moon for us into two parts, one half over Mt. Abū Quḥays, the other over Mt. Qu‘ayqūn.’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked them, ‘If I did so, would you believe?’ ‘Yes, we would,’ they replied. It was a night of full moon, and so he asked God the Almighty and Glorious to grant him what they requested. That evening the moon did have one half removed and placed over Mt. Abū Quḥays, the other being above Mt. Qu‘ayqūn, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, ‘O Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Asad, and al-‘Arqam b. al-‘Arqam, be a witness (to this event).’”

Moreover, Abū Nu‘aym stated, “Sulaymān b. Ahmad related to us, quoting al-Ḥasan b. al-’Abbas al-Rāzi, from al-Haytham b. al-‘Umar, as did Isma‘īl b. Ziyād, from Ibn Jurayj, from ‘Āṭa’, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The people of Mecca went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Is there some sign by which we can know that you are the Messenger of God?’ ‘Gabriel then came down and said, ‘O Muḥammad, tell the people of Mecca that they will rejoice this night when they will see a sign and benefit thereby.’ “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) informed them what Gabriel had said and they all went outside on the night of the splitting, that of the 14th, and the moon split into two halves, one above Mt. al-Ṣafā, the other over Mt. al-Marwa. They looked, turned away and wiped their eyes, then looked once more, saying, ‘O Muḥammad, this is nothing more than the trickery of a monk!’ “Then God revealed His words, ‘The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder’” (ṣūrat al-Qamar; LIV, v.1–3).

Al-Dāhḥāk related from Ibn ‘Abbās as follows, “Rabbis came from the Jews to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, ‘Show us a sign so we may believe in you.’ ‘He asked his Lord, and He showed them the moon split into two parts, one over Mt. al-Ṣafā, the other above Mt. al-Marwa. It remained so between early evening until night, with them looking on, and then it disappeared. They commented, ‘This is just magic, a trick.’”


18. A mursal hadith is a statement of a Companion that he or she has not attributed to the Prophet himself.
Ibn Jurayj quoting 'Amr b. Dinar, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbas, who said, "In the time of the Messenger of God (SAAS), the moon was eclipsed and people said, "The moon is bewitched!" And so the words were revealed, "The hour has drawn near and the moon has split asunder. And if they see a sign they turn away saying, 'Just more trickery!'"" (surat al-Qamar; LIV, v.1-3).

This has a fine chain of authorities; it states that the moon was eclipsed that night; perhaps its splitting occurred on the night of its eclipse and this is why what happened to it was hidden from most of the earth's inhabitants. However, this was in fact witnessed in many parts of the world. It is said that in some parts of India that became a point for dating, and that a building was constructed that night which was dated by the night when the moon split.

Regarding the tradition of Ibn Umar, the ha'if al-Bayhaqi stated, "We were informed by Abü 'Abd Allah, the ha', and by Abü Bakr Ahmād b. al-Hasan al-Qaḍi as follows: 'Abü al-'Abbas al-Asamm related it to us, as did al-'Abbas b. Muhammad al-Dūrī, as did Wahb b. Jarir, from Shu'ba, from al-A'mash, from Mujahīd.'"

Muslim said, "It is like the account of Mujahīd from Abū Ma'am, from Ibn Mas'ūd."

Al-Tirmidhi stated, "This hadith is hasan and sahih."¹⁹

Regarding the tradition quoted by 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, the Imam Ahmad said, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Abī Najīh, from Mujahīd, from Abū Ma'am, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, 'The moon split into two parts during the time of the Messenger of God (SAAS) so that everyone looked at it. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Bear witness!'""

(Both of these authorities) drew this from an account of Sufyān, he being Ibn 'Uyayna. And from a hadith of al-A'mash, from Ibrahim, from Abū Ma'am, from 'Abd Allāh b. Samra, from Ibn Mas'ūd, who said, "The moon split asunder while we were with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Mina. The Prophet (SAAS) then said, 'Bear witness!' And one piece of the moon went off towards the mountain."

This phraseology is from al-Bukhari.

Al-Bukhari then said, "Abū al-Daḥḥāk narrated it from Masrūq, from 'Abd Allāh in Mecca, and Muḥammad b. Muslim followed him, from Ibn Abī Najīh, from Mujahīd, from Abū Ma'am, from 'Abd Allāh, God bless him."

Abū Da'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī gave support to the hadith of Abū al-Daḥḥāk, from Masrūq, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, who said, "The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and Quraysh said, 'This is the trickery of Ibn Abū Kabsa.' They commented, 'See what travellers say to you! Muḥammad can't trick everyone.'"

"He said, 'And travellers did arrive, and they said the same.'"

¹⁹. These are among the categories that hadith scholars use to describe the soundness of a chain of transmission; the words mean "good" and "true".

“And the unbelievers of Quraysh told the people of Mecca, ‘This is magic. The son of Abū Kabsha has tricked you by it. Look to travellers arriving. If they saw what you say, then he is correct, but if they did not see what you did, then it is magic he has tricked you with.’

“He went on, ‘So travellers were questioned, and,’ he said, ‘they came from all directions. And they reported, ‘We did see it.’’”

Abū Nuʿaym reported this the same way from a hadith of Jābir, from al-ʾAlmash, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Masrūq, from ‘Abd Allāh.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Muʿammil related to us, that Isrāʾīl related, from Simāk, from Ibrāhīm, from al-ʾAswād, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘The moon split in the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); I could see the mountain between the two splits in the moon.’”

Ibn Jarir related it thus from a hadith of Asbāt from Simāk.

The ḥafiz Abū Nuʿaym stated, “Abū Bakr al-Ṭalḥī related to us, quoting Abū Huṣayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wādīṣi, as did Yahyā al-Himmānī, as did Yazīd, from ‘Aṭāʾ, from Simāk, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿAlqama, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘We were with the Prophet (ṢAAS), at Minā, when the moon split until it was in two parts, one of which was behind the mountain. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, ‘Bear testimony! Bear testimony!’’”

Abū Nuʿaym stated, “Sulaymān b. Ahmad related to us, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muhammad al-Qalānīṣi, as did Ādam b. Abū Iyās, as did al-ʿAlīṣ b. Saʿd, as did Hishām b. Saʿd, from Utba, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Utba, from Ibrāhīm b. Masʿūd, who said, ‘The moon split while we were in Mecca. I saw one of its two pieces over the mountain at Minā while we were at Mecca.’

“ʿAḥmad b. Iṣḥāq related to us, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿĀṣim, Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, and Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr, from Ṣaʿīda, from ʿĀṣim, from Zīr, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘The moon split at Mecca and I saw it in two parts.’”

He then related from a hadith of ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. Masrūq, Mūsā b. ʿUmayr related to us, from Mansūr b. al-Muʿtamir, from Sayd b. Waḥb, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, “I saw the moon, I swear by God, split in two parts, with Mt. Ḥirā between them both.”

Abū Nuʿaym related, through al-Suddī al-Saghir, from al-Kalbi, from Abū Sāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The moon split into two halves, one of which left while the other remained.”

Ibn Masʿūd stated, “I saw Mt. Ḥirā between the two halves of the moon. One half left and the people of Mecca were amazed at this, and said, ‘This is just some faked-up trick; it will pass.’”
Layth b. Abū Sulaym reported Mujāhid as having said, "The moon split into two pieces in the time of the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said to Abū Bakr, 'Bear testimony, Abū Bakr!'"

"And the polytheists said, 'He has bewitched the moon so that it split apart!'")"

These various lines are strong in their links and provide decisive proof for those who consider them and the probity of these men. The version told by some storytellers, that the moon fell down to earth and entered one sleeve of the Prophet (SAAS), and came out of the other, has no foundation; it is a lie, an invention and untrue.

When the moon split it did not leave the sky. However, when the Prophet (SAAS) gestured towards it, it reacted by splitting and became two halves. One of these passed over until it was beyond Hira and they saw the mountain between that one and the other. This is how Ibn Mas'ūd related that he had witnessed it.

What we find in the account of Anas in the compendium of Ahmad to the effect that, "The moon split 'twice' in Mecca” is controversial. Obviously he meant “into two parts”. But God knows best.

Section: The death of Abū Tulib, uncle of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and thereafter that of Khadija, daughter of Khwāyliḍ, and the wife, may God be pleased with her, of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Some say that she preceded him in death, but the reverse is commonly known.

These were both sympathizers, he publicly, she privately. He remained a disbeliever while she was trusting and a believer; may God be pleased with her and please her.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Thereafter Khadija and Abū Tālib both died, in one year.

"After the death of Khadija troubles fell upon the Messenger of God (SAAS) in quick succession. She had been his trusted adviser in all his troubles and he would seek reassurance from her. The death of his uncle Abū Tālib meant he had lost a source of support and protection against his people.

"This occurred three years before his emigration to Medina.

"When Abū Tālib died, Quraysh harmed the Messenger of God (SAAS) to an extent they would never have dared during Abū Tālib's life; one fool of Quraysh even went so far as to throw dirt on his head.

"Hishām b. 'Urwa related to me, from his father, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) went into his house with the dirt still on his head. One of his daughters went to him, washing him off and weeping, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) told her, “Don't weep, child. God is your father's protector,” while he also commented, “Quraysh never treated me so badly before Abū Tālib died.”'

Ibn Ishāq previously reported that they might toss something harmful into his cooking pot when it was set up for him. When they did that, he stated, quoting 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh from 'Urwa, he would lift out on a stick whatever they had
put there and take it to his door, saying, “O Banū 'Abd Manaf, what kind of protection is this?” Then he would throw it out into the street.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When Abū Ṭalib became sick and Quraysh learned of his serious state, they noted how Ḥamza and Umar had accepted Islam and how the prestige of Muhammad had spread through the Quraysh tribes, so they decided to go to Abū Ṭalib to get him to reconcile his nephew to them. Otherwise, they concluded, he might subvert their authority completely.

“Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd Allah b. Ma‘bad related to me, from a member of his family, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘When they went to Abū Ṭalib and spoke to him, the Quraysh leaders, including ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a, Shayba b. Rabī‘a, Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, along with others, said, “O Abū Ṭalib, you know what standing you have with us, and that your serious condition, of which you are aware, greatly concerns us. You also know of the dispute between us and your nephew. Would you now call him and reach a compromise by which he will do us no harm nor we him; let him tolerate our religion and we will his.”

“Abū Ṭalib sent for him and when he came, he told him, “O Nephew, these leaders of your people have gathered to reach a compromise with you and you with them.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “You all just need to say one word, uncle, and through it you can rule the Arabs and have the non-Arabs subject to you.”

“‘Oh yes, I swear by your life,” answered Abū Ṭalib, “along with ten words more!’

‘He told him, “Say, ‘There is no god but God.’ And repudiate whatever gods you worship besides Him!”

‘Those present clapped their hands and commented, “O Muhammad, do you want to make all the gods into one? How strange.”

‘Then they said to one another, “This man is not going to give us any part of what we want. We should leave and continue in the religion of our fathers until God decides between us and him.” They then dispersed.

‘At that Abū Ṭalib said, “I swear, nephew, I don’t think you asked anything excessive.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had high hopes of him now and said to him, “O Uncle, if you were to say it I would intercede for you on Judgement Day.”

“Recognizing the eagerness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Abū Ṭalib replied, “O Nephew, I swear that were it not for fear of the curses there would be on you and your relatives after me, and the fact that Quraysh would think that I had only said it out of fear of death, I would say it. I will not say it only to please you thereby.”

“When death approached Abū Ṭalib, al-‘Abbās saw that he was moving his lips and so he put his ear close to hear. Then he said, “O Nephew, I swear my brother did say the word you asked of him!”
“The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, “I did not hear.”

“And God Almighty revealed about that group of men, “Ṣād. By the Qur’ān of fine repute! Those who disbelieve act in pride and arrogance”’” (ṣūrat Ṣād; XXXVIII, v.1).

We have discussed this in the Tafsir (Exegesis), and to God go all praise and credit.

Various scholars of the Shi’a and other extremists hold the view that Abī Talib died a Muslim because of what al-‘Abbās said in this hadith, that is, “O Nephew, my brother did speak the word you told him to say: ‘There is no god but God.’”

There are many ways to respond to this. One is that there is some question relating to the chain of authorities that includes one link defined as “a member of his family” about whom nothing is known. The doubt here rests on ignorance of both the person and his circumstances. Such a tradition is normally regarded as an hadith mawqif, if it remains unsubstantiated.

Imām Aḥmad, al-Nāṣārī and Ibn Jarir gave much the same chain, through Abī Usāma from al-Aʿmash (who said), “‘Abbad related to us, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr …” He gave the account without, however, mentioning the words of al-ʿAbbās.

Al-Thawri also related it, from al-Aʿmash, from Yaʿhya b. ʿAmmār al-Kūfī, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. He gave it without the addition of the words of al-ʿAbbās.

Al-Ṭāmīmī related it and stated it to be a good tradition, as did al-Nāṣārī and Ibn Jarir.

The wording of the tradition on the line given by al-Bayhaqī through al-Thawri, from al-Aʿmash, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAmmār, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, quotes Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, “Abī Talib fell sick and men of Quraysh and the Prophet (SAAS) arrived at his home and there was a seat for one person at the head of Abī Talib’s bed. Abī Jahl arose to prevent him sitting there, all the while protesting to Abī Talib about Muhammad. He asked, ‘Nephew, what is it you want from your people?’

“He replied, ‘Uncle, all I want from them is a statement through which the Arabs will submit to them and which will bring them tribute from the non-Arabs. Just one statement.’

“And what is that?’

‘There is no god but God,’ he replied.

“They commented, ‘What, make all the gods into one? That’s ridiculous!’

“He went on, ‘And God revealed about them, “Ṣād. By the Qur’ān of fine repute! …” and so on to the words, “… nothing but a forgery!’” (ṣūrat Ṣād; XXXVIII, v.7).

Moreover Ibn Ishāq’s account is contradicted by one more authoritative, namely that of al-Bukhari, who said, “Maḥmūd related to us, that ʿAbd al-Razzāq

20. The term implies that the hadith has an unknown person in its chain of transmission; it is therefore regarded as unsound.
related to them that Ma'\textsuperscript{m}ar informed them, from al-Zuhri, from Ibn al-Musayyab, from his father, God bless him, that Abü ɬalib was close to death when the Prophet (SAAS), along with Abü Jahl, went in to see him. He (the Prophet) said, 'Uncle, say, "There is no god but God!" One statement; (and) I will plead with God thereby on your behalf.'

"Abü Jahl and 'Abd ɬal\textsuperscript{ah} b. Abii Umayya then said, 'O Abü ɬalib, are you leaving the faith of 'Abd al-Muttalib?' And they both continued talking to him until he spoke his last words to them, namely, '... in the faith of 'Abd al-Muttalib.'

"The Prophet (SAAS) said, 'I will seek forgiveness for you for as long as I am not restrained from doing so.'

"And so there was revealed, 'It is not appropriate for the Prophet and for those who believe to seek forgiveness for the polytheists, even though near relatives, after it has become plain to them that they would inhabit hell' (s\textsuperscript{ur}at al-Tawba (or al-Bar\textsuperscript{a}); IX, v.113). And there was also revealed, 'You cannot give guidance to those you love'" (s\textsuperscript{ur}at al-Qas\textsuperscript{a}; XXVIII, v.56).

Muslim related this account from Ishaq h. Ibrahim and 'Ahd Allah, from 'Abd al-Razaq. They also drew it from a hadith of al-Zuhri, from Sa'\textsuperscript{id} b. al-Musayyab, from his father in similar words. In it he states, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) continued to suggest this to him while the other two repeated their words until he spoke his final words, '... in the faith of 'Abd al-Muttalib.' And he refused to utter the words 'There is no god but God.'

"The Prophet (SAAS) said, 'I will seek forgiveness for you.' And so God sent down, thereafter that is, the words, 'It is not up to the Prophet and those who believe to seek forgiveness for the polytheists, even though near relatives.'"

Concerning Abü ɬalib, it was revealed, "You cannot give guidance to those you love."

Imâm Ahmad, Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasâ\textsuperscript{i} related this from a hadith of Yazid b. Kaysân, from Abü ɬâzim, from Abü Hurayra, who said, "When death was near for Abü ɬalib, the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to him and said, 'Uncle, say "There is no god but God" and I will testify for you about it on Judgement Day.'

"He replied, 'If it were not for Quraysh insulting me and saying that it was only fear of death that made me say it, I would do so, and please you. I would not, however, say it only to please you.'\textsuperscript{21}

"And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, 'You cannot give guidance to those you love.'"

'Abd ɬal\textsuperscript{ah} b. 'Abbas, Ibn 'Umar, Mujâhid, al-Shâ\textsuperscript{b}i, and Qatada all stated that the above verse was revealed about Abü ɬalib when the Messenger of God

\textsuperscript{21} The passage could also be translated, "Were it not for Quraysh insulting me by saying that it was only fear of death that induced me to say so, or that I did so in order to please you, I would have uttered this statement; but only to please you."
(SAAS) suggested to him that he say, “There is no god but God” and he refused to do so. Instead, he said that he subscribed to the faith of the elders. The last thing he said was that, “He is following the religion of ‘Abd al-Mutţalib.”

All this is affirmed by al-Bukhārī’s narration from Musaddad, who related from Yāḥyā, from Sufyān, from ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr, from ‘Abd Allâh b. al-Ḥārith who said, “Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Mutţalib related to us that he said, ‘I asked the Messenger of God (SAAS), “What benefit were you to your uncle? He used to protect and defend you.”

“He replied, “He is in a shallow stream of hell-fire; if it were not for me, he would be in its lowest depths.””

Muslim related this same account in his compendium by various paths, from ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr.

Both these scholars narrated it in both their works from a ḥadīth of al-Layth, as follows, “Ibn al-Ḥādī related to me, from ‘Abd Allâh b. Ḥabbâb, from Abū Sa‘īd, that he heard the Prophet (SAAS) say when someone mentioned his uncle, ‘Perhaps my intercession may help him on Judgement Day, and he will be placed in a shallow stream of hell-fire that will reach up to his ankles and cause his brain to boil.’”

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī. In one account the words used are, “… cause umm dimaghīhi”, the centre of his brain, instead of “dimaghuhū”, his brain, to boil.

Muslim related, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ‘Affān, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Abū ‘Uthmān, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Abū Talib receives more lenient punishment than any other inhabitant of hell; he wears two shoes of fire that cause his brain to boil.”

In the Maghāzi, the history of the conquests, by Yūnus b. Bukayr, the statement given is “… and from them (his shoes) his brain will boil so that it streams down over his feet.” Al-Suhaylī makes mention of this.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his compendium, “‘Amr – he being the son of Ismā‘īl b. Mujālîd – related to us, saying that his father related to them, from Mujālîd, from al-Sha‘bī, from Jābir, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) was asked, “Have you been of benefit to Abū Talib?”

“He replied, “I drew him forth from hell-fire into a shallow stream of it.”’”

Al-Bazzār alone gives this tradition.

Al-Suhaylī stated, “However, the Prophet (SAAS) did not accept the testimony of al-‘Abbās that his brother (Abū Talib) had made the said statement and replied, ‘I did not hear it because al-‘Abbās was at that time an unbeliever, from whom a testimony was unacceptable.’”

My comment is that this account thereof is in itself not to be considered authentic because of the weakness of its chain of transmission, as stated earlier.

Evidence for that is provided by the fact that he (al-‘Abbās) asked the Prophet (SAAS) thereafter about Abū Talib and he told him what is stated above.
If, however, we accepted the argument for the authenticity of the aforementioned statement of Abū Ṭalīb, we would, none the less, aver that he only said what he did upon seeing the angel after the death-rattle, when expression of faith cannot be of use to a soul.

But God knows best.

Abū Daūd al-Ṭayalīsī stated, “Shu‘bā related to us, that Abū Ishāq said, ‘I heard Nājiyya b. Ka‘b say, ‘I heard ‘Alī say, ‘When my father died, I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, “Your uncle has died.” He replied, “Go and bury him.” I said, “He died a polytheist.” So he replied, “Go and bury him and do not cause (a scene), then return to me.”

“‘I did so, returned to him and he told me to wash.’”

Al-Nasāʾī related this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Ghundar, from Shuʻbā.

Abū Daūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a hadith of Sufyān, from Abū Ishāq, from Najīyya, from ‘Alī who said, “When Abū Ṭalīb died, I said, ‘O Messenger of God, that misguided old man your uncle has died. Who will bury him?’

“He replied, ‘Go and bury your father. Do nothing to cause (a scene), then return to me.’

“When I returned to him he told me to wash, and I did so. He then said some prayers for me that gave me more pleasure than would have anything else on earth.”


He (al-Bayhaqī) went on to say that it was related from the Prophet (ṢAAS), though with an incomplete chain, with the addition “... and he did not stand at his grave.”

He (al-Bayhaqī) also said, “This man, Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who is mentioned in the context of the chain of authorities for this account, is that same al-Khwārizmī about whom there has been some controversy.

I note that several persons have related traditions from him, including al-Fāḍl b. Mūsā al-Sīnānī and Muḥammad b. Sallām al-Bikandi. Nevertheless Ibn ʿAdī said, ‘He is not well known. And the traditions others have quoted from him are not sound.”

We have already given accounts of the support and protection given by Abū Ṭalīb to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), how he defended him and his followers. We also quoted from the verses he spoke in their praise and of the love and sympathy for them these verses express, as well as the criticism and blame they contain for those who opposed and ridiculed them. These verses exemplify the
eloquence, skill and fluency of the Hashim and Muṭṭalibi clans, an ability to use the language that could not be matched, rivalled or excelled by any Arab.

In all of this he knew that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was truthful, innocent and right-guided, but his heart, nevertheless, did not believe.

There is a difference between the heart knowing and believing. We have affirmed this fact in our exegesis of the Book of Faith in the saḥīḥ of al-Bukhari.

Evidence for this is given in the words of the Almighty, “Those to whom we have brought the Book know it as they do their sons; (however) a group of them conceal the truth, while knowing it” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.146).

Regarding Pharaoh’s people, the Almighty said, “... and they denied them, though their souls were convinced ...” (sūrat al-Naml; XXVII, v.14). And Moses said to the Pharaoh, “You know that it is only the Lord of the heavens and the earth who sent clear proofs, and I believe you, Pharaoh, to be damned!” (sūrat al-Isrā; XVII, v.102).

Some of the salafi or early authorities consider the Almighty’s words “... they defend him yet reject him” (sūrat al-Anṣām; VI, v.26) to relate to Abū Ṭalib, since he used to defend the Messenger of God (SAAS) from harm even though he rejected the guidance and true religion he brought.

(This opinion) is related as from Ibn ‘Abbās, al-Qāsim b. Mukhaymira, Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, ‘Aṭā b. Dīnār, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb and others and it is open to question. But God alone knows best.

Preferable, though God knows best, is the other account from Ibn ‘Abbas to the effect that the verse refers to those who prevented people from believing in Muḥammad (SAAS). Mujāhid, Qatada, al-Dahhāk and others held this view. It is also the choice of Ibn Jarir; though God knows best. Its implication is that this verse emphasizes the blame for the polytheists for preventing others from following him while themselves not benefitting from him either.

The Almighty therefore stated, “There are from among them those who listen to you over whose hearts we have placed covers that prevent them understanding, and holes in their ears; even if they see all signs they fail to believe in them. Even when they come to you to argue with you, those who disbelieve say, ‘These are just legends of the ancients.’ And they forbid others from (believing in it), and themselves keep away from it. It is only themselves they destroy, yet they do not sense this” (sūrat al-Anṣām; VI, v.25).

The phrase here: “... and they ...” indicates reference to a group. As for “they” as referred to in the subsequent comment, “... it is only themselves they destroy, yet they do not sense this”, this gives evidence of the totality of the blame.

Such could not apply to Abū Ṭalib. On the contrary, he restrained people from harming the Messenger of God (SAAS), and his followers, using all action, speech, moral support and money available to him.

Nevertheless, God did not decree faith for him, in all His mighty wisdom, nor did He furnish him with the clear, irrefutable and decisive proofs whereby (one) is compelled to believe and submit.
And were it not for God’s having forbidden us seeking forgiveness for disbelievers, we would certainly seek such forgiveness and mercy for him.

DIVISION

On the death of Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid and reference to some of her qualities and virtues, may God bless and please her and make the gardens of paradise her place of dwelling and repose. And He has indeed done that in a reference made by him who is truthful and believed, in which he announced her being in a home in paradise made of pearl shell where there is neither discord nor distress.

Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān said, “Abū Šāliḥ related to us, from al-Layth, who said that Uqayl related to him from Ibn Shihāb, as follows, “Urwa b. al-Zubayr said, “Khadija had died before the prayer was made obligatory.””

This was related also in another path from al-Zuhri which had him say, “Khadija died at Mecca before the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for Medina, and before the prayer was made obligatory.”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “Khadija and Abū Ṭalīb died in the same year.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “I was informed that Khadija died three days after the death of Abū Ṭalīb. It was ʿAbd Allah b. Mandah who mentioned this in his book al-Ma‘rifa (Knowledge), as did our sheikh Abū ʿAbd Allah, the ḥāfīz.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Al-Waqqāq claimed that Khadija and Abū Ṭalīb both died in the same year they came out of the enclave, that is, three years before the emigration, and also that Khadija died 35 days before the death of Abū Ṭalīb.”

My comment is that they mean before the five daily prayers were made obligatory, on the “night journey”.

It would have been more appropriate for us to make reference to the deaths of Abū Ṭalīb and Khadija before the account of the “night journey”, as al-Bayhaqi and others did. We have postponed it till after the “night journey” for a reason that you will see shortly. Discussion of this will effectively harmonize and order this section, as you will find, if God so wills it.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Qutayba related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl b. Ghazwān, from ʿUmāra, from Abū Zurʿa, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, “O Messenger of God, this is Khadija who has brought a vessel of shortening – or food and drink. When she comes to you greet her from her Lord and from me and give her news of a house in paradise made of pearl shell and where there is neither discord nor distress.””

Muslim related this from a ḥadīth transmitted from Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Musaddad related to us, from Yaḥyā, from Ismāʿil, who said, ‘I asked ʿAbd Allah b. Abū Awfā, “Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) give glad tidings to Khadija?” He replied, “Yes, of a house of pearl shell devoid of discord or distress.””
Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim, in lines from Isma‘īl b. Abū Khalīd. Al-Suhaylī stated, “He only announced good news of her having a house made of qasāb, pearl shell, in paradise, because she had won the qasāb, the first prize, (in the race) to faith. There was to be ‘no discord or distress’ there because she never raised her voice to the Prophet (SAAS), never once caused him trouble or was discordant with him, and never harmed him.”

Both scholars gave it in the ṣaḥīḥ collections, from a hadīth of Hishām b. Urwā, from his father that 'A'īsha, God bless her, said, “The only one of the wives of the Prophet (SAAS) of whom I was jealous was Khadijā – who died before he married me – and this was because of how I would hear him mention her.

“And God ordered him to announce to her the tidings of a house of pearl shell for her in paradise; and if he slaughtered a sheep he would present to her friends as much of it as they wanted.”

These are the words of al-Bukhārī.

In another version from 'A'īsha, she said, “I was never so jealous of any woman as I was of Khadijā; this was due to the frequency with which the Messenger of God (SAAS) would mention her. He married me three years after (her death). And his Lord, or Gabriel, ordered him to announce the tidings of her having a house of pearl shell in paradise.”

In another of his variant wordings, she said, “I was never so jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet (SAAS) as I was of Khadijā. I did not see her, but he talked often of her. He sometimes slaughtered a sheep then would cut off its limbs for her and send them off to Khadijā’s women friends. I would say, ‘Why, it’s as if Khadijā were the only woman in the world!’ and he would reply, ‘She was what she certainly was, and I had a son by her.’”

Then al-Bukhārī stated, “‘Ismā‘īl b. Khalīl related to us, ‘Ali b. Mushīr informed us, from Hishām b. Urwā, from his father, that ‘A‘īsha said, ‘Hālā, daughter of Khuwaylid, Khadijā’s sister, asked to come in to see the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he thought of it as Khadijā’s asking for entry; he was confused, then said, “O God, it’s Hālā!’”’

‘A‘īsha went on, “And so I was jealous and commented, ‘Why think back on some red-mouthed old woman of Quraysh who died long ago and whom God has replaced for you with someone better!’”

Muslim related this thus, from Suwayd b. Sa‘īd, from ‘Ali b. Mushīr.

This comment gives clear evidence that ‘A‘īsha was better than Khadijā, either in her personal or in her wifely qualities, for he did not contradict her or answer her back, as is obvious from the course of the account of al-Bukhārī, God bless him!

However, Imām Ahmad said, “Mu‘ammil Abū Abd al-Raḥmān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salām, from ‘Abd al-Malik – he being Ibn Umayr – from Musā b. Ṭalḥa, from ‘A‘īsha, who said, ‘One day the Messenger of God (SAAS) referred to Khadijā and began speaking excessive praise for her. I was overcome
by that jealousy that affects women and I said, “O Messenger of God, God has awarded you with better than a red-mouthed old Quraysh woman!”

His account proceeds, “The face of the Messenger of God (SAAS) underwent such a change as I only ever saw when revelation happened or when he was imagining something and not knowing whether the outcome would be mercy or punishment.”

He related it similarly on a path from Bahz b. Asad and Uthman b. Muslim, both of these giving as authorities for it Hammad b. Salama, back to ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umayr.

After the words, “red-mouthed” this last account added the phrase “who died ages ago”. And then she said, “His face then flushed in such a way as I only ever saw when revelation came or he was imagining something that might mean either mercy or punishment.”

Ahmad alone gave this version. Its chain of authorities is excellent.

Imam Ahmad also stated, and quoted Ibn Ishq as having said, “Mujalid related to us, from al-Shafi’i, from Masruq, that ‘A’isha said, ‘When the Prophet (SAAS) mentioned Khadija he would speak of her with the finest of praise. One day I got jealous and commented, “How often you refer to that old, red-mouthed woman; God has given you better than her in exchange!”

“He replied, “God has not given me better than her in exchange. She believed in me when the people disbelieved, and trusted me when they distrusted. She shared her wealth with me when others denied me. And God endowed a son to me from her, yet He withheld from me having sons with other women.”’”

Ahmad is also alone in giving this tradition. Its chain of authorities is fair. Muslim frequently gave Mujalid as a source, and he is controversial. But God knows best.

Perhaps this statement, I refer to his saying “God endowed a son to me from her yet He withheld from me having sons with other women” was before the birth of Ibrâhim, the son of the Prophet (SAAS) by Mary, and may have actually been before her arrival. This is clearly so, for all the sons of the Prophet (SAAS), as we have seen and will report hereafter, were born to Khadija, except for Ibrâhim who was born to Mary, God bless her, the Egyptian Coptic woman.

A number of scholars refer to this statement as evidence of the superiority of Khadija over ‘A’isha, God be pleased with her and make her content. Other scholars have questions about its chain of authorities.

Yet others interpret this matter as referring to ‘A’isha as having been better in intimacy. This is likely or even obvious. The reason for this is that ‘A’isha’s closeness involved her youth, beauty and the pleasure of intimacy with her. She had not implied by her words, “God has given you better than her in exchange” that she considered herself more pure and virtuous than Khadija. For this is a matter that is the prerogative of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. As He stated, “Do not attribute purity to yourselves; He knows best who is the most pious” (surat al-Najm; LIII, v.32). And God Almighty also stated, “Have you not seen
those who attribute purity to themselves? It is God who attributes purity to whomever He wishes” (ṣūrat al-Nisā'; IV, v.49).

This is an issue subject to much debate among scholars old and new. On one side of it there are those versions to which members of the Shi'a and others restrict themselves, considering no woman equal to Khadija because of the greetings made to her by the Lord and because the only sons of the Prophet (ṢAAS), except for Ibrahim, were born to her. Also they refer to the fact that he married no other woman until she died, and out of his respect for her acceptance of Islam, and for her having been of those who trusted. She has the status of having believed at the beginning of the mission and of devoting herself and her wealth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

There are also sunni, orthodox, scholars who take extreme positions and attribute to each of them special virtues, as is well-known. However, the strength of their orthodoxy leads them to prefer ʿAʾisha for having been the daughter of al-Šiddiq, Abū Bakr, “the Trusting”, and to her having been more knowledgeable than Khadija. For in no nation was there ever any woman the like of ʿAʾisha in her ability to memorize, in her knowledge, eloquence or intelligence. Moreover, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not love any of his wives as much as he did her. And affirmation of her innocence came down from above the seven heavens. And she related after he had died a great deal of excellent and highly valued knowledge of him, to such an extent that many people make reference to the well-known hadith “Take one half of your religion from al-Ḥumayrā.”

The truth is that both of them have virtues so evident as to amaze and dazzle anyone who might have witnessed them. It is therefore best to defer this matter to God almighty.

One who possesses irrefutable proof, or is inclined to one view in this regard, ought to speak on the basis of such knowledge.

Anyone who is hesitant about any such matter will find that the best and the straightest path is for him to say, “God knows best.”

Imām Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʿī related, through Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib, God bless him, who stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘The best of their women was Mary, daughter of ʿImrān, and the best of their women was Khadija, daughter of Khūwaylid.’” By this he meant the best women of their eras.

Shuʿba related, from Muḥāwiya b. Qurra, that his father Qurra b. Iyyās, God be pleased with him, stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘There have been many perfect men, but only three perfect women. These were Mary, daughter of ʿImrān, Asiyya, the wife of Pharaoh, and Khadija, daughter of

22. Apparently a nickname applied to ʿAʾisha. The word, a diminutive form, means high born, of great excellence, or fair-skinned.
Khuyaylid. The greater virtue of ‘A’isha over other women is like that of al-tharid over other foods.”

Ibn Mirdawayh related this in his *Tafsir (Exegesis)*, and this chain of authorities is good back to Shu’ba and beyond.

Scholars agree that the quality shared by these three women, Asiyya, Mary and Khadija is that each of them vouched for a prophet sent by God, gave them the best of companionship, and believed when they were given their mission.

Mary gave the most complete and full support and credence to her son when he received his mission.

Khadija wished to have the Messenger of God (SAAS) marry her and gave her wealth for that, as we have stated previously. She also had full faith in him when revelation came down to him from God, Almighty and Glorious is He.

His statement “the greater virtue of ‘A’isha over other women is like that of al-tharid over other foods” is also firmly established in both *sahih* compendia through Shu’ba, from Urwa b. Murra, from Murra al-‘ayyib al-Hamdani, from Abü Musa al-Ash‘a, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘There have been many perfect men, but of women there were only Asiyya, Pharaoh’s wife, and Mary, daughter of ‘Imran; and the greater virtue of ‘A’isha over other women is like that of al-tharid over other foods.’”

*Al-tharid* is a dish made of bread and meat mixed together. It is the finest food of the Arabs. As some poets have said:

“When bread is enriched with meat, that, by God’s good grace, is *al-tharid.*”

His statement, “The greater virtue of ‘A’isha over other women” has the implication of being comprehensive and encompasses all those women mentioned as well as others; but it may apply equally to all women, excluding (the afore-mentioned three). The discussion about her (‘A’isha’s) status as compared to those three women would then remain undecided, with the probability of there being equality among them. Anyone wanting to express a preference for one of these over the others would therefore need extrinsic proof. But God knows best.

Section: On his marriage after the death of Khadija, God bless her, to ‘A’isha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and to Sawda, daughter of Zam’a, God bless them both.

What is true is that he contracted marriage first with ‘A’isha, as will be shown.

Al-Bukhari stated in his chapter on his marriage to ‘A’isha as follows, “Mu‘alla b. Asad related to us, quoting Wuhayb, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from ‘A’isha, that the Prophet (SAAS) told her, ‘You have twice been shown to me in my sleep dressed in a silk cloth. And he (Gabriel) says, “This is your wife.” And when I uncover her, it is you! And so I say that if this be God’s will, then may He bring it about!””

23. The word refers to a culinary dish the base of which is bread to which may be added marrow, eggs, meat and spices.

‘Isma’il b. ‘Abd Allah related to us, as did his brother, from Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘A’isha, who stated, ‘I said, “O Messenger of God, do you think that if you were to go down into a valley where there was one tree whose fruit had previously been eaten from, and another that had not been eaten from, at which of them would you graze your camel?” “At the one never eaten from.” This implied that the Prophet (SAAS) married no other virgin but her.”’

Al-Bukhari alone gives this tradition.

He then stated, “Ubayd b. Isma’il related to us, that it was related to him by Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, that ‘A’isha said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, “You were shown to me in my sleep being brought in a cloth of silk by an angel who said to me, “This is your wife.” I withdrew the cloth from your face and it was you! So I said, ‘If this be God’s will, then may He bring it about!’”’

In one account the wording is, “You were shown to me three nights in my sleep.”

According to al-Tirmidhi Gabriel brought him her image in a piece of green silk and said, “This is your wife in this world and the next.”

Al-Bukhari’s text reads, “Chapter on Marriage between the Young and the Old. ‘Abd Allah b. Yusuf related to us, as did al-Layth, from Yazīd, from ‘Irāk, from ‘Urwa, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked Abū Bakr for ‘A’isha’s hand in marriage. Abū Bakr replied, ‘But I’m your brother!’ (the Prophet (SAAS)) responded, ‘You are my brother in God’s religion and His Book, and she is permitted to me.”’

The text of this tradition clearly suggests it to be mursal, incomplete, even though al-Bukhari and the authorities consider it uninterrupted. This is because it is a hadith of ‘Urwa from ‘A’isha, God bless her. This is a tradition narrated by al-Bukhari alone, God bless him.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) married ‘A’isha three years after (the death of) Khadija. At that time (of the contract) ‘A’isha had been a girl of six. When he married her she was nine. The Messenger of God (SAAS) died when ‘A’isha was a girl of eighteen.”

This tradition is considered gharib (unique in this line).

Al-Bukhari had related, from Ubayd b. Isma’il, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, who said, “Khadija died three years before the emigration of the Prophet (SAAS). He allowed a couple of years or so to pass after that, and then he contracted marriage with ‘A’isha when she was six, thereafter consummating marriage with her when she was nine years old.”

24. This is so because ‘Urwa, the narrator, is transmitting a conversation to which he was not a party, as is clear from the text. Also, he was too young to have witnessed this meeting.
What Urwa stated here is *mursal*, incomplete, as we mentioned above, but in its content it must be judged as *muttaṣil*, uninterrupted.

His statement, “He contracted marriage with ʿĀʾisha when she was six, thereafter consummating marriage with her when she was nine” is not disputed by anyone, and is well established in the *ṣahīh* collections of traditions and elsewhere.

He consummated marriage with her during the second year following the emigration to Medina.

His contracting marriage with her took place some three years after Khadija’s death, though there is disagreement over this.

The ḥāfīz Ya’qūb b. Sufyān stated, “Al-Ḥajjāj related to us, that Ḥammād related to him, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) contracted marriage with me (after) Khadija’s death and before his emigration from Mecca, when I was six or seven years old. After we arrived in Medina some women came to me while I was playing on a swing; my hair was like that of a boy. They dressed me up and put make-up on me, then took me to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he consummated our marriage. I was a girl of nine.’”

The statement here “*muttaṣafī Khadija*”, “Khadija’s death” has to mean that it was shortly thereafter. Unless, that is, the word *baʿda*, “after”, originally preceded this phrase and had been omitted from the account. The statement made by Yūnus b. Bukayr and Abī Usāma from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, is, therefore, not refuted. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Farwa b. Abī al-Maghraṣ related to us, that ʿAlī b. Mushir related to him, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, that ʿĀʾisha said, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) contracted marriage with me when I was six. We went to Medina and took up residence with the Banū al-Harith b. al-Khazraj. I fell ill and my hair was cut short so that all I had was a head of hair like a boy’s. My mother, Umm Rūmān, came to me when I was on a swing in the company of my friends. She shouted to me and so I went to her not knowing what she wanted. She took me by the hand and sat me down at the door of the house; I was panting, but settled down somewhat. Then she took some water and, having wiped my face and head, led me into the house. There I found a number of the wives of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), and they addressed me with the words, “Blessings, good health and happy news!” Then she delivered me to them and they tidied me up. To my surprise it was the Messenger of God (SAAS) who came to me that morning. They gave me over to him; at the time I was nine.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated in the *musnād* of ʿĀʾisha, “the mother of the faithful”, that “Muḥammad b. Bishr related to him, from Bishr and Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, who was told the following by Abū ʿAla Salama and Yaḥyā: ‘When Khadija died, Khawla, daughter of Ḥakīm, the wife of ʿUthmān b. Mazʿūn, came and said, “O
Messenger of God, wouldn’t you like to get married?” He replied, “To whom?”

“My Lord,” he said, “to either a virgin or to someone previously married, as you wish.”

“‘And who would the virgin be?’ He asked. She replied, “That creation of God you enjoy above all others, ‘A’isha, daughter of Abü Bakr!”

“‘And who would the previously married woman be?’ he asked. “Sawda, daughter of Zam‘a,” she answered. “She has expressed belief in you and has become your follower.”

“‘You may go,” he told her, “and make mention of me to them.”

“She entered Abü Bakr’s house and said to his wife, “Umm Rūmān, what goodness and blessings God brings you!” “How do you mean?” she enquired.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask to become engaged to ‘A’isha!”

“‘See Abü Bakr when he comes in,” she replied.

“Abü Bakr did come and Khawlā said, “O Abü Bakr, what goodness and blessings God brings you!”

“‘How so?’ he asked.

“‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask to become engaged to ‘A’isha!”

“‘And would she be proper for him? After all, she is his brother’s daughter,” he responded.

“So I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him that and he replied, “Go back and tell him ‘I am your brother, and you are mine, in Islam. Your daughter would be proper for me.’”

“So I went back and told him this, and he replied, “Wait” and left. Umm Rūmān told me, “Mu‘tām b. ‘Adi has asked for her in marriage to his son; and, I swear, Abü Bakr never before broke an agreement he had made.”

“Abü Bakr went in to see Mu‘tām b. ‘Adi who had his wife, Umm al-Sabī, with him. She commented, “Well, son of Abü Quhāfa, are you perhaps having our friend change his religion and join yours if he gets married into your family?”

Abü Bakr asked Mu‘tām b. ‘Adi, “Is this how you respond?” He replied, “It’s she who said that.”

“And so Abü Bakr left, God having relieved him of the promise he had made to Mu‘tām. He returned home and told Khawlā, “Call for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to come to me.” She did so and he agreed to her marriage to him, ‘A’isha at that time being six years old.

“Khawlā then left and went in to see Sawda, daughter of Zam‘a, saying, “What goodness and blessings God brings you!” “How do you mean?” she asked. “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has sent me to ask you to marry him!” “I would like that,” she replied. “Go in and tell Abü Bakr of that.”

“He was an elderly man, too old to have gone on the pilgrimage, so she went in to him and gave him the salutation used before the coming of Islam. “Who is that?” he asked. “The Messenger of God” (ṢAAS) she told him, “has sent me to arrange his marriage with Sawda.” “A fine match! What does your lady say?” he
responded. "She would like that," she replied. "Well, call her in to me," he told her. She did so and Abū Bakr said to Sawda, "My child, this woman claims that Muhammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, has sent asking to become engaged to you. It’s a fine match. Would you have me marry you to him?" "Yes, I would," she replied. "Then call for him," he said.

"And when the Messenger of God (S.A.W) came, he did marry him to her.

"Her brother ‘Abd b. Zam'ā then returned from the pilgrimage, his head covered with dirt. After greetings, he commented, "By your life, what a fool I am! The same day I cover my head with dirt the Messenger of God (S.A.S) marries Sawda, daughter of Zam'ā!"

"'A'isha stated, "We moved to Medina and took up residence among the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj in al-Sunḥ. The Messenger of God (S.A.S) came into our house where he had a meeting with some of the men and women of the anṣār,27 'the Helpers'. My mother came to me while I was on a swing, going to and fro between two date-palms. She took me down from the swing; my hair was short like a boy's and she parted it, washed my face with some water and then led me over to the door. I was out of breath and (stopped) there until I became calmer. Then she took me in and there was the Messenger of God (S.A.S) seated on a bed inside our house, in the company of a group of the anṣār, both men and women. She sat me down in his lap and said, 'These are your family; may God bless you by them and they by you.' The men and women then jumped up and left. The Messenger of God (S.A.S) consummated our marriage there in our house; no camels or sheep were slaughtered for me. Eventually Sa'd b. ‘Ubād sent us a bowl of food such as he would provide whenever the Messenger of God (S.A.S) was visiting his wives. At that time, I was nine.'"

This account, though seemingly incomplete is to be considered comprehensive.

This is an account of the same circumstances related by al-Bayhaqī through Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, as follows, "‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs al-Azdi related to us, from Muhammad b. ‘Amr, from Yahyā b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥāṭib who reported, ‘A’isha said, 'When Khadija died Khawlā, daughter of Ḥākim, came and said, 'O Messenger of God, would you like to be married?' 'To whom?' he enquired. 'It could, if you wish, be to a virgin or to a woman previously married,' she replied. 'Which virgin, and which previously married woman?' he asked. 'The virgin could be the daughter of that creation of God whom you love best; the previously married woman would be Sawda, daughter of Zam‘ā. She has expressed belief in you and become your follower.' 'Make mention of me to them,' he told her.'"

The account hereafter relates the hadith essentially as above.

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26. Apparently placing dirt on the head was part of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage ritual in which he had engaged.

27. This refers to the people of Yathrib (later Medina) who accepted Islam and assisted the Muslim migrants from Mecca.
This tradition firmly establishes that his betrothal to 'A'isha preceded his marriage to Sawda, daughter of Zam'a.

However, he did consummate marriage with Sawda in Mecca, whereas that with 'A'isha was postponed until Medina, in the second year (after the hegira) as indicated above and hereafter.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Aswad related to us, that it was related to him from Shurayk, from Hishām, from his father, from 'A'isha, who said, ‘When Sawda grew old and she gave to me the day assigned to her, the Messenger of God (SAAS) shared the day given to me (by her) with his other wives. She was the first woman with whom he contracted marriage after myself.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Abū al-Nadr related to us, quoting ‘Abd al-Ḥamid, Shahr and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) became engaged to a woman from his people whose name was Sawda; she was a woman with many children, having some five or six from her husband who had died. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked her, ‘Is there something holding you back from me?’ She replied, ‘O Prophet of God, nothing prevents you from being the most beloved of mankind to me. But I would do you honour by preventing these boys from being at your head morning and night!’

‘Does anything else keep you from me?’ he asked. ‘No, I swear,’ she replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told her, ‘God have mercy on you! The best of women ride on old camels; isn’t that appropriate? The women of Quraysh are kind to a boy when young and they also take care of their husband however they can!’”

I observe that her husband before him was al-Sakrān b. ‘Amr, brother of Suhayl b. ‘Amr. He had accepted Islam and gone into exile to Abyssinia, as we reported before. He had then returned to Mecca and died there before the emigration, God be pleased with him!

All these accounts indicate that the marriage contract with 'A'isha was prior to that with Sawda, this being the statement of ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Uqayl. Yūnus also related this from al-Zuhri.

Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr preferred the contract with Sawda to have preceded that with ‘A’isha; he related this from Qatāda and Abū Ubayd.

He stated, “Uqayl related it from al-Zuhri.”

DIVISION

Reference has previously been given to the death of Abū Ṭalib, the uncle of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and to his having been a supporter and defender of his, with all the moral, financial, verbal and practical help he could give.

When he died, foolish men of Quraysh were emboldened and engaged in such actions against him that they had not previously been able to undertake.

As al-Bayhaqi reported from al-Ḥakīm, from al-Aṣamm: ‘Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Sanʿānī related to us, from Yūsuf b. Bahlūl, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs,
from Muhammad b. Ishaq, from someone else who told him, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from Abd Allah b. Jafar, who said, 'When Abū Talib died, a foolish fellow of Quraysh stood in the way of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and threw dirt at him. He, the Messenger of God (SAAS), then returned home and one of his daughters came and wiped the dirt from his face, weeping. He told her, "Don’t cry, daughter; God will protect your father."'

He is supposed to have said during this conversation that Quraysh did not engage in any reprehensible actions against him until the death of Abū Taib, at which point they began (to harass him).

Ziyād al-Bakāʾī related this from Muhammad b. Ishaq, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, with an incomplete chain of authorities. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqi also related, from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-Āṣamm, from Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Quraysh remained cowards until Abū Taib died."

He then related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-Āṣamm, from 'Abbas al-Dūri, from Yahyā b. Maṭīn, who said, "We were related by 'Uqba al-Majdār, from Hishām b. 'Urwa, from his father, from ʿAisha, that the Prophet (SAAS) said, "Quraysh remained cowards until Abū Taib died."

The ḥāfiz Abū al-Faraj b. al-Jawzī related with a chain of authorities from Thaʿlabā b. Ṣuqayr and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizam who both said, "When Abū Taib and Khadija died, five days apart, he suffered two tragedies together. He kept to his house and rarely went out. Quraysh treated him worse than they would have ever intended before.

"News of this reached Abū Lahab, who came to him and said, ‘O Muḥammad, pass on freely as you want. Do whatever you did when Abū Taib was alive. No, by al-Lat, I swear no harm will befall you before I die.'"

"Ibn al-Ghaymla insulted the Messenger of God (SAAS), and so Abū Lahab went to him and punished him and he went off yelling, ‘O tribe of Quraysh, Abū 'Utha has become a Ṣabīan!’ Quraysh men then came and stood before Abū Lahab. He told them, ‘I have not left the faith of 'Abd al-Muttalib. But I will prevent my nephew from being harmed and ensure his own freedom of action.’

"They commented, ‘You have done well and right, and maintained your family ties.’

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) thereafter spent a period of some days coming and going without interference from Quraysh who respected Abū Lahab. But eventually 'Uqba b. Abū Muʿayṭ and Abū Jahl went to Abū Lahab and asked him, ‘Has your nephew told you where your father has been sent?’

"Abū Lahab then asked him, ‘Muḥammad, where has Abū al-Muṭṭalib been sent?’

"He replied, ‘With his people.’ So Abū Lahab went out to 'Uqba and Abū Jahl and told them, ‘I did ask him. And he replied, ‘With his people.’"
"The two men commented, 'Well, he's claiming that he is in hell-fire then!'
"Abū Lahab then asked him, 'Muḥammad, is Ābd al-Muṭṭalib in the fire?'
"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'Whoever dies in the state Ābd al-Muṭṭalib was in does go into hell-fire."
"Abū Lahab – God curse him – then announced, 'By God, I shall always be your enemy for your claiming that Ābd al-Muṭṭalib is in the fire!'
"At that Abū Lahab and the rest of Quraysh intensified their attacks upon him."

Ibn Isḥaq stated, "The group of men who used to harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his house were Abū Lahab, al-Ḥakam b. Ābū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya, ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayy, Adī b. al-Ḥamrāʾ, and Ibn al-ʿAṣdāʾ al-Huḍhali."
"These were neighbours of his; the only one of them to ever accept Islam was al-Ḥakam b. Ābū al-ʿĀṣ.
"It is said that one of them would throw a sheep’s uterus over him while he was praying, or toss it into his cooking pot if set up for him. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would take a position near a wall when praying and when they threw some such thing at him he would carry it outside on a stick, stand at his door and say, ‘O Banū Ābd Manāf, what kind of neighbourliness is this?’ Then he would toss it out into the street."

My own view is that most of the matter being related here occurred after the death of Abū Talib. Though God knows best. It is certainly very appropriate to mention them here. These incidents included the throwing of a camel’s placenta over his shoulders while he prayed, as Ibn Masʿūd related, and of Faṭima’s having come and removed it from him and having gone off and reviled them; when he had finished praying, he said prayers against seven of them. A similar incident was the account of Ābd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ of their having severely throttled him until Abū Bakr intervened, saying, "Would you murder a man merely for saying God is my Lord?" And there is the case of the intent of Abī Jahl, God damn him, to tread on his neck while he prayed, and of this being prevented.

Section: On his departure to the people of Ṭāʾīf to call them to Almighty God, and to come to the aid of His faith; how they refused him this and he returned to Mecca.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, "When Abū Ṭālib died, Quraysh treated the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worse than had ever been the case during the life of his uncle Abū Ṭālib.
"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Ṭāʾīf seeking help from Thaqīf and their protection from his people. He hoped they would accept the message he brought them from God Almighty.
"He went to them alone.
"Yazīd b. Abī Ziyād related to me, from Muḥammad b. Kašf al-Kuرا立志, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Ṭāʾīf, he made for a group of Thaqīf, their leaders and nobles, who were three brothers. They were Ābd
Yālīl, Mas'ūd and Ḥabīb, all sons of ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr b. ʿAwf b. ʿUqda b. ʿAwf b. Thaqīf. One of these was married to a Quraysh woman of the Banū Jumāh.

"He sat with them and invited them to God, asked them to help Islam and himself against those of his people who were opposing him. One of them replied, "He would tear off the covering of the kāʿba if it were God who had sent you!" Another said, "Did not God have anyone but you to send?" The third commented, "By God, I will never speak to you. If you were a messenger from God, as you claim, you are far too important for me to argue with, and if you are lying against God, then it would certainly not be appropriate that I talk to you."

"And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) arose and left them, despairing of any good from Thaqīf. I have been told that he had asked them, "Since you have so behaved, at least keep it secret for me." The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not want his people to hear about this, since it would have encouraged them to oppose him.

"However, they did not agree, and incited their fools and slaves to revile him and to shout out after him. A crowd gathered against him and forced him to seek refuge in a garden belonging to Wtba b. Rabiʿa and Shayba b. Rabiʿa, they both being there at the time. The Thaqīf fools who had been following him then withdrew.

"He made for the shade of a grape vine, where he sat down, while the two sons of Rabiʿa watched him, having seen his ill-treatment by the Thaqīf fools.

"As I have been told, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had met the woman from the Banū Jumāh and had told her, "Well, how is it we've been so treated by your husband's family?"

"When he felt secure, as I have been told, he spoke the prayer, "O God, I complain to You about my weakness and inadequacy before the people. O You, most Merciful of all, You who are Lord of the oppressed, You who are my Lord, to whom would You entrust me, to those far away who greet me with displeasure, or to some enemy to whom You entrust me? As long as You are not angry with me, I will not care, but I would prefer your favour.

"I take refuge with the light of Your face that brightens the shadows, repairs the troubles of this world and the hereafter, ensuring that Your anger or discontent not alight upon me. May You be content and be pleased; all power and strength stem from You."

"When Rabiʿa's two sons Utba and Shayba saw what had happened to him, they felt compassion for him. They summoned a Christian servant they had called ʿAddās and told him, "Take a cluster of grapes, place it on a plate, then go over to that man and tell him to eat it."

"ʿAddās did this; he placed it before the Messenger of God (SAAS), and told him to eat.

"As the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed his hand upon it, he spoke the words, "In the name of God" then he ate. ʿAddās looked into his face and said,
"By God, people of this land do not say these words." The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, "Where are you from, 'Addas, and what is your religion?"

He replied, "I am a Christian, and I come from Nineveh."

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, "You mean from the village of that pious man Jonah, son of Amittai?"

"'Addas asked, "How do you know of Jonah, son of Amittai?"

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, "That man was my brother; he was a prophet and I am a prophet."

"'Addas bent low over the Messenger of God (SAAS), kissing his head, hands and feet.

"The two sons of Rabī’a said to one another, "He's already corrupted our servant!"

"When 'Addas came back to them, they commented, "What was wrong with you, 'Addas? Why did you kiss the head, hands and feet of that man?"

""On all earth there is none finer than this man; he has told me of something that no one but a prophet could know," he told them.

""Be careful," they warned him, "you don't let him turn you from your faith. Your religion is better than his."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba related this similarly but did not include the prayer and added the words, "The people of Ta'if positioned themselves in two lines along his path and as he passed by every time he raised and put down a foot they threw stones at it until his feet began to bleed. His feet streaming with blood, he withdrew and made his way beneath the shade of a palm tree, completely overcome. In that garden were 'Utba and Shayba, the two sons of Rabī’a. He disliked being at their place because of their enmity towards God and His Messenger."

Mūsā then related the story of 'Addas the Christian much as above.

Imām Ahmad recounted from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba as follows, "Marwān b. Mu‘āwiyah al-Fazārī related to us, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Tāfīfī, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khalid b. Abū Jabal al-Adwānī, from his father, that he saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the winter quarters of Thaqif standing on a staff or a bow, having gone to them seeking their help. The source said, 'I heard him say, "By the heavens and he who comes by night" (sūrat al-Ṭārīq, LXXVI, v.1) up to its end.'"

He went on, "So I became aware of it in the jahiliyya, before Islam, while I was a polytheist, then I recited it after accepting Islam.

"Thaqif summoned me and asked, 'What did you hear from that man?' so I recited it to them. One of the Quraysh men there with Thaqif said, 'We are very well acquainted with him; if we knew that what he says is true, we would follow him.'"

It is established in both Sahih collections, through ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb, who said, "I was told by Yūnus b. Yazīd from Ibn Shihab, who told him, 'It was related to me by ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr that ‘Aisha related to him that she said to
the Messenger of God (SAAS), "Has any day been harder on you than that of the battle of Uhud?"

"He replied, "The worst I suffered from your people was the day of al-'aqaba, when I presented myself to Ibn 'Abdu Yail b. 'Abd Kalāl, and he refused my request to him. I wandered off, dazed and depressed, and only came to myself at Qarn al-Thā'ālib. I raised my head and there above me was a cloud. Looking up, I saw Gabriel in it, and he called out to me, saying, 'God has heard what your people said to you, and how they rejected you. He has sent to you the angel of the mountain for you to order him to do with them whatever you like.'"

"'Then the angel of the mountain called out to me in greeting and said, 'O Muḥammad, God has sent me. God has heard what your people said to you. I am the angel of the mountain; your Lord has sent me to you to order me to do whatever you wish. If you wish, you can bring down the two mountains the Akhshabayn upon them.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'I hope that God will bring forth from their loins those who will worship God and associate no other god or person with Him.'"

**DIVISION**

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq told how the jinn, the spirits, overheard the recitation made by the Messenger of God (SAAS) upon his return from Ta'if when he spent the night at Nakhla and said the morning prayer with his Companions. The jinn who had been dispatched to him heard his reciting there.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "They were seven in number. Concerning them God Almighty revealed His words, 'And when We dispatched towards you a group of jinn'" (sūrat al-Aḥqāf, XLVI, v.29).

My own comment is that we spoke about this in detail in the Tafsīr (Exegesis), and included some material relating to it above. But God knows best.

Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca on his return from Ta'if and came under the protection of al-Muṭṣim b. 'Adi. His people increased their anger and antagonism towards him and became ever bolder in their opposition. God is the one from whom to seek help, and reliance must be upon Him.

In his work on the maghāzī, the early military engagements, al-Umawi related that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Urayqīt to al-Akhnas b. Sharīf and asked him to give him protection in Mecca. But he replied, 'An ally of Quraysh cannot give protection for one of their own.'

"He then sent to Suhayl b. 'Amr to give him protection, and he responded, 'The Banū 'Āmir b. Lu'ayy cannot give protection against those of the Banū Ka'b b. Lu'ayy.'"

"He then sent him to al-Muṭṣim b. 'Adi for his protection, who agreed, saying, 'Yes; tell him to come.'

"And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) did go to him and spent that night with him. When morning came, he and his six or seven sons, all wearing swords,
went out with the Messenger of God (SAAS). They entered the mosque and told the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘Make your circumambulations.’ And they sat, with their legs drawn up over their belted swords in the mataf, the space around the ka'ba for the circumambulations.

"Abū Sufyān came over to Muṭṭim and asked him, ‘Are you giving protection or are you a follower?’

‘He replied, ‘No, I’m just protecting.’

‘Then you’ll not be watched,’ Abū Sufyān told him.

‘He then sat with him until the Messenger of God (SAAS) had finished his circuits, and when he left al-Muṭṭim and his men went with him. Then Abū Sufyān went off to his seat.’

The account went on, "This continued for a few days, then he was given permission to make the hijra, to leave for Medina.

"Shortly after the Messenger of God (SAAS) had left Mecca for Medina, al-Muṭṭim b. ‘Adi died. Hassān b. Thābit said, ‘By God, I shall certainly eulogize him!’ And part of what he spoke were the following verses:

‘If honour could today render any one person everlasting, his honour would today select Muṭṭim.

You protected the Messenger of God from them and they became your slaves for as long as pilgrims don the ihram and shout “labbayka”.

If all Ma‘add, Qaḥṭān or all the rest of Jurhum were asked about him,

They would say, “He fulfils defence of his neighbour and protects if he takes on a difficult duty,”

The shining sun above them does not look down on his like among them, one greater or more noble.

Resolute if refusing, but kind by nature, sleeping well even if the night is dark and he protecting another.”

I observe that this is why the Prophet (SAAS) said, on the day the prisoners were taken at Badr, “If al-Muṭṭim b. ‘Adi were alive now and asked me about these stinking people, I would have given them over to him.”

Section: On the call of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to the Arab tribes during the pilgrimage seasons to help and support him against those persecuting and denying him. None of them agreed, since God Almighty had reserved that great honour to the ansār (the “ Helpers” or “Partisans”) of Medina, may God be pleased with them.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned to Mecca, where his people were even more antagonistic to him and his religion than before, except for a few persons of no power who did believe.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) would present himself at the fairs when they were held, addressing the Arab tribes and inviting them to God, Almighty
and Glorious is He. He would tell them that he was a prophet who had been
given a mission, and would ask for their belief and their protection so that he
could explain what God had entrusted to him.”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “One of our fellow scholars, a man in whom I trust,
related the following to me, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Rabī‘a b. Ḥibād al-Du‘ālī,
and another person from whom Ḥabīb Zinād had narrated. I was also related this
by Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḫubayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, who said, ‘I heard Rabī‘a b.
Ḥibād being addressed by my father who said, ‘I was once, when a young lad,
with my father at Minā when the Messenger of God (SAAS) would stop at the
camps of the Arab tribes and say to them, ‘I am the Messenger of God to you. I
tell you to worship God and to associate no other with Him and to abandon those
others you revere; and you should have faith and belief in me and protect me so
that I make evident that with which God sent me.’”

“Behind him stood a squint-eyed, neatly dressed man, his hair in two braids
and wearing a cloak from Aden. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had finished
his prayer and address, that man would say to the tribe, “This man is only trying
to get you to strip al-Lat and al-Uzza off your necks, along with your allies the juin
of the Banū Malik b. Uqaysh in favour of the wrongful innovation he himself
brings. Do not obey him and do not listen to him.”

“I asked my father, “Who is that man who follows behind him and contra-
dicts what he says?”

“He replied, “That is his uncle, ʿAbd al-Uzza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Abū 
Lahab.””

Imām Ahmad recounted this hadith from Ibrahim b. Abū al-ʿAbbās saying,
“The man named Rabī‘a b. Ḥibād of the Banū al-Dil informed me – he having been a
polytheist before Islam who converted – as follows, “I saw the Messenger of God
(SAAS) in the market of Dhū al-Majāz in the period before Islam was accepted;
he was saying, ‘O people, say, L’T there is no god but God” and you will prosper.’
As people gathered around him there was one man with a handsome face, squint-
eyed and wearing two plaits who would say, ‘He’s a ʿSabian, a liar.’ And he would
follow behind him wherever he went. I asked about him and was told he was his
uncle Abū Lahab.””

Al-Bayhaqi related this, through Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, from
Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Muḥammad b. al-Munḳādir, from Rabī‘a al-Dīlī, as
follows, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the market of Dhū al-Majāz
following people into their homes and inviting them to God. Behind him came
a squint-eyed man with flaming-red cheeks who was saying, ‘Do not let this man
lead you astray from your religion and that of your forefathers.’ I asked who he
was, and I was told that this was Abū Lahab.”

Abū Nuʿaym related this similarly in the Dalāʾil (The Signs), through Ibn Abū 
Dhiʿb b. ʿAdī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Salāmā, both of them relating a similar
account from Muḥammad b. al-Munḳādir.
Al-Bayhaqi also related it through Shu'ba, from al-Ash'ath b. Salīm, from a man of Kināna, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the market of Dhī al-Majāz and he was saying, ‘O people, say, “There is no god but God” and you will prosper.’ And there was a man behind him tossing dirt at him. This was Abū Jahl and he was saying, ‘O people, do not let this man lead you astray from your religion. He only wants you to give up worship of al-Lāt and al-‘Uzza.’”

According to this account, these were words of Abū Jahl. This supposition might be illusory or it might sometimes have been Abū Jahl and sometimes the other, Abū Lahab. They might have taken turns in doing such harm to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Ibn Ishaq wrote, “Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the tribe of Kinda, visiting them in their homes, including one of their leaders named Mūlayḥ. He invited them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and offered himself to them, but they refused him.”

Ibn Ishaq said, “Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the Banū Kalb in their homes in a valley of theirs where they were called the Banū ‘Abd Allāh. He called them to the path of God and offered himself to them, saying, ‘O Banū ‘Abd Allāh, God named well indeed your forefather ‘Ahd Allāh’ (i.e. ‘the slave or servant of God’). But they could not accept from him what he proposed to them.

“Some of our friends related to me, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Malik that the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the Banū Ḥanīfah in their homes, called them to the path of God and offered himself to them. None of the Arabs gave him so rude a rejection as they did.

“Al-Zuhri related to me that he went to the Banū ‘Amir b. Sā'āda and called them to the path of God, offering himself to them. One of their men, named Bayḥara b. Fīrās, replied to him, ‘I swear, if I were to have this brave man of Quraysh, I could eat up the Arabs with him.’ He then said to him, ‘If we were to follow your orders and then God gave you victory against those opposing you, would we have power after you were gone?’

“He replied, ‘God controls power and places it where He wishes.’

“Bayḥara commented in reply, ‘Are we to present our throats to the Arabs in your defence and then, if God gave you victory, see power go elsewhere than to us? We’ll have nothing to do with you!’ And so they refused him.

“When the people there dispersed, the Banū ‘Amir returned to a sheikh of theirs who, being elderly, was unable to attend the fairs with them. When they returned home they would tell him what had occurred at the fair. That year on their return he asked them who had been at the fair. They told him, ‘A man of Quraysh, of the family of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, came to us claiming to be a prophet and he asked us to defend him and aid him and take him back to our territory.’
"The old man put his hand to his head and said, 'Could your mistake be put right? Can its consequences be reversed? I swear no descendant of Ishmael ever made such a claim falsely. It has to be true. Where did your good judgement go?'

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, quoting al-Zuhri, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) would for the period of those years, present himself to the Arab tribes at each fair, speaking with each tribal leader but asking them only for their protection and support. He would say, 'I don't wish to force any one of you to do anything. Any of you who agree to what I ask may do so, but I would not compel anyone not so wishing. All I want is to guard myself against those wanting to kill me, so that I may fulfil my Lord's mission and carry out whatever decree He wishes regarding myself and those who support me.' But not one of them accepted him. Every one of those tribes reached the following conclusion: 'The man's own tribe knew him best; how could we accept as suitable for us someone who has subverted his tribe and whom they have expelled.'

"This rejection too was due to the honour God had in store for the anṣār (the 'Helpers') of Medina."

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Nu'aym related through 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ajlāh and Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Umawi, who both took their information from Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbi, from Abū Sālih, from Ibn 'Abbās, from 'Abbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, 'I don't consider myself receiving protection from you or from your brother. Would you take me to the market tomorrow for us to stay in the homes of some of the tribespeople?' It was the time for the gathering of the Arab tribes.

"He (the Prophet (SAAS)) went on, 'These are Kinda and those who mix with them. They are the best of those from Yemen who make the pilgrimage. Those are the homes of Bakr b. Wā'il; those belong to the Banū 'Amir b. Sa'ārā. Choose for yourself.'"

'Abbas continued "He began with Kinda, asking them, 'From whom are you?' 'From Yemen,' they replied. 'From which tribe?' he asked. 'From Kinda.' 'From which sub-tribe?' he next enquired. 'From the Banū 'Amr b. Mu'awiya,' they told him.

"Would you like to achieve good?"

"How would that be?" they asked.

"You would bear witness that there is no god but God, and would engage in prayer and believe in God's message.'"

'Abd Allāh b. al-Ajlāh quoted his father as having said, on the authority of the elders of his people, that Kinda replied to him (the Prophet (SAAS)), "If you are successful, will you grant us power after yourself?"

The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, "Power rests with God; He places it where He wishes."

They responded, "We don't need what you bring."
Al-Kalbi went on to state, “And they (Kinda) said, ‘have you come to us to keep us from our gods and have us go to war with the Arabs? Remain with your people. We have no need of you!’

“He then left them and went to Bakr b. Wā'il. He asked, ‘Who are these people?’ ‘They are part of Bakr b. Wā'il.’ ‘From which sub-tribe?’ he asked. He was told, ‘From the Banū Qays b. Tha'labā.’

‘How many are they?’ he asked.

‘Very numerous,’ he was told.

‘How would their protection be?’ he asked.

‘They replied, ‘We border on Persia; we have no protection from them or for them.’

“He told them, ‘Grant God custody over yourselves and He will keep you safe until you descend upon their homes, marry their women and enslave their children. Then give praise to God three and thirty times, then give thanks to Him three and thirty times, and say He is most great four and thirty times.’

‘Who are you?’ they asked.

‘I am the Messenger of God,’ he replied. Then he left.

“When he had left,” al-Kalbi said, “his uncle Abī Lahab had been following him and telling people, ‘Do not accept what he says.’ When he passed by them, they asked, ‘Do you know this man?’ He replied, ‘Yes, he’s from our élite. What about him makes you ask?’ They told him what he had offered them, saying, ‘He claims to be the Messenger of God.’ Abū Lahab commented, ‘Take no account of whatever he says. He’s crazy, and talks off the top of his head.’

‘We saw that,’ they commented, ‘when he spoke as he did about Persia!’”

Al-Kalbi stated, “'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Āmirī told me that elders of his tribe said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to us when we were at the ‘Ukaz fair. He asked, ‘From whom are these people?’ We replied, ‘From the Banū ‘Amir b. Sa'āda.’ ‘From which sub-tribe?’ he asked.

‘We responded, ‘From the Banū Ka'b b. Rabī’a.’

‘He asked, ‘How would protection be with you?’

‘We replied, ‘The best imaginable; we are invincible.’

‘He stated to them, ‘I am the Messenger of God, and I am coming to you to protect me until I fulfil the mission of my Lord. I would not force any of you to anything.’

‘They asked him, ‘From which part of Quraysh are you?’

‘‘From the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib,’ he replied.

‘‘What are your relations with the 'Abd Manāf?’ they asked.

‘‘They were the first to deny and to drive me away,’ he told them.

‘‘Well, we will neither drive you away nor believe in you; but we will protect you until you fulfil your Lord’s mission.’

‘So he took residence with them while they were attending the fair. And then Bayhara b. Firāsh al-Qushayri came to them and said, ‘Who is this man I now see with you; I don’t know him?’
"‘He is Muhammad, son of ‘Abd Allâh, of Quraysh,” they replied.

‘And what do you have to do with him?” he asked.

‘He claims to be the Messenger of God and he has asked us to protect him until he fulfils his Lord’s mission,” they replied.

‘And how did you respond?” he enquired.

‘We made him very welcome,” they told him. “We said we would take him to our own territory and protect him as we do ourselves.”

Bayhara commented, “I know of no one at this fair going back home with anything worse than you are. You have begun a policy that will alienate people; the Arabs will attack you in unison. His people know him very well; if they had perceived good in him, they would have been most delighted with him. Will you support a man cast out and denied by his own people and give him shelter and aid? Your policy is dreadful.”

‘He then approached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and told him, “Get up and join your people. I swear if you weren’t here among my kin, I would strike you down!”

‘And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) got up and mounted his camel. That evil man Bayhara then prodded the mount in its flank and it darted away with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and threw him.

‘With the Banû ʿAmir on that day was .DAO, daughter of ʿAmir b. Qarat; she was one of the women who had accepted Islam with the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Mecca. She had come on a visit to the Banû ʿAmir. She spoke out, “O people of ʿAmir, you’re not ṣâmir (i.e. civilized, cultured) to me! Could this really happen to the Messenger of God, right here among you without any one of you protecting him?”

‘Three of her relatives then attacked Bayhara, while two assisted him. Each man fought with another, her supporters beating the others to the ground, sitting on their chests and slapping their faces.

‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spoke, “May God bless these men and damn the others!”

‘The three who had aided him later embraced Islam and died as martyrs in battle. These were Ghaṭṭf and Ghaṭṭān, two sons of Sahl and ʿUrwa – or ʿUdhra – b. ʿAbd Allah b. Salama. God be pleased with them.”

The haʃīr Saʿd b. Yahya b. Saʿd al-Umawi related this hadīth from his father in its entirety in his book of the maghāzi, the military campaigns.

The other men all perished. These were Bayhara b. Firs, Hazn b. ‘Abd Allâh b. Salama b. Quṣṣayr and Muʿāwiya b. Abbâda, one of the Banû Uqayl, may God damn them utterly.

This is a curious tale; we give it here for its strangeness. But God knows best.

Abû Nuʿaym related a similar account, from a hadīth of Kaʿb b. Malik, God bless him, relating to the story of ʿAmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa and the rudeness of their reply to him.
Even stranger and lengthier than that was what Aba Nu'aym, al-Hakim and al-Bayhaqi related; the text was given by Aba Nu'aym, may God be pleased with them all. It comes from a *hadith* of Aban b. 'Abd Allah al-Bajali, from Aban b. Taghlib, from Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbás, who quoted 'Ali b. Abū Ta'lib as having said, “When God ordered His Messenger to present himself to the tribes of the Arabs, he left, along with myself and Abū Bakr, for Minā. There we were present at a *majlis*, a reception, given by the Arabs.

“Abū Bakr, God bless him, went forward and made his greetings. He was in the very vanguard of good, and an expert in genealogy. He asked, ‘From whom do you people come?’ ‘From Rabī‘a,’ came their reply.

‘From which Rabī‘a are you, from its mainstream or from a branch?’

‘From its greatest mainstream.’

‘Abū Bakr asked them, ‘Is ‘Awf of you, of whom it was said, “There is no *harr*, no heat, in the ‘Awf valley?”’

‘No,’ they told him.

‘Do Bīṣām b. Qays Abū al-Liwa‘ and Muntahā al-‘Ayā‘ belong to your tribe?’

‘No,’ they replied.

‘Is al-Ḥawāfazān b. Shurayk, the killer of kings and robber of their souls, a kinsman of yours?’

‘No,’ they replied.

‘Is Jassās b. Murra b. Dhuhl, the protector of honour and defender of the neighbour, from you?’

‘No,’ they said.

‘Is al-Muzdalif, he of the unique turban, from you?’

‘No,’ they replied.

‘Are you related to the kings of Kinda?’ he asked.

‘No,’ they replied.

‘Are you related to the kings of Lakhm?’ he asked.

‘No,’ they replied.

‘Abū Bakr, God bless him, then commented, ‘So you’re not from its mainstream, but from a branch.’

‘At that a youth named Daghfal b. Ḥanzala al-Dhuhlt, his beard beginning to sprout, jumped up and grabbed the bridle of Abū Bakr’s camel, reciting, ‘Those who ask of us will be asked of; as for the burden (of proof) we neither know it nor bear it (as a responsibility).’

‘He also commented, ‘Hey, you, you asked and we replied, hiding nothing from you. We want to ask you something; who are you?’

‘He replied, ‘A man of Quraysh.’

‘The youth commented, ‘Well said! You are a people of leadership and power, the vanguard and guide of the Arabs. What part of Quraysh?’

‘He replied, ‘I’m of the Banū Taym b. Murra.’

‘The youth asked again, ‘So you shot the bowman right through his mouth! Is Quṣayy b. Kilāb, he who killed at Mecca those trying to conquer it, a kinsman
of yours? That man, Quṣayy, who drove the rest of them away and brought in his own people from all over and settled them in Mecca, took over the temple and set Quraysh in the dwellings? The man who was therefore known as "the unifier", and about whom a poet spoke the verse,

"Was it not your father who was called 'the unifier',

by whom God brought together the tribes of Fihr?"

"Abū Bakr replied, 'No.'

"'Were not 'Abd Manāf, the ultimate giver of advice, and Abū al-Ghaṭārīf, the great leader, of your stock?"

"Abū Bakr replied, 'No.'

"'And 'Amr b. 'Abd Manāf Ḥashim, who prepared bread and meat into the dish al-tharīd for his people and all of Mecca, was he not of you? The one of whom the poet said,

"'Amr al-Ūlā prepared the al-tharīd for his people,

while the men of Mecca were destitute and under famine,

To him they attribute both the journeys, that of the winter and that of the summer,

Quraysh were as an egg which when split open came to have its best part, its yoke, as the 'Abd Manāf.

(They are) the wealthy, as is no other known, and they are those who say 'come on in' to the guests.

They are those who strike down pure-white sheep, those who protect the innocent with their swords.

How fine for you, if you stay at their abode; they will protect you from all ills and accusations.'"

"'No,' responded Abū Bakr.

"'Then,' the youth continued, 'you must be related to 'Abd al-Muṭib, that venerable man of much praise, controller of the Mecca caravan, and feeder of the birds of the skies and the wild beasts, of the lions in the desert, he whose face shines forth like a moon on a dark night?"

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Then you must be of those who have the privilege of the ifāda? (The signalling to the pilgrims to move from Arafāt to Minā.)"

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Perhaps of those who have the privilege of the hijāba? (The guardianship of the holy places.)"

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Then those with the privilege of the nadwa? (Making an address to the pilgrims.)"

"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Then you must be of those who have the privilege of the siqāya? (The provision of drink for the pilgrims.)"
"'No,' said Abū Bakr.

"'Are you then of those with the privilege of providing the riḍāda?' (The provisioning of the pilgrims.)

"'No,' replied Abū Bakr.

"'Are you then of those who give bounteous aid?'

"'No,' said Abū Bakr and he pulled his bridle out of the hands of the youth, who then quoted the line,

'Sometimes it happens that distinction is moved on down, at other times up.'

"Then he commented, 'Well, I swear, O Brother of Quraysh, if you had continued to hold out I would have proven you to belong to the lowest class of Quraysh, not to its élite!'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) now came over to us, smiling," 'Ali went on, "and I commented to Abū Bakr, 'Well, this bedouin has turned out to be a disaster for you!' 'Yes indeed, Abū al-Ḥasan,' Abū Bakr replied, 'And, there's never a catastrophe without another that follows, and calamity is compounded by words.'"

'Ali continued his account, "We then went on to a meeting underway marked by calm and dignity. There were sheikhs of high rank and fine appearance there. Abū Bakr went forward and made greeting.

"'And,' 'Ali commented, "Abū Bakr was always in the vanguard of good.

"Abū Bakr asked them, 'From whom are you?' They replied, 'We are of the Banū Shaybān b. Ṭhaʿlabā.'

"Abū Bakr turned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and commented, 'I swear, no one has more ḍīz, power, in their people than these do.'"

In other accounts the words ṣadr, responsibility, and ghurar, experience, are substituted for the word ḍīz, power, in the preceding sentence.

'Ali's account goes on, "Among this group were Mafraq b. 'Amr, Hani' b. Qabisa, al-Muthannā b. Ḥarīthah and al-Nuṣān b. Shurayk.

"The man most comparable to Abū Bakr was Mafraq b. 'Amr; he was their most eloquent. He wore his hair in two braids that came down to his chest. He sat closest to Abū Bakr.

"Abū Bakr asked him, 'How many are you in number?'

"Mafraq replied, 'We are more than 1,000 strong; and "a few men can't heat 1,000", as they say.'

"'And how would protection be with you?'

"'We go to the limit; and "every people has a forefather," (i.e. "we are proud and noble"),' Mafraq responded.

"Abū Bakr asked, 'And how is it when you make war with your enemies?'

"Mafraq answered, 'When we meet in battle, we are the angriest of men. We take greater pride in our steeds than our sons, care more for our swords than our sperm; victory rests with God. Sometimes He grants us victory, sometimes others victory over us. You seem to be a member of Quraysh?'"
“Abū Bakr answered, ‘If you have heard of him who is the Messenger of God, this is he here.’

‘We have heard,’ Mafrūq answered, ‘that he says he is.’

He then turned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and asked, ‘What do you propound, O Brother from Quraysh?’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then came forward and sat down, while Abū Bakr arose and stood shading him with his cloak. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spoke, ‘I call upon you to bear witness that there is no god but God alone who has no associate, and that I am the Messenger of God. I ask you to shelter and protect me until I can carry out what God has ordered me to do. Quraysh have come out against God’s commands and have denied His Messenger. They have sided with wrong against right. But God is All-Powerful, All-Praised.’

“What else do you propound, O Quraysh brother?’ he asked.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then recited to him, ‘Say: Come! I shall recite for you what it was your Lord forbade you: that you must not associate another with Him, and that you must treat your parents with kindness’ up to the words ‘That He enjoined upon you that you might be pious’ (ṣūrat al-Anā’am; VI, v.152-4).

“Mafrūq asked, ‘And what else do you propound, O Quraysh brother? I swear these are not words of any earthly mortal; if they were, we would know them to be.’

“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) recited to them, ‘God enjoins justice, compassion and charity to your relatives. He forbids adultery, immorality and oppression. He exhorts you so that you will take heed’ (ṣūrat al-Nāḥīf; XVI, v.90).

“Mafrūq commented, ‘I swear, Quraysh brother, you are certainly advocating ethical conduct and good behaviour; and yet your people have denied, rejected and opposed you.’

“Apparently Mafrūq wanted to involve Hānī b. Qubayṣa in the discussion and said, ‘This is Hānī b. Qubayṣa, our sheikh and religious leader.’

“Hānī said, ‘I heard what you said, O Quraysh brother, and believed what you said. I consider that our abandoning our religion and following you in yours because of one meeting we are having with you which had neither introduction nor follow-up, and without our giving it full consideration nor examining what the consequences would be of what you suggest – that would be a lapse in judgement, rashness and inadequate consideration for consequences. Lapse of judgement only comes with haste. We have behind us a people for whom we should be reluctant to make any pact. You should retire, as we should too; you should think it over, as we should.’

“Apparently Mafrūq wanted also to involve al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha in the discussion, for he then said, ‘This is al-Muthannā, our sheikh and military leader.’
“Al-Muthanna then spoke, ‘I heard and liked what you said, 0 Quraysh brother. I was impressed by your words. But our answer should be that of Hānī b. Quṭayṣa; for us to leave our religion and follow you after one sitting with us would be like us taking residence between two pools of stagnant water, one al-Yamāma and the other al-Samāwa.’

“The Messenger of God asked (SAAS), ‘And what might those pools of stagnant water be then?’

“Al-Muthanna replied, ‘One of these is where land extends to the Arab world, and the other is that of Persia and the rivers of Chosroe. We would be reneging on a pact that Chosroe has placed upon us to the effect that we would not cause an incident and not give sanctuary to a troublemaker. This policy you suggest for us is such a one that kings would dislike. As for those areas bordering Arab lands, the blame of those so acting would be forgiven and excuses for them be accepted, but for those areas next to Persia, those so acting would not be forgiven, and no such excuses would be accepted. If you want us to help and protect you from whatever relates to Arab territories alone, we should do so.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘Your reply is in no way bad, for you have spoken eloquently and truthfully. (But) God’s religion can only be engaged in by those who encompass it from all sides.’

“He then asked, ‘Supposing it were only shortly after now that God were to award you their lands and properties and furnished you their young women, would you then praise God and revere Him?’

“Al-Nu‘mān b. Shurayk replied, ‘Would to God you could accomplish that, Quraysh brother!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then recited to them, ‘We have sent you as a witness, to bring good news and to warn, and to invite unto God, with His permission, and as a light-giving lantern.’ (This quotation combines surat al-Fath; XLVIII, v.8 with surat al-Ahzab; XXXIII, v.46.)

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose, holding on to the hand of Abū Bakr.”

‘Ali went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then turned to us and said, “Ali, what fine character the Arabs used to have, in the jahiliyya; how noble a time that was; they sought refuge in the life of this world.”’

‘Ali went on, “We proceeded on to a meeting being held by the Aws and the Khazraj. We remained with them until they pledged allegiance to the Prophet (SAAS).”

‘Ali continued, “And they were true, steadfast friends. And the Messenger of God (SAAS) was delighted at the knowledge of Abū Bakr, God bless him, about their genealogies.

“Soon thereafter the Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to address his Companions, telling them, ‘Give much praise to God. For today the sons of

28. That is, from ignominy and boorishness.
Rabi’a have triumphed over the people of Persia. They have killed their kings, and captured their troops and it was by me that they were given victory.’”

‘Ali went on, “And the battle occurred at Qurąqir, by the side of Dhū Qār. And about this victory al-‘Ashā spoke the verses,

‘My camel be a ransom for the Banū Dhuhl b. Shaybān and its rider at the clash, for it bore its burden well.
They struck blows at the hinw, the bends of Qurāqir,
against the vanguard of al-Ḥamurz, until they fled.
Glory be to the eyes that beheld those knights, like Dhuhl b. Shaybān, when they were in command.
They rose up, and we did so too, with friendship
between us, though we were overcome by the hardships of battle, clearly evident.”’

This hadith is very strange. We have included it for its evidences of the proofs of the prophethood, its references to ethics and moral behaviour and its examples of the eloquence of the Arabs.

It also comes down through another line. It states, in that version, that when they battled against the Persians and met them at Qurāqir, a place near the Euphrates, they made their battle cry the name of Muḥammad (SAAS), and that it was thereby that they were made victorious over the Persians. Thereafter they converted to Islam.

Al-Wāqīḍī stated, “‘Abd Allah h. WXbiva al-‘Absi, told us, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) came to us in our houses at Minā while we were staying there near the first jamra29 which is next to the Khayf mosque. He was riding on his mount with Zayd b. Ḥāritha seated behind him. He called out an invitation to us, but we made no response to him; we were not given to make a good choice.

“We had heard of him and of his preaching at the fairs; he stood and made a presentation and invitation to us, but we did not respond. We had with us Maysara b. Masrūq al-‘Absi and he said to us, “I swear by God, if we had believed this man and had taken him off to inside our territory, we would have triumphed. I swear by God, he will succeed and ultimately achieve all his objectives.”

“But our people replied, “Leave us alone. You’ll not involve us in that over which we have no power.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) had high hopes of Maysara and spoke to him. Maysara replied, “How fine, how enlightening your words are! But my people oppose me. All a man has is his own people. And if they don’t stand by him, then enmity is more extensive.”

“So the Messenger of God (SAAS) left and people went off to their families. Maysara told them, “Let’s turn off to Fadak. There are Jews there whom we can ask about this man.”

29. One of three pillars at Minā at which pilgrims cast stones.
“'So they did go off to the Jews. They brought out a book of scriptures they had, put it down and studied. It made mention of the Messenger of God (SAAS) as the *ummi*, unlettered, Arab prophet who would ride an ass, reward himself with a piece of bread, a man neither tall nor short, neither curly nor straight-haired, with a redness to his eyes, and light in complexion. "If," (the Jews concluded) "it is he who appealed to you, then respond to him and enter his religion. We envy him and will not follow him. We will suffer greatly from him. All Arabs will follow him or fight him, so be among those who follow him."

"'Maysara said, "O people, this matter is very clear."

"'His people replied, "We will return to the festival and meet him." They then went home to their lands, but their elders refused to allow their return, and so none of them did follow him.

"'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) migrated to Medina and performed the "farewell pilgrimage" Maysara met with him and he recognized him. Maysara asked, "O Messenger of God, I swear I've continued wanting to follow you ever since that day you dismounted with us. But, as you see, God saw fit to delay my accepting Islam. All those who were with me at that time have since died; where have they been taken, O Messenger of God?"

"'The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, "All those who died in any other state than Islam are now in hell-fire."

"'Maysara commented, "Praise be to God who saved me!" He then accepted Islam fully and he was treated with respect by Abu Bakr."

Imam Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Waqidi has examined closely and related individually details about those tribes to which the Messenger of God (SAAS) presented himself. These included the tribes of 'Amir, Ghassan, the Fazara, the Murra, the Hanifa, the Sulaym, the 'Abs, the Nadr b. Hawazin, Tha'laba b. 'Ukaba, Kinda, Ka'b, al-Harith b. Ka'b, Udhra, Qays b. al-Hattim, and others.

The accounts of all these are very extensive; we have given here a goodly part of them, and to God belong all praise and credit.

Imam Ahmad also stated, "Aswad b. 'Amir related to us, quoting Isra'il, from Uthman - meaning Ibn al-Mughira - from Saliim b. Abu al-Jad, from Jabir b. 'Abd Allah, who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) used to present himself to the tribes at the assembly at 'Arafa, and say, "Will any man of you take me to his own people? For Quraysh have prevented me from delivering the words of my Lord. Almighty and Glorious is He!"

"'A man from Hamdan came to him thereafter and the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, "From whom are you?"

"'From Hamdan," he replied.

"'"And do your people grant protection?"

"'Yes."

"Thereafter the man feared that his people might be watching him, so he came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and said, "I will go to them and tell them, then I'll come to you next year."
“‘All right,’” the Messenger of God (SAAS) agreed.

“The man then left, and in the month of Rajab the delegation of the anṣār, (the Helpers), arrived.’”

This hadīth is reported, by various paths, by scholars of all four of al-sunan al-arba’a, from Isrā‘il. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “It is ḥasan, ṣaḥīh, good and authentic.”

DIVISION

On the arrival of the delegation of the anṣār, the Helpers, year after year, and their pledging their loyalty to him time after time. And thereafter the Messenger of God (SAAS) moved away to them in Medina, residing there among them, as will be explained in detail, if God wills it and in Him is all trust.

An Account from Suwayd b. ʿṢāmit, the Anṣārī.

His full name was Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit b. ʿAtiyya b. Ḥūṭ b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws; his mother was Laylā, daughter of ʿAmr al-Najāriyya, the daughter of Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr, the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim. This Suwayd was the son of the maternal aunt of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Muḥammad b. Ishaq b. Yasa stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) continued as he had for some time; whenever people met for the festival, he would go to them and invite the tribes to God and into Islam, presenting himself to them and the message of guidance and mercy he brought. Whenever he heard of any Arab of good repute coming to Mecca, he would meet him, invite him to God Almighty and present him his message.”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “ʿAsim b. ʿAmr b. Qatāda informed me that the sheikhs of his tribe said that Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, a brother from the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf came to Mecca, either for the hajj, the ‘greater pilgrimage’, or the umra, the ‘lesser pilgrimage’. Suwayd was known among his people as al-Kāmil, ‘the perfect’, for his strength, his poetry, his honour and his fine lineage. It was he who spoke the lines,

‘Many men there are you call friends who would shock you to see the lies they tell of you in your absence.
There before you his words may be sweet as honey, while in your absence they are an old sword at the base of your neck!
What he shows you pleases you, while under his skin he’s an amulet of deceit exploding behind your back.

30. A technical term used to identify the four compilers of the saḥīh traditions, excluding al-Bukhārī and Muslim.
The eyes show you with suspicious glances what spite and hatred he conceals.

“Feather” me well; for long you have weakened me; the best allies are those who “feather” without weakening.’

“Having heard of him, the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to see him and invited him to God and to Islam. Suwayd replied, ‘Perhaps what you have is like what I have.’

“What is it you have?” asked the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“The majalla of Luqmân,” he replied. By this word he meant the ‘wisdom’ of Luqmân.

“Present it to me,” the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, and when Suwayd had done so, he commented, ‘These words are fine. But what I have is better—a Qurʾān that God has sent down to me to be a guide and a light.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then recited the Qurʾān to him and invited him into Islam. Suwayd did not draw away, but said, ‘Those words were wonderful.’

“Suwayd then left and later came to Medina with his tribe. Shortly thereafter he was killed by the Khazraj tribe, though some of his own people say that he was a Muslim at the time of his death. His killing occurred before the battle at Bu’ath.”

Al-Bayhaqi related this, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Asamm from Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbar, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishaq, in a shorter form.

THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY IYĀS B. MUṢĀDH.

Ibn Ishaq stated that Al-Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr b. Sa’d b. Muṣādh related to him, from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, saying, “When Abū al-Ḥaysar, Anas b. Rāfī came to Mecca, accompanied by other men of the Banū Abīl-Abshāl, including Iyās b. Muṣādh, seeking a pact with Quraysh against the Khazraj tribe, the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard of their coming and went to them. He sat down among them and asked, ‘Would you like something better than what it was you came for?’ ‘What would that be?’ they asked.

“He replied, ‘I am the Messenger of God to all mankind. And I invite them to worship God and to associate none other with Him. ‘And,’ he told them, ‘the book has been revealed to me.’ He then told them of Islam and recited the Qurʾān to them.’

The account goes on, “Iyās b. Muṣādh, who was a young man, spoke up, saying, ‘My people, I swear this is better than what you came for.’

“Abū al-Ḥaysar Anas b. Rāfī then took up a handful of dirt from the river bed and threw it into the face of Iyās b. Muṣādh, saying, ‘Clear off! We came for something different.’

“Iyās remained silent, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) left them, and they returned into Medina. The battle of Bu’ath was between the Aws and the Khazraj tribes.
And shortly thereafter Iyās b. Mu'ādh died.

Māhmūd b. Labīd said, 'Some of his tribesmen who were present told me that they heard him constantly praising, glorifying and exalting God until he died. They did not doubt that he had died a Muslim. He had become conscious of Islam at that assembly when he had heard what the Messenger of God (ṣa-as) had to say.'

My own comment is that this occurred on the day of the battle of Bu'āth, the name of a site at Medina. A major battle took place there which led to the death of a large number of the leaders of the Aws and the Khazraj; few of their prominent men survived it.

Al-Bukhārī related in his saḥīḥ collection, from 'Ubayd b. Ismā'īl, from Abū Umāma, from Hishām, from his father, from Ā'isha, who said, "The battle of Bu'āth was one that God gave to His Messenger. The Messenger of God (ṣa-as) came to Medina when their leadership was divided, their elite having been killed."

Chapter: The commencement of the acceptance of Islam by the ansār, the "Helpers" of Medina, God bless them.

Ibn Išāq stated, "When God wished to display His religion, exalt His Prophet and fulfil His promise to him, the Messenger of God (ṣa-as) set out in that season of the pilgrimage in which he met a number of the ansār. He presented himself to the Arab tribes as he had been doing in previous seasons. While he was at al-'Aqaba he met a group of the Khazraj tribe for whom God had good in store.

"Āsim b. Umar b. Qatāda related to me that some of the leaders of his people said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṣa-as) met them he asked them, "Who are you?" "We are men of al-Khazraj," they replied. "Are you allies of the Jews?" he asked.

""Yes," they replied.

"Would you sit down so that I may talk with you?" he invited them, and they agreed.

"So they did sit down and he called them to the path of God, explaining Islam to them. He also recited the Qur'ān to them.

"One way in which God facilitated their (acceptance) of Islam was that the Jews were there with them in their country. These were followers of Scriptures and men of knowledge, though they themselves were polytheists and idol worshippers. They had previously attacked these Jews in their territories and whenever dispute had arisen, the latter had told them, "A prophet will now be sent. His day is coming. We will follow him and give you the same fate as that of the peoples of Ād and Iram."

"When the Messenger of God (ṣa-as) addressed these people, and invited them to God, they told one another, "This has to be the prophet the Jews foresaw; we should not let them get to him first!"
They therefore responded to his call for them to believe in him and accepted Islam, saying, "We have left our own people, for they have such discord and disension between them not found in any other. Perhaps God may unite them through you. We will go forth among them and invite them to join you, presenting to them this religion we have accepted from you. If God should unite them around you, then no one will be dearer to us than you." They then left, returning to their territory, believing in him and the faith.'"

Ibn Ishaq continued, "These men, so I have been told, were six in number. Of the Khazraj there was Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurāra b. 'Uds b. 'Ubayd b. Tha'labā b. Ghanm b. Malik b. al-Najjār. According to Abū Nu'aym, he was the first of the ansār of the Khazraj to accept Islam.

"From al-'Aws there was Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān. It is said, however, that the first of them to accept Islam were Rafi' b. Malik and Muḥammad b. 'Afra'. But God knows best.


It is similarly related from al-Shābi, al-Zuhri and others that those there that night were six men of the Khazraj.

Miṣā b. Uqba recounted, from al-Zuhri and Urwa b. al-Zubayr, that at the first meeting between them and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they were eight in number and consisted of Muḥammad b. 'Afra', As'ad b. Zurāra, Raḥf b. Malik, Dhakwān, he being Ibn ʿAbd Qays, ʿUbāda b. al-Šāmit, Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān Yazīd b. Tha'labā, Abū Ḥaytham b. al-Tihān, and Uwaym b. Sā'īda. These all accepted Islam and made an appointment for the following year.

They then returned to their people and called on them to accept Islam. They also sent Muḥammad b. 'Afra and Raḥf b. Malik to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to send to them someone who could give them religious instruction. He responded by sending Muṣṭāb b. Umayr, who went and stayed with As'ad b. Zurāra.

This account goes on to conclude as Ibn Ishaq's and more fully than that of Miṣā b. Uqba. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "And when these men arrived in Medina to their people they told them of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and invited them to Islam. Eventually news of him spread among them to such a degree that not a single home of the ansār was without knowledge of him.
"The following year 12 of the ansār kept to their appointment to attend the festival (of the ḥajj); they were Abū Umāma Asʿad b. Zurāra and ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith, mentioned above, along with his brother Muṣādh, both these being sons of ʿAfrāʾ, and ʿAbbās b. Mālik, also mentioned above.

"Then there were Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Qays b. Khalada b. Mukhlīd b. ʿAмир, the son of Zurayq al-Zurqī. (Ibn Hishām said that he was a Helper who had also migrated from Mecca.)


"These men were from Khazraj.

"From Aws there were two men, ʿUwaym b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhā b. Ṭayḥān. Ibn Hishām stated that al-Ṭayḥān could also be spelled al-Ṭayyihān, as in the words mayt, dead, and mayyīt.

Al-Suhaylī stated, "The full name of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhā b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ṭāhā b. Atayk b. ʿAmīr b. Abū al-Aṣrām b. ʿAмир b. Zaʿfūr b. Jusham b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Aws." And he also stated, "It is said that he was an Irāshī or a Balawi." But neither Ibn Ishaq nor Ibn Hishām give him such a relationship. He also said, "The word al-haytham refers to an eaglet; it is also a type of plant."

By this he shows that these 12 men attended the festival that year with the intent of meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); they did so at al-ʿAqāba, where they pledged allegiance to him with a pledge known as the "women's pledge"; this occurred at the first (meeting) at ʿAqāba.

Abū Nuʿaym related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to them God's words in surāt Ibrāhīm, "And when Abraham said, 'O my Lord, render this country secure' (surāt Ibrāhīm; XIV, v.35).

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazānī, from Abū al-Rahmān b. Usayla al-Ṣunābīḥī, from Ubāda, he being Ibn al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'I was among those who attended the first (meeting at) ʿAqāba. We were 12 men. We pledged allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) by the so-called "women's pledge". That was before war was enjoined. It was to the effect that we would not associate any other with God, we would not steal, nor commit fornication, nor kill our children, nor make false accusations, nor disobey him in anything good. "If you keep to this," he told us, "you shall go to paradise. But if you commit any of these, then God will decide your fate; if He wishes He will either punish you or forgive you."'"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim related this hadīth through al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb in much the same terms.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri recounted, from ʿAṭīf Allāh Abū Idrīs al-Khawlānī that Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit related to him, saying, 'We pledged to
the Messenger of God (SAAS), on the night of the first (meeting at) 'Aqaba, that we would not associate any other with God, that we would not steal, commit fornication, kill our children, make false accusations, nor disobey him in anything good. (He told us) "If you keep to this, you shall have paradise. But if you give up any of this, and you are punished for it in this world, then that will provide atonement for you. But if it is overlooked until Judgement Day, it will be up to God to decide whether to punish or forgive you.""

This hadith is given in both sahih collections and elsewhere with paths from al-Zuhri in much the same version.

The words here, the "women’s pledge", are a reference to the similarity between this and the revelation relating to the pledge later made by women in the year of the truce of al-Hudaybiyya. And on that occasion the revelation accorded with what had been revealed regarding the pledge he had required of his Companions on the night of al-'Aqaba. This is not strange, for a Qur'anic revelation sometimes came in more than one location, as was affirmed by 'Umar b. al-Khattab, as we have explained in both his biography and in the Tafsir (Exegesis). And since this pledge resulted from revelation that was not recited, it makes the aforementioned observation all the more plausible. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "When the group left, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent to them Muṣṭafā b. 'Umayr b. Hashim b. 'Abd Manāf b. 'Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. He told him to recite the Qur'ān to them, to teach them Islam and to instruct them in the faith."

Al-Bayhaqi reported, on the authority of Ibn Ishaq, who said, "'Asim b. 'Umayr b. Qatada related to me that he sent Muṣṭafā when they wrote to him asking that he send him to them. It was he who was mentioned by Miṣa b. Wqba, as given above, even though in that case he applied to the first of the meetings what is here said of the second."

Al-Bayhaqi commented, "The account of Ibn Ishaq is more complete."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "'Abd Allah b. Abe Bakr used to say, 'I don't know what this "first (meeting at) 'Aqaba" means.'' Ibn Ishaq then commented, "Certainly, I swear it, there was an 'Aqaba meeting, and then another one."

All authorities agree that Muṣṭafā took up residence with As'ad b. Zurair and that he was known in Medina as the mughṭir, the reciter.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "'Asim b. 'Umar b. Qatada related to me that he used to lead the prayer for them. This was because the Aws and the Khazraj disliked that they be led in prayer by one who belonged to the other tribe. God be pleased with them one and all."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Muhammad b. Abū Umāma b. Sahl b. Ḥunayf related to me, from his father, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ka'b b. Mālik who said, 'When my

31. This refers to a genre of revelation different from that of the Qur'ān. It is therefore not maṣla, recited, as liturgy in the Muslim daily prayers.
father had lost his sight, I used to lead him. When I would take him out to the
Friday meeting, and he heard the call to prayer there he would say a prayer for
Abū Umāma As'ad b. Zurārā.’’

The account goes on, ‘‘This went on for some time; he never heard the
Friday call to prayer without praying for him and asking forgiveness for him. I
told myself it was weakness on my part not to ask him why this was and said,
‘‘Why is it, father, that whenever you hear the Friday call to prayer, you pray for
Abū Umāma?’’ He replied, ‘‘My son, he was the first to unite us in Medina at the
hazm al-nabit, in the quarter of the Banū Bayāḍa, in al-baqiṣ, the plain, known as
the baqiṣ al-Khaḍimīt.’’ ‘‘And how many were you there that day?’’ I asked. ‘‘We
were 40 men,’’ he replied.’’

Abū Dā'ūd and Ibn Māja told this hadith through Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, God
bless him.

Al-Dārquṭnī related, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)
wrote to Muṣ'ab b. ʿUmayar telling him to establish the Friday prayer. But there
is some peculiarity in the line of transmission he gives. God knows best.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, ‘‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Mughirā b. Muʿayyiqib related to me,
quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿHazm, that Asʿad b.
Zurārā went off with Muṣ'ab b. ʿUmayar to visit the homes of the Banū ʿAbd
al-Ashhal and the Banū Zafr. Sa'd b. Muṣ'adh was the son of the maternal aunt
of As'ad b. Zurārā. He took him inside one of the gardens of the Banū Zafr at a
well known as the ‘Maraq well’. They sat there and received visits from some of
the men who had accepted Islam.

‘Sa'd b. Muṣ'adh and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr were at that time leaders of their
people of the Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal; both were polytheists practising their
nation’s religion.

‘‘When they heard of him, Sa'd said to Usayd, ‘Go to those two men who have
come to our homes to make fools of our weakest elements; rebuke them and for-
bid them from entering our quarters. If As'ad b. Zurārā were not related to me,
as you know, I'd save you the trouble. But he is my maternal aunt's son, and I
can't approach him’’

‘‘And so Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr took his spear and went to them. When they saw
him, As'ad b. Zurārā said to Muṣ'ab, ‘This is his tribe's chief who has come to
you; trust God through him.’

‘Muṣ'ab said, ‘I will speak to him if he sits down.’

‘Usayd stood gloowering at them and asked them, ‘Why did you both come
here and make fools of our weak? Keep away from us if you value yourselves.’

‘Mūsā b. ʿUqba said, ‘At this point a youth commented, ‘It's you who have
come to our homes with this strange threatening of yours to have our weak ele-
ments behave stupidly and advocate it to others.’’”

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, ‘‘Muṣ'ab replied to him, ‘Why not sit down and listen to us.
If you like what you hear, you can accept it; if you dislike it you can ignore it.’
"He replied, 'You have spoken fairly.' He then put down his spear and sat with them. Muṣṭafā then spoke to him about Islam and recited the Qurān to him.

"According to what is reported, they both said, 'By God, we recognized Islam in his face, from its radiant calm, even before he spoke.'

"Usayd then said, 'How beautiful, how wonderful that is! What does one do to enter this faith?'

"They told him, 'You wash, and clean yourself and your clothes. You then give testimony to the truth and say prayers.'

"Usayd then arose, washed, cleaned his clothes and made testimony to the truth. He then performed two prayer prostrations and told them, 'Behind me there is a man who if he follows you, will not leave behind any one of his people. I will send him to you now. He is Sa'd b. Muṣṭadh.'

"He then took his spear and left for Sa'd and his people who were sitting in their assembly. When Sa'd b. Muṣṭadh saw him coming, he commented, 'I swear by God, Usayd is coming back to you with an expression quite different from when he left you.'

"When Usayd stopped at the assembly, Sa'd asked him, 'Well, what did you do?' He replied, 'I spoke to both men and, I swear, I saw no harm in them. I warned them and they replied, 'We will do whatever you wish.' And I was informed that the Banū Hāritha had gone off to kill As'ad b. Zurārā; that was because they knew that he is your aunt's son and wanted to harm you.'

"Sa'd b. Muṣṭadh arose angrily at this, anxious because of what they had said about the Banū Hāritha. He took the spear in his hand and said, 'I can see, by God, that you have accomplished nothing!'

"Sa'd then left to go to the two men and when he saw them to be untroubled, he realized that Usayd had merely wanted him to listen to them. He came to a stop, in a rage, and said to As'ad b. Zurārā, 'By God, Abū Umāmah, if we weren't relatives, you wouldn't behave this way to me. Will you behave in our very homes in ways that offend us?'

"As'ad had told Muṣṭafā, 'I swear, a leader has come to you who has such influence that if he follows you, no two others will hold back from you.'

"Muṣṭafā therefore told him, 'Would you sit and listen; if you hear what you like, you can accept it; if you dislike it, we'll not bother you with it again.'

"Sa'd replied, 'You speak fair.' He then put down his spear and sat. Islam was then explained to him, and the Qurān was recited to him.

Mūsā b. 'Uqba recounted that it was the first part of surat al-Zukhruf (XLIII) that was recited to him.

"The account continued, 'And, I swear, we recognized Islam in his face even before he spoke, from its radiant calm.'

"Sa'd then asked them, 'What does one do to accept Islam and enter this religion?'

"They told him, 'You wash, and clean yourself and your clothes. Then you give testimony to the truth and make two prayer prostrations.'
“Sa’d arose, performed the ablutions, washed both his garments, gave testimony to the truth and then performed two prayer prostrations.

“After that Sa’d took his spear and returned to his people’s assembly, Usayd b. al-Hudayr accompanying him. When his people saw him coming, they said, ‘My God, Sa’d is returning with quite a different expression from when he left.’

“When he stood there before them, he said, ‘O Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal, how do you view my position among you?’

“They replied, ‘You are our leader, the wisest man among us, and the man with the happiest disposition.’

“Sa’d told them, ‘It is forbidden for any man or woman among you to speak to me until you believe in God and His Messenger.’

“The account continues, ‘And, I swear, by that evening every single man and woman there in the quarters of the Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal had become Muslims.’

“Sa’d and Muṣ‘ab then returned to the home of As‘ad b. Zurārah and remained there calling upon people to join Islam until there was not a single one of the homes of the ansār that did not have Muslims living there. Except, that is, for the homes of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd, Khaṭṭāma, Wā’il and Wāqīf. These were of the Aws, that is, al-Aws b. Ḥāritha.

“This is because they had among them Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, known as Ṣayfī. Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār said, ‘His name was al-Ḥārith, but also it was said to be ʿUbayd Allāh. His father’s name was al-Aslat ‘Amr b. Jusham b. Wā’il b. Zayd b. Qays b. ‘Amir b. Murra b. Mālik b. al-Aws. Al-Kalbi gave him the same genealogy. He was a poet and a leader of theirs; they would listen to him and obey. He kept them from Islam until after the battle of al-khandaq, “the battle of the trench.”’

“I observe that this Abī Qays b. al-Aslat has poetry quoted by Ibn Ishāq that is eloquent and good and reminiscent of the poetry of Umayya b. Abū al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafi.

Ibn Ishāq commented concerning the above, “As news of the Messenger of God (ṣaas) spread among the bedouins and the towns, this was reported in Medina. No Arab quarter was more knowledgeable about the affairs of the Messenger of God (ṣaas), both before and after he became the subject of report, than this territory of the Aws and the Khazraj. This was because of what they had heard from the Jewish rabbis.

“When circumstances developed in Medina for him as they did and people discussed the dispute between him and Quraysh, Abū Qays b. al-Aslat, brother of the Banū Wāqīf spoke some verses.”

Al-Suhaylī gave his name as Abī Qays Sīrma b. Abī Anas. The full name of Abū Anas was Qays b. Sīrma b. Mālik b. ʿAdī b. ʿAmr b. Ghanm b. ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. And he said, “It was about him and ʿUmar that the following verse was revealed, ‘It has been made lawful for you to visit with your wives on the night of the fast’” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.187).
Ibn Ishaq commented, “He greatly liked Quraysh. He was a son-in-law of theirs, his wife being Arnab, daughter of Asad b. Abd al-Uzza b. Quṣayy. He had spent some years living among Quraysh with his wife.

“He spoke an ode in which he extolled sacrosanctity and advised Quraysh against war. In it he referred to their good qualities and their aspirations and reminded them of how God had tested them and how He had repelled from them those of the elephant and all their strategies. He also told them to leave the Messenger of God (SAAS) alone. In these verses, he said,

‘O rider, if you do not object, then carry this message from me to the tribe of Luayy b. Ghālib.

The messenger of a man upset by your enmity, sad at the distance between you, tired of it,
I had a place to stop at for my troubles, yet I did not by it fulfil my needs and wishes.

Your abode, however, has two factions, each one clamouring noisily, like the sound made by kindling and wood burning,
I bid you take refuge with God from your evil deeds, from the evil of your desires and from the scorpion’s sting,

From the display of bad morals, from evil plottings like the prick of an awl, having great impact,

And remind them firstly of God and at the sanctioning of things forbidden, like wombs of young maidens.
And tell them, “And God will make His judgement; abandon warfare and let it depart from you.”

When you incite it, you arouse something blameworthy; it is an evil spirit for those related to you or not.
It severs family ties, can destroy a nation, use up the fat from a camel’s hump and withers.

For it fine, thin clothes are exchanged for coats of chainmail and the rust-spotted garb of the warrior,
While musk and camphor are exchanged for clouds of dust, the chain-links looking like locusts’ eyes.

Beware lest war attach itself to you, for it is a pool whose water is unhealthy and bitter to drink.

It seems attractive to nations, then they see its consequences reveal it as an ugly old woman.
It burns up rather than cooks those who are weak, and diverts your nobles to certain death.
Do you not know how it was in the war of Dāhīs; give thought; and to the war of Hāṭib too.

How many great leaders were then struck down, fine, up-standing men whose guests were never disappointed,
Great men, like fine charcoals, men to be revered, men of pure character, of exemplary nobility,
Like water spread out in a waste-land as though poured there by the winds of East or South,
Of which you are told by a truthful man who has knowledge of its events, knowledge based on experience.

Buy weapons from a warrior, and remember well your account, for God is the best accountant.

A man’s patron is He, and chose a religion; and let there be no guardian over you but the Lord of the stars.

Establish a ḥanīf religion for us, for You are a goal for us, and one can be guided by great peaks.

And You are a light and protection for this people; You are a refuge they go to, and dreams do not disappoint.

And if the people find a jewel, to You goes the credit (lit. for You are the valley’s centre, the rabbit’s nose).

You ensure noble and ancient lineage, lines that are refined and blemish-free.

Those in need see moving towards your abodes groups of those destroyed, leading other groups.

Those most righteous have learned that your heights are in all ways the best of all abodes.

It is the most wise and the best in conduct who, among all the processions, are most given to the truth.

And so arise and pray to your Lord, and touch the pillars of this temple amidst the mountains.

For among you from Him has come a favour and a proof on the day of Abī Yaksūm, leader of the phalanges.

His forces will march over the plain, and his men will traverse the clefts of the high mountains.

When the assistance of the Throne-possessor comes to you armies of angels will repel them, raising dust and stones,

And they shall turn tail and flee, and only a few groups will return from captivity to their people.

And if you perish, so let us die, along with festivals long lived by; so will a man say who will not lie.”

The war of Dāhīs mentioned by Abū Qays in his poetry was famous and occurred in the jāhiliyya period. According to Abū Ubayd Maʾmar b. al-Muthannā and others, its cause was as follows: Qays b. Zuhayr b. Judhayma b. Rawāḥa al-Ghatafānī owned a mare called Dāhīs, and he ran her in a race with a mare called al-Ghabrā owned by Ḥudhayfā b. Badr b. ʿAmr b. Juʿayya, also of Ghatafān. Dāhīs came in first but Ḥudhayfā ordered it to be struck in the head. Malik b. Zuhayr jumped up and struck al-Ghabrā in the head. At that Ḥamal b. Badr struck Malik. After, Abū Junayd al-ʿAbsi met ʿAwf b. Ḥudhayfā and killed him. Then a man of the Banū Fazāra met and killed Malik. And so war erupted between the Banū ʿAbs and Fazāra. Ḥudhayfā b. Badr, his brother Ḥamal b. Badr and other groups were killed. A great deal of poetry, which it would take much time to quote and explain, was written concerning this.
Ibn Hishām stated, “Qays started Dāhīs and al-Ghabrā’ in the race, while Ḥudhayfa started al-Khaṭṭār and al-Ḥanfā’. The former account is more accurate.

As for the war of Ḥāṭib, the reference is to Ḥāṭib b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Ḥaysha b. al-Ḥārith b. Ṣumayyā b. Muʿāwiyah b. Mālik b. ʿAwf b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf b. Mālik b. al-Aws who had killed a Jew who was under the protection of the Khazraj. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Mālik b. ʿĀlmar b. Ḥāritha b. Thaʿlabah b. Kaḥb b. Mālik b. Kaḥb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj, he being known as Ibn Fushum, went out after this man Ḥāṭib, accompanied by a group of his men of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. Khazraj. They killed Ḥāṭib and this led to a war between the Aws and the Khazraj. The fighting was very fierce and ultimately the Khazraj were victorious. At that time al-Aswad b. al-Ṣāmit al-Awsi was killed by al-Mujaddādh b. Dhiyād, an ally of the Banū ʿAwf b. al-Khazraj. This led to further wars between them that would be lengthy to relate.

The point is that Abū Qays b. al-Aslat gained nothing from all his knowledge and understanding when Musʿab b. Ṣumayr came to Medina and called upon its people to accept Islam, many of whom agreed.

So that, as has been said, not a house there was without a Muslim man or woman except that of the Banū Wāqīf, Abū Qays’s tribe, who held them back from Islam. It was also he who spoke the verses:

“O Lord of mankind, some things have given pain,
significant and trivial matters combined,
O Lord of mankind, if we should have gone astray, then
guide us to the proper path.
Were it not for our Lord, we would be Jews, and the
religion of the Jews lacks proper form.
Were it not for our lord, we would be Christians, with
the monks up in the mountains of Galilee.
But when created, we were made hanīfs from many
generations back.
We lead the camels to slaughter, passive and in shackles,
their necks bare, but wearing saddles.”

The gist of what he says is that he was undecided as to how to react to what he had heard about the mission of the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ), so he prevaricated despite his learning.

The person who kept him back from Islam initially was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Saḥūl, after Abū Qays had informed him that the person who had announced his coming was a Jew; and so he dissuaded him from accepting Islam.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “He did not accept Islam up to the time of the conquest of Mecca, he and his brother, and so he left.”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār denied that Abū Qays accepted Islam. As did al-Waqīdī, who stated, ‘He had intended to accept Islam when first the Messsenger of God
(ṢAAS) invited him to do so. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy, however, criticized him for this and he pledged that he would not accept Islam until the next year. But he died in the month Dhū al-Qa‘da.”

Others, as related by Ibn al-Athir in his work Usūd al-Ghāba (The Jungle Lions) state that when death was close for him, the Prophet (ṢAAS) invited him to Islam and he was heard to say, “There is no god but God.”

Īmām Aḥmad stated, “Ḥasan b. Mūsá related to us, that Ḥammād b. Salama related to him, from Thābit, from Anas b. Malik, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited an ansār man and said, ‘O khāl, “maternal uncle”, say, “There is no god but God.”’ He replied, ‘Do you say khāl, maternal uncle or ‘amm, paternal uncle?’ ‘No, I say khāl,’ he replied. The man asked, ‘So it is best for me to say, “There is no god but God?”’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Yes.’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this ḥadīth.

Īkrīma and others related that when he died, his son wanted to marry his father’s widow, Ḋabisha, daughter of Mā‘ān b. ʿĀṣim. She asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about this and God revealed, “Do not marry those same women your fathers married” (surat al-Nisa’; IV, v.22).

Ibn Ishaq stated, as did Sa‘īd b. Yahyā al-ʿUmawī in his work on the maghāzī, the military campaigns, “This man Abū Qays became a monk during the jāhilīyya period before Islam and adopted wearing a hair-cloth gown. He abandoned the idols, washed after being in a state of ritual impurity and kept away from menstruating women. He thought of adopting Christianity but then refrained. He took a house and made it into a mosque where he allowed no menstruating women entrance nor anyone in a state of ritual impurity. He said, ‘I worship the God of Abraham when he had abandoned and expressed hatred for the idols.’

“This went on until the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then accepted Islam and became a good Muslim.

“He was a respected elder and man of truth who glorified God in that jāhilīyya period, before Islam, in which he lived. He spoke fine verses on the subject. It was he who said,

‘Abū Qays, about to leave, says, “Perform all you can of this my advice.

I commend God to you, righteousness, piety and honour, but devotion to God comes first.

If your people lead, do no envy them; if you attain leadership, then be just.

If a disaster should befall your people, then place yourselves in front of your tribe.

If a disastrous loss affects them, keep them company and bear up beneath whatever it is they place on you.

If hardship afflicts you, remain pure, and if wealth should come to you, then be generous.”’
"Abū Qays also said,

‘Glorify God at dawn each day His sun rises, and at every crescent moon.
He knows both what is plain and secret; nothing our Lord says is misguided.
The birds are His that stray far away then return to their nests in the safety of the mountains.
The wild beasts of the deserts are His; you see them in the sand tracts and the shades of the dunes.
The Jews pray to Him and perform every ritual out of fear of disaster.
The Christians bow down to Him and offer all feasts and celebrations to their Lord.
The hermit monk is His; you see him live in poverty though formerly in ease.
O my people, do not sever kinship’s ties, but ever join the short to the long.
Fear God when treating weak orphans; sometimes what is forbidden is considered fair.
And know that orphans have an All-Knowing protector who guides without question.
Do not consume the wealth of orphans; the wealth of orphans does have a protector.
My people, do not ignore the bounds; there are limits to ignoring bounds.
My people, do not feel secure in the future; beware of its deceit and of time’s passage. Realize that time’s passing destroys all things created, young and old alike.
Resolve yourselves for goodness and piety; forsake indecency and do only right.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Abū Qays also composed another piece in which he records how God had honoured them by the gift of Islam and by having sent His Messenger (SAAS) down to them. The following line is part thereof:

‘He resided among Quraysh a dozen years, preaching in case he should find there some helpful friend.’”

We will give the full text of this poem later, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust.

An Account of the second meeting at al-’Aqaba.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Muṣ’ab b. Umayr returned to Mecca and the ansār Muslims came there along with those of their people who were making the pilgrimage and were still polytheists. (The ansār) made a pact with the Messenger of God
(SAAS) at al-‘Aqaba, in the medial days of the tashriq\textsuperscript{32} when God granted them honour, ensured victory for the Prophet and glory for Islam and its people, and cast down idolatry and its supporters.

"Ma‘bad b. Ka‘b b. Malik related to me, that his brother ‘Abd Allah b. Ka‘b, one of the most learned of the ansār, told him that his father Ka‘b told him as follows, having been one of those who was present at al-‘Aqaba and pledged allegiance there to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He stated, ‘We left in the company of those of our people who were polytheists; we had prayed and received religious instruction. With us was al-Bar2 b. Ma‘mūr, our elder and leader. When we had headed out on our journey from Medinā, al-Bar2 said, ‘I’ve had an idea, and I wonder whether or not you will agree with me on it.’ We asked what it was and he replied, ‘I think I will not leave this building – meaning the ka‘ba – to my back. I shall pray towards it.’ We commented, ‘We’ve not heard that our Prophet (SAAS) never prays in any other direction than towards Syria\textsuperscript{33} (i.e. Jerusalem). We don’t want to contradict him.’

‘He replied, ‘I am going to pray towards it.’

‘Well, we will not,’’ we told him.

‘When time for prayer came we did face towards Syria, while he prayed in the direction of the ka‘ba until we reached Mecca. We criticized him for persisting in doing this. Upon reaching Mecca, he told me, ‘Nephew, let’s go off to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and ask him about what I’ve been doing on this journey. The disapproval I have seen in you has somewhat disturbed me.’

‘So off we went, asking the whereabouts of the Messenger of God (SAAS). We had not seen him prior to that. We met a Meccan and asked after him, and he replied, ‘Do you know him?’ ‘No,’ we replied. ‘Then do you know al-‘Abbās b. al-Muṭṭalib, his uncle?’ ‘Yes,’ we told him, for we did know al-‘Abbās. He often came to us on business trips. The Meccan told us, ‘If you go to the mosque, he will be sitting next to al-‘Abbās.’

‘So we went in the mosque and there was al-‘Abbās sitting with the Messenger of God (SAAS) by his side. We made greetings then sat down facing him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked al-‘Abbās, ‘Do you know these two men, Abū al-Fadl?’ He replied, ‘Yes; this is al-Bar2 b. Ma‘mūr, his people’s leader, and this is Ka‘b b. Malik.’’’

The account proceeds, ‘‘I swear, I’ll never forget what the Messenger of God (SAAS) then said: ‘You mean the poet?’ ‘Yes,’’ he replied.

‘‘Then al-Bar2 b. Ma‘mūr addressed him, ‘O prophet of God, I have come on this journey having been given guidance to Islam by God Almighty. I had the

\textsuperscript{32} During the pre-Islamic pilgrimage season, the tashriq days, those between the 11th and the 13th of Dhu al-Hijja, were apparently given over to eating, drinking, and sensual pleasure. The tashriq days were later incorporated into Islam, without, however, the aforementioned practices of the jahiliyya.

\textsuperscript{33} Lit. ‘‘Greater Syria’’. Jerusalem was often referred to as al-Sham, Syria, because it was a part of what was then Greater Syria.
idea of not facing my back to this building, so I prayed towards it. My friends opposed me in this, causing me concern. What do you think?"

"'You already had a qibla, a direction for prayer, and should have kept to it,' he replied.

"'And so al-Bara reverted to the prayer direction adopted by the Messenger of God (SAAS), and so prayed along with us towards Syria.'"

The account concludes, "But his family claim that he continued his prayers towards the ka'ba until he died. But it was not as they said; we know better than they about it."

Ka'b b. Malik stated, "We then left on the pilgrimage, having made an agreement to meet the Messenger of God (SAAS) at al-'Aqaba in the middle of the tashriq period. When we had finished the pilgrimage the night arrived for which we had an appointment with the Messenger of God (SAAS). We had kept our purpose unknown to those of our people who were polytheists, but there with us was 'Abd Allâh b. 'Amr b. Harâm Abû Jâbir, one of our leaders. To him we spoke, telling him, 'Abû Jâbir, you are one of our noble leaders, and we would like you to give up your practices; otherwise one day you will end up as fuel for hell-fire.' We then invited him into Islam, and told him of our rendezvous with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at al-'Aqaba. He did accept Islam, was present at al-'Aqaba and became a naqib, a leader."

Al-Bukhârî stated, "Tbrâhim related to me, quoting Hishâm, that Ibn Jurayj told them, from 'Atâ', that Jâbir said, 'I, my father and my two maternal uncles were present at al-'Aqaba.' 'Abd Allâh b. Muâammad stated, 'Ibn 'Uayyna said, 'One of these two men was al-Bara' b. Ma'mûr.'" 'Ali al-Madîni related to us, quoting Sufyân, "'Amr used to say, 'I heard Jâbir b. 'Abd Allâh state, 'My two maternal uncles were present at al-'Aqaba with me.'"

The Imam Ahmad stated, "'Abd al-Razzâq related to us, quoting Ma'mar, from Ibn Khuthaym, from Abû al-Zubây, that Jâbir said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained for ten years in Mecca following people to their homes, going to 'Ukz and Majanna during the festivals asking, 'Who will give me refuge? Whoever will help me until I can fulfil the mission of my Lord will attain paradise.' But he found no one to shelter or aid him. So much so that someone from Yemen or the Mudar would appear and respond favourably to this plea, only to have his relatives and friends tell him, 'Watch out that that man of Quraysh doesn't corrupt you!' And if the Messenger of God (SAAS) were to pass through their encampments, they would point their fingers at him.

"'This went on until God sent us from Yathrib (Medina) to him and we gave him refuge and believed in him. Our people would go off, believe in him, have the Qur'an recited to them and then return to their own folk who would then accept Islam as they had. Eventually no anjâr home was devoid of Muslims displaying their faith in Islam."
"'At last we all consulted together and asked ourselves how long we were going to leave the Messenger of God (SAAS) doing his rounds and being harassed in the Meccan mountains in a state of fear.

'So 70 of us men went to see him during the pilgrimage season. We made a rendezvous with him at the defile at al-‘Aqaba, going there in ones and twos until all were present. Then we asked him, "O Messenger of God what do you wish us to pledge to you?"

'He replied, "You must pledge to hear and obey at times of both action and inaction, to give whether times are hard or easy, and to advocate goodness and prohibit evil. You must speak out for God and not fear any blame for supporting God. You must help and defend me if I come to you in the same ways you help and defend yourselves, your wives and your children. You will then attain paradise." And so we stood up before him and pledged allegiance. As’ad b. Zurära took him by the hand, he being one of the youngest there.'"

In the account of al-Bayhaqi, the text reads, "He was the youngest of the 70 except for myself. He (As’ad) said, 'Slowly now, people of Yathrib! We only hurried here because we know that he is the Messenger of God. Bringing him out now, however, would be a provocation to all the Arabs that would cause you to lose your élite and would box you in with swords raised against you. If you are able to withstand that, then adopt him and it will be up to God to reward you. But if you are a people who have great fear for yourselves, then leave him and make that fact plain; that course would be more forgivable in God’s sight.'

'Keep away from us, As’ad,' (they replied). 'We won’t renege on this pledge. We will never deny it.'"

He continued, "So we all stood and pledged to him. He made us make promises and assured us paradise in return."

Imäm Ahmad related this also, as did al-Bayhaqi through Dā‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Aṭṭār.

Al-Bayhaqi’s account adds to the chain of authorities al-Ḥakim back to Yahyā b. Sālim; both of them include ‘Abd Allah b. Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū Idris, with much the same content.

This chain of authorities is excellent and meets the criteria for aḥādīth prescribed by Muslim; the scholars, however, did not cite it.

Al-Bazzâr commented, "Several authorities quote it from Ibn Khuthaym, but we only know of Jābir being a link in this one account."

Imäm Ahmad stated, "Sulaymān b. Dā‘ūd related to us, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from Mūsā b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "Al-‘Abbās was holding the hand of the Messenger of God (SAAS), while the latter was verifying our pledges. When he had finished, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'I have taken, and I have given.'"

the son of 'Abd Allāh — who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṣaṣaṣ) said to the ansār leaders, ‘Will you then give me refuge and protect me?’ ‘Yes,’ they said, ‘and what will we receive?’ ‘Paradise,’ he replied.’

Al-Bazzār then added, ‘We know of this ḥadīth only from this one chain of authorities back to Jābir."

Ibn Ishaq then related, from Ma'bad, from 'Abd Allāh, from his father Ka'b b. Malik, who said, ‘That night we went to bed among our people in our caravan. But when one-third of the night had passed, we left the caravan to attend the rendezvous with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣaṣ). We slipped away, keeping ourselves hidden like sand-grouse and met in the defile at al-'Aqaba. We were 73 men in number and two of our women accompanied us, Nasība, daughter of Ka'b, mother of 'Umrā, a wife from the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, and Asmā', daughter of 'Amr b. 'Adī b. Nābi, one of the wives of the Banū Salama, she being the mother of Manī'."

Ibn Ishaq quoted from an account of Yūnus b. Bukayr, giving their names and genealogies and the information that some sources give their number as 70; but the Arabs (i.e. the bedouin, tr.) often deal only in round numbers.

‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. Uqba stated, ‘They were 70 in number, with one woman.’ He also said that 40 of them were adult, while 30 were youths, the youngest of them being Abū Mas‘ūd and Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh.

Ka'b b. Malik stated, ‘When we met at the defile we waited and the Messenger of God (ṣaṣaṣ) did come, accompanied by al-'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. At that time al-'Abbās was still following his people’s religion, although he was keeping track of his nephew’s affairs and watching over him.

‘When they sat down, the first to speak was al-'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said, ‘O Khazraj’ — the Arabs used to know the ansār as Khazraj, whether they were Khazraj or Aws — ‘Muḥammad holds with us a position of which you are aware. We protect him from our people who think about him as we do. He is respected among his people and safe in his own town. But he is determined to join up with you. If you think you will keep trust with him in the invitation you have given him and will protect him from his opponents, then it’s up to you to accept your responsibilities. But if you think you might deliver him over and abandon him after he has joined you, then leave him right now. He does have respect and protection among his own people and in his town.’

‘We replied, ‘We hear what you say. Speak to us, O Messenger of God, and take for yourself and for your Lord whatever you want.’

‘The Messenger of God (ṣaṣaṣ) then spoke, recited the Qur’ān, invited people to God and acclaimed Islam. He said, ‘I ask you to pledge that you will defend me as you do your women and children.’

‘Al-Barā’ b. Ma‘mūr then took him by the hand and said, ‘Yes indeed; we will, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, protect you as we do our women from whatever threatens them. We pledge ourselves to you, O
Messenger of God, and we are, I swear it, warriors from father to son over many generations.'

"While al-Bara' was speaking to the Messenger of God (SAAS) he was interrupted by Abu al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, who said, 'O Messenger of God, we have certain ties to others' — meaning the Jews — 'and if we break these, we are concerned that if God gives you victory, you might return to your own people and abandon us.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) smiled at this and said, 'If your blood be sought, our blood shall be sought, and your destruction is mine as well. I am of you and you are of me. I will battle those you battle and make peace with those with whom you make peace.'"

Ka'b b. Mālik went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Bring forth twelve from among you to be leaders to take charge of their people's affairs.'

"They selected twelve men, nine from al-Khazraj, three from Aws.'


These were the nine men of the Khazraj.


Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars include among these Abu al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān instead of al-Rīfā', who is above mentioned." He is also included in the account of Yūnus quoting Ibn Ishaq. And al-Suhaylī and Ibn al-Athir in his Uṣūd al-Ghāba (Jungle Lions) included him.

Ibn Hishām gave testimony to this in a quotation he makes from Abu Zayd al-ʿAnṣārī of poetry by Ka'b b. Mālik giving reference to the twelve men selected that night of the second meeting at al-ʿAqaba:
“Tell Ubayy that his opinion is wrong; he died the morning of the (meeting in) the defile, but death does come,
May God deny what your soul craves; He watches over man's affairs, seeing and hearing.
And inform Abü Sufyän that, through Ḥāmid, there has appeared to us a shining light of God's guidance.
Do not covet acquiring something you want; just take and gather whatever it is you receive.
Take care! Know that breaking vows with us was forbidden you by the group when they gave allegiance.
Both al-Barā‘ and Ibn ‘Amr forbade it, and As‘ad and Rāfi‘ too forbid it.
Sa‘d al-Sā‘īd forbade it, and Mundhir would cut off your nose if you tried it.
And Ibn Rabi‘, if you received his pledge, would not give him up. Let no one expect that.
Similarly Ibn Rawāḥa would not give him to you; to protect him he would even take poison.
Al-Qawqālī b. Šāmīt too is far removed from what you try to achieve, living up to the promise he made.
Abū al-Haytham also is true to his pledge, secure in the oath he had made.
And you should have no hopes of Ibn Ḥudayr for what you want; perhaps you should abandon your foolish error.
And Sa‘d, brother of ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, is far removed and opposed to what it is you want.
These are not stars that will arise in the dark of night and repel bad luck from you.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Abū al-Haytham is mentioned here among these men, whereas Rīfā‘a is not.”
My own comment is that the poet also mentions Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh who was definitely not one of the leaders of the gathering that night.

Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān recounted, from Yūnus b. ‘Abd al-‘Aqīfa, from Ibn Wahb, from Malik who said, “The ansār on the night of al-‘Aqaba were 70 men; their leaders were twelve in number, nine from Khazraj, three from Aws.
An ansār elder told me that Gabriel was indicating to the Messenger of God (SAAS) which of these men he should appoint as leaders on that night of al-‘Aqaba, and Usayd b. Ḥudayr was one of those leaders.”
Al-Bayhaqī related this.
Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to these leaders, ‘You shall be those entrusted for your people just as the apostles were for Jesus, son of Mary. I shall be entrusted with my own people.’ They replied, ‘So be it.’
"Aśīm b. Umar b. Qatāda related to us that when this group met to pledge allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), al-ʿAbbās b. Ubāda b. Naḍla al-ʿAṣārī, of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAff, said, 'O Khazraj, do you know what it is you are pledging this man?' 'Yes,' they replied.

"He continued, 'You are pledging to go to war against all kinds of people. If you think that if you suffered great losses to your wealth and had your leaders killed, you would give him up, then do it now or suffer the punishment of this life and the next. If you think you will keep faith with him in what he has called upon you to do, despite loss of wealth and your leaders being killed, then do accept him. For he is, by God, the best in this world and the next.'

"They replied, 'We will take him regardless of loss of wealth or the death of our leaders. But what will we receive in return for this, O Messenger of God, if we keep faith with you?'

"'Paradise,' he replied.

"Then hold out your hand,' they asked.

"He did so and they pledged allegiance to him.

"Aśīm b. Umar b. Qatāda commented, 'Al-ʿAbbās b. Ubāda only said this to emphasize the pact they were making.'

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr claimed that al-ʿAbbās had only said that to delay the pledge of allegiance that night in the hope that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Sallīl, leader of the Khazraj would attend so that the action of the group would be even stronger. God knows best which of these is true."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "The Banū al-Najjār claim that Abū Umāma Aṣād b. Zurārā was the first who touched his hand in allegiance. The Banū ʿAbd al-Asḥāḥal, however, claim that it was Abī al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān."

Ibn Ishaq also said, "Maʿbad b. Kaʿb related to me from his brother ʿAbd Allāh, from his father Kaʿb b. Malik, who said, 'The first man to touch the hand of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was al-Barāʾ b. Maṣrūr. Then all the rest pledged allegiance to him.'"

Ibn al-Athir stated in his work al-Ghāba (The Jungle), "The Banū Salama claim that the first who pledged allegiance to him that night was Kaʿb b. Malik."

It is established in the saḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī and in that of Muslim, from a hadīth of al-Zuhri, from ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, from his father, from Kaʿb b. Malik in his hadīth when he absented himself from the battle of Tabūk. He stated, "I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night of al-ʿAqaba when we pledged ourselves to Islam, and I would not rather have witnessed the battle of Badr than it, even though at Badr there were more men involved."

tree. He told them, 'Let your spokesman speak, but not talk too long. For there are polytheists watching you and if they have knowledge of you they will expose you.'

"Abū Umāma, their spokesman, said, 'Ask, Muḥammad, for your Lord whatever it is you want. Then after that ask for yourself what it is you want. Then tell us what reward we will have from God and from you if we do that.'

"He replied, 'For my Lord I ask you to worship Him and to associate no other god with Him. For myself, and my Companions, I ask you to give me refuge and to help me and protect me from what it is you protect yourselves.'

"They asked, 'What will we receive if we do that?'

"'You shall have paradise,' he replied.

"'Shall you have that?' they asked."

Hanbal also related this from Imam Alḥmad, from Yahyā b. Zakariyyā, from Mujālid, from al-Shaḥī, from Abū Masūd al-Anṣārī who, having recounted it, stated, "Abū Masūd was the youngest man there."

Alḥmad stated, from Yahyā, from Ismā'il b. Abū Khalīd, from al-Shaḥī, who said, "No one, old or young, ever heard such an address."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "Abū Tāhir Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥmish narrated to us from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhim b. al-Fadl al-Fahām from Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Dhuḥlī from 'Amr b. ʿUthmān al-Raqī, as follows: ‘Zuhayr related to us, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Ismā'il b. Ubayd Allāh b. Riūsā, from his father, who said, "Skins of wine were brought out, but ʿU바da b. al-Ṣāmit went up to them and pierced them open, saying, 'We have pledged to the Messenger of God (SAAS) that we will listen and obey, in action and at rest, expend our wealth in good times and bad, enjoin good and forbid evil, express our faith in God without fear of reproach, and assist the Messenger of God (SAAS) if he comes to Yathrib with the same protection we give ourselves and our children in body and soul. And we shall have paradise.'"

"'This was the pledge we made to the Messenger of God (SAAS).'

This chain of authorities is strong and excellent but the scholars do not cite it.

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Iṣḥāq, "ʿU바da b. al-Walīd b. ʿU바da b. al-Ṣāmit related to me from his father, from his grandfather ʿU바da b. al-Ṣāmit, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) had us pledge to him that we would fight, that we would listen and obey in good and bad times alike, regardless of the incentives or disincentives or pressure upon us, that we would not dispute among ourselves, that we would speak the truth wherever we were and hear no reproach in our worship of God.'"

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated in his account from Maʿbad b. Kaḥb, from his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaḥb b. Mālik, who said, "When we pledged ourselves to the Messenger of God (SAAS) Satan called out from the top of the defile in the most piercing voice I have ever heard. He said, 'O people of the jābājīb' — the word meaning 'houses' — are you going to support this reprehensible man and the fools with him who have tried to make war upon you?"
“The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘That was Azabb of al-‘Aqaba. He’s the son of Azyab.’”

Ibn Hishām suggested that the name given was “son of Uzayb”.

‘Do you hear, O enemy of God,’ he went on, ‘I swear I will destroy you’

“Then he told them, ‘Return to your caravans.’”

The account continues, “Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Ubayd b. Naḍla said, ‘O Messenger of God by Him who sent you with the truth, if you wish tomorrow we will fall on those at Minā with our swords!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘We have not been ordered to do that; however, do go back to your caravans.’

“And so we returned to our beds and slept in them until morning.

“Next morning leaders of Quraysh came to us in our camps and said, ‘O Khazraj, we have learned that you have come to this man of ours asking him to leave us and pledging to fight against us. We swear that there is no Arab group we would like less to do battle with than you.’

“Those of our people who were polytheists promptly swore that they had no knowledge of any such thing.

“And they spoke the truth; they knew nothing. We, meanwhile, were exchanging glances.

“Then Quraysh arose; they included al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmī who was wearing new sandals. I spoke to him as if I wanted to associate the entire group with what the polytheists had said. Then I said (changing the subject) ‘Abū Jābir, seeing that you are one of our chiefs, can’t you get sandals like those of that young Quraysh fellow?’

“Al-Ḥārith heard this, took off his sandals and hurled them at me, saying, ‘By God, you can put them on!’

“Abū Jābir replied, ‘Now easy there; you’ve annoyed the lad; give him back his sandals.’

“I replied, ‘I swear, I’ll not return them. They’re a good omen; and if it proves true, I’ll keep the sandals!’”

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that they went to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayy b. Saḥl and said much the same as Ka‘b had. He told them, ‘This is a very grave matter; my people are not such as to divide over a matter like this. I have no knowledge of it.’ The Quraysh leaders then left.

“The pilgrims then left Minā and some of them investigated the report further, finding it to have happened. They set about pursuing our people and caught up with Sa‘d b. ‘Ubaḍa at Adhākhir, along with al-Mundhir b. ‘Amr, a brother from the Banū Sā‘ida b. Ka‘b b. al-Khazraj; both of these were ‘leaders’ (i.e. appointed at al-‘Aqaba, tr.).

“Al-Mundhir evaded them but they captured Sa‘d b. ‘Ubaḍa and tied his hands behind his neck with the cords holding his saddle and led him into Mecca, beating him and pulling him along by his hair which was very full.
Sa'd reported, ‘So there I was in their hands when up came a group of Quraysh among whom was one tall, handsome, fair-skinned man. I told myself, “If there is any good in any of their men, it has to be him.”

‘But when he drew near he raised his hand and struck me hard. I told myself, “Well, I swear, after this there’s no good in them at all!”

‘Well, there I was in their hands, being pulled along, when one of their men came up to me and said, “Too bad! Don’t you have any pact or protection agreement with any Quraysh man?” I replied, “Yes, indeed I do. I used to give protection to Jubayr b. Mu'tim and his merchants on business trips and prevent those of my people who wanted to harm them. And also I protected al-Ḥārith b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. Ṭabd Shams.” He commented, “Cry out the names of the two men and tell of your connection to them.”

‘So I did this and that man went off to look for those two merchants. He found them in the ka'ba and told them, “There’s a man of Khazraj now out there in the valley being beaten and calling out for both of you.” They asked, “Who is he?” “He is Sa'd b. Ḫubāda,” he told them. “Well,” they said, “he has spoken the truth. He did protect our merchants from some in his country who wanted to harm them.”

The account continues, “The two men then went and released Sa'd from his attackers, and he fled. The man who struck Sa'd was Suhayl b. Ḵāmr. 

Ibn Hīṣām stated, “The man who gave him refuge was Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Hīṣām.”

Al-Bayhaqi related with a chain of authorities from Ḣsā b. Abū b. Jubayr, who said, “Quraysh heard someone speak out in the night on the mountain of Abī Qubays, ‘If Sa’d b. Murghān (i.e. “two Sa’ds”, tr.) be safe, then Muḥammad should not fear any opposition in Mecca.’

“Next morning, Abū Sufyān asked, ‘Who is al-Sa’d? As’ad b. Bakr or Sa’d b. Ḥudaym?’

“The second night they heard someone reciting,

‘O Sa’d, Sa’d of al-Aws, may you be victorious; and you, O Sa’d, Sa’d of Khazraj, a hero.
Answer to him who calls for guidance and beseech God for paradise as those who know.
For God’s reward to Him who seeks guidance is gardens of paradise where birds fly.’

“Next morning Abū Sufyān said, ‘I swear, it has to be Sa’d b. Muṭadh and Sa’d b. Ḫubāda!’”

DIVISION

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the ansār who had pledged themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the night of the second meeting at al-‘Aqaba returned to Medina, they proclaimed their acceptance of Islam.
"Among their people there were still a few elders persisting in their polytheistic beliefs. One of these was ‘Amr b. al-Jamāḥ b. Zayd b. Ḥarām b. Ka'b b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama.

‘His son Muṣādh b. ‘Am was one of those who were present at al-‘Aqāba. ‘Amr b. al-Jamāḥ was a leader of the Banū Salama. He had a wooden idol, named Manāt, in his home; this was a practice common among those chieftains. They would treat these idols as gods and would venerate them and show them off. When the young men of the Banū Salama, Muṣādh, and Muṣādh b. Jabal accepted Islam, they would sneak in at night to that idol of ‘Amr, carry it out and toss it head first into pits used to contain the excrement of the Banū Salama. Next morning ‘Amr would ask, ‘Who could have attacked our god tonight?’ He would then look around for it and when he found it he washed it, purified it and scented it. Then he would say, ‘I swear, if I knew who did that to you I would put him to shame!’

‘When ‘Am slept at night they would again seize it and do as before. ‘Amr again found it harmed as before and he would wash, purify and scent it. That night they returned and did the same, as he did. But this time he brought his sword and attached it to the idol saying, ‘I swear I do not know who is doing this to you, but if there is any good in you, then defend yourself! You have this sword now.’

‘That night while ‘Am slept they returned to the idol, took the sword off its neck and then replaced it with a dead dog they attached to it. Then they threw it into one of the cesspools of the Banū Salama. Next day ‘Amr b. al-Jamāḥ did not see it in its place, so he went out to find it and did so in the cesspool, upside down and with the dead dog attached. When he saw it in this state he reflected upon his state and one of his people who had accepted Islam went and spoke to him, and, by God’s mercy, he accepted Islam himself and remained a good Muslim. When he accepted Islam and knew what he now did of God, he reflected on his own state and what he had seen happen to the idol. He thanked God who had saved him from his former blindness and error and spoke the following verses,

By God, if you had been a god, you would not have been hurled into a well tied to a dog!
Yekh! for treating you as a god; now we have assessed you and (turned from) evil ways,
Praise be to God the Almighty, the Benevolent, the
Giver, the Provider, the establisher of the religions,
He it was saved me before I was encased in the darkness
of a grave.’"

Section: That gives the names of those who attended the second meeting at al-‘Aqāba, their number, according to Ibn Ishāq, totalling seventy-three men and two women.

There were 11 men from Aws: Usayd b. Ḥudayr, one of the "leaders"; Abū al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihān, who was also at Badr; Salama b. Sallāma b. Waqশ, at Badr; Zuhayr b. Rasī; Abū Burda b. Niyar; Nuhayr b. al-Haytham b. Naḥī b.
Majda'a b. Ḥāritha; Sa'd b. Khaythama, one of the “leaders” who was killed at Badr; Riḍa'a b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zunayr, a “leader”, at Badr; ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr b. al-Nuṣmān b. Umayya b. al-Burak, at Badr, killed at Uhud where he was a commander of the bowmen; Ṭa'an b. ʿAdī b. al-Jadd b. ʿAjlan b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥubayy's al-Balawi, an ally of the Aws, present at Badr and its aftermath and died a martyr in al-Yamaa; ʿUwaym b. Saʿīda, who attended Badr and thereafter.

From the Khazraj there were 62 men: Abū Ayyūb Ḥālīd b. Zayd, who participated at Badr and thereafter, dying a martyr in Byzantine territory during the reign of Muʿawwīya; Muʿādh b. al-Ḥārith, along with his brothers ʿAwf and Muʿāwīya, sons of Ṭaʿrā, all at Badr; Ummāra b. Ḥāzm who witnessed Badr and thereafter, was killed in al-Ŷamāma; ʿAsād b. Zurāra Abū ʿUmāma, one of the “leaders”, who died before Badr; Saḥl b. ʿAtik, at Badr; Āws b. Thābit b. al-Mundhir, at Badr; Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Saḥl, at Badr; Qays b. Abū Saʿāda ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdūl b. ʿAmr b. Ghānim b. Māzin, a commander of the rear-guard at Badr; ʿAmr b. Ghāziyya; Sa’d b. al-Rabī', one of the “leaders”, who was at Badr and was killed at Uhud.

Also there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, one of the “leaders”; he was present at Badr, Uhud and the khandaq, “the trench”. He was killed at the battle of Mu'ṭa, acting as commander. Also there was Bashir b. Sa'd, at Badr, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Tha'labah b. ʿAbd Rabbīhi, who was shown how to call people to prayer. He was present at Badr.

Khallad b. Suwayd, who was present at Badr, Uhud and the khandaq. He died a martyr battling the Banū Qurayza; a millstone was hurled at him and it crushed him. It is said that the Messenger of God (ṣaas) stated, “He will have the reward of two martyrs.”

Also there was Abū Mas'ūd ʿUqba b. ʿAmr, at Badr. However, Ibn Ishaq stated, “He was the youngest person to witness al-ʿAqaba, and he was not present at Badr.”

There was Ziyād b. Labīd, at Badr, Farwa b. ʿAmr b. Wadhafa; Khālid b. Qays b. Mālik, at Badr; Rāfi' b. Mālik, a “leader”; Dhakwān b. ʿAbd Qays b. Khalda b. Mukhlīd b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq. He it is who was called both muhājirī and ansārī, “Emigrant” and “Helper”, because he stayed with the Messenger of God (ṣaas) in Mecca until his migration to Medina. He was present at Badr and was killed at Uhud. Also there was ʿAbbād b. Qays b. ʿĀmir b. Khālid b. ʿĀmir b. Zurayq, at Badr, and his brother al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. ʿĀmir, also at Badr.

And al-Barā' b. Maʿrūr, a “leader” and the first man to pledge allegiance (at ʿAqaba) according to the claim of the Banū Salama. He died before the arrival of the Prophet (ṣaas) in Medina and pledged to him a third of his wealth. The Messenger of God (ṣaas) returned the money to his heirs. His son was Bishr b. al-Barā'; he was present at Badr, Uhud and the khandaq. He died a martyr at Khaybar as a result of eating, along with the Messenger of God (ṣaas), from the poisoned sheep. God bless him!

Also there was Sinān b. Ṣayfī b. Ṣakhir, at Badr, al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nuṣmān b. Khāṣa', at Badr; he was killed at the battle of al-khandaq.


And 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. Harâm, one of the "leaders", at Badr, martyred at Uhud, and his son Jâbir b. 'Abî Allah; Mu'adh b. 'Amr b. al-Jamâh, at Badr; Thâbit b. al-Jadîf, at Badr and martyred at al-Tâ'if; 'Umâyr b. al-Hârith b. Thaqîla, at Badr; Khadij b. Salama, an ally of theirs from Bâliy; Mu'adh b. Jabal who witnessed Badr and thereafter; he died of the plague at Imwas in the Caliphate of Umar b. al-Khattâb.

And Ubâda b. al-Samit, a "leader", at Badr and thereafter; al-'Abbâs b. Ubâda b. Nadîa, who stayed at Mecca until he emigrated from it. He also was known as a muhâjiri ansâri. He was martyred at Uhud. And Abû 'Abd al-Rahmân Yazid b. Thaqîla b. Khazma b. 'Ashram, an ally of theirs from the Banû Ghusaynna from Bâliy; 'Amr b. al-Hârith b. Labâda; Rif'â'a b. 'Amr b. Zayd, at Badr; Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalda, an ally of theirs, at Badr. He was one of those who left for Mecca and remained until he emigrated from there. He was one of those also called a muhâjiri ansâri. And Sa'd b. Ubâda b. Dulaym, a "leader"; al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, a "leader" and at both Badr andUhud. He was killed at BPr Ma'âda, acting as a commander. It was he of whom it was said, "He was manumitted only to die."

The two women were Umm Umâra Nasîba, daughter of Ka'b b. 'Amr b. Awf b. Mabdhûl b. 'Amr b. Ghanm b. Mazin b. al-Najjâr, of Mazin and al-Najjar.

Ibn Ishâq stated, "She, along with her sister and her husband Zayd b. 'Ashim b. Ka'b and her sons Habîb and 'Abd Allah, was present with the Messenger of God (SAAS) during the war. This son of hers, Habîb, was killed by Musaylima, "the liar", the latter asked him, 'Do you bear witness that Muhammad is the Messenger of God?' 'Yes,' he replied. He asked, 'Do you bear witness that I am the Messenger of God?' He replied, 'I do not hear!' At that he began cutting off one member after the other from him until he died right there before him; he got nothing more from him. Umm Umâra was one of those who left for al-Yamâmâ with the Muslims when Musaylima was killed. When she came back she had 12 wounds caused by hits and cuts. God bless her.

The other woman was Umm Mani, Asma, daughter of 'Amr b. 'Adî b. Nabi b. 'Amr b. Sawwâd b. Ghanm b. Ka'b b. Salama. May God be pleased with them all.
Chapter: The beginning of emigration from Mecca to Medina.

Al-Zuhri stated, from Urwa, that 'A'isha said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS), he being at Mecca at the time, addressed the Muslims as follows, ‘I have been shown the place of your migration; I have been shown a salty, swampy plain with palm-groves between two tracts of rocks.’

“Some people migrated towards Medina when the Messenger of God (SAAS) said that, while other Muslims who had gone to Abyssinia returned and went there instead.”

Al-Bukhari related this.

Abu Musa stated that the Prophet (SAAS) said, “In my sleep I saw that I would be migrating from Mecca to a place where there were palm-groves. My imagination told me that it was to be in al-Yamama or Hajar, but it turned out to be the town of Yathrib.”

This hadith is given at length by al-Bukhari with a variety of chains of authority.

Muslim also related both of the above hadith with lines of authority from Abu Kurayb. Muslim added ‘Abd Allah b. Murad and quoted both traditions on the authority of Abu Usama, from Yazid b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abu Burda, from his grandfather, Abu Burda, from Abu Musa ‘Abd Allah b. Qays al-Ash’ari, from the Prophet (SAAS), giving the whole hadith.


“The scholars state that thereafter he decided for Medina, and told his Companions to migrate there.”

This is a very strange hadith. Al-Tirmidhi related it in a digression in his compendium, giving only one account, from Abu ‘Ammar al-Husayn b. Hurayth, from al-Fadl b. Musa, from Isâ b. Ubayd, from Ghaylan b. ‘Abd Allâh al-Amiri, from Abu Zur’A b. Umar b. Jarir, from Jarir, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘God revealed to me, “Any one of these three places you go to will be the site of your migration: Medina, al-Bahrain or Qinnasrin.”’” He (al-Tirmidhi) then commented, “This tradition is gharib, unique; we know of it only on the authority of al-Fadl, and Abu ‘Ammar alone narrated it.”

I comment that this authority Ghaylan b. ‘Abd Allâh al-Amiri is mentioned by Ibn Hibân in al-Thiqat (The Trustworthy Authorities). However, he states, “He related, from Abu Zur’A, a spurious hadith about the hijra, the emigration.” But God knows best.
Ibn Ishaq stated, "When God Almighty gave permission for warfare with His words, 'Permission (to fight) is being given to those against whom war is being wrongfully waged. God has power to give them victory, those who have been expelled unjustly from their homes merely for having said, "Our Lord is God'" (ṣirat al-Ḥājj; XXII, v.3940).

"When God gave permission to do battle and that group of ansār had followed him into accepting Islam and had agreed to give him and his Muslim followers aid and refuge, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his supporters, both those who had previously emigrated and those who had stayed with him in Mecca, to leave in migration to Medina to join their Muslim brethren there. He told them, 'God has provided brothers and a home where you may be secure.'

"And so they left for Medina in groups.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca waiting for his Lord to give him permission to emigrate from Mecca to Medina.

"The first of his supporters to emigrate to Medina of the Quraysh and of the Bani Makhzum was Abu Salama 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Asad b. Hilal b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum. His migration took place one year before the pledge made at al-Qa'aba. This was because, following his return from Abyssinia, he had been badly treated by Quraysh and had decided to return there, but, when he learned of fellow Muslims in Medina, he went there instead."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "My father related to me, from Salama b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. Abii Salama, from his grandmother Umm Salama, who said, 'When Abii Salama decided to depart for Medina, he saddled his camel for me, mounted me on it and put my son Salama in my lap. He then led us away."

"'When some men of the Banu al-Mughira saw him they approached and said, "We can accept what you yourself do, but why should we allow this woman of ours to be taken off by you somewhere else?" She went on, "And they snatched the camel's bridle out of his hand and took me off it."

"'This angered the Bani 'Abd al-Asad, Aba Salama's people, and they said, "By God, we'll not leave a son of ours with her now you've taken her away from our man." So they tugged at my son Salama and dislocated his arm. The Bani 'Abd al-Asad then took him away, while the Banu al-Mughira kept me among themselves. My husband, Abu Salama, then left for Medina. So I was separated from both my son and my husband.

"'Thereafter I would go out every morning and sit in the valley and weep till evening; I kept this up for about a year.

"'Then one day a man from my uncle's family, one of the Banu al-Mughira, passed by, saw the state I was in and took pity on me. He told the Banu al-Mughira, 'Can't you let this poor woman go? You've separated her from both her son and her husband?'

"'They then told me I could join my husband if I liked.

"'So then the Banu 'Abd al-Asad returned my son to me; I saddled a camel, took my son in my lap and headed out to my husband in Medina.
"I was entirely alone. But eventually, at al-Tan'im, I met Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa, a relative of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dar, and he asked, "Where are you going, daughter of Abū Umayya?" I replied, "I'm heading for my husband in Medina." He said, "And there's no one with you?" "There is no one with me except God and this son of mine," I replied.

"He commented, "You shouldn't be left like that."

"He then took the camel's halter and began accompanying me. And, I swear, I was never in the company of any Arab more honourable than him. When we made a stop, he would make my camel kneel and then he would move away until I had dismounted. When I made a halt he would take my mount away, unload it, and tie it to a tree. He would then move off and make his bed beneath a tree. When it was time to leave, he would get my camel, lead it up, saddle it and then stand away from me. He would then say, "Do mount!" And when I mounted and was secure, he would come and take its halter and lead me away until we next stopped.

"He continued behaving in this way until he brought me to Medina. When he saw the village of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf at Qubā', he said, "Your husband is in this village. Abū Salama is living here. Go on in, with God's blessings." He then left, returning to Mecca.'

"She used to say, 'I know of no other family in all Islam who suffered like that of Abū Salama. And I swear I never had a more honourable companion than Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa.'"

This man, Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-ʿAbdari, accepted Islam after the Ḥudaybiyya truce. He emigrated along with Khalid b. al-Walid. His father and brothers, al-Ḥārith, Kilaab and Musāfi', were killed at Uhūd, along with his uncle Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa. The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥāḥ) handed over to him and to his cousin Shayba, head of the Banū Shayba, the keys of the kāba on the "conquest of Mecca"; he affirmed their being in their care in Islam as they had been in the jahiliyya. On that subject the Almighty revealed, "God orders you to give over matters of trust to those entitled to it" (sūrat al-Nisā'; IV, v.58).


Ibn Isḥāq gives his name as ʿAbd, though it is also said to have been Thāmāma. Al-Suhaylī stated that the first of these names was correct.

"Abū Aḥmad was blind; however, he used to make his way all over the length and breadth of Mecca without any guide. He was a poet and had a wife named al-Ḥaḍīra, daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. His mother was Umayma, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥāshim."
"The home of Banū Jaḥš was shut up when the migration occurred. Utba b. Rabī'ā, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Abū Jahl b. Hishām passed by it on their way up to the heights of Mecca. Utba looked at its doors blowing open, unoccupied, and he sighed deeply and said,

‘Every house, no matter how long safe, will one day be beset by disaster and outrage.’"

Ibn Hishām, however, mentioned that this verse was a line from a poem by Abū Dārūḍ al-Iyyāḍi. Al-Suhaylī said that Abī Dāma al-Iyyāḍ was Hanżaš b. Sharqī; also his name was given as Ḥāritha.

(Ibn Iṣḥaq continued) “Utba then said, ‘The home of Banū Jaḥš has become devoid of its people.’ Abū Jahl commented, ‘No one at all will weep over that!’ He then said, to al-ʿAbbās that is, ‘All this is the work of your nephew! He has split us up and completely divided our community.’"

Ibn Iṣḥaq stated, “Abū Salama, Āmir b. Rabī'ā and the Banū Jaḥš took up residence at Quba' with Mubashshīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir; after this the Emigrants arrived in groups.


“Abū Ahmad b. Jaḥš spoke the following verses concerning their emigration to Medina:

‘When Umm Ahmad saw me leaving under the protection of One supernatural whom I fear and revere,
She said, “If this is what you have to do, then take us some place else, far from Yathrib.”
I said to her, “Yathrib is not just a possible location;
man does whatever the All-Merciful wishes.
I head towards God and to the Messenger; and whoever directs himself to God one day will not be disappointed.
What a lot of true, real friends we have left behind, and a woman, too, who weeps tears and laments.
You think it is vengeance that distances us from our land; we think that it is our aspiration that we seek.
I invited the Banū Ghanm to spare their bloodshed; for there is a course open to people when the path to truth is clear."

They responded, praise the Lord, when someone invited them to the truth and to success, and they came united.

We, and our fellows who had left the true path and had helped those using weapons against us, had become,

Like two battalions; one of these was successful in achieving truth, rightly guided, while the other would be punished.

Acting unjustly, they thought up lies; Satan made them err away from the truth. They failed and caused to fail.

We delighted in the words of the Prophet Muhammad and those of us who supported truth acted well and were well treated.

We are very closely related to them, though there is no close relationship if there is no closeness.

What nephew would, after us, give you their husq what in-law after us could be respected?

One day you will learn which of us is closer to the truth, when they have passed on and the people’s dispute is concluded."

(ʻIbn Ishāq continued) "Then Ťumar b. al-Khaṭṭāb left, along with ʻAyyāsh b. Abū Rabī‘a, and went to Medina.

ʻNasfī related to me, from ʻAbd Allāh b. Ťumar, from his father, saying, ‘Having made up my mind to emigrate to Medina, I arranged a rendezvous with ʻAyyāsh b. Abū Rabī‘a and Hishām b. al-ʻĀṣ at al-Ta‘ādub of Iḍrat of the Banū Ghifār, above Saraf. We agreed, “Any one of us who doesn’t arrive there in the morning must have been detained; in such a case the others must go ahead.”

‘Next morning ʻAyyāsh and I were there at al-Ta‘ādub. Hishām was detained. He was enticed and apostatized.’

‘When we reached Medina we went to live among the Banū ʻAmr b. Ťawf in Qubā. Abū Jahl b. Hishām and al-Ḥarīth b. Hishām came over to see ʻAyyāsh who was their cousin and their brother through their mother. They came to Medina at a time when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in Mecca. They talked to ʻAyyāsh and told him, “Your mother has warned that she will not allow a comb to touch her hair until she sees you, nor will she shelter from the sun.”

ʻAyyāsh was worried about her, but I told him, “These people, I swear, only want to entice you away from your faith; so beware of them. You can be sure that if your mother gets lice she’ll be sure to comb her hair, and if she finds Mecca’s heat severe, she’ll surely seek shade!”

‘But ʻAyyāsh said, “I will remove my mother’s oath; and I have money there I can get.” I told him, “You already know I’m one of the wealthiest men of Mecca, and if you don’t go, I’ll give you half what I have!”
"He refused my offer, insisting on leaving with them. When that was all he would do, I said, "Well, if you have to do it, then take this camel of mine. It is a splendid mount and docile. Keep on her back and if you get suspicious about them, then escape on her."

"He then rode off on her with them. Some way along Abū Jahl asked him, "Say, brother, I find my mount difficult to ride. Would you mind if I rode behind on yours?" "Sure," he responded. Then he made his camel kneel as the other two men dismounted to change mounts. But when they were all on the ground the others ran up at 'Ayyāsh and tied him up. Then they took him off to Mecca, subverted him and he apostatized.

"'And,' the narrator 'Umar said, 'we used to say, "God will not accept repentance from those who apostatize." And those who apostatized made similar statements about themselves."

"He went on, 'This was so until the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to Medina and God revealed, "Say: 'O my servants who have harmed themselves, do not despair of God's mercy. God will forgive all sins. He is the All-Forgiving, the All-Merciful. Turn back to your Lord and submit to Him before punishment reaches you; then you shall not be helped. Follow the best that has been revealed to you from your Lord before punishment comes suddenly to you, and you are caught unawares.'"' (sūrat al-Zumar; XXXIX, v.53–5).

"'Umar went on, 'I wrote this down and sent it on to Hishām b. al-Ĥās.

"Hishām said, "When it reached me I began reading it at Dḥū Ṭuwā, holding it this way and that, but I didn't understand it. Eventually I said, 'O God, make me understand this!' And God made me realize that it had been sent down specifically about us and what we used to tell ourselves and what was said about us."

"'So I went to my camel, mounted it and joined the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina.'"

Ibn Hishām recounted that it was al-Walid b. al-Mughira who brought Hishām b. al-Ĥās and 'Ayyāsh b. Abū Rabī'a to Medina. He stole them away from Mecca and brought them on his own mount while he walked beside them. He stumbled and bloodied his toe, and so spoke the line,

"Are you anything but a toe that bleeds; what happened to you was in God's cause!"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Abū al-Walid related to us, quoting Shu'bā, quoting Abū Ishāq who heard al-Barā' say, 'The first to come to us were Muṣ'ab b. Umayr and Ibn Umm Maktūm, and they were followed by 'Ammār and Bilāl.'

"Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to me, quoting Ghundar quoting Shu'bā, from Abu Ishāq, who said, 'I heard al-Barā' b. Āzib say, "The first to join us were Muṣ'ab b. Umayr and Ibn Umm Maktūm. They would read to the people. Then came Bilāl, Sa'd and 'Ammār b. Yāsir, followed by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb along with 20 of the supporters of the Prophet (SAAS)."
“Then came the Prophet (SAAS); and I never saw the people of Medina so happy as they were to see him. So much so that the slave girls sang out, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) has come!” And he did not arrive until after I had read the verse in the Qur'an: “Glorify the name of your Lord most high!” (sūrat al-'Alā; LXXXVII), along with other verses from al-Muṣafāṣalāt.”

Muslim related this in his saḥīḥ collection from an ḥadīth of Isra'īl from Abū ʿIshaq, from al-Barā' b. ʿAzib, in similar words.

In it there is the assertion that Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās emigrated before the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina. Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting al-Zuhri, claimed that he emigrated only after the Messenger of God (SAAS); the information that precedes this however, is correct.


Ibn ʿIshaq stated, “Then the emigrants, God bless them, followed on after them. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh and Ṣuhayyab b. Sinān, took up residence with Khubayb b. Isāf, brother of the Banū al-Ḥārith b. al-Khazraj at al-Suḥr. It is also said that Ṭalḥa stayed with ʿAṣād b. Zūrārā.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “It was told to me that Abū ʿUṯmān al-Nahdī said, ‘I learned that when Ṣuhayyab wished to emigrate the polytheists of Quraysh said to him, “When you came to us you were a poverty-stricken beggar. With us you grew wealthy and acquired status and now you want to take yourself and your money away! By God, that won’t happen!”<br>

‘Ṣuhayyab told them, ‘If I were to make my money over to you, would you let me leave?’

‘Yes,’ they agreed.

That information reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he commented, ‘Ṣuhayyab made a profit! Ṣuhayyab made a profit!’”


34. That portion of the Qur'ān from sūrat al-Ḥujurat to sūrat al-Nās.
salt-plain between two uplands and two lava-rock plains. That would either be Hajar or Yathrib."

"He went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) left for Medina accompanied by Abû Bakr. I had wanted to leave with him, but some young Quraysh men blocked my way. I remained up that night, not lying down, and they commented, "God has diverted him from you through his stomach!" But I made no complaint, and they went to sleep. So I left, but some of them caught up with me after I had gone some way and wanted to take me back. I told them, "If I were to give you some ounces of gold, would you let me go and be fair to me?" They did so and I followed them back to Mecca. I told them, "Dig beneath the threshold of the door; that's where the ounces of gold are. And if you go off to a certain woman, you can take two sets of vestments."

"So I left and joined the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Qubā' before he moved out from there. When he saw me he said, "Well, Abû Yahyâ, you made a good deal!" I replied, "O Messenger of God, no one got here to you before me, so it could only be Gabriel, peace be upon him, who informed you!""

Ibn Ishâq stated, "Hâmza b. 'Abd al-Mu'llalîb, Zayd b. Hârîthah, Abû Marthad Kânâz b. al-Ḫuṣayn and his son Marthad, both of the Ghanawî tribe, allies of Hâmzâ; Anasa and Abû Kabsha, freed-men of the Messenger of God (SAAS); all these stayed with Kûltâm b. al-Hâm, brother of the Banû 'Amr b. 'Awf, at Qubâ'. However, it is also said that they stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama. It is stated, moreover, that Hâmzâ stayed with Asâd b. Zurâra. But God knows best."


His account continues, "The unmarried emigrant men stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama since he was unmarried. But God knows best about this."


His account continues, "The unmarried emigrant men stayed with Sa'd b. Khaythama since he was unmarried. But God knows best about this."

Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfic, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘We arrived from Mecca and took up residence at al-ʿUsha, including ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarāh, and Sālim, freed-man of Abū Hudhayfa. It was Sālim who acted as their Imām because he had greater knowledge of the Qurʾān than the others.’"

**Section: On the cause of the emigration of the Messenger of God (SAAS).**

God Almighty revealed, “Say: O God, make my place of arrival good and make my place of departure good. And grant me an aid and authority from Yourself” (ṣūrat Bani Isrāʾil; XVII, v.80).

And God did give him good guidance and inspired him to call out the above prayer to provide him prompt relief and a rapid departure. The Almighty gave him permission to migrate to the “Medina, the ‘city’, of the Prophet”, where there were the anṣār and friends, a place where he could make his home in security and whose people would be his helpers.

Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and ʿUthmān b. Abī Shayba said, from Jarir, from Qābūs b. Abū Zubayr, from his father, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was at Mecca when he was ordered to migrate and there was revealed to him the verse, “Say: O God, make my place of arrival good, and make my place of departure good. And grant me an aid and authority from Yourself.”

Qatāda said, “The phrase ‘place of arrival’ referred to Medina, while the words ‘place of departure’ referred to his emigration from Mecca. The words ‘grant me an aid and authority from Yourself’ referred to God’s book and His ordinances and restrictions.”

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed on in Mecca after his supporters had emigrated, waiting for permission to be given to himself to leave. “There remained there with him only those (Muslims) who had been detained or who had apostatized, except for ʿAli, son of Abū Ṭalib, and Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, God bless them both.

“Abū Bakr often asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) for permission to leave, but he would reply, ‘Don’t be in a hurry. God may well give you a companion.’ And Abū Bakr hoped it would be him.

“When Quraysh saw that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had assembled a party and had supporters from others than their own people and from a town other than theirs, and saw his Companions moving out to join these others, they realized that the Muslims had found a new home with them and had acquired their protection.

“Quraysh were concerned that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would leave and join them, since they knew that he had decided to do battle with them.

“They therefore gathered in the Dār al-Nadwa, the house of assembly, the home of Quṣayy b. Kilāb, where all their decisions were made. They discussed
there what they should do about the Messenger of God (SAAS), since they now feared him."

Ibn Ish'aq continued, "A colleague whose views I do not doubt, as did others I consider reliable, related to me, from 'Abd Allah b. Abu Najih, from Mujahid b. Jabr, that 'Abd Allah b. Abbas said, 'The day arrived when they had agreed to meet to enter their assembly to discuss what to do about the Messenger of God (SAAS). That day is known as the yawm al-zahma, "the day of the gathering", and upon it Satan, God curse him, came before them in the form of a venerable sheikh dressed in a heavy cloak. He stood at the door of the house and, when they saw him they asked who he was. He replied, "I am come from Nejd, from the highlands; I have heard why you agreed to meet, and I've come to listen to what you say and perhaps offer some comment or advice." They invited him in.


"They reminded one another what they had experienced from the behaviour of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and agreed that they felt insecure from the possibility that he and his supporters might make an attack upon them.

"Having discussed the issue, one of them, said to have been Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Hishām, suggested, "Put him in irons and gaol him; then wait for him to have the same fate that befell poets like him before, such as Zuhayr and al-Nābirī. He would die as they had."

"But the Najdi sheikh objected, saying "No; that's not a good plan. If you do shut him up, news of him will get right past the door you have locked on him and reach his supporters. They will promptly attack you and release him and then increase in numbers until they overcome you. That's not a good idea."

"They consulted further and one suggested, "Let's exile him from our territory. Once he has gone, we shouldn't care where he ends up or what happens to him. So long as he is gone, we'll be rid of him and we'll be able to restore our affairs as they were before."

"But the Najdi sheikh observed, "No, that's not a good idea for you. You know how sweet his talk is, and his reasoning, and how he convinces others of his message. If you do that you'd have no security against him going to live with some Arab tribe and using his speech and discourse to get them to follow him. Then he would lead them against you and perhaps defeat (or) dispossess you and do what they like with you. No, think of something else."

"Abū Jahl b. Hishām then said, "I have an idea that hasn't occurred to you yet."

"What is it, Abū al-Ḥakam?" they asked him.

"He replied, "I think we should select one young man from each tribe, and someone who is strong, of excellent lineage and reputation as a leader. We should
give each one a sharp sword and they would go to him and use the swords to strike him in unison. They would kill him and we would then be rid of him. If they do this, his blood will be spread over all the tribes. And the Banū ‘Abd Manāf will not be able to do battle against them all. So they will accept blood money which we can pay them.”

“‘The Najdī sheikh commented, ‘What he says is right. This is the right idea, and no other.’

“Having agreed upon this, the assembly broke up.

“Gabriel then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, ‘Do not sleep tonight on the bed you usually use.’

“When it was fully dark that night the Quraysh men gathered outside his door, waiting for him to sleep so they could attack him. Having seen where they were, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ‘Ali b. Abu Talib, ‘Sleep on my bed, wrapping yourself in this green cloak of mine from Ḥadramaut; sleep in it. You’ll not come to any harm from them.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the habit of sleeping in that cloak of his.’

This story told by Ibn Ishaq is also related by al-Waqidi, with the chains of authority from ‘A’isha, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Ali, Surāqa b. Malik b. Ju’shum and others, the various accounts overlapping and saying much as above.

Ibn Ishaq’s account continues, “Yazid b. Abū Yazid related to me, from Muhammad b. Ka‘b al-Qurrațī, who said, ‘The men having met there at his door, Abū Jahl, who was among them, said, ‘Muḥammad claims that if you follow him you’ll become kings of the Arabs and non-Arabs alike. Then you’ll be given life after death and be provided with gardens like those of the Jordan. If you don’t do that, then, he says, you will be slaughtered, given life after death but be put into hell-fire where you will be burned.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of dirt, saying, ‘Yes, I do say that. And you are one of them!’

“Then God took away their sight from them and they could not see him. He began sprinkling the dirt on to their heads while he recited the following verses: ‘Yā sin. By the Qur’aan the wise. You are among those sent forth upon a straight path’ up to the verse ‘We have placed a barrier before them and a barrier behind them, and have covered them over so that they cannot see’ (sūrat Yā Sin; XXXVI, v.3–9). Every single man among them had dirt thrown on his head.

“He then left, and went where he wished.

“Someone who had not been there with these men then arrived and asked, ‘What are you waiting for here?’ They replied, ‘For Muḥammad.’ He commented, ‘God damn you! Muḥammad just came out to you and he did not leave any single one of you without throwing dirt on your head. He then left and went elsewhere. Can’t you see what has happened to you?’

“Each man then placed a hand on his head and found dirt there. Looking closely, they saw ‘Ali on the bed covered in the cloak of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They stayed there like that until morning; when ‘Ali arose from the bed, they said, ‘By God, what he told us must have been true!’”
Ibn Ishaq continued, “Concerning what they had agreed upon that day, God revealed, among others, the following verses, ‘And when the disbelievers plotted to confine, kill or exile you they made plans; but God makes plans and He is the best planner of all’ (sūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.30).

“And there was the verse, ‘Or do they say he is a poet; we await for him incidents of fate.’ Say: ‘Do await! I with you am one who awaits!’” (sūrat al-Ṭūr; LI, v.30–1).

Ibn Ishaq continued, “And so God gave His permission to His Prophet (ṢAAS) to emigrate.”

Chapter: The emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca to Medina accompanied by Abū Bakr “the Trusting”, God be pleased with him.

That event marks the beginning of the Islamic era as was agreed upon by the sahāba, “the Companions”, during the rule of ʿUmar, as we have shown in the biography of ʿUmar, God be pleased with him and with them all.

Al-Bukhārī stated, ʿMāṭar b. al-ṣaʿdī related to us, quoting Rawḥ, quoting Hishām quoting ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) received his mission when he was 40 years old. He continued in Mecca receiving revelation for 13 years and then was ordered to emigrate. He did so for 10 years, then died at the age of 63.

“His emigration took place in the month of Rabiʿ al-Awwal in the 13th year of his mission, on a Monday.”

Similarly ʿImām ʿAḥmad recounted from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Your Prophet was born on a Monday, left Mecca on a Monday, first received revelation on a Monday, entered Medina on a Monday and died on a Monday.”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated, “Whenever Abū Bakr asked permission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to emigrate, he would be told, ‘Don’t be in a hurry. God may well give you a companion.’ And Abū Bakr hoped it would be the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he was really referring to himself.

“He therefore purchased two camels which he kept and fed at his home to be prepared.”

According to al-Wāqīdī, he paid 800 dirhams for them both.

Ibn Ishaq continued, “A man in whom I have confidence related to me, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAʾisha, mother of the faithful, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go without fail to Abū Bakr’s house either in the morning or the evening. Eventually that day arrived when God gave the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) permission to emigrate, to leave Mecca and his people there. He came to us that day at midday, a time unusual for him.

“When Abū Bakr saw him, he said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) can only have come at this hour because something has happened.’”
"When he came in, Abū Bakr gave up his couch for him and the Messenger of God (SAAS) sat down. There was no one else in the house except myself and my sister Āsma', daughter of Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Send away anyone else who is with you." Abū Bakr replied, "There are only my two daughters; what can be wrong, I pray you?"

"God has given me permission to leave, to emigrate," he replied.

"As companions then, O Messenger of God?" Abū Bakr asked.

"Yes, as companions," he answered.

A'isha continued, "And, I swear, before that day I never knew anyone who wept for joy until I saw Abū Bakr do so that day.

"He then said, "O Prophet of God, these are two camels I have readied for this."

"They hired ʿAbd Allāh b. Arqāt."

Ibn Ḥishām suggests an alternative name, ʿAbd Allāh b. Urayqīt.

Ibn Ishaq continued, "He was a polytheist, of the Banū al-Dīl b. Bakr, his mother of the Banū Sahm b. ʿAmr. He was to act as their guide on the way and they gave him the two mounts to look after until needed.

"And, as I have been told, no one knew of the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS) except ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb and Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", and his family.

"ʿAlī was ordered to remain behind to return to people the items they had deposited with the Messenger of God (SAAS); anyone in Mecca who had concerns about things they owned would leave them in his care, such was his reputation for honesty and trustworthiness.

"Having decided to leave, the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the house of Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa and they made their exit via a window at its rear."

Abū Nuʿaym recounted, through ʿIbrahīm b. Saʿd, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, who said, "I have been informed that as he was about to leave Mecca as an emigrant to Medina for God, he said, "Praise be to God who created me when I had been nothing. O God, protect me from earthly terrors, misfortunes and mishaps in the nights and days to come. O God, accompany me on my journey and keep my family safe. Bless me in what You have granted me and humble me before Yourself. Raise me to the finest qualities in my character. Endear me to You, O Lord. And do not entrust (my fate) to people."

"O Lord of the frail, you are my Lord. I take refuge in Your noble visage before which the heavens and the earth rejoice, the dark shadows dissipate and the troubles of those who are first and those who are last are made right. (I pray) that You spare me your anger and discontent. I appeal to You not to cease your favours and to spare me your sudden wrath, removal of your favour and all your anger. I will repay as best I can all your favours to me. And there is no power nor strength except in You.""

Ibn Ishaq continued, "They then made their way to a cave on Mt. Thawr, south of Mecca, which they entered. Abū Bakr ordered his son ʿAbd Allāh to spend the
day listening to what people were saying about them and then to bring them whatever news there might be. And he told 'Āmir b. Fuhayra, his freed-man, to tend his flock during the day and then to bring them to the cave in the evening.

"'Abd Allah b. Abū Bakr would spend the day among Quraysh listening to their planning and what they were saying regarding the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr. He would then visit them in the evening and report to them.

"'Āmir b. Fuhayra would tend his flock in the pasturage of the people of Mecca and in the evening he would bring them to Abī Bakr who would milk and slaughter them. When next morning 'Abd Allāh, Abū Bakr's son would leave them to return to Mecca, 'Āmir would follow him down with the flock in order to efface his footprints."

The following account from al-Bukhari will give evidence of this. Ibn Jarir related from various sources that the Messenger of God (SAAS) preceded Abū Bakr in leaving for the cave on Mt. Thawr and that he told 'Ali to guide his (Abū Bakr's) path to join him, and that he did so on the way. This account is strange and contradicts what is well known, that they travelled together.

Ibn Ishaq continued, "Each evening Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with her, would bring them food to restore them."

"Asmā' said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr had left, a group of Quraysh, including Abn Jahl b. Hishm, came and stood at Abū Bakr's door. I went out to them and they asked, "Where is your father, O Daughter of Abū Bakr?" I replied that I did not know, whereupon Abī Jahl, an evil and uncouth man, raised his hand and slapped me so hard on the cheek that my earring fell off. They then left.'

"Yahyā b. 'Abbād b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr related to me that his father told him, that his grandmother Asmā' said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) left, along with Abū Bakr, the latter took all his cash with him, some 5,000 or 6,000 dirhams. My grandfather, Abū Quhāfa, whose sight was gone, came in thereafter and commented, 'I swear, he's put you all into some difficulty by taking his money with him.'"

"I replied, "No, father, he left us plenty." I then took some stones and placed them in a space in the house where my father used to put his money and placed a cloth over them. Then I took my grandfather's hand and told him, "Put your hand on this money." He did so and said, "Not bad at all. He did well by leaving you all this. This will be enough money for you.""

"'But in fact he had left us nothing; I just wanted to reassure the old man.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A certain scholar told me that al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḍārī said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr, went to the cave at night. Abū Bakr went in first and searched the cave to ensure there were no snakes or lions inside, thus using himself to protect the Messenger of God (SAAS).""
The line of authorities here is incomplete at both ends.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, “Dā'ūd b. 'Amr al-Ḍabbī related to us, quoting Nāfi' b. Umar al-Jumaḥī, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left with Abū Bakr for Mt. Thawr, Abū Bakr would first position himself ahead and then at the rear. The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked him why this was and he replied, ‘When I’m behind you I’m afraid you’ll be attacked from the front, and when I’m ahead of you I fear you’ll be attacked from behind.’

“When they finally reached the cave on Mt. Thawr Abū Bakr said, ‘Stay where you are until I put my hand inside and examine it; if there is some creature there it will attack me before you.’

“Nāfi' said, ‘I have heard that there was a crevice inside the cave in which Abū Bakr placed his foot, fearing that some creature might emerge and harm the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’”

This tradition is incomplete in its chain of authorities. But we have given several other testimonials for it in our biography of Abū Bakr, “the Trusting”, God be pleased with him.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “The ḥāfiẓ Abū 'Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Ishāq, that Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan narrated that Ābbād related, quoting 'Affān b. Muslim, quoting al-Sārī b. Yaḥyā, quoting Muḥammad b. Sirīn, as follows, ‘Some men were talking during the period of the rule of Ṣumar and apparently expressed their preference for Ṣumar over Abū Bakr. This reached Ṣumar and he commented, “By God, a single night or a single day of Abū Bakr would be better than the whole clan of Ṣumar! On the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the cave with Abū Bakr, the latter would walk in front for a while, then walk behind. Eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) realized this and asked, ‘Abū Bakr, why do you walk behind for a while, then go and walk ahead?’ He replied, ‘O Messenger of God, I think of pursuit and walk behind you, but then I think of ambush and so walk ahead of you.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, ‘You mean if something happened you’d rather it be to you than to me?’ ‘Yes indeed, by Him who sent you with the truth,’ he replied.

“‘When they reached the cave Abū Bakr said, ‘Stay outside, O Messenger of God, until I make sure the cave is safe for you.’ He went inside and made sure it was safe, but then remembered he had not checked out the crevice. So he said, ‘Stay were you are, O Messenger of God, while I check again.’ He then went back in, made sure the crevice was safe and said, ‘Come on down, O Messenger of God.’ And he did so.’

“‘Umar then commented, “By Him who holds my soul in His hand, that night was better than the whole clan of Ṣumar!”’

Al-Bayhaqi related this comment from Ṣumar through a different chain. In that account the wording is “Abū Bakr sometimes walked ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and at others behind him, sometimes to the left and
at others to the right.” That account also states that when the feet of the Messenger of God (SAAS) became sore, Abû Bakr would carry him on his back. Also, that when he went into the cave he blocked up all the crevices except one, and over that he placed his heel. Snakes then struck at him and his tears ran down. Seeing this, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, “Don’t be sad; God is with us!”

There are some strange and unsatisfactory aspects to the course of this anecdote.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “The hâfiz Abû ‘Abd Allâh and Abû Sa‘îd b. Abû ‘Amr informed us as follows, ‘Abû al-’Abbâs al-’Asamm related to us, quoting ‘Abbâs al-Dûrî, quoting Aswad b. Āmir Shâdhân quoting Isrâ’il, from al-’Aswad, from Jundub b. Abî Allah, who said, “Abû Bakr was with the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the cave when he hit his hand on a rock. He then spoke the following verse:

‘You are nothing but a finger that bleeds; what happened to you was in God’s cause!’”

Imâm Aḥmad stated, “Abd al-Razzâq related to us, quoting Ma‘mar, quoting ‘Uthmân al-Jazârî, that Miqṣam, the freed-man of Ibn ‘Abbâs, told him that Ibn ‘Abbâs made the following comment about the verse in the Qur’ân. ‘And when those who disbelieve were scheming to imprison you’ (sûrat al-‘Anfâl; VIII, v.30). He said, ‘Quraysh were engaged in discussion one night in Mêcca and some of them suggested, “In the morning imprison him in shackles.” They were referring to the Prophet (SAAS). Others of them said, “No; kill him!” Yet others said, “No, exile him!” God made his Prophet (SAAS), aware of that and so ‘Alî spent the night on his bed, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the cave. The polytheists spent the night watching ‘Alî, thinking him to be the Prophet (SAAS). When morning came they attacked him and when they saw ‘Alî, God turned their trickery against them. They said, “Where is that master of yours?” He replied, “I don’t know.”

“They followed his tracks, but these became too confused for them in the mountains. They climbed on up the mountain and passed by the cave but saw a spider’s web over its opening. They said, “If anyone had gone inside here, the spider would not have put a web over its opening.” And so he stayed there three nights.’”

The chain of authorities for this is good; it is one of the best accounts given relating to the spider’s web over the mouth of the cave, which was God’s protection for His Messenger (SAAS).

saw the spider’s web over the mouth of the cave, they said, “No one went in here.”

“The Prophet (SAAS) was at the time standing there praying while Abū Bakr watched. Abū Bakr then said to the Prophet (SAAS), “Those are your people searching for you. It’s not for myself I am sad, but because I might see something terrible happen to you.”

“The Prophet (SAAS) replied, “Abū Bakr, don’t be afraid. God is with us.””

This tradition from Hasan is incomplete, but it is good as textual evidence. It includes, however, the praying of the Prophet (SAAS) in the cave; it was his custom to pray when something saddened him.

This same source, I mean Abū Bakr Ahmad b. ‘Alī al-‘Adi, related from ‘Amr al-Nāqīd, from Khalaf b. Tamīm, from Muḥāfaẓ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that Abū Bakr said to his son, “Son, if something should happen among the people, then go to the cave where I and the Messenger of God (SAAS) took refuge. Stay there and you will find sustenance come to you both morning and night.”

A poet composed the following line:

“David’s web” is what protected the occupant of the cave, and glory goes to the spider.”

It is also said that two doves made their nest over its entrance. Al-Ṣarṣārī composed the following line on that:

“The spider roofed it over with his web, and the dove having eggs remained at the entrance.”

The hadith dealing with this was related by the hāfiz Ibn ‘Asākir, through Yāḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Sā‘īd, quoting ‘Amr b. ‘Alī, who said that ‘Awn b. ‘Amr Abū ‘Amr al-Qaysī, nicknamed ‘Uwāyn, related to us that Abū Mus‘ab al-Makki said, “I am aware of Zayd b. Aqrām, al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba and Anas b. Mālik as relating that on the night the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the cave, God gave an order to a tree that emerged right in front of him and hid him. God also sent the spider that made a web between them, so hiding the face of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He then commanded two wild doves which came fluttering down and alighted between the spider and the tree. Now the young warriors of Quraysh approached, one from each of the tribes there, carrying sticks, bows and staves. When they got to within 200 yards of the Messenger of God (SAAS) the guide, who was Sūrāq b. Mālik b. Ju‘shum al-Mudlajī, said, ‘That’s the rock; but I don’t know where he placed his foot.’ The young warriors commented, ‘You’ve not made a mistake since tonight began.’ When morning came the guide told them to look in the cave. He went ahead of the rest until they were some 50 yards away from the Prophet (SAAS), and then there were the two doves. The guide came back and they asked him, ‘What prevented you from looking in the cave?’ ‘I saw two wild doves at its entrance’, he said, ‘so I knew there was no one inside.’
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) heard him and knew that God had used the doves to save him and Abu Bakr. He then invoked a blessing upon them, and God brought them down to the holy shrine where, as you know, they proliferated."

This is a strange hadith to come from this source. The hafiz Abû Nu'aym related it from an account from Muslim b. Ibrâhim and others, from 'Awn b. 'Amr, he known as 'Uwayn, with chains of authority similar to these. That account states that all the doves of Mecca are descended from these two.

Also in this hadith is the information that the tracker who guided the warriors was Surâqa b. Mâlik al-Mudlaji.

Al-Wâqidi related from Mûsâ b. Muhammed b. Ibrâhim, from his father, that the one who tracked for them was Kurz b. 'Alqama.

My own comment is that it is likely that they both followed the trail. But God knows best.

God Almighty said, "Even if you do not aid him, God did so when those who disbelieved expelled him, he being the second of two, in the cave. (Therein) he said to his companion, 'Do not be sad; God is with us.' And so God sent down tranquillity upon him and aided him with troops you do not see, putting down very low the words of those who disbelieved; the words of God are the highest, for God is powerful, wise" (sûrat al-Tawba or al-Bara'a; IX, v.40).

Reprimanding those who refrained from engaging in battle on the side of the Messenger of God (SAAS) the Almighty stated, "Even if you do not aid him." God will assist him, be his helper and ally. As He did help him, "when those who disbelieved expelled him" from his people in Mecca, in flight and accompanied by no one but his friend and Companion Abû Bakr.

Therefore He said, "being the second of two, when they were in the cave" where they stayed for three days until the search for them died down.

This was because when the polytheists lost track of the two men, as recounted above, they went off in all directions searching for them. They offered 100 camels to anyone who might turn in both or even one of them. They followed their tracks until they became confused. The tracker working for Quraysh was Surâqa b. Mâlik b. Ju'ashum, as mentioned above. They climbed the mountain where the two men were and went past the mouth of the cave. Their feet would move straight across the mouth of the cave without seeing the two men, God protecting them this way.

As Imam Ahmad stated, quoting 'Affân, quoting Hammâm, quoting Thâbit, from Anas b. Mâlik, that Abû Bakr told him, "I said to the Prophet (SAAS), while we were inside the cave, 'If any one of them were to glance down at his feet he would see us below them!'"

"He replied, 'Abû Bakr, how would you regard the safety of two people who had God as their third companion?'"

Al-Bukhârî and Muslim gave this hadith in both their sahih collections, from Hammâm.
Some biographers state that when Abū Bakr said that the Prophet (SAAS) replied, “If they were to come to us from here, we would leave that way.”

Abū Bakr then saw that the cave had opened up on its other side and it was now connected to the sea, and there was a boat tied up beside it.

This tradition is not objectionable in the sense of this being beyond the divine power. However, it does not have a chain of authorities that is strong; nor is it weak. We cannot assert anything purely by ourselves. We do, however, stand by tradition considered authentic and with chains of authority that are good. But God knows best.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, “Al-Fadl b. Sahl related to us, quoting Khalaf b. Tamīm, quoting Mūsā b. Muṭṭār al-Qurashi, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, that Abū Bakr said to his son, ‘If some disturbance should break out among the people, go to the cave where you saw me hide with the Messenger of God (SAAS). Stay there and you will receive sustenance morning and evening.’”

Al-Bazzār then said, “We know of no one else but Khalaf b. Tamīm who related this hadīth.”

My own comment is that Mūsā b. Muṭṭār quoted here is a weak source of low regard; Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn gave the lie to him, and traditions from him are not accepted.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, that Abū Bakr, having entered the cave and behaved as related, and after the matter concerning Suraqa, which is still to be told, spoke some poetry, a part of which follows:

“The Prophet said to reassure me, though I was not concerned, when we were in the dark of the shadows of the cave,

Fear nothing, for God is our third, and he has guaranteed to me victory from Him.’”

Abū Nuʿaym related this ode through Ziyād, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq. He quoted it at great length along with another poem. But God knows best about these.

Ibn Lahiʿa related, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Mecca after the pilgrimage in which the anṣār, ‘the Helpers’, pledged themselves to him, for the remainder of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muharram and Ṣafar.

“Then the polytheists of Quraysh joined together and plotted to kill the Messenger of God (SAAS) or to imprison or exile him. And so God gave him foresight of this and revealed the words, ‘And when those who disbelieved were scheming to imprison you’ (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.30). He then gave orders to ʿAli to sleep on his bed while he and Abū Bakr left. Next morning Quraysh went off searching for them everywhere.’

Mūsā b. Quba related it thus in his work on the military campaigns and stated that they went to the cave by night.
We also gave above a statement regarding this from Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, quoting Ibn Hishām.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth quoting ʿUqayl, quoting Ibn Shihāb, who said that ʿĀʾishah stated, ‘I have no awareness of my parents not practising the religion (Islam); and not a day passed for us without the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visiting us at both ends of the day, in the morning and the evening. When the Muslims suffered harassment ʿAbū Bakr left as an emigrant towards Abyssinia. He went as far as Bark al-Ghimād, where he met Ibn al-Daghina, the chieftain of the area.’”

She then recounted how he brought ʿAbū Bakr back to Mecca and gave him protection. Her words are similar to our previous account of the migration to Abyssinia up to and including ʿAbū Bakr’s statement, “I therefore give back to you your protection and resign myself to the protection of God.”

She (ʿĀʾishah) stated, “At that time the Prophet (ṢAAS) was at Mecca. He told the Muslims, ‘I have been shown the place of your emigration; it has palm-groves between two rocky tracts.’ These are the Ḥarratān.

“And so some people did leave for Medina, and some who had left for Abyssinia came back and went to Medina. ʿAbū Bakr himself made preparations to leave for Medina. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘Take it slowly; I am hoping I will be permitted to leave.’ ʿAbū Bakr asked, ‘You really do have hopes of that?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“Thereafter ʿAbū Bakr restrained himself for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so that he could accompany him. He stabled two camels at his home, feeding them on mimosa leaves, crushed and mixed leaves, that is, for four months. Some, however, say he gave them fodder for six months.”

Ibn Shihāb stated, “Urwa reported that ʿĀʾishah said, ‘One day, in the heat of noon, we were sitting in ʿAbū Bakr’s house when someone told him, “Here comes the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), heavily veiled, at a time he doesn’t usually come!” ʿAbū Bakr commented, “I swear, he can only have come at this time for one thing!”’

“ʿĀʾishah went on, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived and asked to come in and was invited to do so. When he entered he said, “Ask everyone to leave.” ʿAbū Bakr responded, “But they are all like your own family, O Messenger of God.”’

“He explained, “I have been given permission to leave.” “As companions, then!” said ʿAbū Bakr. “Yes,” he replied.

“ʿAbū Bakr then said, “Do take one of these two mounts of mine.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “I’ll pay you for it.”’

“ʿĀʾishah went on, ‘So we quickly prepared some equipment for them and put some provisions in a leather bag. ʿAsmāʾ, ʿAbū Bakr’s daughter, cut off a piece of her girdle to tie up the mouth of the bag; she was thereafter known as “she of the two girdles”.

“Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went with ʿAbū Bakr to a cave on Mt. Thawr, where they stayed for three nights. Also with them during the night was
'Abd Allah, Abū Bakr's son. He was a bright and intelligent lad and would leave them at dawn and be down among Quraysh by morning, as if he had spent the night there. He went back to them as soon as night fell with all the information he had gleaned of plans against them. Āmir b. Fuhayra, Abū Bakr's freed-man, cared for a flock of sheep, which he would bring them after night fell; they would eat foods made with the milk they provided. Before dawn Āmir b. Fuhayra would call the flock together and leave; he did this each one of those three nights.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr hired a man of the Banū al-Dīl, from the Banū 'Abd b. 'Adī, a skilled guide, a khirrit. This man, though a follower of the faith of the Quraysh polytheists, had sworn an oath to the family of al-'Āṣ b. Wā'il al-Sahmī. They had thus placed their trust in him and handed over to him their two riding camels and made an arrangement with him to meet at the cave on Mt. Thawr three nights thereafter; he was to bring their mounts on the following morning. This guide and Āmir b. Fuhayra did set off with the two men, conducting them along the coastal route.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik al-Mudlijī, he being the son of Surāqā's nephew, related that his father told him that he heard Surāqā b. Mālik b. Jušham say, 'Messengers from the Quraysh polytheists came to us putting a price on the head of either the Messenger of God (SAAS) or Abū Bakr for anyone who killed or captured either.

"While I was sitting at a meeting being held by my people, the Banū Mudlijī, one of their men arrived and stood there, while we sat, and said, 'Surāqā, I've just seen some human forms in the distance towards the coast, and I think them to be Muḥammad and his companions.'"

"Surāqā said, 'I knew they would be them, but I told him, 'They are not them. You saw so-and-so and so-and-so whom we saw leave with our own eyes.'"

"I remained for a while there in that meeting, then got up and went inside. I told my servant girl to bring over my mare which was behind a hillock and to keep it there for me. Then I took my spear and went out the rear of the house. I made marks with its head on the ground and kept its shaft down low until I reached my horse. I rode off on it and it took me ahead until I drew close to them. Suddenly my horse stumbled and I came off. I scolded her and she stood up, though scarcely able to pull her legs out. When standing upright there was dust coming up like smoke into the sky from the impression left by her legs. Again I sought guidance from them whether or not I should harm them. It came out as I did not want. But I got back on my horse, disobeying the arrows.

"My horse drew me ever nearer to them until I could hear the Messenger of God (SAAS) reciting, without looking around, while Abū Bakr looked around constantly. Then two of my horse's legs sank deep into the ground, right up to the knees, and I was again thrown. I scolded her and she stood up, though scarcely able to pull her legs out. When standing upright there was dust coming up like smoke into the sky from the impression left by her legs. Again I sought advice from the divining arrows and it again came out against my wish.

"I called out to them, reassuring them, and they stopped. I rode my horse up
to them, it having dawned on me that my being kept from them was a sign that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was going to prevail. I told him, “Your people have put a price on your head!” and I related to them what people wanted to do with them. Then I offered them provisions, but they would not accept anything from me and told me to leave them alone. I asked him if he would write down a safe conduct for me, and he told Āmir b. Fuhayra who did so on a piece of leather. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then left.’”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq related this same story, from al-Zuhri, from Ṭabd al-Raḥmān b. Mālik b. Juṣḥam, from his father, from his uncle Surāqa. However, his account has him seeking advice from the divining arrows when he first left the house, with the arrow telling him what he did not like, that is, that he should not harm the Messenger of God (SAAS). It went on to mention his horse stumbling with him on four different occasions. All that related to his seeking advice from the divining arrows and being told what he did not like— that he should not harm him. It has him reassuring them and asking for a document that would be a token from the Messenger of God (SAAS). The account states, “He wrote a document for me on a bone, or a scrap of leather, or a scrap of cloth.” He also tells how he went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) when the latter was at al-Jīrāna on his way back from Ṭā’if and that he said, “Today is one of keeping trust and of goodness; let him come near.” The account ends, “So I approached him and accepted Islam.”

Ibn Ḥishām stated, “The man relating this was Ṭabd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. Juṣḥam.

“And what he said was correct.

“After Surāqa returned, whenever he met one of the pursuers, he would turn them back, saying, ‘You’ve finished in this direction.’

“When it was known that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had arrived in Medina, Surāqa began telling people what he knew and had witnessed relating to him, and about what had happened to his horse. He gained some notoriety for this, and the leaders of Quraysh were afraid he would bring them discredit, and that that would be the cause of many people accepting Islam. Surāqa was the leader of the Banū Mudlij. Abū Jahl, God damn him, composed the following verses to them,

“O Banū Mudlij, I fear your fool Surāqa misleading about Muḥammad’s victory. Take care that he not divide you so you become split, after former glory and leadership.”

Surāqa spoke the following in answer to Abū Jahl’s poetry:

“O Abū al-Ḥakam, had you but been witness to what happened to my horse when its legs sank, You would have been amazed, and not doubted that
Muḥammad is a prophet and a proof; so who can oppose him?
Take action, have your people leave him alone, for I
think that some day his qualities will be clear to us.
In a matter you would wish to win, for all the people,
onogether will make peace with him.”

Al-Umawi gave this poetry in his work on the military campaigns with a chain of authorities from Aḥa Ḥishāq. Aḥu Nuʿaym related it with a chain through Ziyād, from Ibn Ḥishāq. His account gives more poetry from Aḥu Jahl with verses that include overt disbelief.

Al-Bukhārī stated, with a chain of authorities back to Ibn Shihāb, who is quoted as saying, “Urwa b. al-Zubayr informed me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met al-Zubayr in a caravan of Muslims who were merchants coming in from Syria, and that al-Zubayr clothed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr in white garments.

“The Muslims in Medina heard of the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Mecca and would go each morning out to the rocky lava plain to wait for him, until the heat of noon would force them back.

“One day after they had returned to their homes, having waited a long time, one of the Jews went up on top of one of their forts for some reason, and he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions dressed in white emerging through the haze. The Jew felt compelled to shout out, ‘O Arabs, here’s your great man you’ve been awaiting!’

“The Muslims leapt for their weapons and met up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beside the rocky lava plain. He turned off, along with them, to the right to where the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf were; this was Monday in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.

“Abū Bakr stood up before the group, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat silently. The anṣār who had come and who had not before seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began greeting Abū Bakr. But then the sun began striking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Abū Bakr went over and shielded him from it with his cloak. And so everyone then knew which one was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained there with the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf for some ten nights and founded the mosque ‘whose foundations were based on piety’ and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed there.

“He then rode upon his camel, the people walking beside him, until it knelt down at the mosque in Medina of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) where that

35. A reference to the Qurʾān, Sūrat al-Tawba, IX, v.108, where the piety of its founders is mentioned.
36. A reference to the site of the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina which had not yet been constructed.
day some Muslim men were praying. It was a drying shed for dates and belonged
to Suhayl and Sahl, two orphan youths in the care of As'ad b. Zurara. The
Messenger of God (SAAS) said, when his camel knelt, 'This, if God wills it, will
be the house.'

'He then asked to see the two youths and negotiated with them over the dry-
ing shed so that it could become a mosque. They replied, 'No, we will give it to
you, Messenger of God!' But the Messenger of God (SAAS) refused to accept it
from them as a gift and did buy it. He then built a mosque.

'The Messenger of God (SAAS) then set about bringing up the bricks for
building it, along with the rest of the Muslims, saying as he did so the verse,

'This is not a load from Khaybar; this, O Lord, is
more righteous more pure.'

'And also:

‘No matter; the wages for this are those of the other
world; be merciful, O God, on the Helpers and the
Emigrants.’

“He quoted the verse of one of the Muslim men whose name is unknown to me.
Ibn Shihab said, 'We are not informed in the hadith literature that the Messenger
of God (SAAS) quoted any full line of poetry other than these.'"

This is the text as given by al-Bukhari; only he, and not Muslim, gives it and
he does so with testimony from other sources; his text, however, does not give
the story of Umm Ma'bad, the Khuzi woman.

We will report here from the beginning, as is appropriate.

Imam Ahmad stated, ‘Amr b. Muhammad Abi Sa'id al-Anqazi related to us
that Isra'il related to him, from Abu Ishaq, from al-Bara' b. Azib, who said,
‘Abu Bakr bought from Azib a horse's saddle, for 13 dirhams, telling him, “Tell
al-Bara' to take it to my house.” He replied, “No; not until you tell us what you
did when the Messenger of God (SAAS) emigrated in your company.”’

Abu Bakr stated, “We set off and travelled fast, by day and night until mid-
day approached and was upon us. I strained my eyes to see some shade where we
could shelter. I saw a rock and hurried down to it, and some shadow remained.
I smoothed out a place for the Messenger of God (SAAS), and laid down a piece
of leather for him, saying, ‘Do lie down, O Messenger of God.’ And he did so.

'I then left to see if I could locate any of the pursuers. I came upon a herds-
man and asked him, 'Who employs you, lad?' He mentioned the name of a
Quraysh man that I recognized. I asked him, 'Do you have any milk in your
flock?' 'O yes,' he replied. 'Will you give me some?' I requested. He agreed and
I told him to get some. He tethered a ewe and at my request he wiped the dirt
off its udders and his hands. I had with me a container with a cloth over its
mouth. He poured a little milk for me and I poured it out into a cup until it was
all cool. I then went over to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and gave it to him;
he was awake. I asked him to drink, and he did so until I was content. I then asked, 'Should we continue with the travel?' And we left again, our pursuers still after us.

"But the only one of them to catch up with us was Surāqā b. Mālik b. Juṣḥam, riding a horse. I asked, 'O Messenger of God, are our pursuers catching up?' 'Do not be worried, God is with us,' he replied.

"He caught up with us until there was only a spear's throw or two - or the words may have been two or three spear-throws - and I said, 'O Messenger of God, this pursuer is gaining on us!' And I wept. He asked, 'Why are you crying?' I replied, 'It's not for me I'm crying, but for you!'

"The Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s) said a prayer about him, saying, 'O Lord, protect us from him, as You wish.' The legs of his horse then sank down to its belly in firm ground and he fell off, saying, 'O Muḥammad, I know this is your work; say a prayer to God for me to save me from my plight! I swear I will mislead the pursuers behind me. This is my quiver; take an arrow from it, for you will pass by my camels and sheep at so-and-so, and you can take of them whatever you want.'

"The Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s) replied, 'I don't need them.' But he did say a prayer for him and he was released and returned to his people.

"The Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s) and I went further on and eventually reached Medina where people came out to meet him. They appeared on the roads and roofs and servants and young people thronged the streets, saying, 'God is Great! The Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s) has come! Muḥammad is here!'

"The people vied for the honour of having him stay with them. The Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s) therefore said, 'Tonight I will stay with the Banū al-Najjār who are related by blood to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, to honour them.' Next morning he was where he had been ordered to be.'

Al-Barā' said, "The first of the Emigrants to come to us was Muṣ'ab b. Ḥumayr, a brother of the 'Abd al-Dār. Then came Ibn Umm Makkūm, the blind, one of the Banū Fihr, followed by Ḥumar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, along with 20 riders. We asked them what had happened to the Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s), and they replied that he was coming later. And eventually he and Abī Bakr did arrive."

Al-Barā' went on, "The Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s) did not arrive until after I had recited chapters from al-muṣaabāl."

The compilers of both saḥīh collections include this account, from Isra'il, without the comment of al-Barā', that is, "The first of the Emigrants". Muslim is alone in giving this, and he related it through Isra'il.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṣaə̄s) stayed for three nights in the cave along with Abū Bakr. Having lost knowledge of his whereabouts Quraysh offered a price of 100 camels to anyone who would return him. After the three nights, when the hue and cry had diminished, the man they had hired brought them their camels along with one for himself. Abū Bakr's daughter Aṣmā' also
arrived with provisions in a leather table-cloth for them. But she forgot to tie it up and when they were about to depart she came out to tie it up but had no cord. So she untied her girdle to make a cord of it which she used to attach it. She used then to be called, 'she of the two girdles'."

Ibn Ishäq stated, "Abū Bakr brought up the two mounts and offered the best of them to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked him to mount the camel. But the latter responded, 'I couldn't ride a camel that I don't own.' Abū Bakr told him, 'But please consider it yours'. 'No,' he replied, 'but what price did you pay for it?' He told him and the Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'Well, I'll take it for that.' 'It's yours,' Abū Bakr told him."

Al-Waqidi related, with full chains of authorities, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) took the camel called al-Qaṣwâ. He also said, "Abū Bakr had bought both camels for 800 dirhams."

Ibn 'Asskir related through Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father from Ā'isha, who said, "(The camel he chose was) al-Jad'a."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "And so they rode off; Abū Bakr mounted Ā'mir b. Fuhayra, his freed-man, behind himself to serve them both on the way."

"I was told that Āsmā' said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) departed with Abū Bakr, a number of Quraysh men came to us, including Abī Jahl'". Ibn Ishaq then related how Abī Jahl struck her so hard on the cheek that he knocked off an earring, as told above.

"She went on, 'We remained for three nights without knowledge of the whereabouts of the Messenger of God (SAAS) until a man of the jinn, a spirit-man, arrived from the lower parts of Mecca, singing verses of Arabic songs. People followed him, listening to his voice without seeing him. Eventually he came out to the upper parts of Mecca, reciting,

'God, Lord of all men, awarded His very best reward to two Companions who stayed at the tents of Umm Ma'bad.
They stayed there in good will, and then left; and lucky is he who becomes the Companion of Muhammad
Their girl's position brings credit to the Banū Ka'b,
and her sitting there watching for the believers.'"

"Āsmā' said, 'When we heard what he said we knew where the Messenger of God (SAAS) was headed, towards Medina.'"

Ibn Ishaq said, "They were four in number; the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abū Bakr, Ā'mir b. Fuhayra, freed-man of Abū Bakr, and Ṭābūn Allāh b. Arqat. That is what Ibn Ishaq states, but it is well known that the name of the fourth was Ṭābūn Allāh b. Urayqīt al-Dālī who at that time was still a polytheist."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "When their guide, Ṭābūn Allāh b. Arqat, led them off, he took them down to the lower part of Mecca and from there along the coast, crossing
over the route below Usfān. He then took them along the lower parts of Amaj, then crossed the route after passing Qudayd, then from there across al-Kharrār and Thaniyyat al-Marra to Liqf. He guided them past the Liqf well, then down to the Mijāj well and so to Marjah Mijāj, then down again to Marjah Dhū al-ʿAḍwayn and to the Dhū Kashr valley and so to al-Jadājid and al-Ajr. Then he took them along Dhū Salam of the Aḍrā valley, to the well at Tīḥin, then past al-ʿAbabid, across al-Qaḥa, down to al-ʿArj. One of their mounts was falling behind, so a man of Aslam called Aws b. Hajr mounted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on a camel called Ibn al-Radaʿ and led him into Medina; he sent with him a youth named Masāʾūd b. Hunayda. Then their guide from al-ʿArj took them to Thaniyya al-ʿAḍir on the right side of Rakība; according to Ibn Hishām this place is known as Thaniyya al-Ghāʾir. Then the took them down the Rīm valley and so to Qubāʾ, to the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. It was now Monday, the 12th of Rabiʿ al-Awwal and the heat was extreme, the sun almost having reached its zenith.”

Abū Nuʿaym mentioned, through al-Waqidī, approximately these same locations, though there is a discrepancy in some. God knows best.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that Abū Hāmid b. Jabala related to him that Muḥammad b. Ishāq quoted from al-Sarrāj, who quoted from Muḥammad b. Ubāda b. Mūsā al-ʾIjlī from his brother Mūsā b. Ubāda, from ʿAbd Allah b. Sayyār, from Iyās b. Malik b. al-Aws al-Aslamī, who quoted his father as saying, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated along with Abū Bakr, they passed by a camel of ours at al-Juhfa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, ‘Who owns this camel?’ ‘A man from Aslam,’ he was told. The Prophet (ṢAAS) turned to Abū Bakr, who commented, ‘May you be safe, God willing!’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) asked the man, ‘What’s your name?’ ‘Masāʾūd,’ he replied. The Prophet (ṢAAS) again turned to Abū Bakr, who commented, ‘May you be happy. God willing!’”

The account goes on, “My father then went to him and carried him on his way on a camel called Ibn al-Radaʿ.”

I would comment that previously we learned from Ibn ʿAbbās that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Mecca on a Monday and entered Medina on a Monday. It is clear that there was a period of 15 days between his departure from Mecca and his arrival in Medina. This is because he spent three nights in the cave on Mt. Thawr, and then took the coastal road which is further than the main route.

On his way he passed by Umm Maʿbad, daughter of Kaʿb b. Khuzayma. Ibn Hishām stated, “Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as saying that her name was ʿĀṭika, daughter of Khalaf b. Maʿbad b. Rabiʿa b. Aṣram.

“Al-ʿUmawi, however, said that she was ʿĀṭika, daughter of Tabīʿ, an ally of Banu Munqidh b. Rabīʿa b. Aṣram b. Ṣanbis b. Ḥarām b. Khaysa b. Kaʿb b. ʿAmr. This woman had sons named Maʿbad, Naḍra and Ḥunayda, all children of Abū Maʿbad. His name was Aktham b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Maʿbad b. Rabīʿa b. Aṣram b. Ṣanbis.

37. The passage has a pun on Aslam and ‘safe’, and on Masāʾūd and ‘happy’.
Her story is very well known and related from various paths all confirming one another.

The Story of Umm Ma'bad al-Khuzā‘iyya.

Yunus stated, from Ibn Isḥāq, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed at the tent of Umm Ma'bad, whose name was Ātika, daughter of Khalaf b. Ma'bad b. Rabī‘a b. Āsrām. The travellers wanted a meal served but she said, 'We have no food, no milch-camel and the only ewes we have are in heat.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked to be brought one of her sheep. He wiped its teat with his hand, said a prayer and it gave milk into a tumbler, foaming. He said, 'Drink this, Umm Ma'bad!' She replied, 'No, you drink it; you have more right to it than me.' But he gave it back to her and she did drink it. He then called for another ewe in heat and did the same as before and this time he drank it. He then called for another ewe, did the same and gave it to his guide to drink. Again he did the same, giving it now to Āmir. And then they left.

"The Quraysh men, searching for the Messenger of God (SAAS), eventually came to Umm Ma'bad and asked her about him, saying, 'Have you seen Muhammad who looks so-and-so?' And they described him to her.

"She replied, 'I don't know what you are saying, though a young man did come and get milk from ewes in heat.'

"'That's the one we want,' the Quraysh man told her."

The hafīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Muhammad b. Ma'mar related to him from Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Uqba b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābīr b. 'Abd Allāh, who quoted his father as having related that Jābīr stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr left as Emigrants and entered the cave, there was a crevice that Abū Bakr blocked off with his heel until morning, for fear that something might come out at the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"They stayed in the cave for three nights, then left and stayed at the tents of Umm Ma'bad. She sent him the message, 'I see handsome faces; the tribal quarter is better equipped to honour you than I am.'

"That evening, while staying there in her camp, she sent over to them with a young son of hers, a ewe and a broad knife. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Take back the knife and bring us a farīq, that is a qadah, a bowl. She sent back a message that the ewe had no milk and had no lamb. He said, 'Do send us a bowl.' She brought one and he tapped the ewe on the back and it ruminated, and milk streamed forth. He filled the bowl and drank, gave it to Abū Bakr to drink, took more milk and sent it to Umm Ma'bad.'"

Then al-Bazzār stated, "We know of this anecdote being related only through this one chain. And regarding 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Uqba, the only person we know who quoted from him was Ya'qūb b. Muḥammad, even though his ancestry was well known."
The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi recounted from a hadīth of Yahyā b. Zakariyyā b. Abū Zaʿīda from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā who related it to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-‘Āṣbahānī, who said, “I heard ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā quote Abū Bakr, ‘the Trusting’, as saying, ‘I left Mecca with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and we reached a bedouin encampment. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed one tent off to one side and went towards it. When we dismounted we found that the only person there was a woman. She said, “O fellow slave of God, I’m just one woman, alone; you should go to our chief if you want hospitality.” He made no response to her, it being evening by then, and a son of hers arrived herding some goats. She told him, “Take these goats over to those two men with this knife and tell them, ‘My mother says that you should slaughter these and eat and feed us too.’”

“When he arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, “Take the knife away and bring a bowl.” He replied, “But this ewe has not been with a male and has no milk.” “Go and do it,” he told him. When he had brought back a bowl the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wiped the ewe’s teat and it gave milk, filling the bowl. He then said, “Take this to your mother.” She drank till she was satisfied and the lad returned. Now he told the boy, “Take this ewe away and bring me another.” He did so and then brought a third ewe, did as before, and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself drank.

“We stayed there that night, then left. She used to refer to him as al-Mubārak, “the blessed one”. Her flock multiplied and eventually she brought them all in to Medina. Abū Bakr happened to pass by and he recognized her son and the son said to his mother, “Mother, that’s the man who was with al-Mubārak, ‘the blessed one’. She came over to him and asked, “O fellow slave of God, who was that man with you?” He asked, “You don’t know who he is?” “No, I don’t,” she replied. “He is the Prophet of God,” he told her. “Please, take me in to him,” she asked.

“He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her food and gifts.”

Ibn ‘Abdān added in his account of this, “She said, ‘Lead me to him.’ And so she came with me and gave to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) some sour cheese and some bedouin goods. And he gave her clothing and gifts in return.”

The account stated, “And I am certain he said, ‘And she accepted Islam.’”

The chain of authorities for this is good.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “This story is similar to that of Umm Maʿbad and it is evident that she is the one referred to here. But God knows best.”

Fuhayra, freed-man of Abū Bakr, and their guide 'Abd Allāh b. Urayqīt al-Laythi, passed by the two tents of Umm Ma'bad al-Khuza'īyya.

"Umm Ma'bad was a good, fearless, strong woman who would sit with her legs drawn up, wrapped in her garment, at the entrance to the tent and give out food and drink. They asked her whether she had any meat or milk they could buy from her. But they obtained none from her and she told them, ‘If we had anything, you would not lack for hospitality, but our people are all out of provisions and we’ve been suffering drought.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) noticed a goat at the side of her tent and said, ‘What about that goat, Umm Ma'bad?’ She replied, ‘She’s a goat left over from the goats after the drought.’ ‘Does she give milk?’ he asked. ‘No, she’s too dried up for that,’ she replied. ‘Would you permit me to milk her?’ he asked. ‘If she has any milk you can,’ she replied.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) called to the goat and stroked it, speaking God’s name, wiped her teat and again invoked God’s name. Then he called for a vessel large enough to satisfy them, and the goat opened its legs and milk poured out in a copious flow until it was full. He gave (the vessel to) her to drink, and then his Companions and thereafter they all had a second drink. When they were all quenched, he drank too, saying, ‘The one who pours drinks last!’ He put milk in it again, left it with her, and then they departed.

“He went on, ‘Soon her husband, Abū Ma'bad, came home, leading emaciated goats, staggering they were so weak, and their brains scarcely functioning. When he saw the milk, he was amazed and said, ‘Where did this milk come from, Umm Ma'bad? We don’t have a milch-camel and the goat has not been with a male.’ ‘Well, a man who was blessed came past us and seemed from his speech to be such-and-such,’ she replied. ‘Describe him to me; I think he is that man the Quraysh are looking for,’ he told her.

“She replied, ‘I saw him to be a man of evident cleanliness, fine in character, his face handsome, slim in form, his head not too small, elegant and good looking, his eyes large and black, his eyebrows long, his voice deep, very intelligent, his eyelids brown, his brows high and arched, his hair in plaits, his neck long and his beard thick. He gave an impression of dignity when silent and of high intelligence when he talked. His logic was impressive, he was decisive, not trivial, not trite, his ideas like pearls moving on their string. He seemed the most splendid and fine-looking man from a distance and the very best of all from close-by, medium in height, the eye not finding him too tall nor too short. A tree-branch, as it were, between two others, but he was the finest-looking of the three, the best proportioned. He was the centre of his companions’ attention. When he spoke, they listened well, and if he ordered, they hurried to obey, a man well helped, well served, never sullen, never refuted.’

“He – her husband – commented, ‘That, I swear, has to be that man Quraysh are seeking. If I had chanced on him, I would have done my very best to follow him.’
"A voice was heard in Mecca, high up, somewhere between heaven and earth, that people could hear though no one see, reciting the verses,

'God, Lord of all men, awarded His very best reward to two Companions who stayed at the two tents of Umm Ma'bad. They stayed there in good will, and then left; and lucky is he who becomes the Companion of Muḥammad. O Qusayy, God did not withhold from you actions that will not be rewarded, nor leadership? Ask your sister about her goat and bowl; if you were to ask the goat, she would testify. He asked her for a goat without young, and it gave milk for him in plenty, its teat giving foam, So he pledged (with the goat) (milk) for the milker, such that it remained abundant at its commencement and at its completion.'

"Next morning the people, those of Mecca that is, having missed their prophet went to the tents of Umm Ma'bad, trying to catch up with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ḥassān b. Thabit responded with the verses,

"A people disappointed, having lost their prophet, while those to whom he hurried were pleased, He left a people and their spirits left them, and he took up residence with a people with a light renewed. Are those who mislead people out of blind stupidity equal to those rightly guided by a guide? A prophet, seeing about him what others do not see, reciting the Book of God at every scene. If one day he should speak the words of the unseen, it is corroborated the same day or, at most, the morning of the next. Abū Bakr must be pleased by the pleasure his grandfather enjoys at his accompanying him; whoever pleases God will be happy. Let the place of their woman please the Bānū Ka'b, and her sitting watching for the Muslims."

He stated – 'Abd al-Malik b. Wahb, that is – "I received information that Abū Ma'bad accepted Islam and emigrated to the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

The ḥāfiz Abū Nu'aym related this through 'Abd al-Malik b. Wahb al-Madhjiji, in the same terms. At the end of his account he added, "'Abd al-Malik said, 'I received information that Umm Ma'bad emigrated, accepted Islam, and joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'"

Abū Nu'aym, moreover, related this through various routes, from Bakr b. Muḥriz al-Kalbi al-Khuza'q, from his father Muḥriz b. Mahdī, from Ḥarām b.
Hishām b. Ḥ jubaysh b. Khālid, from his father, from his grandfather Ḥ ubays b. Khālid, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when forced out of Mecca left there as an Emigrant, along with Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra and their guide ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrayqīṯ al-Laythī. They passed by the tent of Umm Maʿbad, a fearless, strong woman who would sit, legs drawn up and wrapped in her garment, at the entrance to the "leather tent." And he went on to relate the same (introductory material as in the prior account).

He went on, "And I think it was Muhammad b. Ahmad b. ʿAlī b. Makhlad who related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿYūnūs b. Musā, that is al-Kudaymi, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yahyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the freed-man of al-ʿAbbas b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, quoting Muḥammad b. Sulayman b. Salīṭ al-Anṣārī, quoting his father, from his father Salīṭ al-Badri, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the emigration accompanied by Abū Bakr, ʿĀmir b. Fuhayra with Ibn ʿUrayqīṯ guiding them on their path, they passed by Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿīyya, she not knowing who he was. He asked her, "Umm Maʿbad, do you have any milk?" She replied, "No, I swear, our goats have not been with males." "What about that one?" he asked. "She is the last of the goats left after the drought."'"

His account then relates the rest of the story much as given above.

Al-Bayhaqī then said, "It is likely that all these stories relate to one occasion."

He then related an anecdote similar to that about the goat of Umm Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿīyya, stating, "The ḥafīẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, by dictation, that Abū Bakr ʿAlīm b. ʿIšāq b. Ayyūb related to them, quoting Muḥammad b. Ghālib, quoting Abū al-Walid, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Iyyād b. Laqīt, quoting Iyyād b. Laqīt, from Qays b. al-Nuʿmān, who said, 'When the Prophet and Abū Bakr left in secret they passed by a slave watching some goats. They asked him for milk. He replied, "I don't have one giving milk. I just have this one young female goat here who gave birth at the beginning of the winter, but her foetus was malformed and she has no milk left." "Call her over to me," he asked. He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tethered her and stroked her teat and prayed until it began to flow. Abū Bakr then brought a vessel and he milked the goat, gave to Abū Bakr to drink, milked again, and gave to the shepherd, then milked again and drank.'"

"The shepherd then asked, ‘For heaven's sake, who are you? I never saw the like of you!’"

"Do you think you could keep it secret if I told you?" he asked. ‘Oh yes,’ he replied.

"'I am Muḥammad, the Messenger of God,' he told him.

‘You mean you’re the one Quraysh say claims to be a Ṣabian?’ he asked. ‘Yes, they do say that,’ he told him.

"'Well,' the shepherd said, 'I bear witness that you bring the truth, and that only a prophet could do as you have. I am your follower now.'"
“‘You can’t be that right now,’ he told him. ‘Come and join us when you hear I have declared myself openly.’”

Abū Yahyā al-Mawsūli related this, from Jaʿfar b. Ḥumayd al-Kufti, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIyyād b. Laqīṭ.

Abū Nuʿaym at this point related the story of ʿAbd Allāh b. Maṣʿūd stating, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar related to us, quoting Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, Abū Dāʾūd and Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAṣim, from Zīrūr, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maṣʿūd who said, ‘I was a teenage boy working as a shepherd for goats belonging to ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayt at Mecca when the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) and Abū Bakr came by, having fled from the polytheists. They asked me whether I had any milk to give them to drink. I replied, “I’m held responsible; I’m not here to provide drink for you.” They asked, “Do you have a young sheep that hasn’t yet been with a ram?” “Yes, I do,” I replied.

“So I brought it to them and Abū Bakr tethered it, and the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) took hold of her teat and said a prayer. The teat flowed copiously and Abū Bakr brought a hollowed-out rock and milked into it. He and Abū Bakr drank and they served me. Then he told the teat to close, and it did so.

“Later I went to the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) and asked him, “Teach me some of these fine words,” meaning the Qurʾān. The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) replied, “Consider yourself a well-taught lad!” I took from his mouth 70 sūras and no one can dispute me about them.”

His words in this account, “Having fled from the polytheists” is not with reference to the time of the emigration but with regard to some circumstances prior thereto.

Ibn Masʿūd was one who accepted Islam early and emigrated to Abyssinia and later returned to Mecca, as previously mentioned. This anecdote of his is firm and authentic, related in the saḥīḥ collections and elsewhere. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṣṭāf b. ʿAbd Allāh, he being al-Zubayr, related to him, that his father had quoted Fāṭiḥah, the freed-man of ʿAbdādīl, as having said, “I left town in the company of ʿIbrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿd; when we reached al-ʿArj Ibn Saʿd came. Now Saʿd (his father) had been the man who had guided the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) on the road to Rakūba. ʿIbrāhīm asked him, ‘What anecdotes did your father relate to you?’ Ibn Saʿd replied, ‘My father told me that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) came to them in the company of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr had a daughter with us who was suckling at that time and the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) wanted to find a short route to Medina. Saʿd told him, “This is the waste-land of Rakūba; out there are two thieves of Aslām who are known as the ‘two disgraced men’. If you like we could get directions from them.” The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) replied, “Yes, let’s do that.”
"'Sa'd went on, "So we went off and came into view of them, whereupon one of them said to the other, 'That is the man from Yemen.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) called over to them and explained Islam to them, and they accepted it. He then asked them their names and they replied, 'We're the "two disgraced men".' He commented, 'No, you're the "two honoured men"!' He then told them to lead him into Medina. So we left and reached the outskirts of Qubā, and there he was met by the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'Where is Abū Umāna As'ad b. Zurāra?' Sa'd b. Khaythama replied, 'So he scored (with you) before me, O Messenger of God; shouldn't I tell him that?"

""The Messenger of God (SAAS) then passed on until he could see the date-palms and the well there was full. He turned to Abū Bakr and said, 'O Abū Bakr, this is where I shall stay; I saw myself staying at a stream like that of the Banū Mudlij.'"

Aḥmad alone gives this account.

Section: On the entry of the Messenger of God (SAAS) into Medina, and where he established therein his dwelling, comprising matters related thereto.

It has been stated above by al-Bukhārī, on the authority of al-Zuhri, from Urwa, that the Prophet (SAAS) entered Medina at noon.

My own comment is that that could have been in the afternoon, because of what is established in both sahih collections from the hadith of Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Bara' b. ʿAzīb, from Abū Bakr in his hadith concerning the emigration. He stated, "We arrived at night and the people vied for the honour of having him stay with them. The Messenger of God (SAAS) therefore said, 'I will stay with the Banū al-Najjar who are related by blood to 'Abd al-Muttalib, to honour them.'"

This could have been, though God knows best, on the day of his arrival at Qubā. He may have arrived at the outskirts of Medina in the heat of the afternoon and spent some time (resting) under the palm tree. He then proceeded on with the Muslims and stopped at Qubā, that being at night. Furthermore, in stating that these events transpired after noon, he could have meant at night, for evening is indeed after noon.

Alternatively, that could refer to when he left Qubā, travelling on and only reaching the Banū al-Najjar in the evening. This will be discussed later. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī recounted, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, that he stayed with Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf at Qubā, for a score or more nights and established the mosque at Qubā during that period.

He then mounted up, the people accompanying him, and went on until his camel knelt with him at the site of his mosque. That place was a drying shed for dates owned by two orphaned youths named Sahl and Suhayl. He bought it from them and used it as a mosque. And that was among the Banū al-Najjar, may God be pleased with them.
Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated, “Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUwaym b. Sāʿida, who said, ‘Some of my tribesmen who were Companions of the Prophet (S.A.A.S) said, “When we learned of the emigration of the Prophet (S.A.A.S) from Mecca, we anticipated his arrival. We would go out, after saying the morning prayer, to the edge of the rock lava plain and await him. We would stay there until the sun would force us to seek shade, failing which, we would go indoors. It was the hot season at that time."

“Eventually the day arrived when the Messenger of God (S.A.A.S) did come. We had sat as usual until there was no shade left and then we had entered our homes. But when we had done so, the Messenger of God (S.A.A.S) arrived. The first to see him was a Jew, and he shouted at the top of his voice, ‘Banū Qayla, your great man has come!’

“So we all went outside to the Messenger of God (S.A.A.S), and found him in the shade of a date-palm, accompanied by Abū Bakr, a man of similar age. Most of us had not seen the Messenger of God (S.A.A.S) before that, and people crowded around him, not knowing how to distinguish him from Abū Bakr. But when the shade moved away from the Messenger of God (S.A.A.S) Abū Bakr stood up and shaded him with his cloak. And at that point we recognized him.””

The account given above from al-Bukhari is similar to this one, as is that from Mūsā b. ʿUqba in his work on the maghāzi, the military campaigns.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Ḥashim related to us, quoting Sulaymān, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, I moved along through young men shouting, “Muḥammad has come!” And I’d move ahead but still see nothing.

“But then the Messenger of God (S.A.A.S) did come, accompanied by Abū Bakr. They hid in a ruin in Medina, then sent out a bedouin asking for the ansār, the Helpers, to let them enter town. Thereupon some 500 of the ansār went out to greet them, saying, “Do come on; you are safe and will be obeyed.”

“The Messenger of God (S.A.A.S) and his Companion then came on in among them and the townspeople, even the old people as well came out to greet them, climbing on top of the houses and shouting, “Which one is he?” We never saw such a sight before.”’

“Anas said, ‘I witnessed the day he entered among us and the day he died, and I never saw two such days as those.’”

Al-Bayhaqi related this from al-Ḥākim, from al-ʿAṣamm, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq al-Sanṣāri, from Abū al-Nāḍr Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughīṭra, from Thābit, from Anas, whose account was very similar.

In both saḥīḥ collections, through Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishaq, from al-Barāʾ, we find that Abū Bakr says, in his account of the emigration, “When we arrived in Medina, the people came out filling the streets and the roof tops, with the young and the servants all shouting and repeating, ‘God is most Great! The Messenger of God has arrived. God is most Great! Muḥammad has come! God is most Great! Muḥammad has come! God is most Great! The Messenger of God has come!’ The next morning he moved on to where he had been ordered to go.”
Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Abū ‘Amr al-Adib told us, quoting Abū Bakr al-Ismā‘īlī, as follows, ‘I heard Abū Khalīfa say, ‘I heard Ā‘ishā’s son say, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina the women and boys began chanting,

‘The full moon has risen over us, from the passes of al-Wadā’;

We must give thanks, for what a supplicant has prayed to God.’”’”

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so they say, stayed at Qubā with Kulthūm b. al-Hadam, a brother of the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, who was of the Banū ‘Ubayd; it is also said, however, that he stayed with Sa‘d b. Khaythama.

“Those who say he stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadam assert the following: that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went outside the house of Kulthūm he would go and sit with people in the house of Sa‘d b. Khaythama because this man was a bachelor, without family, and his house was therefore known as ‘the bachelors’ house. But God knows best.


Ibn Ishaq also stated that ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib remained in Mecca for three days and nights until he had handed back the deposits made with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“He then joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and stayed with Kulthūm b. al-Hadam; apparently ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib stayed in Qubā only a night or two.

“He would say, ‘In Qubā there was a Muslim woman who had no husband. I saw a man go to her in the depths of the night; he would knock on her door and she came out. He then gave her something he had with him which she took. I found her conduct very suspicious, so I asked her, ‘Who is it that knocks at your door every night; you go out to him and he gives you something I can’t see properly. How can you do this, you being a Muslim woman without a husband?’

‘She replied, ‘The man is Sahl b. Ḥanīf. He knows I am a woman with no one and after dark he damages and destroys his people’s idols then brings their remains to me. He tells me to use them as firewood.’”

“‘Ali, God be pleased with him, used to eulogize Sahl b. Ḥanīf in this way when he was killed in his company in Iraq.”


“Then God took him forth from among them on the Friday, though the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf claim that he stayed there longer among them.”

‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs quoted Muhammad b. Ishaq, as saying, “The Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf claim that he stayed there among them for 18 nights.”
My own comment is, as was stated before from al-Bukhārī’s account, through al-Zuhri, from Urwā, that he stayed there for some 10 nights.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted Mujīma b. Yazīd b. Hāritha as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed among us” – amongst the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf at Qubā, that is – “for 22 nights.”

Al-Waqīḍī stated, “It is said he stayed among them for 14 nights.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “When Friday came the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there among the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf; he prayed that day in the mosque in the Ṣanūnā valley, this being the first Friday he prayed in Medina.

“Ītbān b. Mālik and ʿAbd b. ʿAmr came to him there along with some men of the Banū Sālim and told him, ‘O Messenger of God, stay here among us enjoying our protection and our wealth.’ He replied, referring to his camel, ‘Give her free passage; for she is being guided.’ And they cleared a path for her.

“She proceeded and got as far as the homes of the Banū Bayāḍa, where he was met by Ziyād b. Labīd and Farwā b. ʿAmr, along with other men of the Banū Bayāḍa. They asked him, ‘O Messenger of God, come and join us and share our protection and our wealth.’

“He replied, ‘Make way before her, she has received a command.’ And they cleared a path for her.

“She went on again and passed by the homes of the Banū Sāfīda where she was blocked by Šaʿd b. ʿUbāda and al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr along with some men of the Banū Sāfīda. They said, ‘O Messenger of God, come to us and share our protection.’ ‘Make way before her,’ he replied, ‘she has received a command.’ And they did so.

“On she went until she was opposite the home of Banū al-Ḥārīth b. al-Khaṣraj. There her way was blocked by Šaʿd b. ʿRabīʿ, Khārīja b. Zayd and ʿAbd Allāḥ b. Rawāḥa, along with men of Banū al-Ḥārīth b. al-Khaṣraj. They called out, ‘Messengers of God, come to us; we have many to protect you.’ But he replied as before.

“She proceeded further, as far as the homes of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār, to whom he was related. The closest of these was the mother of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Salmā, daughter of ʿAmr, being one of their women. There were Šalṭ b. Qays and Abū Šalṭ, Usayra b. Abū Khārīja and some men of the Banū ʿAdī b. al-Najjār. They told him, ‘O Messenger of God, join your own relatives and enjoy our wealth and protection.’ ‘Make way before her,’ he replied, ‘she has received a command.’ And they did so.

“She went further, up to the homes of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār, where she knelt down before what is today his mosque. At that time it was a drying shed for dates owned by two orphan youths of the Banū Mālik b. al-Najjār, Sahl and Suhayl by name, sons of ʿAmr. They were under the protection of Muḥādh b. ʿAfraʾ.”
My own comment, however, is that it has been related earlier, from the account of al-Bukhari through al-Zuhri, from Urwa, that these youths were under the protection of As'ad b. Zurara. But God knows best.

Mu'āṣa b. Uqba related that the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by 'Ābd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl while he was there in his house. The Messenger of God (SAAS) came to a stop, expecting to be invited into the house since he was at that time the chief of the Khazraj. But 'Ābd Allāh told him, “Look to those who invited you. Stay with them!”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) related this to a number of the ḤAnṣār and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda commented, apologizing for him, “Now God has granted you to us, O Messenger of God; whereas we had wanted to place a crown on his head and make him king over us.”

Mu'āṣa b. Uqba stated, “The ḤAnṣār had held a meeting before the Messenger of God (SAAS) left the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf. They had gathered around his camel arguing over which of them should hold its reins, vying to honour and show their respect for the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“Whenever he passed by the home of one of the ḤAnṣār they would invite him inside, but he would say, ‘Leave her alone; she has received a command. I will only stay where God decides.’

“When she arrived at the house of Abī Ayyūb she knelt before the door and he dismounted. He entered that house and stayed there until his mosque and its apartments were built.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS) first knelt he did not dismount and she got up and went a little further, while the Messenger of God left its rein free without his control. She then turned around and came back to where she had knelt and did so there again. She then shook herself, and sank to the ground stretching out fully. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then dismounted.

“Abū Ayyūb Khalīd b. Zayd then picked up his bags and took them into the house. The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed there with him.

“He asked who owned the drying shed and Mu'ādh b. 'Affāt told him, ‘It is owned by Sahl and Suhayl, two sons of 'Amr. They are orphans under my care.’ ‘Then I will buy it from them and have it as a mosque,’ said the Messenger of God (SAAS), and later he had it built.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed in the home of Abū Ayyūb until he built his mosque and its living quarters; he and the Muslims, both Emigrants and Helpers, participated in its construction. An account of the building of the mosque will be given soon hereafter, if God wills it.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in Dalā'il (The Signs), quoting from Abū ' Ābd Allāh, who stated that the ĥāṣiq Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Amr informed him, quoting Abū ' Ābd Allāh Muḥammad b. Makhliḍ al-Ḍūrī, quoting Muḥammad b. Sulaymān...
b. Ismacil b. Abū al-Ward, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Śirma, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Ishaq b. Ṭalḥa, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, and when we entered the anṣār came along with other men and women and said, ‘Come to us, O Messenger of God.’ He replied, ‘Leave my camel unimpeded; she has received a command.’

“She knelt at the door of Abū Ayyūb and servant girls of the Banū al-Najjār came out striking drums and chanting, ‘We are girls of the Banū al-Najjār; how wonderful if Muḥammad were our neighbour.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came out to them and asked, ‘Do you love me?’ They replied, ‘Oh yes, O Messenger of God!’ ‘And I,’ he said, ‘by God, love you all! By God, I love you all!’

“This is a strange tradition from this source. None of the authorities on tradition relate it, though al-Ḥākim gave it in his Mustadrak as will he related.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī related, quoting Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Nahḥās, the Qurʿān-reciter in Baghdad, that ʿUmar b. Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī related to him, quoting Abū Khaythama al-Maṣṭṣi, and ʿĪsā b. Yūnus related, from ʿAwf al-ʿArabī, from Thumāma, from Anas, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by a quarter where the Banū al-Najjār lived. And there were servant girls striking drums and chanting,

“We are girls of the Banū al-Najjār; how wonderful if Muḥammad were our neighbour.”

“They commented, “God knows that my heart loves you all!”

This was related by Ibn Māja, from Hishām b. ʿAmr, from ʿĪsā b. Yūnus.

In the saḥīh of al-Bukhārī it is stated from Maʿmar, from ʿAbd al-Wārīth, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Anas, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) saw the women and boys coming – I believe he said that it was a wedding procession. So he stood up in full view and said, ‘O God, these are the people I love most of all.’ He repeated this three times.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Ṣamād b. ʿAbd al-Wārīth related to us, quoting his father, who quoted ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb, who quoted Anas b. Mālik, as follows: ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out for Medina with Abū Bakr riding behind him on the same mount. Abū Bakr was an elderly man who was well known, whereas the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was youthful and not known.

“If a person met Abū Bakr and said, “Abū Bakr, who is that man in front of you?” He would reply, “This man is showing me the path.”

“He would think he was referring to him showing him the road, but what he really meant was “the path of good”.

“Abū Bakr looked back and saw a horseman had caught up with them. So he said, “O Prophet of God, a rider has caught up with us!” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turned around and said, “O God, bring him down!” The man’s horse
then fell, tossed him and stood neighing. The man then said, "O Prophet of God, give me your orders!" He replied, "Stay where you are and don't let anyone catch up with me!"

"So the man had started off the morning trying to catch the Messenger of God (SAAS) and by the end of it he was acting as his armed guard!

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) alighted at the edge of the rock lava plain and sent a message off to the ansār. When they came they greeted the two men and told them, "Mount up; you will be safe and you will be obeyed."

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr then rode on, the ansār all around them fully armed.

"In Medina people were saying, "The Prophet of God, has come!" And they raised their glances to him, repeating that the Prophet had come.

"He proceeded on and dismounted beside the house of Abū Ayyūb.

"While he was talking to members of its household Ābd Allāh b. Salām heard of him while working in a palm-grove belonging to his family. He quickly stopped what he was doing, she38 accompanying him, heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) then went back to his own people.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, "Which of our people's houses is closest?" Abū Ayyūb replied, "Mine, O Messenger of God; this is my house, this my door." He asked, "Then go and prepare a place for us to rest." He went and did so, then returned and said, "O Messenger of God, I have prepared a place for your siesta. Do come, with God's blessings." They did so.

"Now that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had arrived, Ābd Allāh b. Salām came to him and said, "I bear witness that you are really the Prophet of God, that you have brought the truth. The Jews know me to be their leader and the son of their former leader, their most learned man and son of their former most learned man. Call them and ask them."

"When they came the Messenger of God (SAAS) addressed them, "O Jews, woe upon you! Fear God! By the God other than whom there is none, you well know that I am truly the Messenger of God, and that I bring you the truth. Accept Islam!"

"But three times they replied, "We do not know this."""

Al-Bukhārī alone relates this thus, on the authority of a Muḥammad not further identified and also from Ābd al-Ṣamad.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Marthad b. Ābd Allāh al-Yazānī, from Abū Ruḥm al-Ṣamā'ī, that Abū Ayyūb stated, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) took up residence in my house, he lived on the lower floor while I and Umm Ayyūb lived upstairs. I told him, 'O Messenger of God, I really hate being above you, with you beneath me. Come along and live above, while we come down to the lower floor.'"

38. Ibn Ishāq's account as elsewhere published refers to his aunt as working with him in the palm-grove; no doubt the reference is to her in this apparently abbreviated account. See p. 196.
"'He replied, "Abū Ayyūb, it's better for us and for our guests for me to live downstairs."

"'And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained down while we stayed above in the house. It happened that a large jug of water of ours broke and my wife and I had to mop it up as best we could with a velvet garment, since we had no other cloth. We used it to dry up the water, fearing to have any drop on the Messenger of God (SAAS) and so harm him.

"'We used to prepare his evening meal for him and send it in to him. If when he returned it there were any morsels left we would try to see where his fingers had touched it and eat that part, hoping to be blessed by that. One night we sent him his supper, having included onions or garlic and he returned it without us detecting any marks of his hands on it. So I was shocked and went to him and asked, "O Messenger of God, you have sent back the food without me seeing any sign you have touched it." He explained, "I sensed the smell of that plant in the food; I'm someone who whispers to others (and such an odour may he offensive to them), so why don't you eat it."

"'We did so and never served him those vegetables again.'"

Al-Bayhaqi related this similarly, through al-Layth b. Sa'īd, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Ḥasan, or Abū al-Khayr, Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Yazānī, from Abū Ruhm, from Abū Ayyūb, who told it.


Al-Bayhaqi stated, "The ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ḥabīr informed us, quoting Abū ʿAmr al-Ḥārīrī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Aḥmad b. Saʿīd al-Dārāmī, quoting Abū al-Nuʿmān, quoting Thābit b. Yazīd quoting Ṣāʾim al-Ḥārīmī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārīmī, from Ṣāʾīd, the freed-man of Abū Ayyūb, from Abū Ayyūb, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) resided with him, staying on the ground floor while he, Abū Ayyūb, lived upstairs. It occurred to Abū Ayyūb that he was walking on top of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and so he was careful to keep to the sides, where they also slept. He then spoke to the Messenger of God (SAAS) about that, commenting, 'The lower floor is more appropriate for us; I can't be above a ceiling when you are beneath it.' And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) moved to the upper floor, while Abū Ayyūb moved to the lower.

"He used to prepare food for the Messenger of God (SAAS), and if it was returned he would ask about where he had placed his fingers and keep track of this. Once he made food for him that contained garlic and when the food came back he asked where the Messenger of God (SAAS) had placed his fingers. He was told, 'He didn't eat any.' Abū Ayyūb was shocked and went up to him and asked, 'Is it a forbidden food?' The Prophet (SAAS) replied, 'No, but I do dislike it.' Abū Ayyūb commented, 'I dislike whatever you dislike'; or he may have used the words, 'whatever you have disliked.' He also said, 'The Prophet (SAAS) would be visited by angels.'"39

39. It is stated in another tradition that angels dislike the smell of garlic.
Muslim related this from Aḥmad b. Saʿīd.

It is established in both saḥīḥ collections, that Anas b. Mālik said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought a large platter” – in one account it was a bowl – “containing green vegetables. He asked and was told what these were and when he looked at them, he did not want to eat them. He commented, ‘You eat them; I have private conversations with people with whom you do not!’”

Al-Waqidi recounted that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed at the home of Abū Ayyūb, Asʿād b. Zurzra took hold of the nose-rein of the camel of the Messenger of God and it thus remained with him.

It is related from Zayd b. Thābit that he said, “The first gift made to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), after he took up residence in the home of Abū Ayyās, was brought to him by myself. It was a big wooden bowl filled with bread, crumbled up with yoghurt and butter. I told him that my mother had sent the bowl. He commented, ‘God bless her!’ Then he called over his Companions and they ate. Then a wooden bowl came from Saʿīd b. Ubāda, a mixture of bread and meat gravy.

“Not an evening went by without there being at the door of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) three or four people who would come one after the other carrying food. He remained there in the home of Abū Ayyūb for seven months.

“While resident in the home of Abū Ayyūb, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent his freed-man Zayd b. Ḥaritha and Abū Raḥf, along with two camels and carrying 500 dirhams, to bring back Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm, daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), his wife Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa and Usāma b. Zayd. Ruqayya had already emigrated with her husband Uθmān, while Zaynab remained with her husband, Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Raḥf in Mecca. Umm Ayman, the wife of Zayd b. Ḥaritha, came with these, and so did ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr with the other children of Abū Bakr who included ʿAḥisha, ‘mother of the believers’. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not yet consummated his marriage with her.”


“She then moved away with him and came to the place for the minbar, the pulpit, where it knelt down and shook itself. A shed was there where they were storing and drying dates. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), alighted from his mount and went to the shade. Abū Ayyūb then approached him and said, ‘O Messenger of God, my house is the one closest to you; shall I carry your baggage to my place?’ ‘Yes,’ he said. So he took his baggage into the house. Another man then
came to him and said, 'O Messenger of God, where are you staying?' He replied, 'A man stays wherever his baggage is.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed there in the shed for 12 nights, until the mosque was built.'

This was a great honour for Abū Ayyūb Khalid b. Zayd, God bless him, to have the Messenger of God (SAAS) stay with him.

It was related to us through Yazid b. Abū Ḥabib from Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, may God be pleased with him, that Abū Ayyūb came to Basra over which Ibn ʿAbbas had been appointed governor by 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him. Ibn ʿAbbas came out of his house and invited Abū Ayyūb to stay there, just as the latter had provided accommodation for the Messenger of God (SAAS) in his house. He also presented him with everything within the house; and when he came to leave, Ibn ʿAbbas gave him 20,000 dirhams and 40 slaves.

Abū Ayyūb’s house later passed into the hands of his freed-man Aflah; al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Harith b. Hishām bought it from him for 1,000 dinars, repaired it and donated it for the use of the poor of Medina who belonged to the household of the Prophet (SAAS).

Similarly his staying in the home of the Banī al-Najjār and God’s choosing that for him, was also a great honour. In Medina there were many such complexes, nine in number. Each of these was separate and self-sufficient, with its own date-palms, gardens and families. Each one of their tribes were gathered in their own quarters, making them like adjoining villages. God chose for the Messenger of God (SAAS) the home of the Banū Malik b. al-Najjār.

In both saḥīḥ collections it is established from a hadith of Shuʿba as follows, “I heard Qatada quote Anas b. Mdik as stating, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘The best of the anṣār homes is that of the Banū al-Najjār, then comes that of the Banū al-Ashhal, then the Banū al-Hārith b. al-Khazraj, then the Banū Sāʿīda; and in all the homes of the anṣār there is good.’”

“Saʿd b. ʿUbāda stated, ‘I never saw the Messenger of God (SAAS), fail to express preference for others over us.’ But he was told instead, ‘He gave preference to you over many.’”

This quotation comes from al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim also related this from a hadith of Anas and Abū Salama, from Abū Usayd Malik b. Rabīʿa, and from a hadith of ʿUbāda b. Sahl, from Abū Ḥumayd, from the Prophet (SAAS), in the same terms. In the hadith of Abū Ḥumayd there is an addition: “Abū Usayd said to Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, ‘Don’t you think that the Prophet (SAAS) expressed favour for the anṣār and placed us last?’ And so Saʿd went to the Prophet (SAAS) and asked, ‘O Messenger of God, have you given preference to the homes of the anṣār and placed us last?’ ‘Well’, he replied, ‘does it not suffice you that you are among the very best?’”

Great honour and credit were firmly established for the people of Medina, the anṣār, both in this world and the next. God Almighty stated, “As for those who
are first and foremost, of the *muhājirīn*, the Emigrants and the *ānṣār*, ‘the Helpers’, and those who followed them in goodness, God is pleased with them, and they are with Him. He has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow; they will live in them forever. That is the mighty success” (*ṣūrat al-Tawḥīd* or *al-Baṣrā: IX*, v.100). And God also stated, “And (give also) to those who lived in this area and had faith before them, loving those who emigrated to them, and they do not find in themselves any grudge because of what others were given, rather, preferring others over themselves, though they may themselves be in need. Those spared from the meanness of their selves shall be those who succeed” (*ṣūrat al-Ḥāshrā: LIX*, v.9).

The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, “Had I not been compelled to perform the emigration personally, I would have been an *ānṣār*, a Helper; and if people had gone to any valley or defile, I would have gone to the valley or defile of the Helpers. The Helpers are as an undergarment, the people at large as an overgarment.”

He also said, “The Helpers are my household and my own family.”

And he said, “I am peace to those who make peace with them and war to those who make war upon them.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḥajjāj b. Mīnāḥ related to him, quoting Shu'ba, quoting ʿAdī b. Ṭāhib, as follows, “I heard al-Baraʾ b. ʿĀzib say, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say’ – or he said – ‘the Messenger of God (SAAS), said, ‘The *ānṣār* are loved only by those who believe and hated only by those who are hypocritical. Whoever loves them is loved by God, and whoever hates them is hated by God.’”

The other *ḥadīth* authorities also give this, except for Abū Dā'ud, from an account of Shu'ba.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “Muslim b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayr, from Anas b. Mālik, from the Prophet (SAAS) who said, ‘A sign of faith is love for the Helpers; a sign of hypocrisy is hatred for the Helpers.’”

Al-Bukhārī also related it from Abū al-ʿUmar, al-Taṣāṣ and Muslim, from a *ḥadīth* of Khalīd b. al-Ḥārith and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdi, all four of them quoting Shu'ba’s account.

There are numerous verses of the Qurʾān and Prophetic Traditions that make reference to the virtues of the *ānṣār*.

How fine are the verses spoken by Abū Qays Ẓirma b. Abū Anas, mentioned above, a poet from the Helpers, concerning the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) among them, and of the help and comfort they gave to him and to his Companions, God bless them all.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “Abū Qays Ẓirma b. Abū Anas also spoke the following, making reference to how God had honoured them by bringing them Islam and His Messenger (SAAS),

‘A decade or so he stayed among Quraysh, preaching in hopes of finding agreeable friends,
Offering himself to those attending the fairs, but he
found no one to protect or invite him.

When he came to us his mind was put at ease and he
became pleased and contented,

He found friends and his mind became at ease, and he
received evident help from God.

He would tell us what Noah informed his people, and
what Moses said when he answered the call,

And so he came to fear no one, whether near or far away.

We gave of our best wealth and of ourselves amidst the
uproar and the shared sorrows,

Opposing all those people that he opposed, even those
who had been dear and close.

We know that there is nothing besides God, and that the
book of God has become our guide.

I would say, when praying at any temple, "Have pity, do
not show enmity towards us!"

I would say, when crossing any dangerous land, "Blessed
are You, the One relied upon."

Even if you step to one side the ways of death are
many, and it is not you who can preserve yourself.

And, by God, a man does not know how his course will
be, if he does not have God watch over him.

The thirsty date-palm will do its owner no good if it
becomes well-watered yet he becomes buried!"

Ibn Ishāq and others quoted this, as did ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Humaydi
and others, from Suṭyān b. ʿUayna, from Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from an old
woman of the Helpers who said, "I saw ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās visiting ʿIrma b.
Qays as he spoke these lines."

Al-Bayhaqi related this.

DIVISION

Medina was also honoured by the emigration there of the Messenger of God
(Ṣaḥīḥ), and it became a shelter to the good agents and worshippers of God, an
impregnable stronghold and fortress for the Muslims and a place where there
was guidance for all people.

There are innumerable traditions relating to its virtues, and these we will give
glze elsewhere, if God wills it.

It is established in both ṣaḥīḥ collections through Ḥabīb b. Yasāf, from Jaʿfar
b. ʿĀṣim, from Abū Hurayra who said, "The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) stated,
'Faith fits into Medina like a snake into its hole.'"

Muslim also related this, from Muḥammad b. Ṭaḥṣ, from Shabāba, from
ʿĀṣim b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from his father, from Ibn
ʿUmar, from the Prophet (Ṣaḥīḥ), in much the same words.
Also in the *ṣaḥiḥ* collections is the *ḥadīth* of Malik, quoting Ŷahyā b. Sa‘īd as saying that he heard Abū-ḥu`bāb Sa‘īd b. Yāsār report, “I heard Abū Hurayra say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṣa‘ād) commented, “I was commanded to go to a town that eats up other towns; they call it ‘Yathrib’, but it is ‘al-Madīnā’. It purifies men just as a bellows purifies the dross from iron.'”

Imām Mālik is unique among the four Imāms in giving Medina preference over Mecca.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “The ḥāfīz Abū ʿAbd Allāh quoted Abū al-Walīd and Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh, both of whom said, ‘Al-Ḥasān b. Sufyān related to us, quoting Abū Mūsā al-Anṣārī, quoting Sa‘īd b. Sa‘īd, quoting his brother, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṣa‘ād) stated, “O God, you have brought me out of the town that is dearest to me; let me now dwell in the town dearest to You.” And God sent him to dwell in Medina.’”

This *ḥadīth* is extremely strange.

It is very widely known and accepted that Mecca is better than Medina, except for that place that holds the body of the Messenger of God (ṣa‘ād).

Most authorities give many proofs of that, these being too many to refer to here; we have referenced their location in *al-Manāsik min al-ʿĀhkām* (*The Rites of the Hajj and the Sharīʿa*).

The most famous proof for them of this is in what Imām ʿĀḥmad stated, namely, “Abū-ʾl-Yamān related to us, quoting Shuʿayb, quoting al-Zuhri and Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAdī b. al-Ḥamrāʾ told him that he heard the Prophet (ṣa‘ād), while standing at al-Ḥazwāra in the market of Mecca, say, “By God, I swear that of all God’s earth you are the best, and the dearest to me; and had I not been forced out of you I would never have left.’”

ʿĀḥmad related the same, from Yaʿqūb b. Ḫārīm, from his father, from Ṣālīḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus, as did al-Nassāʾī and Ibn Māja, from a *ḥadīth* of al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhri. Al-Tirmidhī stated it to be “ḥasan, ṣaḥīḥ’, “good and authentic”.

Yūnus related this from al-Zuhri. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr related it from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra. In my view the *ḥadīth* of al-Zuhri is more reliable.

Imām ʿĀḥmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿṣmar, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṣa‘ād) stood at al-Ḥazwāra and said, “I know you to be of all God’s earth the best, and the dearest to me; and if your people had not expelled me I would not have forsaken you.”’”

Al-Nassāʾī related this thus from an account of Maʿṣmar.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated, “This is a mistake on Maʿṣmar’s part.”

Some authorities relate this from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra; it too is a misconception, the authentic version being that of the community of scholars.
Aḥmad also stated, “Ibrāhīm b. Khalīd related to us, quoting Rabāḥ, from Maʿmar, from Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shīhāb al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from some other scholars, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while he was in the market place of al-Ḥazwara, ‘By God, I swear that of all God’s earth you are the best, and the dearest to me; and had I not been forced out of you, I would never have left.’”


These are the various lines of transmission of this hadith but the most reliable is the one given above. But God knows best.

The events of the first year of the hegira: An Account of the major events and happenings in the first year following the emigration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The șahāba, the “Companions”, God be pleased with them, agreed in the year 16 AH – or some say 17 or 18 AH – during the Caliphate of ʿUmar, on having the Islamic era begin with the year of the emigration.

This came about because a contractual document or agreement was referred to ʿUmar by one man complaining against another. In it was stated that it came into effect in the month of Shaʿbān. ʿUmar asked, “Which Shaʿbān? That of this, last or next year?”

He then assembled the Companions and discussed the need for a calendar whereby contracts concerning debts and other matters should come into effect. One speaker suggested, “Date as the Persians do.” But this met no favour. For the Persians used to date by the reigns of their kings, one following the other.

Another man suggested, “Use the same dating system as the Byzantines.” They used to date by the reign of Alexander, son of Phillip, the Macedonian. But this met no favour.

Another man suggested, “Date from the birth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Another suggested, “No, date from his receiving the Mission.”

Another suggested, “No, from his emigration.”

Others suggested by the date of his death.

ʿUmar, God be pleased with him, preferred the date of his emigration, because it was so definite and well known, and the others agreed with him.

In his šahīḥ collection al-Bukhārī stated, under the heading: The dating system and when it was established. “ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from his father, from Sahl b. Saʿd, who said, ‘They did not have the dating system start after the beginning of the mission of the Prophet (ṢAAS), nor after his death, but after his arrival in Medina.’”
Al-Waqidi stated, “Ibn Abū al-Zinād related to us, from his father, who said, 'Umar sought advice on a dating system and they agreed upon the emigration.'”

Abū Da‘ūd al-Ṭayālisī stated, from Qurra b. Khalīd al-Sadūsī, from Muhammad b. Sīrin, who said, “A man went up to Umar and said, ‘Set a dating system!’ He asked, ‘What’s that?’ The man explained, ‘It’s something other peoples do; they record things in the form: in such-and-such a month of such-and-such a year.’ ‘Fine,’ agreed Umar, ‘just set it up.’

“They then discussed the matter of the date from which it should begin. Some suggested from the beginning of the Mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), others suggested from his death. Finally they agreed it should be from his emigration. Then they discussed at which month it should commence. Ramaḍān was suggested, and then al-Muḥarram, it being the time for the return of people from their pilgrimage and it was also a sacred month. They agreed on al-Muḥarram.”

Ibn Jarir stated, “Qutayba related to us, quoting Nūh b. Qays al-Ta‘ī, from ‘Uthma b. Muḥṣin, that Ibn CAbbas used to say in regard to the words of the Almighty, ‘By the dawn and ten nights!’ (ṣūrat al-Fajr; LXXXIX, v.1), that the reference was to al-Muḥarram, the dawn of the year.”

It is related that ‘Ubayd b. Umayr stated, “Muḥarram is God’s month; it is the beginning of the year and in it the kāba receives its new cover. It is the month from which people establish the date and in which coins are minted.”

Ahmad stated, “Rawḥ b. ‘Ubāda related to us, quoting Zakariyya b. Ishaq, from ‘Amr b. Dīnār, who said, ‘The first man to put a date on a document was Ya‘la b. Umayya in the Yemen. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina in Rabī‘ al-Awwal, and people marked that as the first of the year.’”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq related from al-Zuhri and Muhammad b. Șāliḥ related from al-Sha‘bi, both saying, “The Banū Isma‘īl dated from the fire of Abraham and then from the building by Abraham and Isma‘īl of the temple, then from the death of Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy, then from the [year of the] elephant. After that Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb began dating from the emigration. That was in the year 17 or 18 AH.”

We made reference to this issue, giving the relevant chains of authority and lines of transmission in the biography of Umar, and all praise be to God.

The conclusion is that they did make the beginning of Islamic history from the year of the emigration. They set its beginning from al-Muḥarram, this being well known. This is the consensus of the Imāms.

Al-Suhayli and others quoted Imām Mālik as having said, “The Islamic year began in Rabī‘ al-Awwal, because that was the month when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) emigrated.”

He also made such an assertion elsewhere by referring to the Almighty’s words, “certainly a mosque founded in piety from the first day” (ṣūrat al-Tawbah or al-Bara‘a; IX, v.108). That is, from the first day of the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS) in Medina. This was the first day of the era, just as the Companions have agreed to its first year having been that of the emigration.
There is no doubt that this, as stated by Imám Mālik, God bless him, is appropriate. However, the actual practice is contrary to this. The first month of the Arabs is indeed al-Muharram. They thus made the first year of the calendar that of the emigration, and had it begin with al-Muharram (instead of Rabî‘ al-Awwal) so that there would be no confusion in the system. But God knows best.

Our comment is—and we rely on God’s help—that the year of the blessed emigration begins while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was still resident in Mecca. He had received the pledge of the anṣār, “the Helpers”, at the second ‘Aqaba meeting, as we have explained, in the middle days of the ṯaḥriq period, that is on the 12th of Dhū al-Ĥijja, preceding the year of the emigration.

The anṣār then went back and the Messenger of God (SAAS) permitted the Muslims to emigrate to Medina. One by one his Companions left for Medina to the point where no one was left in Mecca who could emigrate except for the Messenger of God (SAAS). Abû Bakr had kept himself back so as to be able to accompany the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the journey, as we have explained earlier. They then emigrated together, as is detailed above. ‘Alî b. Abû Ṭalîb was to leave later, at his command, to take care of the deposits entrusted to the Messenger of God (SAAS); he joined the other two men at Quba’. The Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Medina on a Monday at approximately noon, when the heat was extreme.

Al-Waqidi and others stated, “That occurred on the 2nd of the month of Rabî‘ al-Awwal.” Ibn İshaq also related this, except that he did not stop there but preferred a date of the 12th of that month.

This is the popular view held by most scholars. The Messenger of God (SAAS) according to the best accounts, remained in Mecca following his receiving the Mission for 13 years.

This is what we learn in the account of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Abû Ḥamza al-Dabbi, from Ibn ‘Abbâs, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) received the Mission at the age of 40 and remained living in Mecca for 13 years.”


It has been earlier stated that Ibn ‘Abbâs wrote down verses of Şîrma b. Abû Anas b. Qays, including,

“Some decades he stayed among Quraysh, preaching in hopes of finding agreeable friends”

Al-Waqidi stated, from İbrahim b. İsmâ‘îl, from Dâ‘ûd b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ṭïrîma, from Ibn ʿAbbâs, that he cited that same verse as testimony (to the residence having been for 13 years).

Ibn Jarîr related the same, from al-Ḥârîth, from Muḥammad b. Saʿd, from al-Waqidi, but with reference to “15 pilgrimages”, a very strange statement indeed.
Even stranger than that is what Ibn Jarir stated, namely, “It was related to me from Rawḥ b. Ubāda, who said, ‘Ṣa‘īd related to us, from Qatāda, who said, “The Qurʾān was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) over a period of 8 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina.”’”

Al-Ḥasan used to say “over 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina.”

This last statement to which al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī subscribed, that he remained in Mecca 10 years, was one with which Anas b. Mālik, ʿĀisha, Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab and ʿAmr b. Dinār all agreed, according to what Ibn Jarir related of them.

And there is the account from Ibn ʿAbbās, related by Ṭāmād b. Ḥanbal from Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd, from Hishām, from ʿIkrima. It has Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) received revelation at the age of 43 and he remained in Mecca for 10 years.”

We recounted above that al-Shaʿbī stated, “Ismāʿīl was linked with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for 3 years during which he communicated to him the Word and the Message. In one account, he would hear his voice but not see his person; and thereafter it was Gabriel.”

Al-Wāqīḍī related that one of his sheikhs rejected that statement of al-Shaʿbī.

Ibn Jarir tried to combine the statements of those who maintained that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed for 10 years in Mecca with those who considered it to have been 13 years by reference to what al-Shaʿbī had said. But God knows best.

**Division**

When the party of the Prophet (ṢAAS) came to Medina he first stayed, as stated above, at Qubāʾ in the home of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf. He remained there at the most for 22 nights, though some say it was 18, others 10 or so, and according to Mūsā b. Uqba, 3 nights.

What is widely accepted is what Ibn Ishāq and others stated, namely that he was there at Qubāʾ from a Monday to a Friday.

He did establish during this period of disputed length, as we have indicated, the mosque at Qubāʾ.

Al-Suhaylī claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) founded it on the first day he arrived at Qubāʾ, citing to support this view the Almighty’s words, “certainly, a mosque founded in piety from the first day” (ṣūrat al-Tawḥīd or al-Barāʾa; IX, v.108). And he refuted those who would have the wording read “from the foundation of the first day”.

It is a fine, much honoured mosque. God Almighty revealed about it, “certainly a mosque founded in piety from the first day is fully deserving of you standing (for prayer) inside it; therein are men who love that they be purified, and God loves those who purify themselves” (ṣūrat al-Tawḥīd or al-Barāʾa; IX, v.108). We have discussed this in our Tafsīr (Exegesis). Therein we referred to the ḥadith in the saḥih collection of Muslim to the effect of it being the mosque of Medina, and to the refutation of this.
We also made mention of the *hadith* related by the Imām Aḥmad as follows: “Hāṣan b. Mūḥammad related to us, quoting Abū Idrīs, quoting Shurḥabīl quoting Uwāymin b. Sāīda who said that it was related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to them in the mosque in Qubā’ and said, ‘God has given you much good praise for purifying yourselves, in the reference to your mosque; what is it you do to so purify yourselves?’ They replied, ‘We swear by God, O Messenger of God, that the only thing we know is that we had some Jewish neighbours who would wash their behinds after defecating, and so we washed like them.’”

Ibn Khuzayma included this *hadith* in his *ṣahih* collection and there are other testimonies to it.

*It is also related from Khuzayma b. Thābit and Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Salām and Ibn ‘Abbās.*

Abū Ḍa‘ud, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja related from a *hadith* of Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith, from İbrāhīm b. Abū Maymūna from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, “The following verse was revealed about the people of Qubā’: ‘In it there are men who love to be purified, and God loves those who purify themselves.’” He then went on, “They would wash after excretion and this verse was revealed about them.”

Al-Tirmidhī commented, “A unique tradition from this source.”

My own comment is that this Yūnus b. al-Ḥārith is a weak authority. But God knows best.

One of those who stated that it referred to this mosque as the one “founded in piety” was ‘Abd al-Razzāq who related, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, and ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalḥa related it, from Ibn ‘Abbās. It was related also from al-Sha‘bī, al-Ḥasan al-‘Abṣurī, Qatā‘da, Sāīda b. ‘Abd al-Rāman b. Zayd b. Aṣwāfī and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aṣwāfī, along with others.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to visit it in later times and would pray there. He would go to Qubā’ each Saturday, sometimes mounted and sometimes on foot. It is a *hadith* from him that, “Prayer in the mosque at Qubā’ is like an umra.”

It is also stated in a *hadith* that it was Gabriel, peace be upon him, who pointed out to the Prophet (ṢAAS) the place for the *gibla*, the prayer niche, for the mosque at Qubā’.

This mosque was the first built in Medina; indeed it is the first that was made for people in general in this community (of believers). In stating this about this mosque, we are excluding the mosque that Abū Bakr built at the entrance to his home in which to worship and pray; this is because it was for his personal household, not for the public at large. But God knows best.

The matters relating to the acceptance of Islam by Salmān have been referred to above in the chapter on the *bishūrāt*, the early signs. They tell how when Salmān

40. This refers to the “lesser pilgrimage”, a series of ceremonies and rituals performed either in conjunction with or independent of those of the complete pilgrimage. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* et alia.
the Persian heard of the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Medina, he came and brought him something that he laid before him while he was at Qubā', saying, “This is a donation.” But the Messenger of God (SAAS) refrained from eating it and told his Companions to do so and they did eat it. Salmān then came a second time with something he presented saying, “This is a present.” The Messenger of God (SAAS) then ate some of it himself and told his Companions to do the same, which they did. We gave the tradition earlier at length.

Section: On the acceptance of Islam by 'Abd Allāh b. Salām, may God be pleased with him.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Muḥammad b. Ja'fār related to us, quoting ʿAwf, from Zurāra, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived in Medina, the people ran away scared, as I did myself. But as I learned more about him I realized that he was no liar. The first thing I heard him say was, “Spread peace, feed others, pray at night while others sleep, and you will achieve paradise in peace.”’”

Al-Tirmidhī related this, as did Ibn Mājā, by various routes, from ʿAwf al-ʿArābī, from Zurāra b. Abū ʿAwfa. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was authentic.

This tradition requires that ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām had heard of the Prophet (SAAS) and saw him directly following his arrival at Qubā', when he dismounted there among the Bana 'Amr b. 'Awf.

It is given above in the account of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Suhayb, from Anas, that he met him when the Messenger of God (SAAS) dismounted at the home of Abū Ayyūb following his arrival from Qubā’ to the quarters of the Banū al-Najjār as told above. It is possible that he did see him for the first time at Qubā’ and then met with him after his arrival with the Banū al-Najjār. But God knows best.

In the account of al-Bukhārī, through 'Abd al-'Azīz from Anas, the last-mentioned stated, “When the Prophet (SAAS) arrived, 'Abd Allāh b. Salām came to him and said, ‘I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God and that you bring the truth. The Jews recognize me as their leader and the son of their leader, their most learned man and the son of their most learned man. Summon them and ask them about me before they know that I have embraced Islam, because if they know I have done so they will say of me things that are untrue.’”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then sent for the Jews and when they came he asked them, ‘O Jews, woe upon you! Fear God! For, by God other than whom there is none, you certainly know that I am the Messenger of God, in truth, and that I bring you the truth. Therefore accept Islam!’ They replied, ‘We do not know it.’ Three times this was repeated. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘Which of your men is 'Abd Allāh b. Salām?’

“They replied, ‘That is our leader, and the son of our leader, our most learned man and the son of our most learned man.’ He then asked, ‘What would you think if he accepted Islam?’ They replied, ‘God forbid! He would never accept Islam!’
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called out, 'Ibn Salam, come on out to them!'

"When he did so he addressed them as follows, 'O Jews, fear God! By God other than whom there is none, you do certainly know that he is the Messenger of God, and that he brings you the truth.' They replied, 'No, you are lying!' Thereupon the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent them away."

Those are the words used in the above account.

In one version the text states, "when he came out before them and gave testimony to the truth they said, 'You are the worst of us, and the son of the worst of us!' And they spoke ill of him. He then said, 'O Messenger of God, this is what I was fearing.'"

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "The ḥāfiż Abū ʿAbd Allāh told us, quoting al-Aṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishaq al-Ṣanʿānī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, quoting Ḥumayyid, from Anas, who said, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām heard of the arrival of the Prophet (SAAS) while he was out in some land he owned. He went to the Prophet (SAAS) and said, "I shall ask you three things for which only a prophet would know the answers. They are: What are the signs of the Day of Judgement? What is the finest food that the people of paradise would eat? And what causes a child to resemble his father or his mother?"

"He replied, "Gabriel told me of these previously." "What, Gabriel?" he asked. "Yes," he replied. "But," commented ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām, "he is the angel who is the enemy of the Jews." The Messenger of God (SAAS) then recited, "Whoever is the enemy of Gabriel, who surely revealed it to your heart by God's permission" (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.97).

"He then said, "Regarding the signs of the Day of Judgement, the first will be a fire that comes at people from the East and leads them to the West. As for the prime food of paradise eaten by those that are there, that is a plentitude of whale's liver. And if the male's liquid precedes that of the female, he will resemble the child, while if the female's liquid precedes that of the male, she will resemble the child."

"ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām exclaimed, "I testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God; O Messenger of God, the Jews are a people of liars. If they learn of my accepting Islam before you ask them about me, they will lie to you."

"The Jews arrived and the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked them, "What kind of man is the (one of you named) ʿAbd Allāh?" They replied, "He is the best of us and the son of the best of us; he is our leader and the son of our leader." "What," he then asked, "would you say if he were to accept Islam?" They replied, "May God spare him from that!"

"ʿAbd Allāh then came forth and said, "I give testimony that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God." They said, "You are the worst of us, and the son of the worst of us!" And they spoke ill of him.
The image content is a page from a book titled "The Life of the Prophet Muhammad." The content is a historical recounting of events related to the Prophet Muhammad's life, focusing on a particular narrative or story that was passed down through various narrators. The text begins with a quote: "He then commented, "This, O Messenger of God, is what I feared."" This quote is attributed to Al-Bukhari, and it is also related by other narrators such as ‘Ahd b. Humayd, ‘Abd Allah b. Abü Bakr, Hamid b. Wmar, Bishr b. al-Mufaddal, and Humayd.

The narrative continues with a recounting of events that occurred upon the Prophet's arrival in Qubā'. The text mentions the Prophet's association with the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf and the reactions of his aunt Khalida, daughter of al-Hārith, upon hearing the news. The narrative also includes a conversation between ‘Abd Allah h. Ishaq and Yahyā b. ‘Abd Allah, who related a story about a learned rabbi named Safiyya, daughter of Huyay, who was popular with both her father and uncle.

Yūnus b. Bukayr also quotes Muhammad b. Ishaq, stating that ‘Ahd Allah b. Abii Bakr related to him the story of the learned rabbi Safiyya. The text concludes by noting that the account continues as described above, with ‘Abd Allah continuing to tell the story of his open declaration of faith and the reaction of his aunt Khalida, daughter of al-Hārith.

The narrative provides insights into the early days of Islam and the interactions between the Prophet and his followers, highlighting the religious and social context of the time.
greet them as was my custom, but, I swear, neither so much as looked at me. I heard my uncle Ābu Yāsir ask my father, “Is that he then?” “Yes, I swear by God,” he replied. “You recognize him from his character and description then?” “I certainly do, I swear it!” he responded. “So how will you relate to him?” he asked. “With enmity, I swear by God, for as long as I live!”

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba recounted, from al-Zuhrī, that Ābu Yāsir b. Akhtab, following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, went to him, heard him speak, spoke with him and then returned to his people. He told them, “People, obey me; God has sent you the one you have been awaiting. Follow him and do not oppose him.

“His brother Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab, at that time the leader of the Jews, they both being of the Banū al-Naḍīr, then went and sat and listened to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and returned to his people who were obedient to him. He told them, ‘I come to you from being with a man whom, I swear it, I will for ever oppose.’ His brother, Ābu Yāsir, answered him, ‘O cousin, obey me in this matter and disobey however you like thereafter without penalty.’ Ḥuyayy insisted, ‘No, by God, I will never obey you!’ And so Satan took possession of him and his people followed him in his opinion.”

As for Ābu Yāsir, whose name was Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab, his fate is unknown to me. Regarding Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab, the father of Ṣaʿīyya, he expressed enmity for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions, and continued to do so, God damn him, until he was executed, hound, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day the warriors of Banū Qurayża were killed. As we will relate, if God wills it.

Division

When, on a Friday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Qubā mounted on his camel al-Qaṣwāt, it was noon by the time he was in the quarter of the Banū Sālim b. ‘Awf. He performed the Friday prayers there with the Muslims in a valley called Rānūwāmā.

This was the first Friday prayer which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed with the Muslims in Medina, or perhaps the very first time of all. This is because – though God knows best – it had not been possible for him and his Companions in Mecca to have any Friday prayers with a sermon and joint open prayer. The strong opposition to him from the polytheists and the harm they were doing to him had precluded any such possibility.

An Account of the sermon of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that day.

Ibn Jarīr stated, “Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Aʿ�� related to me, quoting Ibn Wahb, that Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jumaḥi reported that he was informed that the
following was the content of the sermon of the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the
first Friday he prayed in Medina, among the Banū Sālim b. 'Amr b. 'Awf, God
bless them: 'Praise be to God; I give Him praise, and I ask His help. I ask for His
forgiveness and for His guidance. I believe in Him, will not disbelieve in Him,
and will do battle with those who do. I bear witness that there is no god but God,
that He has no associate, that Muḥammad is His Servant and Messenger whom
He has sent with guidance and the religion of truth and light, at a time without
messengers, when there is little knowledge, the people are misguided, when the
time is out of joint, and the day of retribution and fate is at hand.

"Whoever obeys God and His Messenger is right-guided; whoever disobeys
them is misled, and has erred and gone far astray.

"I charge you to fear God; this is the best advice a Muslim can give a Muslim,
to urge him on to the afterlife, to order him to fear God. Beware of what God
has, of Himself, cautioned you. There is no better advice nor charge than this. It
is an act of piety for those who accomplish this with apprehension and fear and
a true means of assistance towards your aspirations from the afterlife.

"Whoever cultivates, both openly and in secret, his relationship with God,
seeking only God's favour thereby, shall receive recognition in the short term
and reward after death, when a man will wish he had done differently than he
had before, and would want to put great distance between himself and that
behaviour. God bids you beware of Him, though He is merciful towards His
worshippers.

"Whoever believes His words and fulfils His promise will find nothing taken
back therefrom, for God Almighty states, "Whatever I say shall not be changed,
and I am not unjust towards my worshippers" (ṣūrat Qāf; L, v.29).

"Fear God both in matters that are at hand and those that follow, in secret
and openly, for "whoever fears God, God will remove his evil ways from him
and give him great reward" (ṣūrat al-Ṭalāq; LXV, v.5). And "Whoever fears
God and His Messenger will have won a mighty success."41 Fearing God will
forestall His disapproval, His punishment, His anger. Fearing God will bring
satisfaction, please the Lord and elevate one's status.

"Take advantage of your good fortune and do not be lax in matters pertain-
ing to God. God has instructed you in His book, laid out for you His path, so
that He may know those who speak the truth and those who lie. Do good, just as
God does good to you. Oppose His enemies and strive energetically for God. It
is He who chose you and named you "Muslims", so that those who perish do so
for evident cause, while those who live do so for evident cause. There is no
power but with God. Make frequent mention of God. Strive for what comes
after death. For he who makes good his relationship with God will find his rela-
tionship with people satisfactory. That is because God passes judgement upon

41. Verse 71 of ṣūrat al-Āhzab (XXXIII) is somewhat different. It reads, "Whoever is obedient
to God and His Messenger."
people, while they do not pass judgement upon Him. It is He who controls people, while they do not control Him. God is truly great! There is no power but with God, the Almighty and Glorious.”

This is the text given by Ibn Jarir; its chain of authorities is not complete.

Al-Bayhaqi’s text reads, “Chapter on the first address given by the Messenger of God (SAAS) after his arrival in Medina. The ḥāfiz Abū ‘Abd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-‘Abbās al-‘Aṣamm quoting Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbar, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, who stated, ‘Al-Mughira b. Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Uthmān related to me, along with al-Akhnas b. Sharīq, from Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf, who said, “The first address given by the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina began with him standing before them and expressing appropriate praise and adoration for God, and then saying, ‘O people, send forward for yourselves! You well know that any one of you may be struck down and so his flock be left with no shepherd. His Lord will then say to him – and there will be no interpreter or attendant to come between yourself and Him – “Did not My Messenger come to you and inform you? Did I not give you wealth and benefit? What is it you have sent forward for yourself?” And He will look to right and left but see nothing. Then the man will look in front of him and see only hell-fire. So, whoever is able to protect his face from the fire, even if only with a slice of dates, let him do so. If he finds nothing, then let him say one good word for thereby one good deed will be rewarded by 10 times its like, or even by 700 times. May peace be upon the Messenger of God, and the mercy and the blessings of God.”’”

Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded with the second sermon by saying, “Praise be to God! I praise Him and I seek His help. We seek refuge with God from the evil of ourselves and of our deeds. Whoever is guided by God will not be misled while he who is misled shall have no guide. I bear witness that there is no god but God, Who is unique and without associate. The finest words are those of God’s Book. Successful are those whose hearts have been embellished thereby by Him; those whom He has brought into Islam following disbelief and who chose these words above all human speech. Love those who love God and love Him with all your hearts. Do not tire of His words and of repeating them, nor harden your hearts towards them. From everything that God creates He makes His selection and choice. He has thus mentioned the best of these deeds and the best of persons who perform these deeds. He has also described healthy speech, along with those things He regards as lawful and those that are forbidden. So worship God and associate no other god or person with Him and fear Him as is His due. Be faithful to Him in those good things you utter with your mouths. Love one another, the spirit of God being between you. God is angry if vows to Him are broken. Peace be upon you, and God’s mercy and blessings.”

The chain of authorities for this tradition, though incomplete, does add strength to the previous address, even if the phraseology differs.
Section: On the building of the holy mosque during the period of the residence of the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the home of Abū Ayyūb, may God be pleased with him.

There are differences of opinion as to the length of his stay there. Al-Waqidi stated seven months, while others refer to less than one month but God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ishaq b. Mansūr related to him, from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, who quotes a hadīth from his father, as follows, “Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Ḥumayd al-Ḍabī related to us, quoting Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to Medina, he stayed in the upper part of the town in the quarter named for the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. He stayed among them for 14 nights, then sent a message to the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār who came wearing their swords. It’s as if I can still see the Messenger of God (SAAS) riding his camel with Abī Bakr mounted behind him and the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār all around him until they reached the courtyard of Abū Ayyūb’s house.

“‘He used to pray wherever he happened to be when time for prayer came; he would even pray in sheep pens.

“‘Then he ordered that the mosque be built. He summoned the chiefs of the Banū al-Najjār, and when they came he asked them, “O Banū al-Najjār, what price for this wall of yours?” They replied, “Oh no, by God, we’ll seek its price from God, the Almighty and Glorious, alone!”

“Anas Ibn Mālik then said ‘This wall enclosed the following: the graves of polytheists, ruins and date-palms. The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that the graves be unearthed, the ruins levelled and the date-palms be cut down; this was done.

“‘They (created a wall of) palm trees at the qiblah (the front of the mosque), and constructed its two door posts out of stones. They set about gathering stones, chanting in rajaz verse as they did so. The Messenger of God (SAAS) worked along with them, saying, “O God, there is no good but that of the after-life; please aid the Helpers and the Emigrants!”’

Al-Bukhārī related this in other places, as did Muslim from a hadīth of Abū ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and ʿAbd al-Wārīth b. Saʿīd.

A hadīth from the saḥīh of al-Bukhārī quoted earlier, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, stated that the mosque had been a mirbād – a shed for dates – belonging to two orphan youths, Sahl and Suhayl, who were under the care of Asʿād b. Zurāra. The Messenger of God (SAAS) made an offer of money to them but they replied, “No; we will give it to you, Messenger of God.” But he refused, and bought it from them instead and then built a mosque on it.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) would chant as he moved the earth along with the others,

“This load is not a load of Khaybar; this, O Lord, is cleaner and purer.”

And he would say,
“O God, real reward is that of the other world, so have mercy on the Helpers and the Emigrants.”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that Asʿad b. Zurār compensated the orphans for the land with some date-palms he had on land that was otherwise uncultivated but he also mentions the view that the Messenger of God (SAAS) bought it from them.

My own comment is that Muḥammad b. ʿIṣḥāq also related that the date shed was owned by two orphaned youths who were under the care of Muḥammad b. ʿAfrā’, and that they were Sahl and Suhayl, both sons of ʿAmr. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqi related through ʿAbū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunya, quoting ʿAbī Bakr b. Abī al-Dunya, quoting ʿAbī Bakr b. ʿUmar, quoting ʿAbd al-Razāq b. Sulaymān, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAli b. Ṣaḥbān, that the mosque had been built at the time of the Prophet (SAAS) from bricks and that it had a roof of palm fronds, with pillars made of palm trunks. Abū Bakr made no improvements to it, but ʿUmar enlarged it, rebuilding it in the same manner as in the time of the Prophet (SAAS), that is, with bricks and palm fronds; he also restored its wooden pillars. ʿUthmān, God bless him, made changes and major additions. He had its walls built with cut stone and plaster, its pillars of stone and its roof of teak.”
Al-Bukhari related this similarly from ‘Ali b. al-Madini, from Ya’qūb b. Ibrāhīm.

My own comment is that in adding to it, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, God bless him, was putting into effect the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “Whoever builds a mosque for God, even if only like the hollowed out nest of a sand-grouse, will have a house built for him by God in paradise.”

The Companions living at that time agreed with him in this, and they made no changes after ʿUthmān. This gives support to the preponderant view of the scholars that the rules applicable to the original structure will also apply to the extensions made to that structure and thus, those who perform their prayer in that new section will also share in the virtues allotted to those who pray in the original section. Included in this is the waiver of the prohibition of undertaking a journey to any sacred place except the ka’ba and the Prophet’s mosque.42

It was expanded in the time of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, the builder of the Damascus mosque. Its expansion was undertaken at his orders by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz when he was governor of Medina. He added to it the ḥujrat al-nabawīyya, the burial chamber of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Substantial later additions were made to it. On the side of the prayer niche it was expanded, so much so that the original niche and the rawda, the promenade, became positioned after the front rows, as it is to be seen today.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed with Aba Ayyab until his mosque and apartments were built. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself worked in it to inspire the Muslims with a desire to work there. Both Emigrants and Helpers co-operated busily in this. One Muslim worker spoke the verse,

“For us to sit while the Prophet worked would indeed be misdirected action.”

As they worked the Muslims chanted,

“There’s no life but that of the hereafter; O God, have mercy on both Helpers and Emigrants.”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) himself spoke the words,

“There’s no life but that of the hereafter; O God, have mercy on both Emigrants and Helpers.”43

42. This statement alludes to the teachings of the Prophet regarding the sanctity of the mosque. In one tradition he said that those who perform a single prayer in his mosque will have it increased a thousand fold.

43. The point of this quotation, in which the positions of the Arabic words for Emigrants and Helpers are transposed thus spoiling the meter, seems to be to provide evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had no ear for verse, therefore further establishing the divine origin of the Qurʾān. See also Sir William Muir: The Life of Muhammad London, 1877, p. 184.
'Ammār b. Yasir came in, overloaded with bricks, and said, "O Messenger of God, they're killing me by loading me with what they wouldn't carry!"

Umm Salama said, "I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) wipe his hand through his long, thick hair - which was curly - and say, 'Alas, Ibn Sumayya, it's not them killing you but the evil gang who will!'"

This tradition is devoid of a link from this line; indeed it is problematic between Muhammad b. Ishāq and Umm Salama. Muslim, in his sahih collection, joined it back to a hadith of Shu'ba, from Khalid al-Hadhdha', from Sa'id and al-Hasan, that is from the two sons of Abū al-Hasan of Baṣra, from their mother Khayra, the freed-woman of Umm Salama, from Umm Salama, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, 'The evil gang will kill 'Ammār.'" He also related it from a hadith of Ibn 'Aliyya, from Ibn 'Awn, from al-Hasan, from his mother, from Umm Salama, which reports that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to 'Ammār as he was transporting rocks, "Alas for you, O Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!"

'Abd al-Razzāq stated, "Ma'mar related to us, from al-Hasan, from his mother, from Umm Salama, who said, 'While the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions were building the mosque, his men would carry the bricks one at a time, while 'Ammār would carry two, one for himself and one for the Prophet (SAAS). So the latter patted him on the back and said, 'Ibn Sumayya, the others will get a reward, but you will receive two. And the last food for you will be a drink of milk and the evil gang will kill you!'"

This chain of authorities is in accordance with the criteria established in both sahih collections.

Al-Bayhaqi and others tell us, through a group, from Khalid al-Hadhdha', from Ikrima, from Abū Sa'id al-Khudari, who said, "While building the mosque we would be carrying bricks one by one, while 'Ammār would bear them two at a time. The Prophet (SAAS) saw him and, while wiping the dust off his said, 'Alas, poor 'Ammār! The evil gang will kill him. He will invite them to paradise, while they will invite him to the fire!' 'Ammār commented, 'I seek refuge with God from strife!'"

Imam al-Bukhari, however, related this hadith from Musaddad, from 'Abd al-'Aziz b. al-Mukhtar, from Khalid al-Hadhdha'; and from Ibrahim b. Musa, from 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Thaqafi, from Khalid al-Hadhdha'. However, that account does not mention his use of the words, "The evil gang will kill you!"

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "It is as if he left this out only due to what Muslim related from one route, from Abu Nadra, from Abu Sa'id, who said, 'Someone better than myself told me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) while setting about digging the khandaq, "the trench", wiped his head and said to 'Ammār, 'Alas for Ibn Sumayya! An evil gang will kill him!"'

Muslim also related this, from a hadith of Shu'ba, from Abu Muslim, from Abu Nadra, from Abu Sa'id who said, "One of my betters, Abu Qatada, related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to 'Ammār b. Yasir, 'Alas for you, Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!"
Abū Dā'ūd Al-Ṭayālīsī said, “Wuhayh informed us from Dā'ūd Ibn Abū Hind from Abū Naḍrā, from Abū Sa'īd who said: ‘When the Prophet (ṢAAS) undertook the excavation of the trench, people generally carried one brick each. ‘Ammār however, who was recuperating from an ailment, carried two bricks at a time. Abū Sa'īd said: ‘A Companion informed me that the Prophet (ṢAAS) would wipe the dust off his head and say: ‘Alas for you, Ibn Sumayya! The evil gang will kill you!’”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “He distinguished between what he had himself heard and what he heard from his Companions.”

He said, “It seems that his reference to ‘the trench’ is imagined, or that he said this to him both while building the mosque and while digging the trench. But God knows best.”

My own comment is that carrying bricks while digging a trench makes no sense. It seems obvious that there is confusion here. But God knows best.

This hadīth comes from the Dalā'il al-Nubūwaḥ (Signs of the Prophethood) wherein the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) tells ‘Ammār that the evil gang will kill him.

In fact he was killed by the Syrians at the battle of Siffin, ‘Ammār having fought with ‘Alī and the Iraqis.

‘Alī had greater right to rule than did Mu'āwiyah. But their being called bughāt, unjust, does not imply that the supporters of Mu'āwiyah have become unbelievers, as some ignorant persons do who belong to the Shi'ā, along with others as well. For even if they were essentially rebellious, they had in fact erred in their interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the conflict. And not everyone who undertakes interpretation is right; those who are right receive double reward, while those in error receive only one.

There are some who add after the words, “the evil gang will kill you” further words, “may my intercession not include them on Judgement Day”. In making such an addition they are falsely attributing statements to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he did not say this, since it is not transmitted by any reputable source. But God knows best.

Regarding the words, “He invites them to paradise, while they invite him to the fire”, they refer to ‘Ammār and his friends inviting the Syrians to friendship and to unity, while the Syrians wanted to give preference to some over those whose right was greater, which would result in the people being divided, each one having its own leader. This would have led to dissention and division within the nation and resulted inevitably from their philosophy and policies, even though this was not what they intended. But God knows best.

But the subject at hand here relates mainly to the building of the mosque of the Prophet, may the best of blessings and peace be upon its constructor.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated in Dalā’il (The Signs) as follows, “The ḥāfīz Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us by dictation, Abū Bakr b. Ishāq related to us, Ubayd b.
Shurayk informed us, Nuaym b. Hammād related to us, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, Ḥashrāj b. Nubāta informed us, from Sa‘d b. Jumhān, from Safina, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, ‘Abū Bakr brought a stone and placed it down, then ‘Umar did the same, then ‘Uthmān did the same. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘These will succeed to power after myself.’”

He (al-Bayhaqi) then related this from a hadith of Yahyā b. ‘Abd al-Hamīd al-Himānī, from Ḥashrāj, from Sa‘d, from Safina, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) built a mosque he put down a stone, saying, ‘Let Abū Bakr place a stone next to mine; let ‘Umar place his next to that of Abū Bakr, and let ‘Uthmān place his next to that of ‘Umar.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, “These shall be the Caliphs after me.”

This hadith through this line of transmission is gharib, “unique”.

What is well known is what Imam Ahmad related, from Abū al-Naḍr, from Ḥashrāj b. Nabāta al-‘Absi, and from Bahz and Zayd b. al-Ḥabbāb, and ‘Abd al-Ṣa‘d, and Ḥamād b. Salama, both authorities quoting Sa‘d b. Jamhān from Safina, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘The Caliphate period will last for 30 years. Then thereafter will come the kingdom period.’ Safina then commented, ‘Count! The Caliphate of Abū Bakr lasted 2 years, that of ‘Umar 10 years, that of ‘Uthmān 12 years, and that of ‘Ali 6 years.’”

This wording is that of Ahmad. Abū Dā‘ūd, al-Tirmidhi and al-Nāṣāf related it through various lines from Sa‘d b. Jamhān. Al-Tirmidhi stated, “This hadith is hasan, ‘good’. We know of it only in this form and with the alternate wording, ‘The Caliphate after me will be for 30 years, and then will come a mordacious kingdom era.’” He then related the remainder of the tradition.

I would comment that when first built the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS) had no minbar from which to address the congregation. He would speak while leaning against a palm tree trunk in the wall next to the qibla near where he prayed. Eventually he began to use a minbar, as we will explain in its proper place. As he moved over towards it to make his address from it and passed by that tree trunk, it moaned like a love-lorned camel because it had always heard his speeches delivered near itself. And so the Prophet (ṢAAS) returned to it and hugged it until it settled down, just like a baby, and became quiet. Details of this will be given hereafter through various lines, from Sa‘d b. Sa‘d, al-Ṣa‘dī, Jābir, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥabbās, Anas b. Mālik and Umm Salama, God be pleased with them.

What more appropriate than the comment made by al-Hasan al-Basri after relating this story, from Anas b. Mālik, “O Muslims! A piece of wood so pining for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Do not men hoping to meet him have even more right to yearn for him?”
Imām Aḥmad stated, “Yahyā b. Anīs b. Abū Yahyā related to us, quoting his father, as follows, ‘I heard Abū Sa‘d al-Khudari say, ‘Two men, one from the Banū Khudra, the other from the Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, disagreed over which mosque was referred to by the words in the Qurʾān, ‘the mosque founded in piety’ (ṣūrat al-Tawbah or al-Bara’ta; IX, v.108). The Khudari said, ‘It is the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ The ‘Amri insisted, ‘No, it’s the mosque at Qubā.’ So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about it. He replied, ‘It is this mosque,’ referring to that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ‘In that one,’ he went on, meaning the mosque at Qubā, ‘there is much good.’””

Al-Tirmidhī related this from Qutayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismā‘īl, from Anīs b. Abū Yahyā al-Aslami. He characterized it as hasan, sahih, “good”, “authentic”.

Imām Aḥmad, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasā‘ī related, from Ishāq b. Ṭisā, from al-Layth b. Sa‘d, from Qutayba, from al-Layth from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Sa‘d, from his father, who said: “Two men argued over which was the mosque ‘founded in piety’. Thereafter this account proceeded as above.

In the sahih collection of Muslim, there is the hadith of Ḥumayd al-Kharrāt, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who is quoted as saying that he asked ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Sa‘d, “What was it you heard your father say about the ‘mosque founded in piety’?” He replied, “My father said, ‘I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him about the ‘mosque founded in piety’. He picked up a handful of pebbles and dashed them to the ground, saying, ‘It is this, here, your mosque.’””

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Wāḥī related to us, as did Rabī‘a b. ʿUthmān al-Tamimi, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from Sahil b. Sa‘d, who said, “Two men alive at the time of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) differed over which mosque was “founded in piety”. One of them said, “It is the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” The other said, “No, it’s the mosque at Qubā.” So they went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and asked him. He replied, “It is this mosque of mine.”””

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Abū Nuʿaym related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir al-Aslami, from ʿImrān b. Abū Anas, from Sahil b. Sa‘d, from Ubayy b. Ka‘b, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘The mosque “founded in piety” was this mosque of mine.’”

These numerous sources come close to giving conclusive evidence that the mosque in question is that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

ʿUmar, his son ʿAbd Allāh, Zayd b. Thabit, Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab and Ibn Jarir all agreed with this.
Others say that there is simply no contradiction between the revelation of this verse being applied to the mosque at Quba and these traditions. This is so, they say, because this mosque (i.e. the Medina mosque) is simply more worthy of such than is the other since it is one of the three mosques referred to as those worth striving to attend. This is established in both sahih collections from a hadith of Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Only three mosques should be the object of travel: this mosque of mine, the ʿāraḍ mosque (in Mecca) and the Bayt al-Maqdis mosque (in Jerusalem).’”

In the sahih collection of Muslim there is a tradition from Abū Saʿīd, from the Prophet (SAAS), who said, “Only three mosques should be the object of travel” and he named these. It is established in both sahih collections that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “A prayer in this mosque of mine is better than a thousand prayers in any other, with the exception of the ʿāraḍ mosque.”

In the hadith collection of Ahmād, with a good chain of authorities, there is mention of an additional, bounty namely the words, “And that one is better.”

In both collections, there is a hadith of Yahyā al-Qattān, from Ḥābiẓ, from Ḥāfiẓ b. ‘Āsim, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Between my house and my pulpit there is one of the gardens of paradise, and my pulpit stands by my pool.’”

There are numerous traditions referring to the virtues of this holy mosque. We will report these in the large work al-Manāṣik min Kitāb al-Aḥkām, if God wills it. And in Him is all trust and reliance, and there is no power or strength except in God, the Powerful and Wise.

Imām Mālik and his associates support the view that the Medina mosque is superior to the ʿāraḍ mosque because the latter was built by Abraham, and the former by Muḥammad (SAAS); it being obvious that Muḥammad (SAAS) was superior to Abraham, God bless him.

However, the majority opinion opposes this view and maintains that the ʿāraḍ mosque is superior. This is because it is in a land made sacred by God at the time when He created the heavens and the earth. And it was made sacred by Abraham al-Khalil, “the True Friend”, peace be upon him, and Muḥammad, “the Seal of the Prophets”. The (mosque in Mecca) is thus endowed with qualities not present in any other. Discussion of this issue however, belongs elsewhere; and one turns to God for help.

DIVISION

The Messenger of God (SAAS) built apartments around his mosque which would be dwellings for himself and his family. These were small dwellings with narrow courtyards.

Al-Ḥasan b. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī stated, he having been a youth in the company of his mother Khayra, the freed-woman of Umm Salama, “I used to be able to reach up with my hand to the highest ceiling in the apartment of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”
I would observe, however, that al-Hasan al-Basri was large in size and tall. God bless him.

Al-Suhayli stated in *al-Rawd* (*The Gardens*), “The apartments of the Messenger of God (SAAS) were built of the stalks of palm leaves covered with mud and partly of stones stacked upon one another. The ceilings of all were made of palm fronds.”

This account was related from al-Hasan al-Basri.

His rooms were made of hair-cloth held together with juniper-tree wood.

In al-Bukhari’s work of history we learn that finger nails could knock on the door of the Messenger of God (SAAS); this shows that there were no cloth coverings over his doors.

He stated, “And after the deaths of the wives of the Messenger of God (SAAS) all these apartments were added to the mosque.”

Al-Waqidi, Ibn Jarir and others said, “When ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Urayqit al-Dift returned to Mecca, the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abu Bakr dispatched Zayd b. Haritha and Abu Rafe, both freed-men of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to bring back their families from Mecca. They sent with them two loads of goods and 500 dirhams with which to purchase a camel of Qudayd. They left and soon returned with the two daughters of the Messenger of God (SAAS), Fathima and Umm Kulthum, his two wives, Sawda and ‘Aisha, and the latter’s mother, Umm Ruman, along with other members of his and Abu Bakr’s family, including the latter’s son, ‘Abd Allah. On the road back, the mounts of ‘Aisha and her mother Umm Ruman strayed apart and Umm Ruman began calling out, ‘Bride! My daughter!’ ‘Aisha later said, ‘I heard a voice say, ‘Let loose its bridle!’ So I did this and it stopped, at God’s will; we give praise to God the Almighty and Glorious.’ They stayed at al-Sunah on the way. Eight months later, in Shawwal, as we will relate, the Messenger of God (SAAS) consummated his marriage with ‘Aisha.

“Asma’, daughter of Abu Bakr and wife of al-Zubayr b. al-Awamm arrived also; she was pregnant and near term with ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, as we will relate in its proper place in material relating to the end of that year.

**DIVISION**

How the Emigrants suffered from the Medina fever, God be pleased with them all, though the Messenger of God (SAAS) was spared it through the strength and power of God; he prayed to his Lord who then drew it away from his city.

Al-Bukhari stated, “‘Abd Allah b. Wahab b. Yusuf related to us, quoting Malik b. Hisham b. Urwa, from his father, from ‘Aisha, who said, ‘Abu Bakr and Bilal fell sick around the time that the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived in Medina. I went in to see them and asked, ‘How are you, father? Bilal, how are you?’’

She said: ‘Whenever Abu Bakr developed a fever he would recite,
'Every man might arise among his family, yet his death be closer than his sandal thongs.'

"When the fever was raised from Bilāl he would raise his voice and say,

'O how happy I would be to spend a night in a valley covered with fresh grass and verdure,
Will I ever again descend to Majinna's waters, or see Shāma and Ṭufayl?"

'A'īsha went on, "So I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him and he said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its foods. Turn aside its fever and send it off to al-Juḥfa!'"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba from Hishām in abbreviated form.

In al-Bukhārī's account of it from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from 'A'īsha, there is an addition after the verses of Bilāl. In this he says, "O God, curse Utba b. Rabī'a, Shayba b. Rabī'a and Umayya b. Khalaf alike for them having forced us out into the land of pestilence!"

"And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us, as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its prosperity. Turn aside its fever and send it off to al-Juḥfa!'"

"She said, 'When we arrived in Medina, we found it the most pestilential place on God's earth. It was just two basin-shaped valleys wet with nājil, that is brackish water.'"

Ziyād quoted Muhammad b. Ishaq as follows, "Hishām b. Urwa and 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr related to me that 'A'īsha stated, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived in Medina, it was the most pestilential place on God's earth. His Companions fell sick from fever and illness, but God kept that away from His Prophet. Abū Bakr, 'Āmir b. Fuhayra and Bilāl, the two freed-men of Abū Bakr, were in one house, struck down by fever. I went in to them to visit them, that being before the ḥijāb, the veil, was prescribed for us. Only God knows how very sick they were. I approached Abū Bakr and said, 'How are you, father?' He replied, in verse:

"Every man might arise among his family, yet his death be closer than his sandal thongs!"

'I exclaimed, 'I swear, my father doesn't know what he is saying!' Then I went over to 'Āmir b. Fuhayra and asked, 'How are you, 'Āmir?' He replied, in verse,

"I have found death before tasting it; a coward has his demise right above him. Every man fights hard with all his power, as a bull protects its skin with its horns."

44. According to a footnote in the printed edition of Ibn Kathīr's text, the reference is to a town where largely Jews resided at the time, some 82 miles from Mecca.
"I exclaimed, "By God, he doesn't know what he is saying!" Bilāl was in the habit of resting in the courtyard of the house whenever the fever struck him, then he would raise his voice and say,

"O how happy I would be to spend a night in Fakh, while all around me was fresh grass and verdure. Will I ever again descend to Majinna's waters, or see Shāmā and ʿUfayl?"

"Āʾishā went on, 'I told the Messenger of God (SAAS) what I had heard from them, saying, "They are raving, irrational from the intensity of the fever." He replied, "O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its prosperity. Turn aside its fever to Mahya'ā!' Mahya'ā is a reference to al-Juhfa.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Yūnūs related to us, quoting Layth, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū Bakr b. Iṣḥāq b. Yāsār, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Urwa, from Urwa, from Āʾishā, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived in Medina, Abū Bakr and ʿAmīr b. Fuhayrā, Abū Bakr's freed-man, and Bilāl, fell sick.' Āʾishā asked permission from the Messenger of God (SAAS) to visit them, and he agreed. She then asked Abū Bakr, 'How are you?'

"He replied,

'Any man might arise among his family, yet his death be closer than his sandal thongs!'

"She then asked ʿAmīr and he replied,

'I have found death before tasting it; a coward has his demise right above him.'

"Then she asked Bilāl and he said,

'O how happy I would be to spend a night in Fakh, while all around me was fresh grass and verdure.'

"So she went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him. He then looked up to heaven and said, 'O God, make Medina beloved by us as Mecca is, and more so; make it healthy and bless us in its foods. Turn aside its fever to Mahya'ā.' This is a reference to al-Juhfa, so they claim.'"

Al-Nasāʾī related this similarly from Qutayba, from al-Layth. The Imām Ahmad related it through ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith from her as above.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The ḥafiz Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr, both saying, 'Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAṣamm related to us, quoting Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar and Yūnūs b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from Āʾishā, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) came to Medina and it was the most pestilential place on God's earth. It was just two basin-shaped valleys wet with najl, brackish water.'"

Hishām stated, "Its pestilential nature was well known before Islam. When the valley was disease-ridden and a man were to arrive there, he would be told to neigh like a donkey; if he did this the valley's pestilence would not harm him. A
poet once said, coming to Medina, "By my life, if I, fearing death, were to emit a donkey’s neighing, I would be expressing my anxiety."

Al-Buhārī related from a ḥadīth of Mūsā b. Uqba, from Sālim, from his father, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “I saw what seemed like a black woman, her head in disarray, emerge from Medina and travel to Mahyā‘a, which is al-Juhfā. I interpreted from this that Medina’s pestilence had been transformed to Mahyā‘a, that is, to al-Juhfā.”

This wording is from al-Buhārī. Muslim did not give this tradition. Al-Tirmidhi did relate it and pronounced it authentic, while al-Nassā‘ī and Ibn Mā‘āj gave it from a ḥadīth of Mūsā b. Uqba.

Ḥammād b. Zayd related, from Hishām b. Urwa, from ʿA‘isha, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Medina the pestilence was active.” She related the tradition in full as above but gave the final words of the Messenger of God as “remove its fever to al-Juhfā!”

Hishām stated, “A child born in al-Juhfā never reached adolescence without being struck down by the fever.”

Al-Bayhaqī related this in the Dalīl al-Nubuwwah (Signs of the Prophethood).

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Medina, the pestilence was active. All his Companions became seriously stricken with that. But God kept it away from his Prophet (ṢAAS).”

It is established in both sahih collections, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived in Mecca flushed and feverish in the year they made the ‘umrāt al-qā‘idā‘, the fulfilment pilgrimage, and the polytheists said, ‘There’s a group of them arriving who are weakened by the Medina fever.’ And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his Companions to jog around the ka‘ba except between the two corners where they were permitted to walk. And it was only his concern for them that deterred him from making them jog throughout the performance of the ritual.” I observe that the ‘umrāt al-qā‘idā‘ took place in the year 7 AH, in the month of Dhūl-Qa‘dā‘. Either his prayer to God to remove the pestilence elsewhere had been delayed to some time close to this, or that it had been removed but some few traces of it had remained. Or they were still suffering from some remaining effects of a previous affliction. But God knows best.

Ziyād stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, “Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī related from ʿAbd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions arrived in Medina they became seriously ill from the Medina fever, to the extent that they had to say their prayers seated. However, God kept this affliction from affecting His Prophet (ṢAAS).”

The account states, “And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out before them while they were praying in this way and told them, ‘You should know that
the prayer of someone seated is only half as valuable as that of someone standing. At this the Muslims, despite their weakness and sickness, exerted themselves to stand, in order to gain grace."

Section: On the establishment of friendship between the Emigrants and the Helpers through the document he had drawn up between them. On the nature of that brotherly relationship he made between them, and on the friendly relations he established with the Jews who were in Medina.

In the city's Jewish quarters at that time there were the Qaynuqâ, Naḍîr and Qurayṣa tribes.

According to al-Ṭabarî they had settled in the Hijāz before the anṣār, the Helpers, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, when he had conquered Jerusalem.

When the Iram flood occurred and people had scattered in all directions, the Aws and the Khazraj tribes had settled in Medina with the Jews. They had established pacts of alliance with these Jews and imitated their ways because of the virtue they saw in them that they had acquired through the prophets.

However, God had bestowed guidance and Islam upon those who had been polytheists, while they, in their envy, pride and wrongheadedness, had failed to follow the truth.

Imâm Ahmad stated, "Affân related to us, quoting Ḥammâd b. Salama and Āṣîm al-Āḥwâl, from Anas b. Mâlik, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact between the Emigrants and the Helpers in the house of Anas b. Mâlik.'"

This was also related by Imâm Ahmad, al-Bukhârî, Muslim and Abû Dâ'îd, through various lines of transmission from Āṣîm b. Sulaymân al-Āḥwâl, from Anas b. Mâlik, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a pact between Quraysh and the Helpers in my house."

Imâm Aḥmad stated, "Naṣr b. Bâb related to us, from Ḥajjâj, he being Ibn Artât, who said, 'It was related to us by Surayj from 'Abbâd, from Ḥajjâj, from 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, from his father and grandfather, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) wrote up a contract between the Emigrants saying that they would respect one another's strongholds, that they would treat with kindness those in distress and bring peace between the Muslims.'"

Aḥmad stated, "Surayj related to us, quoting 'Abbâd, from Ḥajjâj, from al-Ḥakam, from Qâsim, from Ibn 'Abbâs, much the same account."

Imâm Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

The saḥîh collection of Muslim quotes Jabîr as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote an "aqâla", a blood-wit pact, for each sub-tribe."

Muḥammad b. Ishâq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a contract between the Emigrants and the Helpers in which he expressed conciliation towards the Jews and made a pact with them, confirming them in their religion and their properties. He stipulated their rights and obligations as follows, 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Beneficent, this is a document from Muḥammad, the ummi (unlettered) Prophet, between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh..."
and Yathrib and their followers, allies and supporters, establishing that they are one nation apart from all others. The Emigrants from Quraysh will maintain their current practice and will honour blood-money contracts between themselves and will treat their weaker members with kindness and justice. The Banū Āwfi shall maintain their current practice, and honour their former blood-money contracts, each party treating their weaker members with kindness and justice, among all believers.'

"He then made reference to each clan of the Helpers and to the families of each home, mentioning the Banū Sā'īda, the Banū Jusham, the Banū al-Najjār, the Banū 'Amr b. Āwfi and the Banū al-Nabīt.

"He went on to say, 'The believers shall not leave anyone among them burdened by debts without giving to him in kindness and in paying for him any ransom money or blood-money he owes. A believer will not ally with any freed-man of a second believer against that man. Pious believers act against any of their own who practise evil or seek to bring harm, sin, aggression or corruption among believers. Believers will unite against anyone doing this, even if he be one of their sons. No believer shall kill any believer for any non-believer. Nor shall he help any non-believer against a believer. God's protection is all one; the least of them (believers) can offer protection to others. Believers are allies to one another, excluding others.

"Whatever Jews follow us shall receive help and equality. They shall not be maltreated nor will help be afforded others against them. Peace for all believers is one; no peace shall be accepted for any one believer to the exclusion of others when the battle is for God's cause; among them equality and justice must prevail. In every expedition we engage in riders shall take turns on their mounts.

"Believers shall avenge one another for blood shed in God's cause. Believers who are pious are well-guided on the straightest of paths. No polytheist shall be allowed to offer protection for the property or persons of Quraysh nor try to interfere with any believer. Anyone who has clearly aggressed against and caused the death of any believer shall be subject to retaliation for him unless the dead man's executor can be satisfied. Believers as a whole shall take action against him and no excuse for their not doing so will be acceptable.

"It shall not be permissible for any believer who has accepted what is in this document and who believes in God and Judgement Day to give help or shelter to any wrong-doer. Any believer who does this shall be the object of God's curses and anger on Judgement Day and neither compensation nor excuse will be acceptable from him. Any matter in which you disagree must be referred to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and to Muhammad (SAAS).

"The Jews shall pay expenses along with the Muslims so long as they are allied in warfare. The Jews of the Banū Āwfi are one nation with the believers; the Jews shall have their religion, the Muslims their own. This applies to their freed-men and to themselves, except for those who commit sins and are unjust. Such persons only harm themselves and their families.

"What applies to Banū Āwfi shall also apply to the Jews of Banū al-Najjār, Banū al-Ḥārith, Banū Sā'īda, Banū Jusham, Banū al-Aws, Banū Thaqība and
Jufna, and Banū al-Shuṭayba. The close associates of the Jews shall be viewed as themselves. None of them shall go to war without Muḥammad’s permission. However, he is not (thereby) constrained from taking revenge for injury. Whoever attacks another may do so (to protect) himself and his family, but (act) not unjustly, for God condemns such acts. The Jews shall bear their own expenses, the Muslims theirs. Each must help one another against any who fight those who adopt this document. They must give one another advice and consultation; and do good and avoid evil. A man is not held blameworthy on behalf of his ally. Help must be given to those wronged. The centre of Yathrib shall be a sanctuary for those who agree to this document. One’s neighbour shall be treated as oneself, without being harmed or sinned against. No property shall be encroached upon without the permission of its owner.

“In the case of any dispute or incident occurring between those agreeing to this document, and involving consequences likely to be harmful, the matter must be referred to God and to Muḥammad, the Messenger of God. God acknowledges what is very good and very pious in this document. Quraysh and those who help them shall receive no protection. (Those accepting this document) must help one another against anyone attacking Yathrib. If they are called upon to make peace and do so and keep to it, they will be making peace; if they make a similar demand, then it is up to the Muslims to agree except if the warfare is over the Faith. Each participant shall receive whatever portion is due to him from his own side’s winnings.

“This document will not provide protection for anyone sinful or unjust. Whoever goes to war will be safe; whoever stays in the town will be safe—except for those who have sinned or been unjust. God provides protection for those who are good and pious.”

Ibn Ishāq gives it in approximately this form. Abū Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām, God bless him, criticized this ḥadith at length in his Kitāb al-Gharib (Book of the Strange) and elsewhere.

Section: On the establishment by the Messenger of God (S.A.W.S) of a pact of brotherhood between the Emigrants and the Helpers so that they would be friends.

As the Almighty stated, “And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith before them do love those who emigrated to them. They do not find in their hearts a need for what they are given, and prefer (them) even before themselves, despite their own poverty. Those who are saved from the meanness of themselves shall be successful” (ṣūrat al-Ḥashr; LIX, v.9). And He also said, “as for those with whom you made agreements, give them their due; God is witness to all things” (ṣūrat al-Nisāʾ; IV, v.33).

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Al-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from ʿĪdris, from Ṭalḥa b. Muṣarrīf, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, that Ibn ʿAbbās, commenting on the following verse, ‘And to everyone we have appointed heirs’ (ṣūrat al-Nisāʾ; IV, v.33), said “The heirs of “those with whom you made agreements”
were the Emigrants who settled in Medina. They inherited from the Helpers (and vice versa) instead of from their own family, based on the brotherhood pact established between them by the Prophet (SAAS). However, when the verse “and to everyone we have appointed agents” was revealed, this practice was abrogated. Then He stated that the following verse, “as for those with whom you have made agreements, give them their due”, henceforth referred to help, hospitality and advice. Inheritance was thus stopped and instead, testamentary endowment was made for such persons.”

Imām Ḥamdān stated, “The following was quoted from Sufyān, ‘I heard ʿĀṣim say, on the authority of Anas, “The Prophet (SAAS) made a pact between the Emigrants and the Helpers in our home.”’ Sufyān commented, “He seems to be saying that he established brotherhood between them.”

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I observe that this chain of authorities comes through two lines. He went on, “Abī Dharr Barīr b. Junāda and al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, known as ‘he who hurried on to death’, Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭāʿa and Uwaym b. ʿAqīda, Salmān and Abū al-Dardāʾ, Ḍilāl and Abū Ruwayḥa ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān al-Khathʿāmi, one of the Fāzāʾ – all these became brothers.”

He continued, “These are the men who were named to us from among his Companions between whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) established pacts of brotherhood. May God be pleased with them all.”
I observe that there is controversy in some of what Ibn Ishaq stated.

Regarding the brotherhood established between the Prophet and 'Ali, some scholars deny this and maintain it to be untrue. Their argument is that this brotherhood was only established to bring about closer feelings and ties between these individuals. There was no sense, therefore, in declaring a brotherly state between the Prophet (SAAS) and one of (his) own, nor between two men both of whom were Emigrants, as was the case, according to him, between Hamza and Zayd b. Haritha.

Unless the Prophet (SAAS) did not wish to place the interests of 'Ali in the hands of anyone but himself. For he was someone for whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) had made contributions from his youth on, during the lifetime of Abu Talib, as has been told above from Mujahid and others.

That might also be the case with Hamza, who had looked after the interests of their freed-man Zayd b. Harritha, and so established a brotherhood pact with him. But God knows best.

The same applies to Ibn Ishaq’s reference to the brotherhood between Ja’far and Musad b. Jabal, which is subject to dispute, as ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hisham observed. For Ja’far b. Abu Talib only arrived at the beginning of 7 AH at the time of the battle of Khaybar, as will be told hereafter. How, therefore, could there have been a tie of brotherhood made between him and Musad b. Jabal immediately following the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina? Unless, of course, the arrangement was that this would go into effect whenever he did arrive.

Ibn Ishaq’s statement, “Abu Ubayda and Sa’d b. Mu’adh became brothers,” contradicts what Imam Ahmad stated, namely, “It was related to us by ‘Abd al-‘Samad, quoting Hammad, quoting Thabit, from Anas b. Malik, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) established a brotherhood pact between Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrâh and Abu Talha.”

Muslim related this also, being the only one to relate this from Hajjaj b. al-Shaârî, from ‘Abd al-‘Samad b. ‘Abd al-Wârith.

This seems more reliable than what Ibn Ishaq recounted, of such a pact between Abu Ubayda and Sa’d b. Mu’adh. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhârî’s text reads as follows, “Chapter on how the Prophet (SAAS), established brotherhood between his Companions. ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. ‘Awf stated, ‘The Prophet (SAAS), established a bond of brotherhood between myself and Sa’d b. al-Rabi when we came to Medina.’” Abu Ju‘ayba stated, “The Prophet (SAAS) established brotherhood between Salmân the Persian and Abu al-Darda. God be pleased with him.”

Muhammad b. Yûsuf related to us, quoting Sufyân, from Humayd, from Anas, who said, “Abd al-Rahmân b. ‘Awf arrived and the Prophet (SAAS) established brotherhood between him and Sa’d b. al-Rabi, the Helper. The latter suggested that he share his family and his property with him. ‘Abd al-Rahmân replied, ‘God bless you in both your family and your wealth. Show me the way to the market.’
There he made some profit from cottage cheese and fat. The Prophet (SAAS) saw him a few days later and he looked stained with yellow upon him. The Prophet (SAAS) asked him, ‘What’s the matter with you, ‘Abd al-Rahmān?’ He replied, ‘I married a woman from among the Helpers.’ ‘What did you give her as dowry?’ he asked. ‘The weight of 5 dirhams worth of gold,’ he replied. The Prophet (SAAS) responded, ‘Well, have a feast, if only with a sheep!’”

This is the sole account of this from this line. Al-Bukhārī related this also in other places as did Muslim from various lines, from Ḥumayd.

Imām Ahmad stated, “‘Afān related to us, quoting Ḥamīd, Thābit and Ḥamīd, from Anas, that ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf came to Medina and the Messenger of God (SAAS) established a pact of brotherhood between him and Sa’d b. al-Rabi‘, the Helper. Sa’d said to him, ‘Now brother, I’m the wealthiest man in Medina. Take a share that appeals to you. I have two wives. Look and see which of them you prefer and I’ll divorce her!’

‘Aḥd al-Rahmān observed, ‘I was in such a state that if I had lifted a single rock I would have hoped to find gold and silver.’”

The additional comment given here by al-Bukhārī from ‘Abd al-Rahmān seems strange, for the only source given for it was Anas. Unless, of course, Anas was told this by ‘Abd al-Rahmān. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Yazīd related to us, that Ḥumayd informed him, from Anas, as follows, ‘The Emigrants said, “O Messenger of God, we’ve never been to people who are better prepared to give help in hopes of so little or more willing to give from so much. They have spared us such difficulty and shared such comfort with us we’re afraid they’re the only ones getting rewards.” He replied, “No, there’s all the great praise you’ve given them, and you have also prayed to God for them.”’”

The line of transmission of this hadith is two-thirds in accord with the criteria for both sahih collections. None of the authors of the six canonical books of traditions give this particular line. It is established in the sahih collections along a different path.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Al-Hakam b. Nāfī‘ informed us, quoting Shu‘ayb, quoting Abū al-Zinād, from al-A‘raj, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘The Helpers said, “Divide up the palm trees between us and our brothers.”’ ‘No,’” he replied. They said, “You recompense us with your hard work, and we will have you share in the fruits.” “We hear and obey,” they responded.”
He is alone in giving this hadith.

‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. Aslam said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the Helpers, ‘Your brothers have left behind their wealth and their children and have come forth to you.’ They commented, ‘Our property is to be divided up between us then.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, ‘Well, is there some alternative?’ ‘What could there be, O Messenger of God?’ they asked. He replied, ‘These are people who don’t mind hard work; provide some for them and share the fruits.’ ‘We will,’ they agreed.”

We have previously mentioned the reports and references made concerning the virtues of the Helpers and their fine qualities confirmed by God’s words, “And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith before them” (ṣūrat al-Ḥashr; LIX, v.9).

**Chapter: On the death of Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Zurāra.**

He was Ibn ‘Adas b. Ubayd b. Tha‘lab b. Ghanm b. Mālik b. al-Najjār, one of the 12 leaders on the night of the pledge made by his people the Banū al-Najjār at al-Qa‘aba. He was present at all 3 meetings there, and was the first to make a verbal pledge of his allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the second. He was a young man and was the first to bring the men together in Medina, at Naṣi‘ al-Khadamāt in the plain of the Nabit. This has been discussed above.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Zurāra died in these months, while the mosque was being built. He died from diphtheria or from coughing.”


The men in this chain of authorities are considered reliable.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abd Allah b. Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm related to me, from Yahyā b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. As‘ad b. Zurāra, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “The death of Abū Umāma is a great pity with respect to the Jews and the Arab hypocrites. They will say, ‘If he were a prophet, his companion would not have died.’ But I have no power from God over this for myself or for my friends.’”

This means that he has to have been the first man to die after the arrival in Medina of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū al-Hasan b. al-Athir has claimed in al-Ghāba (The Jungle) that he died in the month of Shawwāl, seven months following the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina. But God knows best.

Muḥammad Ibn Ishaq related, from Ḥāṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda, that the Banū al-Najjār asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to appoint a leader for them to succeed Abū Umāma As‘ad b. Zurāra. He replied, “You are my uncles and I am here among you; I will be your leader.” He disliked the idea of singling out any
one of them above the others. It was a credit to the Banū al-Najjār that they took pride among their peers in having the Messenger of God (SAAS) as their leader.

Ibn al-Athīr observed, “This fact refutes the statements of Abū Nu‘aym and Ibn Mundah to the effect that As‘ad b. Zurāra was leader of the Banū Sā‘īda; in fact he led the Banū al-Najjār.”

Ibn al-Athīr was correct in saying this.

Abū Ja‘far b. Jarir stated in his history work, “The first Muslim who died after the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina was, so they say, the owner of his house, Kulthūm b. al-Hadh. He died soon after his arrival. The next to die was As‘ad b. Zurāra, whose death was that same year of his arrival and before the construction of the mosque was completed. He died of either diphtheria or from coughing.”

I observe here that the full name of this man was Kulthūm b. al-Hadh b. Imru‘ul-Qays b. al-Ḥārith b. Zayd b. Ḫayyād b. Malik b. ‘Awf b. ‘Amr b. ‘Awf b. Malik b. al-Aws, the Helper and member of the Aws tribe. Of the family of ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, he was a very elderly sheikh who had accepted Islam before the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) came there he stayed at night in Qubā in Kulthūm’s house, and then during the day would talk with his Companions in the home of Sa‘d b. al-Rabi‘, God be pleased with them both, until he moved to the home of the Banū al-Najjār, as related above.

Ibn al-Athīr stated, “It has been said that he was the first Muslim to die following the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and that the death of As‘ad b. Zurāra followed his. Al-Ṭabarī stated this.”

Chapter: On the birth of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in the month of Shawwāl in the year when the emigration occurred.

The first birth to the Emigrants in the Islamic era was ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. Similarly, al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr was the first child born to the Helpers after the emigration. God be pleased with them both.

Some claim that Ibn al-Zubayr was born 20 months after the emigration. Abū al-Aswād said this. Al-Waqīqī related this from Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, from his father, from his grandfather.

They claim that al-Nu‘mān was born 6 months before al-Zubayr, some 14 months after the emigration.

The truth is as we have said above. Al-Bukhārī stated, “Zakariyyā b. Yahyā related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ‘Asmā, who said, regarding her pregnancy with ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, “When I emigrated, I was at term. When I came to Medina I stayed in Qubā and gave birth to him there. Then I took him to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and placed him in his lap. He then called for a date, which he masticated then spat into his mouth. And so the first thing that entered the baby’s stomach was the
saliva of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He then gave him a date to chew on, prayed for him and blessed him. He was the first baby born in Islam.” This account was followed by one of Khalid b. Makhlad, from ‘Ali b. Mushir, from Hishām, from his father, from Asmā’, to the effect that she was pregnant when she emigrated to the Prophet (SAAS).

Qutayba related to us, from Abū Usāma, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, “The first child born in Islam was ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. They brought him to the Prophet (SAAS) and he took a date which he chewed, then placed in the baby’s mouth. And so the first food that entered his stomach was the saliva of the Prophet (SAAS).”

This refutes al-Waqi‘i and others, because he reported that the Prophet (SAAS) sent Zayd b. Hāritha and Abū Rāfi‘ back to Mecca with ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrāqī to bring his and Abū Bakr’s children. They brought them back right after the emigration of the Prophet (SAAS). Asmā’ was pregnant and near term, that is almost ready to deliver her child. When she did so the Muslims let out great shouts of “God is Most Great” in their joy at the birth because it had come to their attention that the Jews had used magic against them so that they would not have children following their emigration. And so God had refuted what the Jews were claiming.

DIVISION

The Messenger of God (SAAS) consummated his marriage with ʿĀʾisha in the month of Shawwāl that year.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Waki‘ related to me, quoting Sufyān, from Ismā‘īl b. Umayya, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Urwa, from his father, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) made a marriage contract with me in (the month of) Shawwāl and consummated the marriage in Shawwāl; and which of his wives did he favour more than myself?’

ʿĀʾisha used to prefer to have her women marry in Shawwāl.

Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa‘ī, and Ibn Majā related this on various paths from al-Thawrī. Al-Tirmidhi considered it hasan saḥīh,46 “good and authentic”; we know of it only from Sufyān al-Thawrī.

According to this the marriage of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to ʿĀʾisha took place in the seventh or eighth month after the emigration. Both statements were related by Ibn Jarir, who commented earlier, in his treatment of his marriage with Sawda, on how he had married ʿĀʾisha after they had arrived in Medina, and that his marriage was at al-Sunḥ and during the daytime. This is in contrast to the normal practice of people today. In his marrying her in Shawwāl there is a refutation of those who express disfavour for marriage occurring between the two

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46. The term designates a hadīth that is deemed more clearly authentic than one designated as hasan, but less so than one considered saḥīh.
feasts, out of fear of the couple’s later separation. There is nothing to this, as is shown by what 'A'isha said in reply to those people who imagined this for that time, that is, she said, “He made the marriage contract with me in Shawwal and consummated the marriage in Shawwal; and which of his wives did he favour more than myself?”

This shows that she understood from him that she was the wife he favoured most. And this belief of hers is shown to have been correct by various clear proofs, if only by that definite statement given in the sahih collection of al-Bukhari from 'Amr b. al-As which states, “I said, O Messenger of God, which person do you most favour?” He replied, “'A'isha.” I then asked, “And which man?” “Her father,” he replied.

DIVISION

Ibn Jarir stated, “That same year, the first year of the hegira, the length of the salat al-hadiqar, the prayer while at home, was increased by two rak'at,\(^{47}\) prayer cycles, or so it is said. Previously both the prayer at home and while travelling had been two rak'at. This came about after the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the 12th of Rabie al-akhir.”

He said, “Al-Waqidi maintained that there was no dispute among the people of Hijaz on this subject.”

I observe that previously I have given the hadith related by al-Bukhari through Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, from 'A'isha, who said, “When first made obligatory, prayer was prescribed as needing two rak'at. This was affirmed for prayer while travelling, but it was increased for prayer while at home.”

This was also related through al-Shafi'i back to Masruq.

Al-Bayhaqi related, from al-Hasan al-Basri, that when the prayer at home was first made obligatory, it was established as four rak'at. But God knows best.

We discussed this in the exegesis of surat al-Nisaa, with regards to the words of the Almighty, “And when you travel over the earth, there is no blame on you if you shorten the prayer” (surat al-Nisaa; IV, v.101).

Chapter: On the call to prayer and its legitimacy upon the arrival of the Prophet (SAAS) in Medina.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was secure in Medina, his emigrant brothers gathered around him and the Helpers were united, Islam became firmly established. Prayer was instituted and the zakat, the alms tax, and fasting were made obligatory. Punishments were prescribed, and those matters that were made permissible or forbidden were determined. Islam took firm hold there among them.

\(^{47}\) A rak'a is an entire cycle of prayer, consisting of standing, bowing once and prostrating twice.
It was this community of Helpers to whom God made reference in the words, "And those who made their abode in the town and in the faith" (sūrat al-Ḥashr; LIX, v.9).

When the Messenger of God (SAAS) first came to Medina, the people would gather with him for prayer at the appointed times without any summons to them. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then wanted to have a horn blown like that the Jews use to call their people to prayer. But he grew to dislike this and ordered a hand bell be used. One was made to be struck to bring the Muslims to the prayer.

While this was the practice ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd b. Thaʿlabā b. ʿAbd Rabbīhī, the brother of Ibn al-Ḥārīth b. al-Khazraj, saw a vision and came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, "O Messenger of God, last night I had a vision. I saw a man pass me by who was wearing two green garments and he carried a bell in his hand. I asked him, 'Will you sell me that bell?' He responded, 'What will you do with it?' I replied, 'We'll use it to summon people to prayer.' He asked, 'Shall I tell you a better way?' 'What would that be?' I asked. He told me, 'You should call out, 'Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! (God is Most Great) I bear witness that there is no god but God. I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to prayer! Come to salvation! Come to salvation! Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! There is no god but God!'"

"Having been told this, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'These are – if God wills it – visions of truth. Stand with Bilāl and deliver them to him so that he can use them to announce the call to prayer; he has a stronger voice than you.'

"When Bilāl made the call to prayer using these words ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb heard him while in his house and came out to the Messenger of God (SAAS) dragging his cloak behind him and saying, 'O Prophet of God, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth that I saw the same vision!'"

"'All praise be to God!' exclaimed the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Ibn ʾIshāq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārīth related this ḥadīth to me, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Zayd b. Thaʿlabā b. ʿAbd Rabbīhī, from his father."

Abū Dārūd, al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Māja and Ibn Khuzayma all related this ḥadīth through Muḥammad b. ʾIshāq. Al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Khuzayma and others all deemed it authentic.

According to Abū Dārūd he (the vision) also taught him (ʿAbd Allāh b. Zayd) the iqāma,48 saying, "Then, to begin the prayer, you say, 'God is Great! God is Great! I bear witness that there is no god but God! I bear witness that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Come to prayer! Come to salvation! The prayer has begun! The prayer has begun! God is Great! God is Great! There is no god but God!""

Ibn Māja related this ḥadīth from Abū ʿUbayd Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd b. Mayīṭūn from Muḥammad b. Salama al-Ḥarrānī from Ibn ʾIshāq, as stated above.

48. The second call to prayer, indicating its commencement.
He then stated, "Abū Ubayd said, 'Abū Bakr al-Ḥakāmī informed me that 'Abd Allah b. Zayd, the Helper, spoke the following verse on this:

‘Praise be to God, the Sublime, the Revered, great praise for the call to prayer,
For there having come to me the herald from God; honour him as a herald to me!
For three nights he dedicated thus, and each time he came to me he brought me greater honour!’"

I observe that this poetry is strange for it implies that 'Abd Allah b. Zayd saw the vision for three nights before he informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The Imam Aḥmad related this from a ḥadīth of Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq. And he stated, “Al-Zuhrī related from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd, approximately the same account as given by Ibn Ishaq from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymi, but that account did not include the verses.”

Ibn Māja stated, “Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Wāsīṭī related to us, quoting his father, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Iṣḥāq, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from his father, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the advice of the community on what to use to commence the prayer. They mentioned the horn, but he disliked this because of its use by the Jews. They then referred to the bell, but he disliked this because of its use by the Christians. That night a vision of the call to prayer came to a helper named ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd and to Ūmar b. al-Ḵaṭṭāb. The Helper made his way at night to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who gave orders to Bilāl, who made the call to prayer using it.”

Al-Zuhrī stated, “Bilāl made an addition in the morning call to prayer, namely twice saying the words ‘prayer is better than sleep’. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) agreed to this. Ūmar told him, ‘O Messenger of God, I saw the same vision as he did but he preceded me.’”

Material relating to this section will be given in the chapter on the call to prayer in the large work al-Aḥkām (The Statutes). If God Almighty wills it, and in Him is our trust.

In a ḥadīth given by al-Suhaylī with the following line of authority through al-Bazzār, Muḥammad b. Uthmān b. Makhlīd related, quoting his father, from Ziyād b. al-Mundhir, from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father, from his grandfather, from ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, who made reference to the ḥadīth respecting the isrā‘, the ascent to heaven, as follows, “And an angel emerged from behind the screen and he made the call to prayer using this call. Each time he said a word, God Almighty verified it. Then the angel took the hand of Muḥammad (ṢAAS) and brought him forward. He then led the family of heaven, who included Adam and Noah, in the prayer.” Al-Suhaylī then said, “You may view this ḥadīth as authentic for the support it gives and resemblance it has to the ḥadīth relating to the ascent to heaven.”

But this ḥadīth is not, as al-Suhaylī maintained, authentic. In fact it is unacceptable. Ziyād b. al-Mundhir Abū al-Jārūd is he to whom is attributed the
“Jārūdiyya sect”,49 he being among those accused. Moreover, if this had been what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had heard on the night of his ascent to heaven, he would have ordered it to be used in the call to prayer immediately following the emigration. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated that Ibn Jurayj quoted ‘Atēb as having said, “I heard Ubayd b. Umayr say, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) had discussed with his Companions the use of a bell to summon people to prayer. While Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was planning to buy two pieces of wood for the bell, he had a vision while he slept and was told, ‘Do not make a bell; instead call people to prayer.”

“Umar went to the Prophet (SAAS) to tell him what he had seen. The Prophet had himself received revelation of that. Umar was consequently very surprised to hear Bilāl make the call to prayer. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to him, when he (Umar) told him of his experience, ‘Revelation of this preceded you!’”

This shows that the revelation had come in confirmation of what ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. ‘Abd Rabbihī had seen in the vision or so some authorities state. But God Almighty knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, that a woman of the Bann al-Najjār told him, ‘My house was one of the tallest around the mosque. Bilāl would make the call to prayer on top of it early each morning. He would come just before dawn and sit above the house waiting for daybreak. When he saw it he would stretch out and say, ‘O God, I praise You and seek Your help for Quraysh to adopt Your religion.’ She concluded, ‘And then he would make the call to prayer. I never knew him to miss one night.’”

That is, to miss saying those words.

Abū Dā‘ūd was the only other to relate this.

Chapter: On the expedition of ʿHamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, may God be pleased with him.

Ibn Jarir stated, “Al-Waqīdī claimed that in the month of Ramaḍān of that year the Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed ʿHamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib over 30 of the Emigrants, having presented him with a white standard, to interfere with Quraysh caravans. Al-Waqīdī states that ʿHamza confronted Aba Jahl at the head of 300 Quraysh men, but that Majdī b. ʿAmr intervened between them, and so they did not engage in battle.

“He also said that it was Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī who carried the flag for ʿHamza.”

Chapter: On the expedition of ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārīrī b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Ibn Jarir stated, “Al-Waqīdī also claimed that the Prophet (SAAS) in Shawwāl, at the beginning of the eighth month of that year, entrusted a white banner to ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārīrī and ordered him to proceed into the Rabīgh valley.

49. A denomination of the Zaydiyya Shiʿa founded by him and known by his name.
“His flag was carried by Mistah b. Uthatha. He reached Thaniyêt al-Murra, not far from al-Juhfa, in the company of 60 Emigrants, there being no Helpers present. They met up with the polytheists at a well called Ahyâ. They shot arrows at one another, but did not engage in sword play.”

Al-Wâqidi stated, “The polytheists were 200 in number and were led by Abû Sufyân Šakhir b. Ḥarb. This is what we believed to be well established, though it is also said that they were led by Mikraz b. Ḥafs.

DIVISION

Al-Wâqidi stated, “In that same first year, in Dhū al-Qa‘da, the Messenger of God (SAAS) presented a white banner to Sa‘d b. Abû Waqqâs and sent him to al-Kharrâr; the flag was carried by al-Miqdâd b. al-Aswad.

“Abû Bakr b. Ismâ‘îl related to me, from his father, from ‘Amir b. Sa‘d, from his father, who said, ‘I left with 20 men, by foot’ – or he said ‘with 21 men’. ‘We would hide by day and travel by night. We got to al-Kharrâr on the morning of the fifth. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had instructed me to go no further than al-Kharrâr. The caravan had preceded me there by a day.’”

Al-Wâqidi stated, “The caravan consisted of 60; all those with Sa‘d were Emigrants.”

Abû Ja‘far b. Jarîr stated, “It was the view of Ibn Ishâq that these three expeditions mentioned by al-Wâqidi all occurred in the second year of the hegira.”

I observe that the statements attributed to Ibn Ishâq by Abû Ja‘far are not seen as authentic by any who contemplates them, as we will show early in our work on the military expeditions in materials relating to the second year of the hegira. That work will follow the present one, if God wills it.

It is likely that what he means is that these expeditions occurred in the first year. We will give more details and comments on them when we get to them, if God Almighty wills it.

Al-Wâqidi gives full information and a well-organized historical account. He is one of the great Imams of this field of study. He is trustworthy and writes at length. We commented on what is both reliable and unreliable from him in our projected work al-Takmil fî Ma‘rifat al-Thiqât wa al-Du‘âfâ‘ wa al-Majâhil (Full Information on those Authorities who are Trustworthy, Unreliable or Ignorant). All praise and credit are due to God.

DIVISION

Those born in that blessed year, the first of the hegira, included ‘Abd Allâh b. al-Zubayr. He was the first to be born in Islam following the emigration, as al-Bukhârî related from his mother Asmâ‘ and his aunt ‘Â’isha, mother of the believers, both daughters of Abû Bakr, “the Trusting”; may God be pleased with both women.
There are those who say that al-Nūmān b. Bashir was born six months prior to him. According to that, Ibn al-Zubayr would have been the first child born to Emigrants following the emigration.

Some people suggest that they were both born in the second year of the hegira.

The former is obviously correct, as we have shown above. And all credit be to God. We will make reference to this second statement, if God Almighty wills it, in dealing with the end of that second year.

Ibn Jarir stated, “It has been said that al-Mukhtar b. Abū Ubayd and Ziyād b. Sumayya were born in that first year. But God knows best.”

Among the Companions who died that first year were Kulthūm b. al-Hadm al-Awsī, in whose home the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Qubā' prior to his departure to the home of the Banū al-Najjār, as told above. Later that same year Abū Umāma Aṣ'ad b. Zurārā, the leader of the Banū al-Najjār, died, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was still building the mosque. This has been related above. May God be pleased with both these deceased men.

Ibn Jarir stated, “That year, the first of the hegira, Abū Uhayfa died on his property in Tā'if. Also al-Walid b. al-Mughira died, as did al-ʿAṣ b. Wa'il al-Sahmi in Mecca.”

I observe that these men died while still polytheists. They did not accept God, the Almighty and Glorious.

An Account of what happened in the second year of the hegira.

In this year many military expeditions took place, the most important and glorious of these being the great battle of Badr, which occurred in Ramadan. It was the battle that God used to make a clear distinction between truth and falsehood, right guidance and error.

Now is the occasion to make mention of the military expeditions and the delegations sent. We therefore state (as follows), and we seek help from God in doing so.

THE BOOK OF MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.

Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār stated the following in his work of biography, after giving information about the Jewish rabbis and their declaration of enmity against Islam and the verses making mention of them. Of these men was Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab and his two brothers, Abū Yasir and Judayy. Also there were Sallām b. Mishkam, Kināna b. al-Rabīʾ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Sallām b. Abī al-uuqayq, otherwise known as Aba Wā'il al-Acwar. The latter was a trader of the Hija and one who was killed by the Companions at Khaybar, as will be shown later. Also, there were ʿAmr b. Jaḥṭāsh, Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf, he being of Tāʾi and
of the Banū Nabḥān; his mother was of the Banū al-Naḍīr. He was killed by the Companions before Abū Rāfīʾ, as will be shown, along with his two allies al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿUmar and Kardam b. Qays. God curse them all!

These men were from the Banū al-Naḍīr.

From the Banū Thaqālaba b. al-ḪITYawn there was ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣūriyā. There was no man in the Hijāz more learned in the Torah than he was. I would observe here that he is said to have accepted Islam.

And there were Ibn Ṣalūbā and Mukhayriq, the latter accepting Islam, as will be mentioned later, at the battle of Uhud; he had been his people's rabbi.


I observe that the last-mentioned had earlier accepted Islam, God be pleased with him. Ibn Ishaq stated, “He was their rabbi and most learned man. His name had been al-Ḥuṣayn, and when he accepted Islam the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) named him ʿAbd Allāh.”


From the Banū Zurayq there was Labīd b. Aṣām, who had put a spell on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

From the Jews of the Banū Ḥārīth b. Zayd, ʿAṭīf b. Zayd there was Kinānā b. Ṣūriyā. From the Jews of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf there was Qardam b. ʿAmr.

From the Jews of the Banū al-Najjār there was Silsila b. Barhām.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “All these men were rabbis and men of evil intent and full of antagonism towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions, God be pleased with them. They were those who asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) many questions in their desire to confuse and to express their obstinacy and disbelief. They were men who made difficulties for Islam and who tried to extinguish it. Exceptions to this were ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣalām and Mukhayriq.”

Ibn Ishaq then related the acceptance of Islam by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣalām, along with that of his aunt Khālidā, as we mentioned above.
He also told of the conversion to Islam by Mukhayriq on the day of the battle of Uhud, details of which will come later. He told his people, it being a Sabbath, “O Jews, you well know that Muḥammad has a right to expect your help.” They replied, “But today is the Sabbath.” He replied, “You shall have no Sabbath!” He then took his weapons and went off to battle. He made a charge upon his people who were staying behind, as follows, “If I should be killed today, then my properties are to go to Muḥammad to dispose of as God shows him.” He was a very wealthy man.

“He then joined the Messenger of God (SAAS) and fought until he was killed. God be pleased with him.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to say, as I have been told, ‘Mukhayriq was the best Jew.’”

**DIVISION**

Ibn Ishaq then listed the names of those hypocrites from Aws and Khazraj, who joined the Jews antagonistic to Islam.

From Aws there were: Zuwayy b. al-Ḥarīth, Julās b. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, the Helper. It was about him that the verse was revealed, “They swear by God that they did not speak. But they did speak words of disbelief; they apostatized after accepting Islam” (ṣūrat al-Ṭawba or al-Barā’a; IX, v.74). This was because he said, after having withdrawn from the expedition against Tabīk, “If this man speaks the truth, then we are worse than donkeys!”

“The son of al-Julās’s wife, a man named Wmayr b. Sa’d reported this to the Messenger of God (SAAS) but al-Julās denied it, swearing that he had never said that. The verse was therefore revealed concerning him.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “It is claimed that he later truly repented and that he was known for his piety.

“Also there was his brother al-Ḥarīth b. Suwayd; it was he who killed al-Mujadhdhar b. Dhiyād b. al-Balawi and Qays b. Zayd, one of the Banū Ḍubay'a at the battle of Uhud. Al-Ḥarīth had gone to war on the Muslims’ side, but he was a hypocrite and when the battle was joined he fought and killed both these men and joined the Quraysh forces.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Al-Mujadhdhar had killed his father Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit in an engagement before the coming of Islam. Al-Ḥarīth was taking revenge upon him at the battle of Uhud.”

This is what Ibn Hishām said, but according to Ibn Ishaq it was Muṣdh b. Ṭāʿārīf who killed him in a non-military engagement before the battle of Buṭuth, by shooting him with an arrow.

Ibn Hishām denied that it was al-Ḥarīth who killed Qays b. Thabit, on the grounds that Ibn Ishaq did not include the latter among those killed at Uhud.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had ordered Ṭūmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to kill him if he could catch him. Al-Ḥarīth, however, sent a message
to his brother al-Julās seeking forgiveness so that he could return to his people. And so it was, as I have been informed on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbās, that God revealed, “How could God lead a people aright who have apostatized after having believed and given testimony that the Messenger is the truth, and after they had received proofs? God does not guide a people who are unjust” (ṣūrat ʿAl-ʿImrān; III, v.86).

“Also there were Bijād b. Ḫūṭmān b. ʿAmr and Nabdāl b. al-Ḥārith. It was about the latter that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Whoever would like to see Satan, let him look at this man!’ He was a very tall, black man with a mass of hair, red eyes and flushed cheeks. He used to listen to what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said then report on it to the hypocrites. It was he who said, ‘Muḥammad is just ears; he believes what anyone says to him!’ God revealed concerning him, ‘And among them are those who harm the Prophet by saying that he is ears’ (ṣūrat al-Tawba or al-Bari‘a; IX, v.61).

“And there was Abū Ḥabība b. al-ʿAzʿār. He was one of those who built the mosque at al-Dirār. Also there were Thaʿlabā b. Ḫāṭib and Muʿattīb b. Qushayr. It was these two who promised God that if He gave them of His bounty they would believe. They, however, broke their promise upon which the above was revealed. It was Muʿattīb who said at the battle of Uḥud, ‘If we had any say in it, we’d not be killed here!’ A verse was then revealed about him. It was also he who said, at the battle of al-ʿAlzāb, the ‘schisms’, ‘Muḥammad used to promise us we would enjoy the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar, but we’re not safe to go to the toilet!’ The verse revealed about him was ‘and when the hypocrites, and those in whose breasts is disease, say, “All that God and His Messenger have promised us is mere fancy”’ (ṣūrat al-ʿAlzāb; XXXIII, v.12).

Ibn Iṣḥāq went on, “And there was al-Ḥārith b. Ḫāṭib.”

Ibn Hishām commented, “Regarding Muʿattīb b. Qushayr, and Thaʿlabā and al-Ḥārith, the two sons of Ḫāṭib, they were of the Bani ʿUmayya b. Zayd and took part in the battle of Badr. These were not hypocrites, or so I have been told by a scholar whom I trust. Ibn Iṣḥāq in fact mentioned Thaʿlabā and al-Ḥārith as being of the Bani ʿUmayya b. Zayd and gave their names as participants in the battle of Badr.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq’s account continues, “Also there were ʿAbbād b. Ḥunayf, brother of ʿAbd b. Ḥunayf, and Bahazār, who participated in building the mosque, al-Dirār. And there were ʿAmr b. Khidhām, ʿAbd Allāh b. Nabdāl, Jāriya b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿAṭṭāf and his two sons Yazīd and Muḥīm, also involved in the construction of the Dirār mosque. Muḥīm was a young man who had collected most parts of the Qurʿān and would pray with the others in prayer there. When the Dirār mosque was destroyed, after the Tabūk expedition, as will be explained hereafter, during the reign of ʿUmar, the people of Qubā asked the Caliph whether Muḥīm could lead them in prayer. He refused, saying, ‘By God, was he not the Imam of the hypocrites in the Dirār mosque?’
"But Mujmic swore by God that he knew nothing about them; and they say that Umar let him go and that he did lead them in prayer.

"And there was Wadifa b. Thabit, also one of those who built the Dirar mosque. It was he who said, 'But we're only being sociable and having fun.' And a reference was made in the Qur'an to that.

"And there was Khidam b. Khalid; it was he from whose house the Dirar mosque was made."

Ibn Hisham added to the names given by Ibn Ishq of the hypocrites of the Banu al-Nabit b. al-Aws those of Bishr and Ras, two sons of Zayd.

Ibn Ishq went on, "And there was Mirbat b. Qayza; he was blind. It was he who said to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was crossing through his garden on the way to the battle of Uhud, 'I'll not allow you, even if you are a prophet, to pass through my garden!' And he picked up a handful of dirt and said, 'I swear, if I knew I would not strike anyone but yourself, I'd throw this at you!' The Muslims made for him to kill him, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Leave him alone. This blind man is blind in his heart as well as in his sight.' Sa'd b. Zayd al-Ashhal, however, had already injured him with his bow.

"And there was Mirbat's brother Aws b. Qayza, who made the comment, 'Our houses are exposed.' And so God said, 'They are not exposed; all they want is to take flight' (sūrat al-Ahzab; XXXIII, v.13).

"And there was Ḥāṭib b. Umayya b. Raṣ, He was a powerful sheikh who was long set in the ways of pre-Islamic ignorance. He had a son who was among the best of Muslims. His name was Yazid b. Ḥāṭib, and he was so injured at the battle of Uhud that his wounds disabled him and he was borne to the home of the Banu Zafar.

"‘Åṣim b. Umar b. Qatada related to me that the Muslims there, both men and women, gathered around him while he was dying and began telling him, 'Rejoice in the gardens of paradise, Ibn Ḥāṭib!' His father's hypocrisy then emerged and he began saying, 'Right! Gardens of rue! You have, by God, deluded this poor wretch about himself!'

Ibn Ishq continued, "And there was Bashir b. Ubayriq Abū Tuʾma, the man who stole the two breast-plates. It was of him that God spoke in the words, 'Do not argue for those who are treacherous to themselves' (sūrat al-Nisā'; IV, v.107).

"And there was Quzman, the ally of the Banu Zufr, who killed seven men at Uhud and then when in pain from his own wounds, killed himself, saying, 'I swear, I only fought in defence of my people!' He then died, God damn him!'\(^{50}\)

\(^{50}\) In Ibn Ishq's text as translated by Guillaume, op. cit. p. 245, Quzman is reported to kill seven polytheists and to have been well treated by the Muslims when he was wounded. It was, according to that text, when he was congratulated by the Muslims on his valour for the cause that he responded with the words attributed to him here, and that he then killed himself. Presumably he is being damned in this text both for denying that he had been fighting for Islam rather than for his people, and for committing suicide.
Ibn Ishaq then stated, “There are no men or women of the Banu 'Abd al-Ashhal known as hypocrites; al-Daḥḥāk b. Thābit, however, was charged with hypocrisy and love of the Jews.”

All the above persons were from Aws.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “And of Khazraj there were Rāfī ḥ. Wādī, Zayd b. 'Amr, 'Amr b. Qays, Qays b. 'Amr b. Sahl and al-Jadh b. Qays. It was the last-named who said, ‘Give me leave; do not try me.’”

“And there was 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Saʿūd who was the chief hypocrite and leader of the Aws and Khazraj as well. They had previously agreed, before the coming of Islam, to appoint him their king, but when God led them to Islam before they did so, the accursed fellow was greatly offended and angered. It is he who said, ‘If we get back to Medina the strong will definitely drive out of it the weak!’”

Very many verses were revealed about this man and also about Wādī, a man of the Banu 'Awt, as about Ma‘lik b. Abū Qawqāl, Suwayd and Dā‘is who were all of his gang. About them the Almighty revealed, “If they are driven out, they will not go forth with them” (ṣūrat al-Hashr; LIX, v.12). This was when they allied secretly with the Banū al-Naḍīr.

**Division**

Then Ibn Ishaq made mention of those Jewish rabbis who had accepted Islam as if God-fearing men while in secret they were unbelievers; and they were followed by the worst of the hypocrites among whom were: Sa‘d b. Ḥanif and Zayd b. al-Luṣṭ. It was the latter who commented, when the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) strayed, ‘Muḥammad claims that information reaches him from heaven, yet he doesn’t know the whereabouts of his camel!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘I only know what God tells me; and He has guided me towards it. My camel is in this defile, her bridle caught in a tree.’ Some of the Muslims then went and found it just so.”

Ibn Ishaq went on: “And there were Nu‘mān b. Awfā, ʿUṯmān b. Awfā and Rāfī ʿ. Ḥurarymala. The last-mentioned is the one of whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, so I have been told, when the man died, ‘One of the great hypocrites has died today.’

“Also there was Rīfā ḥ. Zayd b. al-Tābūt. On the day of his death a great wind arose just as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was returning from Tabūk and he said, ‘It is blowing due to the death of a great unbeliever.’ And when they reached Medina they found that Rīfā ḥ had died that day.

“Also there was Silsila b. Burḥam, and Kināna b. Ṣūrīyā. ‘These, then, are the Jewish hypocrites who had accepted Islam.’

Ibn Ishaq went on, “These hypocrites would attend the mosque and listen to the Muslims’ talk, ridiculing and making fun of their religion.

51. Presumably a reference to ṣūrat al-Tawba or al-Barā; IX, v.49.
"Some of them gathered in the mosque one day and the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw them talking among themselves, sitting together and speaking in low voices. The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that they be removed from the mosque and they were, forcibly.

"Abū Ayyūb went up to ʿAmr b. Qays, one of the Banū al-Najjār, who had been the guardian of their gods in the pre-Islamic era, took him by the foot and pulled him until he had got him outside, while the other man said, ‘God damn! Would you evict me, Abū Ayyūb, from the date shed of the Banū Thaqāba? ’

"Abū Ayyūb then went up to Rāfiʿ b. Wadiʿa al-Najjār and grabbed him by the cloak, pulled at him hard, slapped his face and threw him out of the mosque, saying, ‘Yekh! You dirty hypocrite!’

"Umāra b. Ḥazm seized Zayd b. ʿAmr, who had a long beard, and pulled him along by it until he had evicted him from the mosque. Umāra then clenched his fists and hit them hard in his chest, knocking him down. Zayd complained, ‘Umāra, you’ve grazed me!’ At this Umāra replied, ‘Clear off with you, hypocrite! What God has in store for you is far worse! Don’t ever come near the mosque of the Messenger of God (SAAS) again!’

"Abū Muḥammad Masʿūd b. Aws b. Zayd b. Ṭhahab b. Ghannū b. Malik b. al-Najjār, who fought at Badr, went up to Qays b. Amr b. Sahl, who was just a lad, the only youth among the hypocrites. Abū Muḥammad pushed Qays by the back of his neck till he had evicted him.

"One of the Banū Khudra approached a man called al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr who wore his hair thick, seized him by it and pulled him violently across the ground until he had evicted him. At this the hypocrite yelled, ‘You’re being very rough, Abū al-Ḥārith!’ ‘You deserve it,’ he was told, ‘you enemy of God you, for what has been revealed about you. Don’t you come near the mosque of the Messenger of God (SAAS) again; you’re filth!’

"A man of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf went for the previous man’s brother, Zuway b. al-Ḥārith and forcibly evicted him, expressing his disgust for him and saying, ‘Satan and his work have charge of you!’ ”

Ibn Ishaq then referred to the passages in surat al-Baqara (Qurʾān, II) and in surat al-Tawba (Qurʾān, IX) that refer to the hypocrites and offered full and effective explanations of these. God bless him!

An Account of the first military expedition, that of al-Abwāʾ, also called Waddān, and the first of the delegations sent.

This involved the dispatch of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib or ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith, as will be explained regarding the military expeditions.

Al-Bukhari’s text reads as follows: Book of the Military Expeditions. Ibn Ishaq stated, “The first battle fought by the Messenger of God (SAAS) was that of al-Abwāʾ, followed by that of Buwāṭ, followed by that of al-ʿUshayra.”
He then related how Zayd b. Arqam was asked how many military expeditions the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent. He replied, “There were 19, in 17 of which he participated; the first of these was to al-Usayra (or al-Ushayra).”

An account will follow in the sequel of the expedition to al-Ushayra, if God wills it, and in Him is all trust, along with the chains of authority and words used in reporting on it as well as comments about it.

Al-Bukhari stated, in his sahih collection from Burayda, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) set in motion 16 military expeditions.”

Muslim quoted Burayda as saying that he accompanied the Messenger of God (SAAS) on 16 expeditions. He also quotes him as saying that the Messenger of God (SAAS) organized 19 expeditions and himself fought in 8 of them.

Al-Husayn b. Wāqid stated, from Ibn Burayda, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) organized 17 expeditions and fought in 8, those at Badr, Uhud, al-Ahzāb, al-Muraysiʿ, Qudayd, Khaybar, Mecca and Ḥunayn, and that he sent out 24 raids.

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān stated, “Muḥammad b. Ṣa’d b. Uthmān al-Dimashqī al-Tanūkhī related to us, quoting al-Haytham b. Ḥumayd, quoting al-Nuʿmān from Makhūl, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) organized 18 expeditions and himself fought in 8. The first of these was at Badr, followed by Uhud, al-Ahzāb, Qurayza, Bpr Maʿūna, that against the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzāʿa, Khaybar, Mecca, Ḥunayn and al-Ṭaʾif.”

His placing that of Bpr Maʿūna after that of Qurayza is open to dispute. The truth is that it followed Uhud, as will be shown.

Yaʿqūb stated that Salama b. Shabib related to him, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, (who stated) “I heard Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab say, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) organized 18 expeditions.’ But on another occasion I heard him say 24. I don’t know whether this was mere fancy or something he heard later.”

Al-Ṭabarānī recounted from al-Dabari, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) organized 24 expeditions.”


Al-Ḥakīm recounted, through Hishām, from Qatāda, that the expeditions and night raids organized by the Messenger of God (SAAS) totalled 43. Al-Ḥakīm then commented, “Perhaps he meant raids apart from the military expeditions, for in the work al-Iklil (Three Bright Stars) more than 100 raids of the Messenger of God (SAAS) are arranged in order.”

He went on, “A reliable scholar of Bukhārā told me he had read in the work of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Naṣr that the raids and delegations sent out totalled some 70, not counting the actual battles.”

This information related by al-Ḥakīm is very strange; and the statements he attributes in them to Qatāda are controversial.
Imām  Ahmad recounted, from Azhar b. al-Qāsim al-Rāsībi, from Hishām
al-Dastuwārī, from Qatāda, that the military expeditions and raids of the
Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 43, consisting of 24 missions and 19 military
expeditions. In 8 of these he himself participated, at Badr, Uḥud, al-Āhzāb,
al-Murayṣī, Khaybar, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, and al-Ṭāʾif.
Mūsā b. ʿUqba quoted al-Zuhri as stating, “These were the military expedi-
tions in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought: Badr in Ramaḍān of 2 AH;
Uḥud in Shawwāl, 3 AH; and al-khandaq, which was also known as al-Āhzāb
and the ‘Banū Qurayṣa battle’, in Shawwāl, 4 AH. He then fought the Banū
al-Muṣṭaliq and the Banū Liḥyān in Shābān, 5 AH; at Khaybar in 6 AH; at the
Yawm al-Fath (Mecca) in Ramaḍān, 8 AH. Thereafter he fought at al-Ḥunayn
and besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif in Shawwāl, 8 AH. Then, in 9 AH Abū Bakr
performed the pilgrimage, and in 10 AH the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on
the so-called ḥijjat al-wadā’, the ‘farewell pilgrimage’. He organized 12 expedi-
tions that did not result in fighting. The first of his expeditions was that of
al-Abwā’.”
Hanbal b. Hilāl stated, from Iṣḥāq b. al-ʿAlī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar
al-Raqqu, from Muṭṭirīf b. Māzin al-Yamānī, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, who
said, “The first verse revealed on making war was, ‘Those who do battle are
given permission (to do so), for they have been wronged’ (ṣūrat al-Hājīj; XX,
v.39). This came after the arrival of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina.
“The first battle witnessed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was that at Badr,
on Friday, 17th of Ramaḍān.”
His account proceeds to his comments as follows, “He then went on the
expedition against the Banū al-Nāḍīr, then in Shawwāl, the battle of Uḥud took
place, that is, in 3 AH. Thereafter he was at the battle of al-khandaq in 4 AH,
fought the Banū Liḥyān in Shābān of 5 AH, and fought at the battle of al-Fatḥ
(i.e. the ‘victory’, at Mecca, tr.) in Shābān 8 AH, followed by Ḥunayn in
Ramaḍān 8 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) organized 11 expeditions in
which he did not fight. The first on which he fought was al-Abwā’, then came
al-ʿUshayrā, Ḡaṭafān, Banū Sulaym, al-Abwā’ (sic), the first battle of Badr,
Ṭāʾif, al-Ḥudaybiyya, al-Ṣafrā’, and Tabūk, the last expedition.” He then went
on to refer to the buʿūth, the delegations he sent.
This account that I have copied from the history of the ḥāfiẓ Ibn ʿAsākir is
very strange. We will relate later, in its proper order, what truly occurred.
This is an area of expertise requiring care and proper training; as
Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqiqī related, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. ʿĀli,
from his father, who said, “I heard ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn say, ‘We used to teach the
military expeditions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) just as we would chapters from the
Qurʾān.’”
Al-Wāqiqī stated, “I heard Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh say, ‘I heard my uncle
al-Zuhri say, “In knowledge of the military expeditions there is knowledge of the
hereafter as well as of this world.”’”
Muḥammad b. Ishāq gave further information concerning the military expeditions after having given that we have quoted above. In this he named the chief unbelievers from among the Jews and the hypocrites, God damn them all and gather them in the depths of hell.

He stated, "Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prepared to do battle against them, to wage war and fight against his enemies and their allies as God had ordered him.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had arrived in Medina on a Monday when it was very hot, and the sun was near its zenith; it was the 12th of Rabi‘ al-Awwal. At that time he was 53 years old, and God had given him his mission 13 years before. He stayed there for the remainder of Rabi‘ al-Awwal and for Rabi‘ al-Ākhir, for both Jumādas, Ṣaḥābān, Ramaḍān, Shawwāl, Dhū al-Qi‘dā, Dhū al-Ḥiǧja, the polytheists being in charge of the pilgrimage that month, and al-Μuḥarram. He then, in Ṣafar, at the start of the 12th month after his arrival there, went forth to do battle."

Ibn Hīshām stated, "He left Sa‘d b. Waqqaṣ in charge of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "He continued as far as Waddān; this was the expedition to al-Abwā‘. " Ibn Jarīr commented, "It is also known as the Waddān expedition."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "He was heading for Quraysh and the Banū Ǧamra b. Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kināna. The Banū Ǧamra made peace with him there; the one who actually did this was Makhshī b. ‘Amr al-Ǧamrī, who was their leader at that time.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina without having engaged in battle, remaining there for the rest of Ṣafar and the early part of Rabi‘ al-Awwal."

Ibn Hīshām added, "This was the first expedition made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Waqqādī commented, "His banner was entrusted to his uncle Ǧamzā; it was white."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "While resident then at Medina, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥarīrī b. al-Muttaḥīb b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy along with 60 – or 80 – men, mounted and of the Emigrants; not one of them was a Helper. The party went as far as a well in Hijāz below Thaniyyat al-Murra, where he met a large contingent of Quraysh. There was no engagement with them, however, except that Sa‘d b. ʿAbū Waqqāṣ did that day cast one arrow. That was the first arrow shot for God’s cause after the coming of Islam."

"The two forces separated thereafter, the Muslims positioning a rear-guard. Miqād b. ʿAmr al-Bahrānī, an ally of the Banū Zuhra, fled from the polytheists to the Muslims, along with ʿUtha b. Ghazwān b. Ǧābīr al-Mażīnī, an ally of the Banū Nāwāfī b. ʿAbd Manāf. These were really Muslims, but they had gone forth to have contact with the unbelievers."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ikrima b. Abū Jahl was leader of the polytheists on that occasion."
Ibn Hishām related, from Ibn Abī ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā’, that Abī ‘Amr al-Madani said, “It was Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ who led them.”

I observe that al-Waqqāṣi’s account, heretofore, gives two statements, one that the leader was Mikraz, the second that it was Abī Sufyān Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb; but it seemed to him more likely that it was Abū Sufyān. God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq then gave the ode attributed to Abū Bakr “the Trusting”, written about this night raid. It begins,

“Is it for your vision of Salmā in the flat desert plains you lay awake, and for something happening in the tribe?

In Lu‘ayy you see a faction that no preaching, no messenger’s mission could keep from unbelief.

A truth-telling messenger came to them but they denied him and told him he could not stay among them.

When we called them to the truth, they turned their backs and fled like panting dogs retreating to their lair.”

He then gave the response of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibārā:

“Is it because of the traces of a home now desolate amidst the sand dunes that you weep, your tears soon gone,

And because of time’s surprises, and destiny is all surprises, of things gone by and new.

A great army that came to us, led by ʿUbaydā who is called Ibn Ḥarīth, in battle,

So we would leave idols set up in Mecca, passed down by heir to noble heir.”

Ibn Ishaq goes on to give the complete ode. And nothing prevents us from doing the same except for the fact that Imām ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām, God bless him, who was an Imām in language, reported that many scholars, expert in poetry, deny the authenticity of both these poems.

Ibn Ishaq further stated, “Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ spoke the following verses concerning his having shot an arrow, or so they say,

“Has the Messenger of God heard that I protected my companions with my arrow?

Through it I well protected their front ranks over land both rough and easy.

And no one shooting an arrow at an enemy will be counted before myself, O Messenger of God!

And that was because your religion is that of truth; it was with truth and virtue that you brought it.

By it the believers are saved, by it the unbelievers are punished at a place of boiling pitch.
Take care, for you have erred, and do not decry me; woe upon you, Ibn Jahl, misleader of your tribe!"

Ibn Hishām commented, "Most authorities on poetry deny that this poem is to be attributed to Sa'īd."

Ibn Ishaq stated further, "The banner given to 'Ubayda, so I have been told, was the first awarded by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to any Muslim."

Al-Zuhri, Muṣṭaṣ b. Qūba, and al-Wāqīḍī disputed Ibn Ishaq in this and maintained that Ḥamza received a flag before 'Ubayd b. al-Ḥārith. But God knows best.

It will be related hereafter, from a ḥadith of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāş, that the first leader of these raids was 'Abd Allāh b. Jahl al-Asadi.

Ibn Ishaq went on, "Some scholars maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him out when he arrived from the mission to al-Abwā' before he reached Medina. Muṣṭaṣ b. Qūba related it so from al-Zuhri."

**DIVISION**

Ibn Ishaq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while resident there, sent Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hashim to the sea coast near al-Ṭīs along with 30 mounted men drawn from the Emigrants; there were no Helpers among them. Ḥamza confronted Abī Jahl b. Hishām and 300 mounted Meccans there on the shore. But Majdī b. 'Amr al-Juhānī interposed himself between the opposing parties, for he was at peace with both. Both sides withdrew from one another and so no fighting occurred."

Ibn Ishaq continued, "Some people say that Ḥamza's banner was the first awarded by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to any of the Muslims. This was because he had dispatched Ḥamza before 'Ubayda at the same time; this confused people."

I comment that Muṣṭaṣ b. Qūba quoted al-Zuhri as saying that he had dispatched Ḥamza before 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith. He maintained that Ḥamza's mission came before the expedition to al-Abwā'. And that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Abwā' he dispatched 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith along with 60 Emigrants. He then related much as above.

It has been stated above that al-Wāqīḍī said, "The raid made by Ḥamza in Ramadān took place in 1 AH; 'Ubayda's expedition came thereafter, in Shawwāl in the same year." But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq quoted from Ḥamza, God be pleased with him, poetry indicating that his banner was the first awarded in Islam. However Ibn Ishaq stated, "If Ḥamza did speak this, then so it was. He only ever spoke the truth. But God knows best what happened. What we have heard from scholars was that 'Ubayda was first. The poem is as follows:

'O my people, contemplate wisdom and foolishness and failure in man's thought and intellect,

About those who have wronged us while we have not violated their people or property.
As though we had been hostile to them, but we have no hostility for them; all we told them is to be chaste and just.

And we told them of Islam, but they do not accept it and treat it as if it were a joke.

They kept this up till I was appointed to raid them where they reside, seeking security in virtue.

At the order of the Messenger of God, being the first to have his banner fly above me, it not having appeared before.

A flag bringing victory, from a God of honour and power, His deeds the best of all.

They left in the evening, gathered together, the cooking pot of each of us boiling with the rage of his Companions.

When we saw one another they made their mounts kneel and tied up their mounts, and we tied ours an arrow’s reach away.

We told them, “Our connection to God is our aid. But the only connection you have is to error.”

Abū Jahl arose to fight there, acting in evil, but he was disappointed, for God rejected Abū Jahl’s tricks.

We had only thirty mounted men, while they numbered two hundred, with one extra yet.

O Lu’ayy, do not obey your evil men; come over to Islam, to the path that is plain.

For I fear that you will have pain wrought upon you and you will cry out in regret and mourning.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “And Abū Jahl b. Hishām, God damn him, spoke the following verses in response,

‘I was amazed at the reasons for false worship and ignorance and at those who seek to do harm through division and idiocy,

At those who abandon the practices of our fathers and forebears, those fine and noble leaders.’

He then quoted the rest of the poem.

Ibn Hishām stated, “Most poetry scholars deny that the first poem can be attributed to Hamza, God be pleased with him, or the second to Abū Jahl, God damn him!”

THE EXPEDITION TO BUWĀT, IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF RADWĀ.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent an expedition against Quraysh in the month of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, that is in 2 AH.”
Ibn Hishām commented, "He left ʿAṣ'ib b. Wthmm b. Maẓʿūn in charge over Medina."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "He left Saʿd b. Muʿādh in charge of it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was accompanied by 200 mounted men. His banner was entrusted to Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ. His purpose was to interfere with a Quraysh caravan which consisted of Umayyya b. Khalaf with 100 men and 2,500 camels."

Ibn ʿIshaq stated, "He proceeded until he reached Buwm~, near Raḍwā. He then returned to Medina without engaging in battle. He remained there for the remainder of Rabiʿ al-ʿAḥır and part of Jumāda al-ʿUlá."

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**THE EXPEDITION TO AL-ʿUSSHAYRA.**

He then made an expedition against Quraysh. This refers to the expedition known by the name "al-ʿUshayra" or "al-ʿUsayra".

Ibn Hishām commented that he left Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-ʿAsad in charge of Medina.

Al-Wāqidi stated that his banner was carried by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to interrupt the Quraysh caravans going to Syria."

Ibn ʿIshaq stated, "He made his way through the territory of the Banū Dīnār, then past Fayfāʾ al-Khayyār, and made camp beneath a tree in the Ibn Azhar valley at a place called Dhāt al-Saq. He said his prayers there, where his mosque is now. Food was prepared for him there which he ate, and the others ate there with him. The remains of the supports used for his cooking pot are still known there. He used the water from a place called al-Mushayrib."

"He then moved on, leaving al-Khalaʾiq to his left and traversed the ʿAbd Allāh defile. From there he kept left, coming down the Yalyal trail till it meets that of al-Ḍabūʿa. He then crossed the Malal plain until he met the road at Ṣukhayrāt al-Yāmām and then went on along it till he reached al-ʿUshayra, in the Yanbuʾ valley."

"There he remained for Jumāda al-ʿUlá and some nights of Jumāda al-ʿAhira; there he made peace with the Banū Mudlij and their allies of the Banū ʿDamra, then returned to Medina, without having engaged in battle.""

Al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Wahb, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū ʿIshaq, who said, 'I was standing next to Zayd b. Arqam when he was asked, 'In how many military expeditions did the Messenger of God (SAAS) take part?' He replied, 'Nineteen.' 'And on how many did you accompany him?' 'Seventeen,' he replied. 'Which of them came first?' I enquired. 'Al-ʿUshyr or al-ʿUsayr,' he replied. I told this to Qatāda and he said it was 'al-ʿUshayr'.'"

This hadith is clear in stating that the first of the military expeditions was at al-ʿUshayra, which can also be spelled "al-ʿUsayrə", and that in both of these spellings the final feminine ending, the "a" may be dropped or a lengthened "a"
be substituted. However, what could be meant here is that al-Ushayra was the first expedition in which Zayd b. Arqam participated with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and there could have been earlier ones which he did not witness. This could reconcile between this hadith and that of Ibn Ishāq. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “It was on that occasion that the Messenger of God (SAAS) made his comment to ‘Ali. Yazīd b. Muḥammad b. Khaytham related to me, from Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraẓī, quoting Abū Yazīd Muḥammad b. Khaytham, from ‘Ammār b. Yāsir, who said, ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib and I were companions on the expedition to al-Ushayra in the Yanbu‘ valley. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) encamped there he remained for a month and made peace with the Banū Mudlij and their allies of the Banū ṫamra. ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib said, “Abū al-Yaqẓān, how would you like for us to go and watch these men of the Banū Mudlij who are doing some work on a well of theirs?” So we went to them and watched for a while, then were overcome by sleep. We made our way over to a place where there were young date-palms growing and the ground was soft and there we slept. And, by God, we were eventually woken up by the Messenger of God (SAAS) moving us with his foot. We sat up, soiled with the earth there and it was then that he said to ‘Ali, ‘What have you been up to, Abū Turāb?’ (i.e. ‘father of dirt’) because of the soil that was upon him. We told him what had happened to us and he said, ‘Shall I tell you who are the two most pitiable men?’ We replied, ‘Yes, do tell us.’ He replied, ‘They are Uhaymir of the tribe of Thamūd who slaughtered the camel and the man who will strike you on this’ – and he placed his hand on ‘Mi’s head – ‘so that this’ – and he touched ‘Mi’s beard – ‘will become wet from it.’”

This hadith is unique in this line given. From another line there is also testimony to reference being made to ‘Ali as ‘Abū Turāb’. Similarly, in the saḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī it states that ‘Ali left his house angry at Fāṭima and went and slept in the mosque. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to his house to ask after him, Fāṭima told him he had left angry. So the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the mosque and woke him up and, wiping the dirt from him, told him, “Up you get, Abū Turāb! Up you get!”

THE FIRST EXPEDITION TO BADR.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Upon his return from al-Ushayra, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had been in Medina only a few days, less than ten, when Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri made a raid on the town. The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth in search of him and travelled as far as a valley called Safwān, near Badr. This, then was the first expedition to Badr; Kurz evaded him and was not captured.”

Al-Wāqīḍī stated, “His banner was entrusted to ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālib.”

Both Ibn Hīshām and al-Wāqīḍī related that he had left Zayd b. Ḥāritha in command of Medina.
Ibn Ishāq went on, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned, he spent Jumādā, Rajab and Sha’bān in Medina. He had previously sent out Sa’d with a party of eight Emigrants. He reached as far as al-Khārj in the Hijāz.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Some scholars maintain that this mission of Sa’d’s took place after that of Hamza. He returned without engaging in battle.”

This is how Ibn Ishaq briefly reported this. Al-Waqidi’s account of these three expeditions is given above; by this I mean those of Hamza in Ramadān, Ḫubaydah in Shawwal, and Sa’d in Dhu al-Qi‘dah, all during 1 AH.

Ibān Aḥmad stated that “‘Abd al-Mut‘al b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb related to him, quoting Yahiya b. Sa’d; and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ibān Aḥmad stated that ‘Sa’d b. Yahiya b. Sa’d al-Umawī related to him, quoting his father, from Mūjālid, from Ziyād b. ‘Alaqa, who quoted Sa’d b. Abū Waqqāṣ as having said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to Medina, he was visited by some of the Juhayna who told him, ‘Now you have come to live among us, make a pact with us so we can join you.’ He did so, and they accepted Islam. In Rajab the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent us out, a force of less than 100, with orders to make a raid on a quarter of the Banū Kināna, who were over next to the Juhayna. We did raid them, but there were many of them and we took refuge with the Juhayna who gave us protection. They asked us, ‘Why are you fighting in the holy month?’ We asked one another what to do and some of us thought we should go back to the Prophet of God (SAAS) and tell him. Others thought they should stay there. I, and some others decided we would do neither and would attack and cut off a Quraysh caravan. The arrangement over booty at that time was that you could keep anything you won.

“So we set off against the caravan, while some of our Companions went back to the Prophet (SAAS). When they told him the situation, he became very angry and red-faced and said, ‘You left me as one group and you’ve returned divided! Those before you who became divided were only ever destroyed! I will appoint over you someone who is no higher than you in rank, but who will give you fortitude against hunger and thirst.’

“He then appointed over us ‘Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī, who was the first commander in Islam.”

Al-Bayhaqi related this in Dalā'il (The Signs), from a hadith of Yahiya b. Abū Zā‘ida, from Mūjālid, in much the same form. That account adds, after their words to their companions “Why are you fighting in the holy month?” that the others replied, “We are fighting in the holy month those who expelled us from the holy city!”

He then recounted it from a hadith of Abū Usāma, from Mūjālid, from Ziyād b. ‘Alaqa, from Quṭba b. Malik, from Sa’d b. Abū Waqqāṣ. This account is similar, but it adds Quṭba b. Malik in the chain of authorities between Sa’d and Ziyād. This is more appropriate. But God knows best.

This hadith requires that the first of the raids was that of ‘Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh al-Asadī and this is contrary to what Ibn Ishaq recounted, namely that the first
of these was entrusted to Ubayda b. al-Ḥarith b. al-Muṭṭalib. It also contradicts al-Waqidi, who maintained that the first of the raids was entrusted to Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. But God knows best.

Chapter: On the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh that was the cause for the great engagement at Badr.

This was the day of the Furqān (the line distinguishing good from evil) when the two forces met in battle. And God has power over all things.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “In Rajab, following his return from the first expedition to Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Ṵābāb al-Asadi along with eight Emigrants; their number included none of the Helpers. The names of these men were as follows: Abū Hudhayfa b. Utba, ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥurthān, an ally of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma, Utba b. Ghazwān, an ally of the Banū Nawfal, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqās al-Zuhri, ʿAmir b. Rabīʿa al-Wāʿili, an ally of the Banū ʿAdi, Wāqīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Ārīn b. Thaʿlabā b. Yarbūs al-Tamīmi, also an ally of the Banū ʿAdi, Khālid b. al-Bukayr, one of the Banū Saʿd b. Layth, also an ally of the Banū ʿAdi, and Sahl b. Bayḍā al-Fihri. These seven men were led by their commander ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, God be pleased with him.”

Yūnūs quoted Ibn Ishaq as stating that there were eight men and their commander was their ninth. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “He wrote a letter for ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh which he told him not to open until he had travelled for two days. After opening it he was to do as it ordered him, but not to force any of his companions to do so too.

“Having travelled for two days, he opened the letter. It stated, ‘Having read this letter, proceed to Nakhla, between Mecca and Ṭāʿif. Stay there and observe Quraysh and report back to us news of them.’ Having read the letter, he said, ‘To hear is to obey!’ And he told his men what was in the letter. He said, ‘It forbids me from forcing any of you to comply with this. Those of you seeking martyrdom should go forward. Those reluctant to do this should return. As for myself, I shall proceed to fulfil the order of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’

“He then proceeded forward accompanied by his men, none of whom stayed behind. He travelled through Hijāz until he reached a mine above al-Furqān known as Bahrān. There Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās and Utba b. Ghazwān lost a camel they had that they had been riding, so they remained behind to look for it. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh continued ahead with the rest of the party and made camp at Nakhla.

“There a Quraysh caravan in which was ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍrami – Ibn Hishām commented that his full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād, one of the Ṣadīf – along with Utmaan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra al-Makhtūmī, and his brother Nawfal, along with al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, the freed-man of Hishām b. al-Mughīra.

“When the caravan party saw them they were concerned because the Muslims had encamped near themselves. But ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan appeared before them,
having cut his hair.\textsuperscript{52} When they saw him, they felt secure. 'Ammār told them, 'You don’t need to worry about them.'

"The Companions consulted about how to treat them. They realized that if they were to leave them unharmed, that night they would enter sacred territory and be safe, but if they were to kill them they would be doing so on the last day of the sacred month of Rajab. They were undecided and ill at ease about attacking them.

"But then they encouraged one another to do so, deciding eventually to kill those they could and to seize their goods. And so Wāqīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī shot an arrow at 'Aṃr b. al-Ḥaḍrāmī and killed him, Uṯmān b. 'Abd Allāh and al-Ḥakām b. Kaysān were taken prisoner, and Nawfāl b. 'Abd Allāh evaded them and escaped. 'Abd Allāh b. Jāḥsh and his men then returned to the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥāt) with the caravan and the two prisoners.

"Some of 'Abd Allāh b. Jāḥsh’s family maintain that 'Aḥd Allāh told his men, 'The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥāt) is due one-fifth of what we have taken' and that he set this portion aside and divided up the rest between them. This was before the revelation came down concerning that fifth." When this revelation came down it was as 'Abd Allāh b. Jāḥsh had divided it, as Ibn Iṣḥāq observed.

"When they reached the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥāt) he told them, 'I did not order you to kill anyone in the sacred month!' He suspended disposition of the caravan and the prisoners and refused to take any of it.

"When the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥāt) said this, the raiders were very worried and thought they were ruined, and their fellow Muslims criticized them harshly for what they had done. Quraysh said, 'Muḥammad and his men have made it lawful to use violence in the sacred month; they have shed blood and taken booty and seized prisoners during it.' Those Muslims in Mecca opposing Quraysh, however, maintained that the action had occurred in Sha'bān. Some Jews said, 'You must consider this an omen against the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥāt). The killing of 'Aṃr b. al-Ḥaḍrāmī by Wāqīd b. 'Abd Allāh means as follows, 'Aṃr' stands for 'ṣamarat al-ḥarb', (i.e. 'war has spread'). 'Al-Ḥaḍrāmī' stands for 'ḥadarat al-ḥarb', (i.e. 'war has come') 'Wāqīd b. 'Abd Allāh' stands for 'wuqrat al-ḥarb', (i.e. 'war has been kindled'). God, however, turned this around against them.

"When people gossiped excessively about this, God Almighty sent down the following words to His Messenger (Ṣaḥḥāt), "They will ask you about the sacred month, and about fighting in it. Say: 'fighting therein is a grave matter; but blocking off God’s path and disbelief in Him and (hindering men from) the sacred mosque, and expelling its people from it, (all this) is extremely grave in God’s view; and causing unrest is worse than killing. And they will not stop fighting you until they turn you from your religion, if they can!" (ṣūrāt al-Baqara; II, v.217).

\textsuperscript{52} That is, as if he had just fulfilled the rites of the pilgrimage.
This means “Even if you have fought in the sacred month, they have blocked you from God’s path by disbelieving in Him, and also by keeping you from the holy mosque and expelling you from it when you were of its people. This is more grave in God’s view than your fighting those of them you did. For causing unrest is worse than killing. That is, they used to seduce Muslims from their religion, trying to return them to disbelief from faith. This was worse in God’s view than the fighting. Their conduct was far worse and they were completely unrepentant. This is why God Almighty stated, ‘They will not stop fighting you until they turn you from your religion, if they can!’”

Ibn Ishq went on, “When the Qur’an was revealed about this and God had alleviated the concerns of the Muslims, the Messenger of God (SAAS) took possession of the caravan and the two prisoners. Quraysh then sought to provide ransom for Uthmân and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysan, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, ‘We will not release them to you until our two men come forth.’ He was referring to Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās and Utba b. Ghazwān. ‘We are concerned’, he told them, ‘about your treatment of them. If you kill them, we will kill your men.’

‘Sa‘d and Utba then came forth, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) ransomed them. Al-Ḥakam b. Kaysan accepted Islam and became a Muslim, remaining with the Messenger of God (SAAS) until he was killed, a martyr, at the battle of Bīr Ma‘ṣuma. Uthmân b. ‘Abd Allāh stayed in Mecca where he died an unbeliever.”

Ibn Ishq stated, “When ‘Abd Allah b. Jahsh and his companions had been relieved of their anxiety when the revelation came in the Qur’an, they sought reward. They asked, ‘O Messenger of God, may we hope that this be considered an expedition for which we will be given reward as warriors for God’s cause?’ And so God revealed concerning them, ‘Those who believe and those who have emigrated and those who have fought for God’s cause, those persons may hope for the mercy of God, for God is merciful and forgiving’ (sūrat al-Baqara II v.218). Through this God gave them very great hope.”

Ibn Ishq continued, “The hadith concerning this is from al-Zuhri, and Yazid b. Rūmān from Urwa b. al-Zubayr.”

Mūsā b. Uqba related, in his work on the military expeditions, from al-Zuhri, a similar account, as did Shu‘ayb from al-Zuhri, from Urwa. Their account stated, “Ibn al-Ḥadrami was the first man killed in fighting between Muslims and polytheists.”

‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām stated, “He was the first person killed by the Muslims. And this was the first booty taken by the Muslims; Uthmân and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān were the first prisoners taken by Muslims.”

I comment that in his aforementioned report Imām Aḥmad quoted Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās as having said, “‘Abd Allah b. Jaḥsh was the first amīr, commander, appointed in Islam.”
We have given in our *Tafsir* (Exegesis) various testimonies, with their chains of authorities, in support of what Ibn Ishāq recounted.

One such is what was reported by *al-ḥāfaẓ* Abū Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥātim, namely, ”My father related to us, quoting Muhammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimi, quoting al-Muṭamir b. Sulaymān, quoting his father, quoting al-Ḥadrāmī, quoting from Abū al-Siwar, from Jundab b. ‘Abd Allāh, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth some men, having appointed Abū Ubaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ – or ‘Ubaydah b. al-Ḥārith – as their commander. But when he came to leave, he wept in longing for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and sat down. And so he appointed ‘Abd Allāh b. Jaḥsh over them and wrote a letter to him, telling him not to read it until he reached a certain place. He told him, ‘Do not force any of your men to proceed further with you.’

“When he read the letter, he spoke the words, ‘We are God’s and to Him do we return,’ and said, ‘To hear is to obey, both God and His Messenger.’ He then told them what the letter contained. Two of their number then went back, while the rest stayed. They met up with Ibn al-Ḥadrāmī and killed him, not knowing whether that day was in the month of Rajab or Jumādā. The polytheists told the Muslims, ‘You have killed a man in the sacred month!’ God then revealed, ‘They will ask you about the sacred month, and about fighting during it. Say: fighting then is a grave matter’ (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.217).


(The narration states) “He wrote a letter for Ibn Jaḥsh and ordered him not to read it before he reached the Malal valley. When he arrived there he opened the letter. It told him to proceed on to the valley at Nakhlah. He told his companions, ‘Whoever desires death, let him proceed and appoint an executor; I have appointed one and am proceeding to carry out the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’

“He proceeded further and Sa‘d and ‘Utba lost their mount and stayed behind to find it. Ibn Jaḥsh and his companions went on and encamped in the Nakhlah valley. There they found al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, al-Mughīra b. Uḥmān and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mughīra.” His account then related how Wāqīd killed ‘Amr b. al-Ḥadrāmī and how they went back with the booty and the two prisoners. This was the first booty taken by the Muslims. The polytheists said, “Muḥammad claims that he obeys God. Yet it is he who makes killing lawful in the holy month, having killed our man in Rajab.” The Muslims responded that it was in Jumādā that they had killed him.”
Al-Suddi stated, “Their killing of him occurred in the first night of Rajab, and the last night of Jumādā al-Ākhira.”

I observe, that perhaps Jumādā was yet unfinished, and they believed the month would last through the 30th night. The new moon however, was seen that night. But God knows best.

Al-ʾAwfi related it thus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that it occurred on the last night of Jumādā, which was also the first of Rajab, but they were not aware of this.

This is also given above in the hadith of Jandab that was related by Ibn Abī Ḥātim.

In the account of Ibn Ishq previously given it is stated that that was the last night of Rajab, and that they feared that if they did not take the booty and seize the opportunity the polytheists would go on into the holy territory and they would then be unable to proceed; they therefore acted in full knowledge of it.

The account of al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, is similar. Al-Bayhaqi related it too. But God alone knows which version is correct.

Al-Zuhri quoted ʿUrwa as saying, “We have been informed that the Messenger of God (SAAS) paid the blood-money for Ibn al-Ḥadrāmī and recognized the sacred nature of the holy month as he always had until God sent down his exemption.” Al-Bayhaqi related this.

Ibn Ishq stated, “Abū Bakr ‘the Trusting’ spoke verses about the raid led by ʿAbd Allāh b. Jahsh in response to the polytheists and the charges they had made about making killing permissible in the holy month.” Ibn Hishām, however, attributed these verses to ʿAbd Allāh b. Jahsh.

“You consider killing in the holy month as a grave matter, but there are graver matters to those who view aright:

(like) Your rejection of what Muḥammad says and your disbelief in him, and God sees and knows all.
And your expelling its people from God’s temple so that no one may be seen there prostrating before Him,
Even though you blame us for killing him, more damaging to Islam is the evil-doer and the envier.
We slaked our lances on Ibn al-Ḥadrāmī at Nakhlah when Wāqiq set war alight in blood.
While Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Uthmān is among us restrained by a strong leather strap.”

Section: Concerning the change in the prayer direction in 2 AH before the battle of Badr.

Some authorities maintain that this occurred in Rajab of the second year of the hegira. Qatāda and Zayd b. Aslam stated this, in a tradition related from Muḥammad b. Ishq.
Ahmad related, from Ibn ‘Abbās, evidence supporting this and that is what is clearly implied by the account of al-Barā‘ b. ‘Āzib, as will be shown. But God knows best. It is also said to date from Sha‘bān in that year.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, after his account of the raid conducted by ‘Abd Allāh b. Jahsh, “It is said that the change in the direction of the prayer occurred in Sha‘bān, at the beginning of the 18th month following the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina.”

Ibn Jarir related this through al-Suddi with a chain of authorities from Ibn ‘Abbās, Ibn Maṣ‘ūd and various Companions.

The great majority of scholars maintain that it was changed in fact in the middle of Sha‘bān, at the start of the 18th month following the hegira.

It was also related from Muḥammad b. Sa‘d, on the authority of al-Wāqidi to the effect that it was changed on a Tuesday in mid-Sha‘bān, though there is some dispute about this. God knows best.

We argued against this, with evidence, in the Tafsīr (Exegesis) regarding the words of the Almighty, “We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a qibla that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque; wherever you may be, turn your face towards it. Those to whom the Book has been brought know that it is the truth from their Lord. And God is not unaware of what they do” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.144).

(My commentary also examines) the objections made both before and after the change by foolish Jews, hypocrites and low-down ignorant people, and their criticisms were because this was the first abrogation that occurred in Islam.

Regarding this, God had previously stated in the course of the Qur‘ān the permissibility of making abrogation. He had stated, “Whatsoever verse we may cancel or cause to be forgotten we replace with one better or similar. Do you not know that God is capable of all things?” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; 11, v.106).

Al-Bukhārī had stated, “Abū Nu‘aym related to us, (that he had) heard Zuhayr (say) from Aba Ishq, from al-Barā‘, who said that the Prophet (SAAS) prayed towards Jerusalem for 16 or 17 months, though it would have pleased him to have faced towards the ka‘ba. He also said that the first time he worshipped towards it was during the al-qaṣr (late afternoon) prayer. Others were praying along with him at that time. Afterwards a man who had been with him there passed by some people in a mosque prostrated in prayer. He told them, ‘I swear by God, I have prayed with the Prophet (SAAS) in the direction of Mecca.’ They turned right then and there towards the ka‘ba. We didn’t know what to say about people who had died or been killed before the direction for prayer was changed. And so God sent down, ‘God is not one to consider your prayer as valueless; God is merciful and kind towards people’” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143).

Muslim related this from another path.

God (SAAS) had been praying towards Jerusalem for 16 or 17 months though he wanted to face towards the ka'ba. And so God sent down, “We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a qibla that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.144). And so he did face towards the ka'ba.

“The foolish people – the Jews – asked ‘What could it be that turned them from the prayer direction they had previously?’ And so God sent down the verse, ‘Say: To God belong both East and West; he guides whomever He wishes to the straight path’” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.142).

In short, the Messenger of God (SAAS) used to pray in Mecca towards Jerusalem, while the ka'ba was directly in front of him, so Imām Aḥmad related from Ibn ʿAbbas, God be pleased with him. And when he emigrated to Medina it was not possible for him to combine both and so he prayed towards Jerusalem immediately after his arrival there, keeping his back directed to the ka'ba for 16 or 17 months. This would require it to have been until Rajab of 2 AH. But God knows best.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) wanted to change his prayer direction towards the ka'ba, the qibla of Abraham, and often prayed and entreated God, Almighty and Glorious is He, to allow this. In doing so, he would raise his hands and sight to the sky in supplication. And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the words, “We see you turning your face about in the sky and we shall provide you with a qibla that will please you. Turn your face towards the Sacred Mosque.”

When the order came down to change the direction of prayer, the Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address to the Muslims and told them of this, as al-Nasāʿī related, from Abū Saʿīd b. al-Muʿāwila, and this was at noon. Some scholars say that the change was revealed between two prayers. Mujahid and others stated this.

This is substantiated by what is given in both sahih collections from al-Barāʾ. Namely, that the first prayer he made in Medina towards the ka'ba was that of al-ḥārām.

It is strange that the people of Qubāʾ did not hear of this until the early morning prayer of the next day, as is established in the sahih collections, from Ibn ʿUmar. He stated, “While the people in Qubāʾ were at the morning prayer someone came to them and said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) has received tonight a Qurʾān revelation! He has been ordered to face the ka'ba in prayer, so you must too.’ They had been facing towards Syria, but they now turned towards the ka'ba.”

In the sahih collection of Muslim, from Anas b. Malik there is a similar account.

What is shown here is that when the change in the direction of the prayer to the ka'ba was decreed, and God Almighty abrogated the direction of prayer towards Jerusalem, various fools and ignorant people made criticisms, asking “What was it that turned them away from the direction of prayer they had before?”
They said this even though the unbelieving “People of the Book”\footnote{The term commonly applied to members of religions based upon Holy Books, most specifically to Jews and Christians.} well knew that the order came from God, since they recognized the Messenger of God (SAAS) from the description of him given in their books, from the information there that Medina would be the place to which he would emigrate, and also that he would be ordered to face towards the ka‘ba in his prayer. As God stated, “Those to whom the Book was brought know well that it is the truth from their Lord” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.144).

Despite all this, God Almighty responded to their question and mentioned them specifically when He stated, “The fools will ask, ‘What was it that turned them away from the direction of prayer they had before?’ ‘Say: To God belong both East and West; He guides whomever He wishes to the straight path’” (sūrat al-Baqara, II, v.142). That is, He is the Lord, the Judge and Ruler of the Universe, whose decree no one can revise, He who does as He wishes with His creation, He who decrees whatever He wishes in His law, He who leads whomever He wishes to the straight path, misleading whomever He wishes away from the right road; in all that, His is the wisdom to which all must agree and accept.

Then the Almighty stated, “And thus We have made you an intermediate nation” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143). That is, the best “so that you may be witnesses to the people and have the Messenger be witness for you” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143). That is, just as We have chosen for you the best of directions for your prayer, having led you to the qibla of your father Abraham, father of the prophets, to which thereafter Moses and those messengers before him also turned. Likewise We have made you the best of nations, the very essence of the world, the most noble of all groups, the most honourable of the ancient and the high-born, so that you may be witnesses on Judgement Day against those who have combined against you, and so that they may give testimony on that day to your great virtue.

This is so substantiated in an account in the sahih collection of al-Bukhari, from Abū Sa‘īd, referring to Noah’s testimony to this nation on Judgement Day. And if Noah should testify for them despite the fact of his own time having been so much before, then it is even more appropriate and proper a course for those after him.

God then mentioned His wisdom in sending his retribution to those who doubted and denied this reality, and His pleasure to those who believed and accepted this actuality. He said, “And We decreed the qibla you used to observe only to know who it is who follows the Messenger” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143).

Ibn ‘Abbās commented, “That is, only to see those who follow the Messenger, and those who turn back upon their heels.”

\footnote{A term denoting a tradition traceable in ascending order of traditionaries directly to the Prophet.}
And "even though this was a grave matter" (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143). That is, even though this matter was difficult and of great impact and importance, except for those guided by God. For they had full faith and belief in it, and were without doubt or uncertainty, but rather were satisfied, had faith and took action, for they were obedient to the Great Ruler, the Mighty and All-Powerful, the Patient and All-Knowing, the Gracious and Omniscient.

And God's words, "God is not one to consider your prayer as valueless" (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143). That is, by His decision regarding facing towards Jerusalem and prayer towards it, (for) "God is merciful and kind towards people" (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143).

The accounts and proofs of this are very numerous and would take long to enumerate; this issue is examined in the exegesis and we will include additional comments thereupon in our work al-Ahkām al-Kabīr (The Major Statutes).

Imām Ahmad recounted quoting Āli b. Āśim, quoting Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, from 'Amr b. Qays, from Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath, from 'A'isha, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, in regards to the 'People of the Book', that is, 'They envy us for nothing so much as for our Friday to which God led us, but they erred from it, the qibla that God guided us to while they strayed, and our saying "Amen" after the Imām.'"

Section: On the institution of the fasting month of Ramadān in 2 AH, before the battle of Badr.

Ibn Jarīr stated, "It was in that year that fasting for the month of Ramadān was made obligatory. It is also said that it was declared obligatory in Sha'bān of that year. It is related, moreover, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Medina, he found that the Jews were fasting for the day of ʿAshūrā. He asked them about it and they told him, 'This was the day when God rescued Moses.' He replied, 'But we have a greater claim to Moses than you do!' So he fasted it and told his people to do so too.'"

This ḥadīth is firmly substantiated in both sahih collections from Ibn ʿAbbās.

God Almighty stated, "O believers, fasting has been prescribed for you as it was for those who preceded you, so that you may be properly pious. (It shall be) for a specific number of days. Those of you who are ill or travelling (shall fast) a different number of days. And those with the means to do so may redeem this by feeding a poor person. And whoever does more good than he is bound to do does good unto himself thereby; for you to fast is better for you, if only you knew it. It was the month of Ramadān in which the Qurʿān was revealed, as a guidance to man, and as clear proof of guidance and of the differentiation (between good and evil). Whoever of you are present that month, let them fast it; whoever is sick or travelling should fast a (like) number of other days" (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.183–5).
We have written at sufficient length on this in the Tafsir (Exegesis), giving those \textit{\textit{ahadith}} and related evidences relevant to it, along with the regulations arising therefrom. And all praise be to God.

Imām Ahmad has stated, “Abū al-Naḍr related to us, quoting al-Mas'ūdī, quoting Amr b. Murra from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā, from Mu'ādh b. Jabal, who said, ‘The prayer underwent three changes and fasting underwent three changes.’ He referred to those respecting prayer, then went on, ‘Regarding the changes in fasting, when the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to Medina, he began fasting three days each month, and he also fasted 'Ashūrā.

‘Then God made fasting incumbent upon him and sent down the words, “O believers, fasting has been prescribed for you as it was for those who preceded you” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.183), and so on to the words, “And those with the means to do so may redeem this by feeding a poor person” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.184). As a result, those who wished to fast did so, while those who preferred to feed a poor person did so, and that was considered sufficient for them. Then God sent down another verse, “the month of Ramaḍān in which the Qur'ān was revealed” up to the words “whoever of you are present that month, let them fast it” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.185). This firmly prescribed fasting for those who were at home and healthy, and exempted those who were sick or travelling. It also established that the elderly unable to fast should be fed. These, then, were two changes.’

(Mu'ādh b. Jabal) then said “Thereafter people would eat, drink and go to their women before retiring to bed; after retiring for sleep they would refrain from these. One Helper, however, a man named Şirma, once fasted while working until evening, went home to his family, performed the evening prayer and then retired without eating or drinking before the next morning, when he again began fasting. The Messenger of God (SAAS) saw him under great strain and so he asked him, ‘How is it I see you under such great stress?’ So he informed him.

He went on, “Umar was in the habit of having sexual relations even after he had slept a while and he came to the Messenger of God and told him this. And so God sent down, ‘It is lawful for you to visit your wives on the night of the fast; they are as apparel for you’ and so on, to the words, ‘and then complete the fast till the night’ (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.187).”

Abū Da'ūd related this in his work, \textit{Al-Sunan al-Mustadrak}, as did al-Ḥakim in his \textit{Al-Mustadrak} quoting a hadith of al-Mas'ūdī in similar terms.

In both saḥīh collections there is a hadith of al-Zuhri from 'Urwa which quotes 'A'isha as saying, “'Ashūrā was fasted until fasting in Ramaḍān was made obligatory. Thereafter, those who wished to continue with the fast (of 'Ashūrā) did so, while those who wished not to refrained.” A similar account is given by al-Bukhārī from Ibn 'Umar and Ibn Mas'ūd.”

This subject is examined in another section of the exegesis as well as in my work \textit{Al-Ahkām al-Kabīr} (\textit{The Major Statutes}). God is the source of all aid.
Ihn Jarir stated, “In that year people were commanded to give the zakāt al-fitr.\textsuperscript{55} It is said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) addressed the people ordering this a day or two before the ʿid al-fitr”.\textsuperscript{56}

He also stated, “In that same year the Messenger of God (SAAS) said the salāt al-ʿid prayers for the first time and conducted the people to the musalla.\textsuperscript{57} They set out in front of him carrying the ḥarba, a spearhead, that had belonged to Zubayr to whom it had been presented by the Negus. It would be carried forth before the Messenger of God (SAAS) on feast days.”

I comment, and it was this year too, as several later authorities have reported, that the payment of zakāt alms was prescribed. Details of all this will be given following the account of the battle of Badr, if God wills it, and in Him is all confidence and reliance. And there is no power nor strength except in God, the All-High and Almighty.


God Almighty stated, “God gave you assistance at Badr when you were weak; fear God then, and may you give Him thanks” (sūrat al-ʾImran; III, v.123). He also said, “Even as your Lord sent you forth from your house with the truth, a faction of the believers were indeed reluctant. They disputed with you over the truth even after it had become clear, as if being led to death while they watched. And (remember) when God promised you that one of the two parties would be yours, and you wished that, for you, it would be the one that was unarmed, but God wished to fulfill the truth by His words and wipe the unbelievers out to the last. This was to fulfill the truth and to nullify falsehood, even if the evil-doers disliked this” (sūrat al-ʾAnfāl; VIII, v.5–8).

We have discussed this in our exegesis of this sūrat. Here we will give reference appropriate to each passage.

Ibn Isḥāq, God bless him, stated, after giving his account of the expedition led by ʿAbd Allah b. Jahsh: “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then heard that Abū Suḥayn Ṣakhir b. Ḥarb was arriving from Syria with a great Quraysh caravan consisting of money and goods, as well as 30 or 40 men, who included Makhrama b. Nawfāl and ʿAmr b. al-Šā."

Mūsā b. Ṣuqba stated, from al-Zuhri, that this was two months after the killing of Ibn al-Ḥadramī. He also said that the caravan consisting of 1,000 camels carried property belonging to all of Quraysh except for Huwaytīb b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza, and that this was why he was not present at Badr.

\textsuperscript{55} An obligatory donation given annually during the month of Ramādān.
\textsuperscript{56} The feast marking the end of the fasting of Ramādān.
\textsuperscript{57} A building or area set aside solely for prayer.
Ibn Ishaq went on, “Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb, Āsim b. ʿUmar b. Qatada, ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and Yazid b. Rūmān related to me from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr and others of our scholars, from Ibn ʿAbbās, each of these having related to me a part of this hadith which I have joined together in the following account about Badr. They said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard that Abū Sufyān was arriving from Syria, he sent the Muslims out against them, saying, ‘This caravan belongs to Quraysh, and will carry much wealth. Attack it; God may present it to you.’

“The men got ready, some pleased, others apprehensive because they had not thought the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would make war. When Abū Sufyān approached Hijāz he sought information from each mounted man he encountered since he was concerned what might develop. Eventually he received news from some travellers that Muhammad had readied a force of men against him and his caravan. This alarmed Abū Sufyān and he commissioned ʿAmr al-Ghifārī, sending him on to Mecca with orders to go to Quraysh and get them to prepare for battle to save their property, by telling them that Muḥammad and his men were about to attack it. ʿAmr raced into Mecca to do so.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “An unimpeachable source related to me, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās and Yazid b. Rūmān related to me from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr as follows: ʿAtika, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had, three nights prior to the arrival of ʿAmr, a dream that had terrified her. She sent for her brother ʿAl-Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and told him, ‘Last night, brother, I swear I had a vision that really scared me. I’m concerned that because of it some harm might come to you or your people, so please keep confidential for me what I’m about to tell you.’

“What was it you saw?” he asked.

“She replied, ‘I saw a man arrive mounted on a camel who came to a halt in the valley then shouted out at the top of his voice, “Come forth to your deaths in three days hence, you people of perfidy!” I saw people gather around him. He then entered the mosque, with the people following. While they were there around him, his camel took him to the top of the ʿkaʿba. Once there he called out as before: “Come forth to your deaths in three days, you people of perfidy!” His camel next took him up to the top of Mt. Abū Quḥays where he shouted the same. Then he picked up a rock, flung it away and it came on down, bursting into fragments when it reached the bottom of the mountain. And no one house or building in Mecca escaped being pierced by one of its fragments.’

“ʿAl-Ḥabīb told her, ‘That was some vision! Keep quiet about it. Don’t tell anyone!’

“ʿAl-Ḥabīb then went off and met with al-Walīd b. Utba, who was a friend of his, told him of it and asked him to keep it confidential. Thereafter al-Walīd told it to his son Utba, and so soon the story was spread all about and all Quraysh were discussing it.

“ʿAl-Ḥabīb said, ‘I arose early to circumambulate the ʿkaʿba and there was Abū Jahl b. Hishām sitting with a group of Quraysh leaders discussing ʿAtika’s...
When Abū Jahl saw me, he said, “Abū al-Faḍl, why don’t you come and join us when you finish your circumambulation?” When I had finished I went over to him and sat down among them. Abū Jahl then asked me, “How long has your family of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib had this prophetess?” “How do you mean?” I asked. “I’m talking about the visions ʿĀṭika saw,” he replied. “What were they?” I enquired. He responded, “Aren’t you ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib’s satisfied with having your men become prophets? Has it got to be your women too? ʿĀṭika claims that in her vision a man said, ‘Come forth in three days!’ We’re going to watch you closely for these three days and if what you say is true, so be it. But if three days pass with nothing happening, then we’ll judge you the biggest liars of all the temple-worshippers among the Arabs!”

“Al-ʿAbbās commented, ‘I swear, I’ve never had any problem with him before. All I did was repudiate what he said and deny that she had seen anything.’

“He went on, ‘We then parted company. That night every woman of the ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib clan came to see me and said, “Have you agreed to let that dirty old reprobate attack first your men and then your womenfolk while you just listened? Didn’t anything you heard him say offend you?” I replied, “I would have done something, but I never had a problem with him before. I swear I will confront him and if he repeats it, I’ll take care of him for you!”’

“He went on, ‘On the morning of the third day after ʿĀṭika’s vision, I was extremely angry, feeling I had let him get away with something I should have put a stop to. I went into the mosque and saw him. I swear I was making towards him to confront him to get him to retract what he had said – he was a slight man, with a face, voice and gaze that were all sharp – when he hurried off towards the door of the mosque. I asked myself what could be the matter with the fellow, and whether he was doing this because he feared I was about to confront him. But he had heard something I had not – the voice of Damdām b. ʿAmr al-Ghifāfī who was out in the centre of the valley, standing by his camel. He had lopped its ears and turned its saddle back to front, rent his shin and was yelling, “O Quraysh! The baggage camels! The baggage camels! Your goods being brought by Aḥa Suṭyān have been waylaid by Muḥammad and his men! I don’t think you can save them! Help! Help!”

“Ibn ʿAbbās concluded, ‘And so all this diverted us both from our personal conflict.

“The Meccans then made quick preparations commenting, “Do Muḥammad and his men think it’s going to turn out as it did with the raid on the caravan of Ibn al-Ḥadrami? No way! By God, they’ll find out differently!”’

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related the vision of ʿĀṭika in much the same terms as did Ibn Ishaq. He stated, “And when Damdām b. ʿAmr spoke in this fashion the Meccans were very worried about ʿĀṭika’s vision and went forth to battle feeling insecure and fearing the worst.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Meccans used to respond in two ways. They either went forth themselves or sent another in their place. Not one of their leaders
stayed behind now, except for Abū Lahab b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; he sent al-ʿĀṣī b. al-Mughira in his place. He hired him for a debt of 4,000 dirhams al-ʿĀṣī owed him that he could not pay.”

Ibn ʿIshāq stated, “Ibn Abū Najīḥ related to me that Umayya b. Khalaf had made up his mind to stay behind; he was a dignified old sheikh, tall and portly. ʿUqba b. Abū Muʿayyāt came up to him, while he was sitting there in the mosque with some of his family, carrying a censer with lit scented embers which he placed before him, saying, ‘Here, Abū ʿĀli, enjoy the perfume! You’re just a woman!’

“Umayya responded, ‘God damn you, and what you bring!’ He then got himself ready and left with the others.”

This, then, is the anecdote as given by Ibn ʿIshāq. Al-Bukhārī told it quite differently. He stated, “ʿAmmād b. ʿUṭmān related to me, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting ʿIbrahīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū ʿIshāq quoting ʿAmr b. Maymūn, that he heard ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd relate the following from Saʿd b. Muʿṭādh. Saʿd recounted that he was a friend of Umayya b. Khalaf and that when Umayya visited Medina he would stay with him, just as Saʿd would stay with Umayya when he came to Mecca.

“After the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) had moved to Medina, Saʿd went to stay with Umayya in Mecca while performing the ṣumra, the ‘lesser pilgrimage’. Saʿd asked Umayya, ‘Would you look out for me some time when it’s empty there and I can circumambulate the kaʿba?’ Umayya accompanied him forth at close to midday, but they were met by Abī Jahl, who said, ‘(Abī) Ṣafwān, who is this with you?’ He replied, ‘This is Saʿd.’ Abī Jahl said (to Saʿd) ‘What’s this? Do I really see you going in safety around Mecca when you’ve given shelter to the Sabians and proclaimed your help and protection for them? I swear, if you weren’t in the company of Abī Ṣafwān you’d not return home safely!’

“Saʿd replied, raising his voice, ‘If you were to block my way here I’d do worse to you by blocking yours to Medina!’

“Umayya asked him, ‘Saʿd, don’t raise your voice to Abū Ṣafwān; he is the leader of our valley.’

“Saʿd responded, ‘Let’s talk no more of it; and, I swear, I’ve heard the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) say that they are going to kill you!’ Umayya asked, ‘In Mecca?’ Saʿd replied, ‘I don’t know.’

“Umayya was very much afraid at this.

“When he returned home he asked his wife, ‘Umm Ṣafwān, do you know what Saʿd told me?’ ‘What did he say?’ she asked. ‘He claims that Muḥammad told them they would kill me! I asked him whether in Mecca, and he said he didn’t know. So, I swear, I’m not leaving Mecca,’ Umayya told her.

“When the day of the battle of Badr arrived, Abū Jahl assembled the Meccan force by asking them to save their caravan. Umayya did not want to go to battle, but Abū Jahl came to him and said, ‘Abū Ṣafwān, when people see that you are staying behind, you, one of the valley leaders, they will remain with you.’
“Abū Jahl kept on at him until Umayya responded, ‘You win! I’ll purchase the finest camel in Mecca!’

“He then told his wife, ‘Umm Šafwān, get my equipment ready!’ ‘But have you forgotten what your Yathrib friend told you?’ ‘No,’ he replied, ‘I only want to go a little way with them.’

“After leaving, Umayya tied up his camel at every stop they made, right on up to Badr, where God took his life.”

Al-Bukhārī also told this elsewhere, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrā’īl, from Abū Ishaq, that account being similar.

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this.

Imām Aḥmad related it from Khalaf b. al-Walid, from Abū Saʿīd, both of them quoting Isrā’īl. In Isrāʿīl’s account Umayya’s wife commented, “I swear, Muḥammad never lies.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When they had gathered their equipment and were assembled to depart, Quraysh remembered the dispute they had with the Bānū Bakr b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kīnānā. They expressed fear that they might attack their rear. This quarrel related to a son of Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf of the Bānū Āmir b. Lūqayy who had been killed by a man of the Banū Bakr, on the orders of Āmir b. Yazīd b. Āmir b. al-Mulāwwaḥ. His brother Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ took revenge for him, killing Āmir by plunging his sword into his stomach.

“He then brought the sword by night and hung it up in the curtains of the kaʿba. Quraysh therefore feared the Bānū Bakr for what had occurred between them.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, ‘When Quraysh were ready to leave they remembered their problem with the Banū Bakr and that almost diverted them. But Iblīs, Satan, appeared to them in the form of Suraqa b. Mālik b. Juʿsham al-Mudliji, one of the nobles of the Banū Kīnānā. He told them, “I will give you protection against Kīnānā attacking you from your rear.” They therefore hurried away to battle.’”

I observe that this illustrates the words of the Almighty, “Do not be like those who left their homes exulting and showing off before men, blocking people from the way of God, for God was aware of what they were doing. And when the devil made their works look good to them, he said, ‘No one will overcome you today; I will be your protector.’ But when the two factions met he turned on his heels, saying, ‘I am quit of you; I see what you do not see. I fear God! God is fierce in punishing.’” *(sūrat al-ʿAnfāl; VIII, v.47–8).*

He, God curse him, deceived them, so that they left, with him following behind them, stage by stage, bringing his troops and his banners with him, as several of them reported. And so he delivered them to their deaths. When he saw the strife, and the angels coming down to help and sighted Gabriel, he turned on his heels and said, “I am quit of you; I see what you do not see. I fear God!”
This is similar to the words of God Almighty, “like the devil, when he says to man, ‘Disbelieve!’ and when man disbelieves, he says, ‘I am quit of you; I fear God, the Lord of the worlds’” (sūrat al-Hashr; LIX, v.16).

And God Almighty said, “And say: ‘The truth has come; and falsehood has vanished; falsehood is ever bound to vanish’” (sūrat Banū Isrā‘îl or al-Isrā‘; XVII, v.81).

And so when Satan, God damn him, on that day saw the angels descend to give victory, he fled. He was the first to flee, though he had been the chief encourager and helper of Quraysh, deceiving them and making them false promises. Satan’s promises were only to mislead.

Yūnūs stated, quoting Ibn Ishaq, “Quraysh went forth with a sense of anxiety and weakness. They consisted of 950 warriors led by 200 cavalry. They had slave girls with them striking tambourines and chanting invective against the Muslims.”

He lists day by day those providing food for the Quraysh force.

Al-Umawi stated, “The first person to slaughter for them following their departure from Mecca was Abū Jahl. He slaughtered ten camels. At ʾAsfān Umayya b. Khalaf slaughtered nine, and Suhayl b. ʿAmr ten more at Qadid. At Qadid they turned off to the wells in the direction of the sea coast and remained a day there. Shayba b. Rabī‘a slaughtered nine more for them. Next morning they reached al-Juḥfa, where ʿUtba b. Rabī‘a slaughtered ten and the next morning, at al-Abwā‘, Nubih and Munbih, two sons of al-Ḥajjāj slaughtered ten. Next, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib slaughtered ten, and Abū al-Bakhtari ten more at the well at Badr. They then ate from their provisions.”

Al-Umawi stated, “My father related to us, quoting Abū Bakr al-Hudhali, as follows, ‘The polytheists had with them 60 horses and 600 coats of mail, while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had with him 2 horses and 60 coats of mail.

This, then, was how they left Mecca and moved towards Badr.

Regarding the activities of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out with his men several days after the start of Ramadān. He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm to lead the people in prayer and he sent back Abū Lubāba from al-Rawḥā‘ to administer Medina.

“He entrusted the banner, which was white, to Muṣāb b. ʿUmeyr, while he was preceded by two black flags one, called al-ʿUqāb, the standard, carried by ʿAli b. Abū Ṭālib, the other borne by one of the Helpers.”

Ibn Hisham stated that the Helpers’ flag was carried by Saʿd b. Muṭṭah. Al-Umawi said it was with al-Khabbab b. al-Mundhir.

Ibn Ishaq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Qays b. Abū Ṣaṣṣa‘a, a brother of the Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār, over the rear guard.”

Al-Umawi said that they had two horses, on one of which rode Muṣāb b. ʿUmayr, and on the other al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. Saʿd b. Khaythama had charge of the right flank, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad that of the left.
Imām Ahmad recounted, from a hadīth of Abū Isḥāq, from Ḥāритha b. Maḍrah, who quoted ʿAli as saying, “The only horseman we had at Badr was al-Miqdād.”

Al-Bayhaqi related, through Ibn Wahb, from Abū Sakhb, from Abū Muʿāwiya al-Balkhi, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that ʿAli told him, “We only had two horses with us — that of al-Zubayr and that of al-Miqdād b. al-Aswād.” He was referring to the battle of Badr.

Al-Ūmawi stated, “My father related to us, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khaṭīb, from al-Taymi, who said, ‘At the battle of Badr the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had with him two horsemen, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām on the right flank, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswād on the left.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “They had with them 70 camels they would ride in turn. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shared one with ʿAli and Marthad b. Abū Marthad, while Ḥamza and Zayd b. Ḥāритha, along with Abū Kabsha and Anīs, two freedmen of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took turns with another.”

This is what Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, may God Almighty have mercy on him.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Affān related to us, from Ḥammād b. Salama, ʿAṣīm b. Bahdala related to us, from Zīr r b. Ḥubaysh, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, ‘At Badr we were three to a camel. Abū Lubāba and ʿAli were the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ He also said, “They were the ones taking turns riding with him, and they told him, “Let us walk.” He replied, “You are no stronger than me; nor can I dispense with the reward more than you can.””

Al-Nasāʾī recounted this, from al-Fallās, from Ibn Mahdī, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

I would comment that this might have been before Abū Lubāba was sent back from al-Rawḥān, and that it was thereafter that he shared with ʿAlī and Marthad instead of Abū Lubāba. But God knows best.

The Imām Ahmad stated, “Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to us, quoting Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Zurāra b. Abū Awwā, from Saʿīd b. Hishām, from ʿAṭīsha, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the bells be cut off the necks of the camels at the battle of Badr.”

This line of transmission accords with the criteria of both saḥīḥ collections. However, al-Nasāʾī recounted it from Abū al-ʾAṣwāṭ, from Khalīd b. al-Ḥāритha, from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda.

Our teacher, the ḥāфиз Sheikh al-Mizzi, stated in al-ʾAṭrāf (The Extremes): “It was Saʿīd b. Bishr who quoted directly from Qatāda. And also Hishām gave it from Qatāda, from Zurāra, from Abū Hurayra.” But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb as reporting, “I heard Kaʿb b. Mālik say, ‘The only expedition in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) participated, that I did not attend, except for the raid on Tabūk, was the battle of Badr. And God did not reproach anyone who stayed behind from it. Because when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth on it he was heading for the Quraysh
caravan; God, however, brought the Muslims into contact with their enemies unexpectedly.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made his way out towards Mecca via the upper part of Medina. His path then led by al-‘Aqiq, Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and Ulāt al-Jaysh. From there he passed by Turbān, Malal, Ghamīs al-Ḥamām, Sukhayrāt al-Yamāma, al-Sayyāla, Fajj al-Rawḥā and Shunūka, this being the direct route.

“Arriving at ‘Irq al-Zabiyya he met a bedouin. They asked him about other people, but received no news from him. The Muslims told him, ‘Pay your respects to the Messenger of God! (SAAS).’ The man asked, ‘Do you have the Messenger of God (SAAS) among you?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. The man then did greet him, but asked, ‘If you’re the Messenger of God, then tell me what is inside the belly of this female camel of mine.’ Salama b. Salaria b. Waqsh responded, ‘Don’t you put questions to the Messenger of God! (SAAS). Come on over to me, and I’ll tell you that. You mounted her and so she has a little goat inside her belly from you!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘You’ve used obscene language to the man!’ He then turned away from Salama.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) made a halt at Sajsaj, where there is the well of al-Rawḥā, and proceeded on to al-Munṣaraf, where he left the Mecca road which goes to the left and took that to the right, towards al-Nāziyya, heading for Badr. He continued on this path for some way, crossing a valley called Ruḥqān, between al-Nāziyya and the al-Šafrah pass. He crossed through the pass, then emerged from it and continued to near al-Šafrah. From there he sent Basbas b. ‘Amr al-Juḥani, an ally of the Banū Sāida, and ‘Adi b. Abū al-Zaghba, an ally of the Banū al-Najjar, on to Badr to seek any news of Abū Sufyān Ṣakhir b. Ḥarb and his caravan.”

Mūsā b. Uqba stated that he had dispatched them both before he left Medina and that when they returned and reported on the status of the caravan, he sent people ahead to it.

If what both Mūsā b. Uqba and Ibn Ishaq stated is correct, then he sent them forward twice. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq, God bless him, went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded ahead and approached al-Šafrah, a village set between two mountains. He asked what were the names of the two mountains and was told that one was called Muslih and the other Mukhrī. He then asked about the people living on them and they were named as the Banū al-Nār and the Banū Ḥurāq, two sub-tribes of Ghifār. The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not like these names, thinking them an ill-omen, and so he left them and al-Šafrah to his left, making his way along a valley called Dhafirān. Having gone through it, he made camp.”

58. The words muslih and mukhrī can both be interpreted as “he who defecates”; al-nār means fire, and ḥurāq means conflagration.
Ibn Ishaq continued, “There he received the news that Quraysh had set out to protect their caravan.

“He told his men about this, and asked their opinion.

“Abū Bakr arose and spoke, giving good advice.

“Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb arose and spoke, giving good advice.

“Al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr then got up and said, ‘Carry on as ever God tells you, O Messenger of God. We are with you. We will certainly not say to you what the people of Israel said to Moses — that is, ‘You and your Lord go and fight together; we are staying here!’ Rather, (we say) you and your Lord go and fight together, and we will fight along with you! By Him who sent you with the truth, if you were to take us even to Bark al-Ghimād, we would fight with you all over the place until you reached it!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed his appreciation and blessed him. He then said, ‘Now you advise me, men!’ He was really addressing the Helpers, because they were the majority and because, when they had given him allegiance at al-ʿAqaba they had told him, ‘We are free of responsibility for you until you reach our territory. When you join us, you will be under our protection, and we will then protect you as we do our own sons and women.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was therefore apprehensive that they would feel obliged to help him only against those enemies attacking him in Medina, and that they had no duty to proceed against an enemy beyond their lands.

“When he said this, Saʿd b. Muʿādh responded, ‘Is it us you are asking, O Messenger of God?’ When he said that it was, Saʿd affirmed, ‘We do believe in you and bear witness that you bring the truth. We have given you our oaths and agreement to listen to and to obey all your commands. Proceed as ever you decide, for we are with you. I swear, if you were to plunge into the sea, we would do so with you, not one of us would remain behind. We would have no reluctance to accompany you in confronting our enemy tomorrow. We are stoic in battle, trustworthy in the fray. Let us hope that God will give you pleasure in us. Go forward with God’s blessings!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was delighted with Saʿd’s words and they spurred him on. He then said, ‘Go forward in good spirits! God has promised me I shall take one of the two parties. I swear by God I feel I can already see their destruction!’

This was how Ibn Ishaq, God have mercy on him, related it. And there are various testimonies to it.

One such is what al-Bukhārī related in his sahih collection. He stated that, “Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Israḥil, from Mukhāriq, from Ṭariq b. Shihāb, who quoted Ibn Masʿūd as having said, ‘I witnessed a scene involving al-Miqdād b. al-ʿAswad such as to make me more his friend than I would have

59. Apparently the reference is to a place some five days’ journey away from Mecca towards Yemen; presumably the name is used to imply a distant and inaccessible place.
been from what was reported of him. He went to the Prophet (SAAS) while he was praying against the polytheists. Al-Miqdād said, "We will not say as Mūsā’s people did to him, ‘You go off with your Lord and fight along with Him; we’re staying here!’ Instead, we will fight on your right and your left, and in front of you and behind you’.”

“(Ibn Mas‘ūd went on) ‘At that I saw the face of the Prophet (SAAS) light up in delight.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gave this; Muslim did not. The former related it several places in the ṣaḥīḥ collection, from a ḥadīth of Mukhrāq. Al-Nasā‘ī also recounted it from his ḥadīth; his version states, “At the battle of Badr, Miqdād rode a horse.” He then related it.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Wbāyda related it to us, he being the son of Humayd, from Humayd al-Tawil, from Anas, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) sought advice concerning going to battle at Badr. First Abū Bakr gave him advice and again he sought it from all. Then ‘Umar gave him advice and again he sought it. One of the Helpers observed, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) wants your advice, O Helpers.’

“One of them said, ‘Well, O Messenger of God, we’ll not speak as the people of Israel did to Moses, that is, “Go off with your Lord and fight; we’re staying here!” If you were to race all the way to Bark al-Ghimād, we’d follow you!’”

Two-thirds of this chain of authorities meets the conditions for being considered ṣaḥīḥ, “authentic”.

Aḥmad also stated, “Affān related to us, quoting Hammād, from Thābit, from Anas b. Malik, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sought advice when he learned of the approach of Abī Sufyān. Abū Bakr spoke, and he turned away from him. Then ‘Umar spoke, and he turned away from him. Sa‘d b. Ubāda then said, ‘It’s to us the Messenger of God (SAAS) is wanting to respond. By Him in whose hand is my soul, if you were to order us to plunge into the sea we would do so. And if you told us to race all the way to Bark al-Ghimād we would do so.’

“And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) urged his men forward.

“They set off and reached Badr. People came to them with reports of Quraysh, and one of these was a black youth of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj whom they captured. The Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him about Abū Sufyān and those men with him. He would respond, ‘I have no knowledge of Abī Sufyān. But it was Abī Jahl b. Hisham, ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a and Umayya b, Khalaf.’ When he said this they beat him. When they did so, he would then say, ‘Yes, I will tell you! It was Abū Sufyān.’ When they let him go and asked him, he said, ‘I have no knowledge of Abī Sufyān. But it was Abī Jahl, ‘Utba, Shayba and Umayya.’ When he said this too, they would beat him.

“Meanwhile the Messenger of God (SAAS) was standing there praying. When he saw this scene, he left, saying, ‘By Him who holds my soul in His hands, you beat him when he speaks the truth, and you leave him alone if he lies!’"
"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “This is the place where so and so shall fall. He then placed his hands on the ground here and here.” And no one effaced the place where the Messenger of God (SAAS) had placed his hand.’"

Muslim related this from Abū Bakr, from ʿAffān in a similar form.

Ibn Abū Hātim related in his Tafsīr (Exegesis), as did Ibn Mardawayh, and the wording is his, through ʿAbd Allah b. Lahīqa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Aslam, from Abū ʿImrān, who said he had heard Abū Ayyūb al-ʿAnṣārī say, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, while we were in Medina, ‘I have received information that Abū Sufyān’s caravan is approaching. Do you want us to go out against it in the hope that God will grant it to us as booty?’ We replied, ‘Yes.’

‘And so he went forth as did we too. When we had travelled for a day or two, he asked us, “What should we do about their force? They have been informed of our advance.” We replied, “No; we just don’t have the strength to do battle with them. We came seeking the caravan.”

‘Again he asked what we thought of engaging them in battle and we replied as before.’

‘Then al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr arose and said, “In such case we would not say to you what Moses’ people told him – that is, ‘You and your Lord can go off and fight; we’re staying here.’”

“We wished that our people, the “Helpers”, had spoken as al-Miqdād had done, preferring that to great wealth. And then God the Almighty and Glorious made revelation to His Messenger, with the words, “just as your Lord brought you forth from your house with the truth. A group of the believers are reluctant”’” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.5).

He then related the rest of the hadīth as above.

Ibn Mardawayh also related, through Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ al-Laythi, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to Badr and, having gone as far as al-Rawḥā, there he addressed his force. ‘What do you think?’ he asked them. Abū Bakr replied, ‘O Messenger of God, we have heard that they are so-on and so-forth.’ Again he asked them what they thought, and ʿUmar responded as Abū Bakr had done. But he asked a third time what they thought.

“Saʿd b. Muʿādh then asked him, ‘O Messenger of God, is it us you ask? By Him who honoured you and sent down the Book to you, I’ve never travelled this road before and so have no knowledge of it. But if you were to travel on to Bark al-Ghīmād, in Yemen, we’d accompany you. We’ll not be like those who told Moses, “Go off with your Lord and fight; we’re staying here.” Instead, you go off with your Lord and fight, and we will follow you. And if you proceeded for one purpose and God gave you another, then recognize what God has charged you with and proceed. Make or break with whomever you wish, make war or peace with whomever you wish, and take from our wealth whatever you wish.’”
There was a revelation in the Qur'an concerning Sa'd's words, "Just as your Lord brought you forth from your home with the truth. A group of the believers are reluctant" (sūrat al-‘Anfāl; VIII. v.5).

Al-Umawi related this in his work on the military expeditions and he added, after his words, "and take from our wealth whatever you wish" the phrase "and give us what you wish. And what you take from us will be dearer to us than what you have left. Whatever orders you give us we will follow completely. And, I swear, if you were to go on until you reached al-Bark of Ghamdān, we would go with you."

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled on from Dhafrān and traversed the passes called al-‘Asāfīr. From there he went down to a town called al-Dābbā, leaving al-Hannān on his right. This is a huge sandhill, like a mountain, and from there he went on down to near Badr. He and another man then rode on further."

Ibn Hishām stated that this man was Abū Bakr.

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "This was related to me by Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. Habbān. They went on and finally stopped near an old bedouin sheikh. He asked him about Quraysh and about Muḥammad and his Companions and what news he had of them. The old man replied, 'I'll not tell you until you tell me to whom you belong.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'You tell us and we'll tell you.' The sheikh asked, 'This for that?' 'Yes,' he agreed.

"The old man then said, 'I have been told that Muḥammad and his Companions left on such and such a day. And if the person who told me this spoke the truth, then today they should be at such and such a place.' This was the name of the very place where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) actually was. 'And,' he went on, 'I was told that Quraysh left on day so-and-so. And if the person who told me this spoke the truth, then today they should be at such-and-such.' This was the place where Quraysh then were.

"When he had finished his report, he asked, 'And who are you?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, 'We are from mār, 'water'.' He then left. As he did so the old man was asking, 'What's that about mār? You mean you're from the mār, the water, of Iraq?'

Ibn Hishām said that this man's name was Sufyān al-Damrī.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to his Companions. That evening he dispatched 'Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām and Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās, along with a number of his men, to the well at Badr to seek news; it was Yazīd b. Ṭūrwa b. al-Zubayr.

"They came across a watering-party of Quraysh among whom were Aslam, a youth of the Banū al-Ḥajjāj, along with ‘Arid Abū Yāsār, a youth of the Banū al-‘Ās b. Sa‘d. They brought them back and questioned them, while the
Message of God (SAAS) was standing praying. The youths told them they were water carriers sent to bring them water.

"The Muslim force disliked what they said and, believing they were under the command of Abū Sufyān, beat them. After they had been severely beaten, the youths said that they were from Abū Sufyān. The Muslims then released them.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) bowed and prostrated in prayer twice and said, 'When they spoke the truth you beat them and when they lied you released them! They did speak the truth, by God. They are of Quraysh. Now, you two, tell me about Quraysh?' They responded, 'They are beyond that sandhill you can see over on the far side of the valley.' That sandhill was called al-'Aqanqal.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked them, 'How many men do they have?' 'Very many,' they replied. 'How many in number?' he asked. 'We don't know,' they answered. 'How many camels do they slaughter each day?' he next asked. 'Some days nine, others ten,' they told him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) concluded, 'So their force must be between 900 and 1000 men.'

"He then asked them, 'What Quraysh nobles do they have among them?'


"The Messenger of God (SAAS) went out to his men and told them, 'This Mecca has thrown at you slices of its very liver!'

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Basbas b. ʿAmr and ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghbā had gone on ahead to Badr and halted at a hill near the well. They then took a water-skin they had and went to fetch water. Majdī b. ʿAmr al-Juhānī was there at the well and ʿAdī and Basbas heard two girls from the village laying claims on the water. The one under obligation was saying to her companion, 'The caravan will arrive tomorrow or the day after. I will work for them, then pay you what I owe you.' Majdī answered, 'You are right.' He then made a settlement between them.

"ʿAdī and Basbas overheard that, mounted their camels and left, riding back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and telling him what they heard.

"Abū Sufyān led the caravan cautiously ahead to the well and asked Majdī b. ʿAmr, 'Did you see anyone?' He replied, 'I saw no one suspicious, except for two riders who dismounted over at that hill, took water in a skin they had, then left.'

"Abū Sufyān made his way to where they had dismounted and picked up some of the droppings of their camels, broke it up and found it contained date-stones. He then said, 'I swear this is from feed of Yathrib.'

"He then hurried back to his men, struck his camel to direct it away from the road and headed it towards the sea coast, leaving Badr to his left and moving off at top speed.
“Quraysh advanced and at al-Juhfa Juhaym b. al-Salt b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf had a vision. He said, ‘I had a vision in my sleep, while half-way between waking and sleeping, of a man riding a horse and leading a camel, who came to a halt. He then said, ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a, Shayba b. Rabī‘a, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hishām, Umayya b. Khalaf and so on, are all killed!’ He went on to enumerate other chiefs of Quraysh as well who were killed at Badr.

“Juhaym went on, ‘I then saw him strike the upper chest of his camel and send it on into the camp. And every single tent there was splattered with its blood.’

“When Juhaym’s vision was reported to Abū Jahl, God damn him, he said, ‘So he too is a prophet from the ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib family! He’ll know tomorrow who will be killed, if we meet in battle!’”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “Thinking he had saved his caravan, Abū Sufyān sent word to Quraysh, ‘You came out to do battle in order to protect your caravan, people and wealth; God has now saved these, so go back!’

“But Abū Jahl b. Hishām said, ‘By God, we’ll not turn around until we reach Badr!’”

Badr was a place where the Arabs would hold a fair and market each year.

(Abū Jahl went on) “‘We’ll stay there three days, slaughter some camels, eat well, drink wine and the entertainers will play music for us. The bedouin will get to hear of our journey and of our gathering there, and they will always respect us for it. Let’s proceed ahead.’

“Al-Akhnas b. Shariq b. ‘Amr b. Wahb al-Thaqafi, an ally of the Banū Zuhra, who lived in al-Juhfa, said, ‘O Banū Zuhra, God has saved your wealth for you and has now rendered your companion Makhrama b. Nawfal safe; since you only came out to protect him and the wealth he bears, put the blame for cowardice on me and go back. There is no need for you to go to battle when you have suffered no loss. Don’t do as he says.’

“And they did go back; not one member of the Zuhra tribe took part in the battle of Badr. They obeyed him because they recognized his authority.

“Every sub-tribe of Quraysh except the Banū ‘Adi did participate. Not a single one of them took part.

“And so the Banū Zuhra went back with al-Akhnas; not a man from these two tribes engaged in the battle.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “And so the force proceeded. There was some debate between Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭālib, who was present there, and some of the Quraysh. They told him, ‘We well know, you men of the Banū Hashim, that even though you have come out with us, that your sympathy lies with Muhammad.’ And so Ṭālib went back to Mecca with some other men. On that subject he spoke the following verses,

‘O God, if Ṭālib goes to battle with a force allied to fight in great troops like there,
Then let him be the one despoiled, not the despoiler, 
the one defeated, not the one defeating."

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "Quraysh proceeded and made camp on the far side of the valley, behind the sandhill called al-‘Aqanqal. The floor of the valley, called Yalyal, was between Badr and the huge sandhill, al-‘Aqanqal, behind which were Quraysh. The well at Badr was on the other side of the valley, nearest to Medina."

I would comment that on this subject the Almighty said, "You were on the nearer side, they on the further, and the caravan was below you" (that is, over towards the coast) "and had you made appointment for this you would have failed to keep it; however, (the battle did take place) in order for God to bring about something already ordained" (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.42).

Ibn Isḥāq went on, "And God dispatched the heavens (with rain). The valley was soft ground and the water from the sky merely dampened the earth for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his force but did not impede their progress. But Quraysh had such rain fall upon them that they could not move ahead."

I comment that on this God spoke, "And He sent down upon you water from the sky to purify you thereby, to remove from you the devil’s filth, to strengthen your hearts and to steady your feet" (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.11).

Here God refers to cleansing them both inside and out, to steadying their feet and giving them courage, to thwarting the devil and his inspiring them with fear and doubts. This action was to give strength both within and without. He sent down His help for them from above, as exemplified in His words, “when your Lord revealed to the angels that I am with you. And so make those who believe; for I shall cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore strike above their necks” (upon their heads, that is) “and strike off all their finger-tips” (so that they cannot grip their weapons). “This is because they were hostile to God and to His Messenger. And God is violent in His punishment of those who are hostile to God and His Messenger. Taste that then! And (know) that the punishment of hell is for disbelievers” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.12–14).

Ibn Jarir stated, "Ḥārūn b. Isḥāq related to me, quoting Muṣṭaḥb b. al-Miqdām, quoting Isrā‘īl quoting Abū Ishāq, from Ḥāritha, from ʿAlī b. Abū Tālib, who said, ‘That night – the one preceding the morning when the battle of Badr occurred – it drizzled and we took shelter from it beneath the tree and under leather shields. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained up praying and he exhorted us for the battle ahead.’"

The Imām Ahmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī related to us, from Shu‘ba, from Abū Ishāq, from Ḥāritha b. Miṣrāb, from ʿAlī, who said, ‘The only horseman we had at the battle of Badr was al-Miqdād. From what I saw, all slept except for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who remained beneath a tree praying and weeping until morning came.’"

This hadith will be given hereafter at greater length.
Al-Nasā'ī related this from Bundār, from Ghundar, from Shu'ba. Mujāhid stated, “He sent down upon them rain which settled the dust and compressed the soil for them. It pleased them to have their feet tread upon it.”

I comment that the night before Badr was the eve of Friday, the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH. The Messenger of God (ṣaas) spent that night near the stump of a tree there, praying. He kept prostrating himself and repeating, “O Everlasting One! O Self-Reliant One!” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.255).

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṣaas) went out to urge his men on to the well, and when he reached the nearest source at Badr, he stopped there.

“It was related to me by some men of the Bantū Salama, that they had been told that al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir b. al-Jamīh said, ‘O Messenger of God, is this the place about which God revealed to you that we should not advance beyond nor stop before? Or is this a question of opinion, warfare and tactics?’

“He replied, ‘It’s one of opinion, warfare and tactics.’

“Al-Ḥubāb then said, ‘Well, O Messenger of God, this isn’t a place to stop. We should go ahead till we get to the well nearest to their force and stop there. We should then stop up the wells behind it and build a cistern and fill it with water. Then we can fight them and have water to drink, while they’ll have none.’

“The Messenger of God (ṣaas) commented, ‘You’ve had a good idea!’”

Al-Umawi stated, “My father related to us as follows: ‘Al-Kalbi claimed, quoting Abū Šalih, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘As the Messenger of God (ṣaas) was gathering the men into groups with Gabriel on his right, an angel came to him and said, ‘O Muḥammad, God greets you with peace.’ The Messenger of God (ṣaas) replied, ‘He is peace; from Him comes peace, and to Him peace goes.’ The angel then said, ‘You are to do as al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir told you.’’”

“‘The Messenger of God (ṣaas) then asked, “O Gabriel, do you know this man?” He replied, “I don’t know all the people of heaven, but he is truthful. He is no devil.”

“‘The Messenger of God (ṣaas) and those with him arose and proceeded on to the well nearest to the Quraysh force, where they halted. He then ordered that the other wells be blocked and built a cistern at the well where he had stopped and filled it with water. They then threw the water jugs into it.’”

Some say that when al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir made his suggestion to the Messenger of God (ṣaas) an angel descended from the sky while Gabriel was there with him. The angel said, “O Muḥammad, your Lord greets you with peace and says to you that you are to do what al-Ḥubāb advised you.” The Messenger of God (ṣaas) looked up at Gabriel who said, “I don’t know all the angels, but he is an angel, not a devil.”

Al-Umawi stated that they halted at the well that was nearest to the polytheists at midnight and made camp there. They completely filled the cistern, and so the polytheists had no water.
Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abd Allah b. Abī Bakr related to me that he was informed that Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh stated, ‘O Prophet of God, should we not build you a cover where you could stay and near which we could tether your mounts, and then we can meet our enemy. If God gives us victory over our enemy, that will be fine by us; but if the opposite happens, you can mount up and join those of our people behind us; those who stayed do not love you any less than we do. If they had thought you would be going into battle, they would not have stayed. God will protect you through them and they will give you sincere counsel and will fight hard with you.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) thanked him and prayed for him. Then a shelter was constructed for the Messenger of God (SAAS) where he stayed.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When morning came, the Quraysh force advanced.

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw them coming forward into the valley from their position behind the sandhill at al-Qa‘qanqal, he said, ‘O God, these men advancing are Quraysh in all their vanity and pride; they are antagonistic to You and are calling Your Prophet a liar. O God, give us Your victory You promised us! O God, destroy them this morning.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, having seen Utba b. Rab‘a in the Quraysh force mounted on a red camel, ‘Whatever good may be in them resides in the man mounted on the red camel. If they were to obey him, they would be well guided.’

“Khufṣ b. Aymāʾ b. Ṭabbata, or his father Aymāʾ b. Ṭabbata al-Ghifārī, had sent to Quraysh a son of his with some slaughtered camels which he was donating to them, telling them, ‘If you wish us to provide you with weapons and men we will do so.’ Quraysh sent back with his son the following response, ‘You have maintained family ties and fulfilled your duty. If we are only fighting men, we will not lack the power. But if we are fighting God, as Muhammad claims, no one could stand up to Him.’

“When the Quraysh force made camp, some of their men came forward to the water cistern of the Messenger of God (SAAS); they included Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Let them come.’ And every man who drank that day was killed, except for Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who survived. He later accepted Islam and became a good Muslim; whenever he later made a serious oath, he would say, ‘By Him who saved me at the battle of Badr.’”

I would comment that the troops of the Messenger of God (SAAS) consisted of 313 men, as will be shown in a chapter we will give following the account of the battle in which we will list their names in alphabetical order, if God wills it.

In the ṣaḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī, from al-Baraʾ, there is the hadith: “We used to relate that those Muslims present at Badr totalled 300 men and some tens more, the same number as the companions of Taiṭūt, who crossed the river along with him; and all those who did so were believers.”
Al-Bukhārī also quotes from the same source as follows, “I and Ibn Umar were deemed too young to participate in the battle of Badr. The Emigrants there numbered some 60 men, while the Helpers totalled some 240.”

Imām Ḥāfīz related from Naṣr b. Rābī, from Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Muqsim, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “Those participating at Badr totalled 313, while the Emigrants numbered 76. The defeat occurred on Friday, 17th Ramadān.”

God Almighty stated, “And recall when God showed them to you in your sleep as few; and if He had showed them to you as many, you would have lost courage, and would have disputed about the matter. However, God granted salvation” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.43).

That related to a dream he had that night. It is said that he slept in the shelter and that he told his men that they should not fight until they received permission. When the Quraysh force approached, Abū Bakr began to wake him up, saying, “O Messenger of God, they are getting close! Wake up!” God had showed them to him in his sleep as being few in number.

Al-Umawi related this, and it is very strange.

The Almighty stated, “And when He showed them to you, when you met, as few in number in your sight, as He diminished you in theirs, in order to bring about a matter already decreed” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.44).

When the two sides were to engage in battle, God made each of them fewer in the view of the other so that they would have courage to face each other, there being very great wisdom in this.

This is not contrary to the statement of God Almighty: “There was a sign for you in the two sides battling together, one fighting for God, the other unbelieving and seeing them by their own sight as twice their own like. And God aids with His victory those He wishes” (ṣūrat Al-‘Imrān; III, v.12).

The meaning according to the most authentic statements is that the unbelievers did indeed view the believers as twice their number. This was when the battle and swordsmanship had begun, God cast weakness and terror into the hearts of the unbelievers. He first led them on by showing them as few in the initial engagement and then aided the believers by making them seem twice as many as they were so that the enemy was weakened and overcome. For this reason God stated, “God aids with his help those He wishes. And there is a lesson in that for those who have vision” (ṣūrat Al-‘Imrān; III, v.12).

Ibrāhīm stated, from Abū Ishāq, Abū Ubayd and ‘Abd Allāh, “They were made fewer in number in our sight on the day of the battle of Badr, to the point where I said to a man by my side, ‘Do you think they are 70 strong?’ He replied, ‘I see them as 100!’”

Ibn Ishāq stated that Abū Ishāq b. Yasār and other scholars related to him that sheikhs of the Helpers had said, “When the Quraysh force felt secure they sent out ‘Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumāhī with orders to estimate the size of the force of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).
“He circled the camp on his horse and returned, saying, ‘They are approximately 300 men in number; but be patient while I check out whether they have any others hidden or in reserve.’"

“He rode far off into the valley but saw nothing. So he came back and told them, ‘I saw nothing more; but what I did see, O Quraysh, was camels bearing death. The Yathrib mounts bear imminent death. They are people whose only aid and refuge is their swords. I swear I don’t foresee any of them being killed before he kills one of you. And if they do kill of you a like number as their own, what good will it be to live after that? Consider carefully.’

“When Ḥākim b. Ḥizām heard that he walked through the force to Utba b. Rabī‘a and said, ‘Al-Walid, you are a leader and a commander of Quraysh; do you wish to be remembered with pride by your people until the end of time?’

‘How do you mean, Ḥākim?’ he asked. ‘Take your force back and deal with the issue of your ally ‘Amr b. al-Ḥaḍrami.’ ‘Consider it done,’ he agreed, ‘you have my guarantee of it. He was under my protection and so it is my duty to pay his bloodwit and provide compensation for what was taken from him. Go and talk to Ibn al-Ḥanẓaliyya — meaning Abū Jahl — he is the only one I fear might make trouble.’

‘Utba then arose to speak, saying, ‘O Quraysh, by fighting Muḥammad and his Companions you will accomplish nothing. If you do attack him, each of you will always be looking at others who will dislike looking back at you; you will be known to have killed their cousin or a member of their tribe. Go home and leave Muḥammad up to the other Arabs. If they kill him that will be accomplishing your aims and if otherwise, he will find you not to have been exposed to (the risk of) what you now plan.’

‘Ḥākim went on, ‘So I went on to Abū Jahl whom I found to have put on a coat of mail and was getting it ready. I told him, “Abū al-Ḥakam, Utba has sent me to you.” And I told him what he had said. He replied, “I swear, his lungs filled with terror when he saw Muḥammad and his men. By God, we will not return until God decides the issue between us and Muḥammad. Utba is not sincere in what he says. He sees Muḥammad and his men as fodder for camels awaiting slaughter, and his own son is there among them. He’s scaring you for his own sake.”’

‘Abū Jahl then sent for ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍrami and told him, ‘This ally of yours wants our force to return home. Yet you see before you your vengeance; stand up and demand your rights for the slaying of your brother.’

‘ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍrami arose, uncovered his head and proclaimed, ‘Woe for ʿAmr! Woe for ʿAmr!’

“And so the mood for warfare became heated and the attitude of the Quraysh force hardened and they became set in their evil course, while Utba’s advice was ignored.

“When Abū Jahl’s words ‘his lungs filled with terror’ reached Utba, he exclaimed, ‘That fellow with the filthy yellow backside will find out whether it’s me or him whose lungs filled in terror!’
“Utba then looked for a steel helmet to put on his head. But he could not find one with the army that was big enough for his skull. Realizing this, he wrapped his head in a cloth he had.”

Ibn Jarir related through al-Musawwar b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Yarbiici, from his father, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “While we were at the home of Marwân b. al-Ḥakam, his doorkeeper came in and said, ‘Ḥakîm b. Ḥizâm asks if he can come in.’ Marwân said that he could, and when Ḥakîm came in, he said to him, ‘Welcome to you, Abû Khâlid, do sit close by.’ He then moved away from the central cushion, taking a seat with the cushion next to him. He then greeted him and said, ‘Tell us about the battle of Badr.’

“Ḥakîm then said, ‘We went out as far as al-Juhfâ, at which point one entire Quraysh tribe went back, none of their polytheists consequently being at Badr. We then went on to al-Ṣudâwa where we stopped as the Almighty had said. I then went to Utba b. Rabî‘a and asked, “Abû al-Walîd, how would you like to enjoy honour for this day for as long as you live?” “What should I do?” he asked. I replied, “Ask of Muhammad only compensation for the death of your ally, al-Ḥadrâmî; be satisfied with his blood-money and the force will go home.”

“‘You have convinced me,” he said, “go on to Ibn al-Hanzâliyya [meaning Abû Jahl] and tell him his cousin asks him if he is willing to now return home with his men.”

“‘So I went to him (Abû Jahl) and found him with a group of his men all around him. There too, standing in front of him, was Ibn al-Ḥadrâmî who was saying, “I have cancelled my contract with ‘Abd Shams; now it stands with the Bânî Makhzûm.”

“I said to him (to Abû Jahl), “Utba b. Rabî‘a asks you whether you will now return with your men?” He replied, “Are you the only messenger he could find?” I answered, “No; and I’d be the messenger for no one but him.”’

“Ḥakîm went on, ‘I hurried off to Utba to be sure I would miss nothing that happened. He was leaning over Aymâb. b. Rahādâ al-Ghîfârî, who had donated to the polytheists ten camels for slaughter.

“Abû Jahl then appeared, looking extremely mean, and said to Utba, “Have your lungs filled with terror then?” Utba replied, “You’ll find out!” At that Abû Jahl drew his sword and slapped the flank of his horse with it. Aymâb. b. Rahādâ commented, “This is a bad omen.” And at that point warfare began.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had established very effective battle lines for his force.’”

Al-Tirmidhî related, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmân b. Awf, that Ḥakîm used the words, “It was during the night that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established us in battle lines at Badr.”

Imâm Ahmad related, from an account of Ibn Ḥānî’a, as follows, “Yazîd b. Abû Ḥabîb related to me that Aslâm Abû ‘Imrân related to him that he heard Abû Ayyûb say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established our battle lines at
Badr, and our heralds went out in front of our lines. The Prophet (SAAS) looked over at them and said, “With me! With me!”

Ahmad alone gives this account. The line of transmission is good.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Habbān b. Wāsi‘ b. Ḥabbān related to me, from sheikhs of his tribe, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) lined up his forces at the battle of Badr, he held an arrow which he used to indicate how they should adjust their position. He passed by Sawwād b. Ghaziyya, an ally of the Banū ‘Adī b. al-Najār, and a little ahead of the line. He poked him in the belly with the arrow, saying, ‘Straighten up, Sawwād!’

“He replied, ‘O Messenger of God, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth and justice that you hurt me! So let me retaliate!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) promptly uncovered his stomach and said, ‘Retaliate then!’ Sawwād hugged him and then kissed his stomach. The Messenger of God (SAAS), asked, ‘Why did you do that, Sawwād?’ He replied, ‘O Messenger of God, you can see what is about to happen; I wanted my last contact with you to be my skin touching yours.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spoke a prayer for him.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “‘Aṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda related to me that ‘Awf b. al-Ḥarīth, he being ‘Afra’s son, said, ‘O Messenger of God, what is it about His worshippers that pleases God?’ ‘For them to charge into the enemy unprotected by helmet or chain-mail,’ he replied.

“At this ‘Awf removed the suit of chain-mail he wore, threw it aside, then drew his sword and fought until he was killed; may God be pleased with him!”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Having arranged the position of his forces, the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned to his shelter and went in, accompanied by Abū Bakr, no one else being there with him.”

Ibn Ishaq and others also said, “Sa’d b. Mu‘adh, God be pleased with him, was standing at the door of the shelter wearing his sword. With him were some of the Helpers standing guard over the Messenger of God (SAAS) fearing he might be attacked by the polytheist enemies, while choice horses stood there at the ready for the Messenger of God (SAAS) to ride back to Medina if necessary, as Sa’d b. Mu‘adh had suggested.”

Al-Bazzār related in his Musnad (collection of ahādīth), from an account of Muḥammad b. ‘Uqayl, that ‘Āli (once) addressed the forces, saying, ‘Who is the bravest of all the people?’ ‘It is you, O Commander of the Faithful!’ they responded.

“Well,’ he commented, ‘I have never refused anyone’s challenge, but it was in fact Abū Bakr. We made a shelter for the Messenger of God (SAAS) to prevent his being attacked by one of the polytheists. And, I swear, it was Abū Bakr alone who came over to us, holding his drawn sword above the head of the Messenger of God (SAAS). And when anyone came towards him, Abū Bakr would raise his sword before him. This man was the bravest of all.’
"Ali went on, 'Once I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the hands of some Quraysh men, some blocking his way, others jostling him, and saying, "You made the gods into just one!" And, I swear, the only one of us who intervened was Abū Bakr, striking and pushing and jostling them, saying, "Shame on you! Would you kill a man for saying that God is his Lord?"

"Ali then raised up the mantle he wore and wept, his beard wet with tears. He said, 'Were the believers among Pharaoh's people better than him?' The crowd was silent, and 'Ali went on, 'By God, an hour of Abū Bakr is better than an earth full of the believers from among Pharaoh's people. Those were people who concealed their belief, while he was a man who made his faith public.'"

Al-Bazzār then stated, "We know of this anecdote only from this account."

This reflects the special distinction of Abū Bakr; it was he who was with the Messenger of God in the shelter, just as he had been with him in the cave. May God be pleased with him and please him!

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) was meanwhile making invocations, pleas and prayers saying, among other things, 'O God, if this force perishes, You will never again be worshipped on earth!' He cried out to God the Almighty and Glorious, 'O Lord, fulfil what You promised me; O God, give me aid!'

"In saying this he would raise his hands so high that his cloak would slip down over his shoulders, and Abū Bakr, God bless him, would stand close behind him repositioning it for him and saying, in sympathy at the effusiveness of his supplication, 'O Messenger of God, lessen your appeals to your Lord; He will fulfil His promise to you.'"

This, then, is how it is related by al-Suhayli, from Qasim b. Thabit. Abū Bakr only used the words meaning "lessen your appeals to your Lord" out of his concern for what he saw as his being so engrossed in his prayer and supplications that his mantle had slipped down over his shoulders. By saying these words he was in effect asking, "Why are you so exhausting yourself; God has made you a promise of His help." Abū Bakr, God bless him, was a tender-hearted man with great empathy and compassion for the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Al-Suhayli related that his teacher, Sheikh Abū Bakr b. al-'Arabi, said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) was in a situation of khawf; fearing, while Abū Bakr was in one of rajā', hoping. And this was really a time of fearing." By this he meant that khawf (in this instance) was more appropriate, "because it was up to God to do as He wished; and he feared that God would not be worshipped thereafter. His fear was therefore worship."

I would comment that the view of some Sufi ascetics that this situation was analogous to that of the day in the cave is to be rejected. For this person did not make mention of the weakness of his viewpoint, nor the consequences thereof.

60. These are terms used especially by Muslim mystics to describe the attitudes one can adopt in one's relationship to the Divine being.
In any case, the contending forces did confront one another in battle, the outcome resting in the hands of the All-Merciful. The greatest of the prophets called upon his Lord's help, his Companions too raising their voices loud in invocation of the Lord of heaven and earth, Who hears all prayers and discovers all heroic action.

The first of the polytheists to be killed was al-Aswād b. ‘Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “This was a mean and disreputable fellow who had said, ‘I swear to God I will drink from their cistern or destroy it, or die before I get there!’ And when he came forth to do battle, Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muţtaţib went out to confront him. When they met, Ḥamza struck him and off came his foot and half his leg, before he had reached the cistern. He fell down on his back, his leg spurting blood back towards his companions. He then crawled on in the direction of the cistern, plunging into it intending, so they say, to fulfil his oath. Ḥamza pursued him and struck him again and again until he had killed him, there in the cistern.”

Al-Umawī stated, “At that Utba b. Rabī‘a became excited and determined to demonstrate his bravery. He came forth with his brother Shayba on one side of him and his son al-Walid on the other and, standing out in the centre between the two lines, they issued a challenge for single combat. Three young men from the Helpers went out to confront them; they were ‘Awf and Mu‘ādh, the two sons of al-Ḥārith, their mother being ‘Afrā‘, along with ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, so they say. ‘And who are you?’ they were asked, and they replied, ‘We are from among the ansār, “the Helpers”.’ ‘We have no quarrel with you,’ they were told.”

In one account it is said that the Quraysh warriors then said, “These are our honourable peers, but send forth some of our own people.” Their herald then called out, “O Muḥammad, send forth our peers from our own people.”


According to al-Umawī, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was displeased when the three Helpers stepped forth. This was because this was the first battle pitting his men against his enemies, and he would have preferred his warriors to have been from his own tribe. He therefore ordered the first three men to withdraw and ordered out the three men named above.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the three combatants approached the three Quraysh warriors, the latter asked their names.” (This is an indication that they were wearing armour and they could not be recognized by their weapons.) “Ubayda, Ḥamza and ‘Ali each gave their names in turn. The Quraysh champions then commented, ‘Worthy peers.’

“Ubayda then stepped forward, he being the oldest of them, and faced Utba, while Ḥamza addressed Shayba and ‘Ali stood before al-Walid b. Utba.

‘Ḥamza soon killed Shayba, as ‘Ali did al-Walid. Ubayda and Utba exchanged blows and each brought the other down. Ḥamza and ‘Ali then turned
their swords against Utba and finished him off. They then picked up their fallen comrade and carried him back to their side. May God be pleased with him.”

It is established in both sahih collections from a hadith of Abū Mīlāz, from Qays b. Ubād, that Abū Dharr used to swear on oath that this verse, “These two are adversaries who dispute about their Lord” (sūrat al-Hajj; XXII, v.19) was revealed about Ḥamzah and his opponent and about Utba and his, referring to their coming forth at Badr.

This is the wording al-Bukhārī gives in explaining this verse.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Ḥājjāj b. Minḥāl related to us, quoting al-Muṭṭamir b. Sulaymān, who said, ‘I heard my father say that Abū Mīlāz related to him, from Qays b. Ubād, who quoted ‘Aṭī b. Abū Ṭalīb as having said, “I will be the first person who kneels before the All-Merciful one, Almighty and Glorious is He, among the adversaries on Judgement Day.”’”

“Qays stated, ‘And it was about them that the verse was revealed, “These two are adversaries who dispute about their Lord.”’ He went on, “This referred to those who stood forth to do battle at Badr – ‘Āli and Ḥamzah, Ubayḍa and Shayba b. Rabī‘a, and Utba b. Rabī‘a and al-Walid b. Utba.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this.

We have discussed this at sufficient length in our Tafsīr (Exegesis); and to God be all praise and credit.


Hind spoke the following on that subject,

“Eyes of mine, make copious tears flow down for the best of heroes who did not turn aside. His people called out to him on the morning when the Bānū ʿHashim and the Bānū al-Muṭṭalib did battle, Making him taste the sharpness of their swords, raising him aloft even after he had been destroyed.”

This was why Hind swore she would eat Ḥamzah’s liver.

The Ubayḍa referred to here was the son of al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf. They carried him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and placed him on a bed next to where he stood. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then honoured him by allowing his cheek to rest on his foot.
“‘Ubayda then said, ‘O Messenger of God, if Abū Ṭalib could only see me, he would know that it was to me his words applied, ‘We will serve him until we are laid out before him, uncaring even of our sons and our wives.’”

“He then, God be pleased with him, died, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘I bear witness that you are a martyr?’”

Al-Shafi‘ī, God bless him, related this.

The first Muslim killed in the battle was Mihja‘, the freed-man of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; he was shot with an arrow.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “He was the first man killed. Then Ḥāritha b. Surāqa, one of the Banū ‘Adi b. al-Najjār, was shot at as he drank from the cistern. An arrow hit him in the throat, and so he died.”

It is established in the sahih collections, from Anas, that Ḥāritha b. Surāqa was killed at Badr. He was in the vanguard and was struck by a stray arrow which killed him. His mother later came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, “O Messenger of God, tell me about Ḥāritha. If he is in heaven, I will be content. Otherwise, let God show me what to do.” That is, to engage in mourning for him, a practice not yet forbidden. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “Have you gone crazy? There are eight gardens there, and your son has earned the very highest of paradise!”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The forces moved slowly towards one another. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told his men not to attack until he gave them the order. He said, ‘If the enemy should surround you, then force them back with arrows.’”

In his sahih collection, al-Bukhārī quotes Abū Usayd as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told us at the battle of Badr, ‘If they close in on you’ – meaning the polytheists – ‘then shoot at them and gather up your arrows.’”


Ibn Hishām stated that the war cry used at Badr by the șahūba, the Companions, was “One! One!”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in the shelter with Abū Bakr, God bless him, he called out to God the Almighty and Glorious for help. As the Almighty stated, ‘When you sought aid from your Lord, and he answered you, saying, “I will help you with 1,000 angels, following after one another. And God made of it nothing but glad tidings, to ease your hearts by it. And victory comes only from God. God is powerful, wise”’ (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.9, 10).
Imâm Ahmad stated that Abû Nûh Qurâd related to him, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmâr, quoting Simâk al-Ḥanâfi, father of Zumayl, quoting Ibn ʿAbbâs, quoting ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭîb, as follows, “At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at his force numbering some 300 and viewed the polytheists, totalling more than 1,000. He then turned in the direction of the qibla, wearing his shawl and pants and spoke the words, ‘O God, fulfil what you promised me; O God, if this force perishes You will never again be worshipped on earth.’

“He kept up his appeals and prayers to his Lord until his mantle fell down. Abû Bakr then came and replaced it, remaining close behind him. He then said, ‘Let your appeals to your Lord be enough now. He will fulfil what He has promised you.’ And so God revealed, ‘When you sought aid from your Lord, and He answered you, saying, ‘I will help you with 1,000 angels, following after one another’” (sûrat al-Anfûs; VIII, v.9).

He then related the conclusion of the hadîth as will come hereafter.

Muslim, Abû Dâ‘ūd, al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Jarir and others all related this, from a hadîth of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmâr al-Yamání. ʿAli b. al-Madîni and al-Tîrmidhi declared it authentic.

Others also stated, from Ibn ʿAbbâs, al-Suddi, Ibn Jarir and others, that this verse was revealed concerning the prayers said by the Prophet at Badr.

Al-Umawî and others stated that the Muslims shouted out loudly to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, seeking His aid.

As for the words of the Lord “with 1,000 angels, following after one another”, it implies that “they are following on towards you and giving aid to your party”.

Al-ʿAwfî related this hadîth from Ibn ʿAbbâs along with Mujâhid, Ibn Kathîr, ʿAbd al-Rahmân b. Zayd and others. Abû Kudâya stated, from Qâbûs, from Ibn ʿAbbâs, that the word murdîfîn, i.e. “following after one another”, meant that each angel was followed by another one. In another account from him, with the same chain of authorities murdîfîn is taken to imply that each came immediately after the other. Abû Ẓabyân, al-Ḍâḥkhâk and Qatâda said this.

ʿAli b. Abû Ṭalîba al-Wâlîbi related from Ibn ʿAbbâs, who said, “God provided His Prophet and the believers with 1,000 angels. Gabriel was there with one wing of 500, while Michael had another wing of 500. This is very well known.”

However, Ibn Jarir stated, “Al-Muthannâ related to me, quoting Isâq, quoting Yaʿqûb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzîz b. ʿImrân, from al-Râbai, from Abû al-Huwâyrîth, from Muḥammad b. Jubâyrr, from ʿAllî, who said, “Gabriel came down along with 1,000 angels on the right flank of the Prophet (ṢAAS) where Abû Bakr was, while Michael came down with 1,000 angels on the left flank of the Prophet (ṢAAS) where I was.”

Al-Bayhaqî related this in his work Dalâ'il (The Signs), from a hadîth of Muḥammad b. Jubâyrr, from ʿAllî. He added the words, “And Isrâfîl came down with 1,000 angels.”

He related in that account that he was stabbed that day by a lance, with the result that his armpit was reddened with blood, and that 3,000 angels came down.
This is strange, and there is some weakness in its chain of authorities. If true, the account would strengthen even further the prior statements. This is substantiated by the alternative reading of some authorities who read the word *murdafina*, with an “a” following the “d”. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Al-Ḥākim informed us, quoting al-ʾĀṣāmm, while Muḥammad b. Sinān al-Qazzāz related to us, quoting Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭālib al-Ḥanafī, quoting Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭālib al-Rahmān b. Mawḥāb, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAwf b. Ṭālib b. Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Umar b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘At the battle of Badr, I fought for a while, then hurried to see what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was doing. When I got there, I found him prostrate in worship, saying, “Ya Ḥayy! Ya Qayyūm!” “O Living One! O Eternal One!”; he was saying nothing else. I returned to the fighting, then came back to find him still prostrate and still repeating the same. Again I went off to battle, and once more returned to find the same. He kept saying this till God gave him victory.’”

Al-Nasāʾi related it in *al-Yawm wa al-Layla* (Day and Night) from Bundār, from Ubayd Allāh b. Ṭālib al-Ḥanafī.

Al-ʾAḥmadī related, from Abū Ishāq, from Abū Ubayda, from Abī Ṭālib ab. Masʿūd, who said, “I never heard any worshipper imploring God more strongly than did Muḥammad (ṢAAS) at the battle of Badr. He was saying, ‘O God, I beseech you in the name of Your promise and Your pact! O God, if this force perishes, You will not be worshipped!’ He then turned, and it was as if the moon had cleft its face! He said, ‘I seem to be seeing the enemy’s destruction in the late evening!’”

Al-Nasāʾi related this from a *ḥadīth* of al-ʾAḥmadī.

He also said, “When we met in battle at Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose, and I never saw anyone implore God more strongly for his rights than did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” And he related as above.

It has been definitively stated in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim, on the authority of Anas b. Malik, as stated, above, how the Prophet (ṢAAS) gave details of the circumstances of the deaths at Badr of the polytheists leaders. This information will also be reported later from the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim on the authority of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

The conclusion to be drawn from the *ḥadīth* of Ibn Masʿūd is that he gave notice of this on the actual day of the engagement. This is appropriate. The other two accounts, from Anas and from ʿUmar, suggest that he gave this information one day prior thereto.

There is no objection to combining between these. He could have given this information a day or more before, and (again) an hour before, on the actual day of the battle. But God knows best.

61. Changing the vowel ʾi to ʾa has the effect of changing the word from an active to a passive participle.
Al-Bukhārī related through several different lines of transmission, from Khalīd al-Ḥadhā', from Ḥārīm, from Ibn ʿAbbas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS), while in a pavilion he had at Badr, spoke the words, “O God, I appeal to Your pact and to Your oath! If You wish it, You will not be worshipped ever again after this day!” Abū Bakr took him by the hand and said, “That is enough, O Messenger of God! You are pestering your Lord.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside, walking vigorously in his armour, speaking the verse, “The force will be defeated! They will retreat! The hour will come, and it will be most bitter!” (ṣūrat al-Qamar; LIV, v.45).

This verse was revealed in Mecca. Its truth was substantiated at the battle of Badr, as Ibn Abū Ḥākim related, as follows, “My father related to us, quoting Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, quoting Ḥammād, from Āyyūb, from Ḥārīm, who said, ‘When the verse was revealed, “The force will be defeated! They will retreat!” ʿUmar asked, “Which force will be defeated, and which will be supreme?” And ʿUmar (later) said, “On the day of the battle of Badr, I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walking vigorously in his chain-mail and reciting, ‘The force will be defeated! They will retreat! Their hour will come, and it will be most bitter!’ I then realized how it was to be interpreted.””

Al-Bukhārī related, through Ibn Jurayj, from Yūsuf b. Māhān, who heard ʿĀʾishah say, “While I was a girl playing in Mecca, there was revealed to Ṭūhāammad the words, ‘Their hour will come, and it will be most bitter.’”

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began appealing to his Lord for the aid He had promised him, saying, ‘O God, if this force perishes, You will not be worshipped.’ Abū Bakr was saying meanwhile, ‘O Prophet of God, diminish your appeals to your Lord. God will fulfil for you what He has promised you.’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a brief nap while he was in the shelter. When he awoke, he said, ‘Be joyful, Abū Bakr, God’s help will come to you; I saw Gabriel taking his horse by the reins and leading it. And on its front teeth there was al-naqūṭ! By this word he meant ‘dust’.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq continued, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside to the men and urged them on, saying, ‘Every man who fights them bravely and advances without retreating will have God give him entry into heaven.’

“ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥumām, a brother of the Banū Salama had some dates in his hand that he was eating. He shouted, ‘Great! Great! Is all that stands between me and paradise to have them kill me?’ He then tossed away the dates, took his sword and fought the enemy until he was killed. God bless him!”

Imām Ahmad said, “Ḥāshim b. Sulaymān related to us, from Thabit, from Anas, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Basbas off as a scout to see what had become of Abū Sufyān’s caravan. He then returned to the house where only I and the Prophet (ṢAAS) were present, as far as I know, except for some of his wives. He (Basbas) then made his report to him.’
“Anas went on, ‘Thereupon the Messenger of God (SAAS) went out and made an address, saying, “We have a request to make: whoever presently has a camel may ride with us.” Some men there sought permission to fetch their camels from the upper parts of the town but he replied, “No; only those who have their camels present.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men then set off and arrived at Badr before the polytheists. When the latter did arrive, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “None of you may advance for any purpose unless I am right behind.”

“When the polytheists advanced, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Go forth towards a garden the size of the heavens and the earth combined.”

“Anas continued, ‘At this 'Umayr b. al-Hammām al-Anṣārī asked, “O Messenger of God, could a garden really be the size of the heavens and earth combined?” “Yes,” he replied. 'Umayr then said, “Fine! Fine!” The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, “What makes you say ‘fine’?” 'Umayr replied, “O Messenger of God, by God, it is only because of my hope of being one of its people.” “You certainly will be,” responded the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“‘Umayr then took some dates out of his quiver and began eating them. He then said, “If I were to live long enough to eat these dates, it would be a long life!” He then threw away all the dates he had and engaged them in battle until he was killed, God bless him.”

Muslim related this anecdote from 'Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and a group of authorities, from 'Abū al-Nadr Hāshim b. al-Qasim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughira.

Ibn Jarir recounted that while 'Umayr fought he spoke the verses,

“Racing on to God, my only provision is my piety and action for the life to come,
And my persistence in fighting for God; for all other provisions soon become exhausted,
Except for piety, goodness and right-guidedness.”

Imām Ahmad stated, “Hājjāj related to us, quoting Isrā'īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Hāritha b. Miṣrāb, from 'Alī, who said, ‘When we got to Medina we fell sick from its fruits and the marshes there. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was preparing for Badr. When we received news that the polytheists were advancing, the Messenger of God (SAAS) moved out to Badr, it being the site of a well. We arrived there ahead of the polytheists but we did discover two men there. One was of Quraysh, the other a freed-man of 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'īţ. The man of Quraysh escaped, but we took the freed-man and asked him how large was their force. He replied, “I swear, their numbers are great and their morale is very high.” When he said this, the Muslims would beat him.

“Eventually they took him to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who asked him how many they were, and the freed-man replied as before. The Prophet (SAAS)
tried hard to get him to tell their numbers, but he refused. The Prophet (SAAS) then asked how many camels they were slaughtering for food. He replied that it was ten each day. The Prophet (SAAS) then said, “Their force numbers 1,000; each slaughtered camel would feed 100 men and their attendants.”

“That night rain drizzled down on us and we moved beneath a tree and took shelter from the rain beneath leather shields. The Messenger of God (SAAS) set about praying to his Lord, saying, “O God, if this force is destroyed, You will not be worshipped.”

“When dawn came, he called out, “Come to prayer, O worshippers of God!” The men emerged from beneath the tree and the leather shields, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed with us and urged the men on to battle. He then said, “The Quraysh force is over behind those red slopes of the mountain.”

“When the enemy force drew near and we lined up to face them, there was one man among them mounted on a red camel. The Messenger of God (SAAS) called out, “Ali, summon Hamza!” This Quraysh man was the closest to us. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, “Who is it on the red camel?” When Hamza came, he said the man was Utba b. Rabî‘a. He was advising them against going to war, telling them, “Tie it up to my head; tell people, “Utba b. Rabî‘a turned cowardly.” Though you well know I’m no more cowardly than any one of you.”

“Abû Jahl heard of this and said, “You say this? I swear, were it anyone else who spoke thus, I would set my sword upon him! Your lungs have filled your belly with fear!”

“Utba then said, “You dare to revile me, you yellow-bottomed one! You will discover today which one of us is cowardly.”

“Utba, his brother Shayba and his son al-Walîd went forth challengingly and called out, “Who will come and oppose us?” Some young warriors from among the Helpers stepped forward, but Utba called out, “We don’t want them. We will do battle against our own relatives of the Bânî ‘Abd al-Mu‘tâlib.”

“At this the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Off you go, Ḥamza, and you Ali and you too, Ubayd Allâh b. al-Ḥârîrî b. al-Mu‘tâlib.”

“God then killed Utba and Shayba, sons of Rabî‘a, and al-Walîd, Utba’s son. Ubayda was wounded; of their men we killed 70 and took 70 prisoner.

“One of the Helpers brought in al-‘Abbâs b. al-Mu‘tâlib as a prisoner, and al-‘Abbâs said, “O Messenger of God, this is not the man who captured me. A bald, fine-looking man on a piebald horse whom I had not seen with your men was he who took me prisoner.” The Helper insisted, “No; it was I who captured him, O Messenger of God!”

“But he replied, “Keep quiet! God gave you the help of a noble angel.”


This account is good. It corroborates what is given above and will come hereafter. Imâm Aḥmad alone gives it in full. Abû Da‘ūd gave part of it, quoting a ḥadîth of Isrâ‘îl.
When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had come out of the shelter and urged the men on to fight, they remained in their battle lines, firm and frequently invoking God's name, as the Almighty had ordered them to do in the words, "O believers, when you meet a force in battle, remain firm and invoke frequently the name of God" (sūrat al-Anfāl, VIII, v.45).

Al-Umawi stated, "Mu‘āwiya b. ‘Amr related to us, from Abū Ishāq, who quoted al-Awzā‘ī as having stated, 'It used to be said that rarely did an armed force remain firmly in place. Those who can stay in place at such times, cast their eyes down and make frequent mention of God are likely to remain safe from the charge of hypocrisy.'"

‘Utba b. Rabī‘a said to his men at the battle of Badr, "Do you not see them"—referring to the force of the Prophet (SAAS)—"how they crouch down on their mounts, keeping firmly in place, licking their lips like al-hayyāt, 'serpents'? Or he may have used the word al-afā‘ī, 'snakes'.'"

Al-Umawi stated in his work on the military expeditions, "When the Prophet (SAAS) urged the Muslims on to battle, he promised that each man would keep any spoils they took and said, 'By Him in whose hands is my soul, any man who fights them hard and valiantly, advancing and not retreating, who is killed, will be allowed entry to heaven by God.'"

Al-Umawi's account then repeats the anecdote relating to Umayr b. al-Hamām given above.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) himself fought with heart and soul, as did Abū Bakr, just as they had exerted themselves in the shelter in prayer and entreating. Thereafter, they went forth, and urged on the men to fight, themselves participating physically, thus combining their two noble functions.

The Imam Ahmād stated, "Wakī‘ related to us, quoting Isrā‘īl, from Abū Ishāq, from Hāritha b. Mi‘dhab, from ‘Ali, who said, 'I saw at Badr how near we kept to the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was the one of us most close to the enemy. He was one of the bravest men there that day.'"

Al-Nasā‘ī related this from a ḥadīth of Abū Ishāq, from Hāritha, quoting ‘Ali as having said, "When the forces engaged and the battle grew fierce we sought protection with the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Imām Ahmād stated, "Abū Nu‘aym related to us, quoting Mis‘ar, from Abū ‘Awn, from Abū Sa‘līh al-Ḥanafi, from ‘Ali who said that he and Abū Bakr were told at Badr, ‘With one of you is Gabriel and with the other is Michael. Isrā‘īl, a great angel, will witness the battle but not fight.’ Or the words used were ‘will witness the ranks.’"

This account is similar to the information preceding, namely, that Abū Bakr was on the right flank, and that at Badr when the angels descended Gabriel was there with 500 of them on one flank, the right along with Abū Bakr, while Michael was on the other, the left, with 500 more angels, along with ‘Ali.

In a ḥadīth related by Abū Ya‘ās, through Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ‘im, ‘Ali is quoted as saying, "At Badr, I was swimming in the water-hole when a
great wind arose, then another, then another. Finally Michael came down along with 1,000 angels. He took up position on the right of the Messenger of God (SAAS) where Abu Bakr was positioned. Israfil came to the left flank where I was, with another 1,000 angels. Gabriel was present, also with another 1,000.”

‘Ali then said, “That day the water reached up to my armpits.”

The author of al-Iqd62 and others maintain that the finest verse ever spoken by the Arabs is that of Hassān b. Thabit,

“And a well at Badr when Gabriel and Muhammad held back their mounts, beneath our banner.”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhim related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd, from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa b. Rāfīʿ al-Zurqī, who quoted his father, who had been one of those present at Badr, as saying, ‘Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked, “How do you consider those of you who were at Badr?”’ He replied, “As the best of Muslims,” or some such phrase. Gabriel commented, “Likewise those of the angels who were present at Badr.””

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this ḥadīth.

God Almighty had said, “When your Lord reveals to the angels that I am with you. And so strengthen those who believe; for I shall cast terror into the hearts of the unbelievers! Therefore strike above their necks” (meaning their heads) “and strike off all their finger-tips” (sūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.12).

In the sāhiḥ collection of Muslim, through ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Abū Zumayl, (it states) that Ibn ʿAbbās said, “While one of the Muslim warriors was vigorously pursuing one of the unbelievers ahead of him he heard above him the noise of a whip striking and a rider’s voice saying, ‘Giddy up, Ḥayzūm!’ When the Muslim warrior looked at the polytheist in front of him, he found him prostrate on the ground. Examining him more closely he found that the man’s nose had been smashed and his face split apart by a blow from a whip, all having turned dark in colour. The warrior, a Helper, went and told this to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said, ‘You speak true. That was help from the third heaven.’ That day they killed 70 and captured 70 more.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Bakr b. Hazam related to me, from someone who related it to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from a man of the Banū Ghīṭār, who said, “I and a cousin of mine were present at Badr, though we were still polytheists then. We were up on a mountain waiting for the battle to take place and to see who would win, when a cloud approached. When it drew near the mountain we heard the sound of horses galloping and a voice saying, ‘Giddy up, Ḥayzūm!’ My companion suffered a heart attack and died on the spot, while I almost expired, but later recovered.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Bakr related to me, from a man of the Banū Sāʿida, from Abū Usayd Mālik b. Rāfīʿa, who was present at Badr, who

62. Presumably the reference is to al-Iqd al-Farid by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihī, d. 940 AH.
said, his sight by then having gone, ‘If I were there today at Badr and had my sight back, I would show you the defile from which the angels emerged. I would have no doubt whatsoever about it.

“When the angels came down and Satan saw them, God revealed to them the verse, “I am with you. And so make firm those who believe” (ṣūrat al-ʿAnfāl; VIII, v.12). “Making them firm” referred to the fact that the angels would come to someone in the form of a person they would know and would say, “Be glad! For they are as nothing, and God is with you. Attack them!”’

Al-Wāqidī stated that Ibn Abū Ḥabība related to him, from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The angel would appear in the form of someone they knew and would say, ‘I went close to them and heard them say, ‘If they attack us, we’ll not hold firm. They are as nothing.’ And so on.’” This relates to the words, “When your Lord reveals to the angels that I am with you. And so make firm those who believe.”

When Satan saw the angels he turned on his heels and said, “I’m quit of you. I see what you do not see.” He was then in the guise of Sūrāqā.

Abū Jahl came forward haranguing his men and saying, “Don’t be scared by the nonsense Sūrāqā is telling you. He has a rendezvous with Muhammad and his men.” He then said, “By al-Lint and al-Wazzī, we’ll not return until we scatter Muhammad and his men into the mountains. Don’t kill them; take them prisoner.”

Al-Bayhaqi related, through Salāma, from ʿUqayl, from Ibn Shihāb, from Abū Ḥāẓim, from Sahl b. Saʿd, who said, “Abū Usayd stated, he being by then blind, ‘Cousin, I swear by God, that if you and I were at Badr and God were to restore my sight, I’d show you the defile through which the angels came out to us; I’d do so without any doubt or difficulty at all.’”

Al-Bukhāri related, from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Khalid, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day of the battle at Badr, “This is Gabriel over here, holding the head of his horse and fully accoutred for battle.”

Al-Wāqidī stated, “Ibn Abū Ḥabība related to us, from Dāwūd b. al-Ḥuṣayn, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and Mūsā b. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī informed us, from his father, and ʿAbīd b. Yahyā related to me, from Abū al-Ḥuwayrith, from ʿUmāra b. Ukayma al-Laythī, from ʿIkrima, from Ḥakim b. Ḥizām, who all said, ‘When the time for battle arrived, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood with his arms raised imploring God’s aid and fulfilment of His promise, saying, “O God, if they prevail over this force, then polytheism too will prevail and You will have no religion left.” Meanwhile Abū Bakr was saying, “I swear that God will give you aid and will make you content.” And then God sent down 1,000 angels descending en masse and surrounding the enemy.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Rejoice, Abū Bakr! I saw Gabriel wearing a yellow turban, holding the reins of his horse, up there between heaven and earth! When he came down to earth, I lost sight of him for a while, but then
he appeared again; he was dusty all over and he was saying, "God's aid did come
to you when you prayed to Him!"

Al-Bayhaqi related from Abū Umāma b. Sahl who quoted his father as saying,
"My son, I saw for myself at Badr that all any of us had to do was to point to the
head of a polytheist and it would fall from his body before a sword even touched
it!"

Ibn Išhāq stated, "My father related to me, quoting some men of the Bani
Māzīn, quoting Abū Wāqīd al-Laythī, as saying, 'I was pursuing one of the
polytheists, wishing to strike him, when his head came off — before my sword
reached him! I realized that someone other than myself had killed him.'"

Anas, who said, "Our men could differentiate the ones the angels had killed from
those they had struck by the blow having occurred above their necks, and by
their finger-tips looking as if they had been burned by a branding iron."

Ibn Išhāq stated, "A reliable source related to me, from Muqsim, from Ibn
ʿAbbās, who said, "The distinguishing dress of the angels at Badr was the white
turbans they wore that hung down over their backs. Except for Gabriel, that is;
he had on a yellow turban.'"

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, "The only battle in which the angels participated was at
Badr. At the other battles they constituted auxiliaries and reinforcements that
did not actually fight."

Al-Waqīdī stated, "Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. Abū Umayya related to me, from
Muṣʿab b. Aḥmad b. Abd Allāh, from a freed-man of Suhayl b. ʿAmr, who quoted Suhayl
b. ʿAmr as saying, 'At the battle of Badr, I saw white men on piebald horses rid-
ing between heaven and earth, bearing banners, killing and taking prisoners.'

"And Abū Ubayd used to say, he being by then blind, 'If I were there at Badr
with you now and had my sight back, I could show you the defile from which the
angels came without any doubt or confusion.'"

Al-Waqīdī went on, "Khaṭṭīja b. Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting his father as
saying, 'The Messenger of God (ṣallā Allāhu ‘alayhī wa sallam) said to Gabriel, 'Which one of the
angels was it who said at Badr, 'Giddy up, Ḥayzūm?'' Gabriel answered him,
'O Muḥammad, I am not familiar with every denizen of the heavens!'"

I comment that this is a hadith mursal, it refutes those, like al-Suhayli and
others, who maintain that Ḥayzūm is the name of Gabriel's horse. But God
knows best.

Al-Waqīdī stated, "Išhāq b. Yaḥyā related to me, from Ḥamza b. Ṣuḥayb,
from his father, who said, 'I can't tell you how many were the severed arms and
deep wounds I saw at the battle of Badr that did not bleed!'"

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā related to me, from Abū ʿUqayl, from Abū Burda b.
Niyār, who said, "I gathered up three heads at Badr and placed them before the

63. One in which the Prophet is quoted without mention of the Companion who narrated the
statement.
Messenger of God (SAAS) telling him, ‘Two of these I myself killed. Regarding the third, I saw a tall man kill him and I then took his head.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, ‘O, that was so-and-so, one of the angels.’”

Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting his father, as saying, “Al-Sā‘īb b. Abū Ḥubaysh used to relate, during the period of Umar’s rule, ‘I swear, it was no man who took me prisoner.’ ‘Who was it then?’ he would be asked, and he would respond, ‘When Quraysh were defeated, so was I with them. A tall, long-haired man on a white horse took me and tied me up. Then along came ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf and found me there bound. He called out to the men, “Who was it captured this man?” Eventually he took me to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who asked, “Who was it you prisoner?” I told him I did not know, but I was reluctant to tell him what I had seen. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, “It was an angel who took you prisoner. Take your captive away, Ibn ‘Awf.”’”

Al-Wāqīḍī stated, “‘Abīd b. Yaḥyā related to me, as did Abū al-Ḥuwayrīth, from ʿImāra b. Uqayma, from Ḥākim b. Ḥizām, who said, ‘At the battle of Badr, I witnessed striped cloth come down from the sky and it blocked off the horizon. And then the valley streamed with water. It occurred to me that this was something from heaven with which Muḥammad was to be helped. And it was not long before there was the defeat and the advance of the angels to the forefront.’”

Ishāq b. Rāhawayh stated, “Wahb b. Jarir b. Ḥāzīm related to us, saying, ‘My father told me, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, “My father quoted to me Jubayr b. Muṭʿām as saying, ‘Before the enemy force was defeated, and while the men were still fighting, I saw something like a black striped cloth descend from the sky, like black ants; I had no doubt it was the angels, and soon the enemy force was defeated.”’”

The angels descended to give their help and the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw them when he took a nap and, upon waking up, he told Abū Bakr the good news, saying, “Rejoice at this, Abū Bakr; for Gabriel was there, leading his horse and with dust all over him.” By this he meant from the battle.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then left the shelter, dressed in chain-mail, and began urging on the men to battle. He told them of heaven and gave them encouragement in news of the coming of the angels. The men were meanwhile still in their battle ranks, not yet having advanced against their enemy. The result was that they felt tranquility and confidence.

They felt that calmness that is the sign of confidence, security and faith, just as God stated, “When He caused calm to overcome you, as a security from Him” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.11). This similarly happened to them thereafter, at the battle of Uhud, as in the reference in the Qurʾān.

This is why Ibn Maṣʿūd remarked, “Calm in the battle ranks is a sign of faith; calm during the prayer is a sign of hypocrisy.”
God Almighty stated, “If you sought judgement, it has come to you. If you desist, it will be better for you. If you go back, so will we. Your forces will serve you nothing, no matter how numerous they are. God is with the believers” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.19).

Imam Ahmad stated, quoting Yazid b. Ḥārūn and Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq al-Zuhri from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭhaflaba that Abū Jahl said, when the two sides met in battle, ‘O God, he (Muḥammaed) was willing to destroy the ties of kinship, and the one to introduce us to that which was foreign to us, so destroy him this morning.’ It was Abū Jahl who ‘sought judgement’.”

Ibn Ishaq related it thus in his biography. Al-Nasā’ī related it through Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhri. And al-Ḥakim related it also from a hadīth of al-Zuhri. He then said, “It is authentic and in accordance with the criteria of both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim); though neither one of them mentioned it.”

Al-Umawi stated, “Asbāt b. Muḥammad al-Qurashi related to us, from ‘Aṭīyya, from Mufrīf, concerning God’s words, L‘If you sought judgement, it has come to you’ that Abū Jahl said, ‘O God, assist the better of the parties, the more noble of the tribes, and the more numerous of the forces.’” And the words came down, “If you sought judgement, it has come to you.”

‘Aṭīr b. Abū Ṭalḥa quoted Ibn ṬAbbās as saying, regarding the words, “And when God promises you that one of the two parties is yours” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.7). “The caravan belonging to the people of Mecca approached on its way to Syria. Those in Medina got news of this and they went forth, accompanied by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to attack the caravan.

“News of this reached the Meccans and they hurried out to the caravan to prevent the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his force from seizing it. The caravan outstripped the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); God had promised them one of the two parties, and they had wanted to meet up with the caravan.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did set forth with the Muslims heading for the enemy force, but they were reluctant to leave, being aware of the strength of their opponents. The Prophet (ṢAAS) made a halt with his Muslims at a place where there was a large sandhill between them and the wells. The Muslims were extremely tired, and Satan made them discontented by whispering to them, ‘You claim to be partisans of God and to have His Messenger among you, yet it was the polytheists who reached the wells before you did, leaving you like this.’

“Then God sent down upon them a heavy rain. The Muslims drank and cleaned themselves and God withdrew Satan’s evil from them. The sand became packed down and so both men and their animals could walk easily upon it. They then went out to fight the enemy force, and God aided his Messenger and the believers with 1,000 angels. Gabriel was there with 500 angels on one flank, and Michael was on the other with another 500 angels.

“Satan also brought a force of devils, including some of his own progeny, these being in the guise of men of the Banū Mudlij. Satan himself was in the
form of Surāqa b. Malik b. Ja'śham; he addressed the polytheists, saying, ‘No one will defeat you today. I shall protect you!’

“When the battle lines were drawn, Abu Jahl spoke the words, ‘The one more worthy of the truth, provide him with assistance.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) raised up his hands and prayed, ‘O God, if this force is destroyed, You will never be worshipped on earth.’

“Gabriel told him to pick up a handful of soil. He did so and threw it into the faces of the polytheists. Every one of those whose eyes, nostrils or mouth any of this soil touched turned and retreated.

“Gabriel went towards Satan and at the time when the former saw him his hand was holding that of a polytheist. Satan withdrew his hand and retreated, along with his party of devils. The polytheist asked him, ‘I thought you claimed to be our protector?’ He replied, ‘I see what you do not. I fear God, for God is mighty in His punishment.’ He said this when he saw the angels.”

Al-Bayhaqi related this in Dalā'il (The Signs).

Al-Ṭabrānī stated, “Mas'āda b. Sa'd al-ʿAṭṭār related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿImrān and Hishām b. Sa'd, from ʿAbd Rabbih b. Sa'd b. Qays al-Anṣārī, from Rifā'a b. Raṣīk, who said, ‘When Satan saw how the angels dealt with the polytheists at Badr, he was afraid that the same would happen to him. Al-Ḥāarith b. Hishām was staying very close to him, believing him to be Surāqa b. Malik; Satan struck al-Ḥāarith hard in the chest, then hurried away and threw himself into the sea, raising his hands into the air and pleading, “O God, I ask you to look kindly down upon me!” He was afraid that he was going to be killed. Abu Jahl came up and called out, “O people, do not be disturbed by the rambling of Surāqa b. Malik; he was about to attend a meeting with Muḥammad! And don’t be scared by the killing of Shayba, ʿUthba and al-ʿWālīd; their time had come. I swear by al-ʿLāt and al-ʿUzzā, we’ll not go back home before we have scattered them into the mountains. I don’t expect any of you to kill any of them. Just capture them roughly and make them aware of their bad behaviour in parting company with you and in abandoning al-ʿLāt and al-ʿUzzā.”’”

“Abū Jahl then quoted the line:

‘Fierce warfare will not take revenge on me, spry like a two-year old camel; I am young in years.

It was for such as this that my mother bore me.’”

Al-Waqīdī related, from Mūsā b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Sulaymānī, from Abū Bakr b. Abū ʿAdām, (who said), “I heard Marwān b. al-Ḥakam ask Ḥakīm b. Ḥiẓam about the battle of Badr. The sheikh was reluctant, but when Marwān insisted Ḥakīm said, ‘We met and engaged in battle, and I heard a sound of something falling from the sky to the ground, making a noise like pebbles dropping into a brass basin. Then the Prophet (SAAS) picked up a handful of dirt and threw it. And we were defeated.’”
Al-Waqidi stated, “Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlabā b. Ṣuqayr (who said), “I heard Nawfal b. Muʿāwiya al-Dīlt say, ‘We were defeated at Badr as we heard a noise like that of pebbles dropping into a bowl, right inside us and behind us! That had a terrifying impact on us.’”

Al-Umawi stated, “My father related to us, quoting Ibn Abī Ishāq, quoting al-Zuhri from ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaʿlabā b. Ṣuqayr, that Abū Jahl said, when the forces met, ‘O God, in the morning destroy the one who introduced us to that which was foreign to us and who ruined the family ties.’ This was the ‘judgement sought’.

“While they were in this state, God had encouraged the Muslims in meeting their enemy and had so diminished their enemy in their eyes that they were eager to fight them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took a nap in the shelter, then woke up and said, ‘Rejoice, Abī Bahr, Gabriel is here, wearing a turban and holding the reins of his horse he is leading, with dust upon him. God and His forces have come to you.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) issued orders picked up a handful of pebbles, went outside and faced the enemy and said, ‘You are disgraced!’ He then cast the pebbles out over them and said to his men, ‘Attack!’”

The defeat soon came. God killed some of their leaders and took some prisoner. Ziyād stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then picked up a handful of pebbles, approached Quraysh carrying them and said, ‘You are disgraced!’ He cast the pebbles out over them and ordered his men, ‘Attack them!’ The defeat then occurred and God killed some of their chieftains and captured others.”

Al-Suddi al-Kabir stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ‘Ali at the battle of Badr, ‘Give me some pebbles from the ground!’ He handed him some pebbles with dirt on them which he threw into the faces of the enemy. None of the polytheists escaped having a little of that dirt enter their eyes. The Muslims forced them back, killing and capturing them. God revealed on that subject, ‘You did not kill them; it is God who killed them. It was not you who threw when you threw, but God who threw’” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.17).

Urwa, ʿIkrima, Mujāhid, Muḥammad b. Kaʿb, Muḥammad b. Qays, Qatāda, Ibn Zayd, and others all spoke similarly, agreeing that this verse came down about the battle of Badr.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did the same during the expedition of Ḥunayn, as we will explain in the proper place, if God wills it, and in Him we trust.

Ibn Ishāq reported that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) urged his men on to battle, cast the dirt at the polytheists and God Almighty defeated them, he went back up into the shelter accompanied by Abū Bakr. Saʿd b. Muʿādh, along with some of the Helpers stood guard at its door, bearing swords, concerned that some of the polytheists might attack the Prophet (ṢAAS).
Ibn Isḥaq stated, “When his men busied themselves in taking prisoners, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) noticed, so I have been told, some discontent in the face of Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh at what they were doing. He therefore asked him, ‘Do I see you dislike what our men are doing, Sa’d?’ He replied, ‘Yes, by God, O Messenger of God; this is the first battle God has waged against the polytheists and I would have preferred the men to be massacred rather than kept alive!’”

Ibn Isḥaq went on, “Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ma‘ābīd related to me, from some of his family, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to his Companions that day, ‘I have learned that some men of the Banū Ḥashim, and others, have been forced to come out and did not want to do battle against us. If any of you should meet up with any men of the Banū Ḥashim, do not kill them. If one of you should meet Abū al-Bakhtari b. Ḥishām b. al-Ḥārith b. Asad, he should not kill him. Anyone meeting al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) should also not kill him; he only came forth reluctantly.’

“Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a then asked, ‘Should we then kill our own sons and brothers yet leave al-‘Abbās alone? I swear by God, if I meet up with him, I’ll attack him with my sword!’

“This comment reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and he said to Ṭumar, ‘O father of Ḥafṣ’ – ‘Umar swore this was the first time he had ever used this name when addressing him – ‘shall the face of the uncle of the Messenger of God be struck with a sword?’

‘O Messenger of God,’ Ṭumar replied, ‘let me strike Abū Ḥudhayfa’s neck with my sword; he’s turned hypocrite!’

“Abū Ḥudhayfa stated, ‘I never felt safe, having made that comment that day. I always feared that the only thing that would mitigate it would be my martyrdom.’

“And he was killed as a martyr at the battle of al-Yamāma. God be pleased with him.”

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*Ibn Isḥaq* stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only forbade the killing of Abū al-Bakhtari because in Mecca he had been the most protective of the Messenger of God. He never harmed him, nor allowed anyone to mistreat him. He had also been one of those who had annulled the document boycotting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-Mujadhdhir b. Dhiyād al-Balawi, an ally of the Helpers met up with him and told him, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has forbidden us from killing you.’ Abū al-Bakhtari had with him a friend who had come forth from Mecca in his company, a man named Junādā b. Maliḥa, of the Banū Layth. Abū al-Bakhtari asked, ‘And what about my friend?’

“Al-Mujadhdhir replied, ‘No, by God, we’ll not excuse your friend; it was about you alone the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave orders.’ Abū al-Bakhtari
said, 'Well then, I and he will die together. I'll not have the womenfolk of Mecca say of me that I abandoned my friend because of my own will to live!'

"Abū al-Bakhtari spoke the following verse as he began to battle al-Mujaddhir,

'No free man abandons his comrade until he dies or sees his way.'

"They fought, and al-Mujaddhir b. Dhiyād killed him. On this subject he spoke the verses,

'Should you have not known or forgotten my lineage, be sure that I descend from Bālī,
Men who fight using Yazānī spears, striking down the high and mighty,
Either tell Abū al-Bakhtari's son that he's an orphan now, or tell my son the same of me.
I am he whose lineage is known to be from Bālī; I
thrust home my spear so hard it almost folds over,
I slaughter my foe with a sharp Mashrāfī blade, racing to death like a milch-camel to milking,
You will never see Mujaddhir inventing a lie.'

"Al-Mujaddhir then went to the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) and told him, 'I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, I did try to take him prisoner to bring him to you, but he insisted on fighting me. So I fought back and killed him.'"


Ibn Isḥāq stated, "Yahyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and others related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who said, ʿUmayya b. Khalaf had been a friend of mine at Mecca. My name at that time was ʿAbd ʿAmr, and when I became a Muslim I renamed myself ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. When we met in Mecca, he addressed me by saying, "Hey, ʿAbd ʿAmr, don't you like the name your father gave you?" "That's right," I replied. He then said, "Well, I don't know this 'al-Raḥmān' name; let's give you some name just for you and me that I can call you. You don't respond to your first name and I can't call you by what I don't recognize." When he addressed me by ʿAbd ʿAmr, I did not respond. So I told him, "Abū ʿAlī, name me whatever you want." "Then you can be 'Abd al-Ilāh", he said, and I agreed to this.

"Thereafter, when I passed him, he would address me as 'Abd al-Ilāh, and I would respond and talk with him.

"At the battle of Badr, I passed by him as he was standing with his son 'Alī, holding his hand. I was carrying some coats of chain-mail I had got as spoils and when he saw me he called out, "'Abd ʿAmr!" I made no reply, so he then called
out, "'Abd al-Ilah!" "Yes?" I then responded. He asked, "Don't you think I'm worth more to you than those coats of chain-mail you're carrying?" "Yes, you are," I replied.

"So I put down the chain-mail and took him and his son by the hands. As I did so he commented that he had never seen the like of that day and asked, "Don't you have need of milk?" I then walked off with them both."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "'Abd al-Wāhid b. Abū 'Awn related to me, from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, who said, 'Umayya b. Khalaf said to me as I walked between him and his son, holding hands with them both, "'Abd al-Ilah, who is that man distinguished by an ostrich feather across his chest?" I replied, "That is Ḥamza." He commented, "He's the one who ruined us."

"As I was leading them on, Bilāl saw him with me, Umayya having been the one who had so persecuted him for his adoption of Islam. Bilāl shouted out, "Hey, there's that polytheist-in-chief Umayya b. Khalaf! I'll not live on if he does!" I responded, "Now Bilāl, he's my prisoner." "I'll not live on if he does," he insisted. He then began shouting at the top of his voice, "O partisans of God, here's Umayya b. Khalaf, the worst polytheist of all! I'll not live on if he does!" Men soon surrounded us till they had us in a sort of enclosure, with me protecting him all the while. Then one man took his sword and struck the leg of Umayya's son, making him fall down. Umayya then let out a cry such as I never heard before. I told him to try to escape, though there was no chance of this, and I could do nothing for him. After that our men fell on them with their swords and killed them."

The account concludes, "'Ahd al-Rahmān used to say, 'May God have mercy on Bilāl; he deprives me of both my chain-mail and my two prisoners!'

Al-Bukhārī related this in similar terms in his sahih collection. In the chapter dealing with the power of attorney, he stated, "'Abd al-'Azīz related to me, he being the son of 'Abd Allāh, quoting Yūsuf, he being the son of al-Mājishūn, from Ṣālih b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, who quoted his father as saying that his father, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf said, 'I corresponded with Umayya b. Khalaf asking him to take care of my personal affairs in Mecca while I looked after his in Medina. When I used the word "al-Rahmān" in my name, he responded, "I don't know any 'al-Rahmān'; write to me in the name you had before." So I wrote to him as "'Abd 'Amr." At Badr I went out to the mountain to protect him when the men were asleep, but Bilāl caught sight of him and came out and stood where there was a group of the Helpers and yelled, "Umayya b. Khalaf! I'll not live on if Umayya b. Khalaf does!"

"So he and a group of the Helpers took off after us. Fearing they would catch up with us, I left behind for them his son to deter them. But they killed him and pursued us; he was a heavy man. When they caught up to us, I told him to kneel down and when he did so I shielded him with myself. But they reached him with

64. According to Ibn Hishām, he was suggesting that he would be able to offer milch-camels as ransom for himself and his son.
their swords while he was beneath me, and one of them cut my leg with his sword.’ And ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān b. ʿAwf used to show us the mark on the back of his leg.”

Yūsuf heard Ṣāliḥ relate this, his father being ʿĪrāḥīm.

Al-Buḥṭārī, alone of all the authorities, gave this account. In the collection of ḥadīth attributed to Rifiṣa b. Rāḥī, it was he who killed Umayya b. Khalaf.

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THE DEATH OF ABŪ JAHL, GOD DAMN HIM!

Ibn Hishām stated, “As Abū Jahl advanced that day he spoke the following verse as he fought,

‘Violent warfare will not take revenge on me, spry like a two-year old camel; I am young in years.

It was for such as this that my mother bore me.’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished with his enemy, he ordered that the body of Abū Jahl be sought among those killed.

“Regarding who was the first to find Abū Jahl, I was told by Thawr b. Zayd, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and also by ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, as follows, ʿMuʿādh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jamīḥ, a brother of the Banū Ṣalāma, said, “I heard our men say that Abū Jahl was amid some bushes, and that he could not be reached.”

“When I heard this, I made him my business and went off for him. When I could do so, I attacked him and gave him such a blow as to sever his foot and half his leg. I swear, the only thing I can compare it with as it flew off was like the kernel of a nut emerging after having been struck by a nutcracker. His son ʿIkrima struck me on my shoulder and off came my arm, which remained attached only by the skim of my side. The battle drew me away from him, and I spent the whole day fighting while dragging my arm behind me. When it began hurting, I kept my foot on it as I walked ahead until I had removed it.’”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Muʿādh lived on after that into the reign of ʿUthmān.

“Then Muʿāwīyih b. ʿAfrāʾ passed by Abū Jahl, who was already badly wounded, and struck him till he disabled him completely. Muʿāwīyih left him on the point of death and fought on until he was killed.

“ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd next passed by Abū Jahl, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having issued the order that he be sought from among those killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had told them, so I have been informed, ‘If when you search he is hidden among the dead, look for someone with a scar on his knee. He and I, when we were youths, were once sitting crowded together at a feast given by ʿAbd Allāh b. Judān. I was a little slimmer than him, and I gave him a push making him fall down on his knees, one of which received a wound that left a permanent scar.’”

“ʿIbn Masʿūd stated, ‘When I found him he was on the point of death. When I recognized him I put my foot on his neck; he had once held me captive in
Mecca and hurt me and kicked me. I asked him, “So God has put you to shame then, you enemy of God!” He replied, “And how has He shamed me?” he asked. “Aren’t I the most noble man you have killed? Tell me which side won the day?” “It went to God and to His Messenger,” I told him.’”

Ibn Ishâq went on, “Men of the Banû Makhzûm claim that Ibn Masûd used to say, ‘Abū Jahl said to me, ‘You’ve climbed very high, for having been just a herdsman!’ I then severed his head and took it to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, ‘This, O Messenger of God, is the head of God’s enemy.’ ‘Is it really, by God other than Whom there is none?’ (This was the oath the Messenger of God used to speak.) I responded, ‘Yes, by God other than whom there is none.’ I then threw Abû Jahl’s head down in front of him and he praised God.”

This is an account given by Ibn Ishâq, God be pleased with him.

It is established in both sahih collections, through Yuṣuf b. Ya’qûb b. al-Majishûn, from Šâhî b. Ibrâhîm b. ʿAbd al-Râhîm b. Ṭawâf, from his father who quoted ʿAbd al-Râhîm b. Ṭawâf, as saying, “At Badr I was standing in the battle line and when I looked to my right and my left I found myself to be between two Helpers, both of whom were young men. I had hoped to be positioned between two men who would be weaker than these. One of them asked me, winking, ‘Uncle, would you know Abû Jahl?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied, ‘what need have you of him?’ He replied, ‘I’ve heard that he curses the Messenger of God (SAAS). I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, if I were to see him, I’d not leave him before the death of whichever of us had his time come first.’”

“I was amazed to hear this. Then the young man on my other side winked at me and asked me the same. I looked right over at Abû Jahl, moving around his men and commented, ‘Can’t you see? That’s the man over there you’re asking about.’ Thereupon the two men charged at him with their swords drawn and struck him until they had killed him. They then went off to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and informed him and he asked which of them had killed him. Each one said he had. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, ‘Have you both wiped your swords clean?’ They replied, ‘No.’ He then examined the swords and concluded that they had indeed both killed him. He decided that Abû Jahl’s spoils should go to Muṣâdh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jâmûh, the other man being Muṣâdh b. ʿAfd.”

Al-Bukhârî stated, “Yaʿqûb b. Ibrâhîm related to us, quoting Ibrâhîm b. Saʿd, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted ʿAbd al-Râhîm as having said, ‘I was there in the line at Badr and happened to look to my left and right and found those next to me to be young men. I wasn’t feeling very comfortable at their position, when one of them asked me, keeping his question secret from his companion, “Uncle, point out Abû Jahl to me.” “What will you do to him?” I asked. He replied, “I swore to God that if I saw him I would kill him or die in front of him.” The other man asked me in confidence the same question. Nothing pleased me more than to be in that position between them both. I pointed Abû Jahl out to them and they flew at him like falcons and struck him down. These men were two sons of ʿAfrâ’.”
In both *sahih* collections, moreover, there is an account from Abū Sulaymān al-Taymi quoting Anas b. Mālik as saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘Who will find out what became of Abū Jahl?’ Ibn Masʿūd offered to do so and went off and located him; he had been struck down by ‘Afrā’s two sons and was on the point of death. Ibn Masʿūd then took him by the beard and asked, ‘Are you Abū Jahl?’ He replied, ‘Is any man superior whom you have killed?’ Or he said, ‘It is his people who killed him!’”

According to al-Bukhārī, from Abū Usāma, Ismāʿīl b. Qays quoted Ibn Masʿūd as having said that he went to Abū Jahl and asked him, “Has God disgraced you then?” He replied, “Aren’t I the most noble man you have killed?”

Al-Aʿmash stated, from Abū Ishaq, from Abū ʿUbayda, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “When I reached Abū Jahl he was stretched out, wearing a helmet and holding a fine sword. My own sword was a poor one. I was about to sever his head with my sword, remembering how my own head had been struck with swords in Mecca till the hands of my attackers tired. Then I picked up his sword, whereupon he raised his head and asked, ‘Which side won the day? Us or them? And aren’t you our young herdsman from Mecca?’

‘ʿAbd Allāh went on, ‘So I killed him. Then I went to the Prophet (SAAS) and told him I had killed Abū Jahl. He exclaimed, ‘Did you really, by God other than Whom there is none!’ He made me swear it three times. He then arose and went outside, with me accompanying him, and cursed them (those polytheists killed in battle).’”

Imām Ahmad stated, “Wakī related to us, quoting Isrāʿīl, from Abū Ishaq, from Abū ʿUbayda, who said, ‘Abd Allāh stated, ‘When I reached Abū Jahl at the battle of Badr, I found that his leg had been severed, but he was still using his sword to defend himself. I said, ‘Praise be to God for disgracing you, you enemy of God!’ He responded, ‘Is he any but a man killed by his own people?’

‘I set about fighting him with a blunt sword I had and struck him on the hand. His sword fell, and I picked it up and hit him with it till I had killed him.’”

“ʿAbd Allāh went on, ‘I then went to the Prophet (SAAS) as though walking on air, and told him. He responded, ‘Is it really so, by God other than Whom there is none!’ He repeated this three times. I then replied, ‘It really is, by God other than whom there is none!’”

“ʿAbd Allāh continued, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went out, accompanied by myself, stood over him and said, ‘Praise be to God! God has disgraced you, you enemy of God! This man was the Pharaoh of his people!’”

In another account, Ibn Masʿūd stated, “And he gave me his sword as booty.”

Abū Ishaq al-Fazārī stated, from al-Thawrī, from Abū Ishaq, from Abū ʿUbayda, from Ibn Masʿūd, who said, “I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the battle of Badr and told him I had killed Abū Jahl. He replied, ‘Is it really so, by God other than whom there is none?’ I replied, ‘It really is, by God other than whom there is none!’ I said this twice or thrice.”
"The Prophet (SAAS) responded, 'God is Great! Praise be to God who fulfilled His promise, and aided His servant and defeated the parties by Himself.' He then added, 'Go and show him to me.' I went and did so and he said, 'This is the Pharaoh of this nation.'"

Abū Dāūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a hadīth told by Abū Ishāq al-Sabītī.

Al-Waqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stood where the two sons of ‘Afrā'ī had died and said, 'God bless the two sons of ‘Afrā'; they were partners in the killing of the Pharaoh of this nation, the leader-in-chief of the polytheists.' Someone asked, 'O Messenger of God, who was it who killed him along with them?' He replied, 'The angels; and also Ibn Masʿūd participated in killing him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥakīm related to us, quoting al-Asāmm, quoting Ahmad b. Abī al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from 'Anbasa b. al-Azhar from Abū Ishāq, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) received at Badr the good news of the death of Abū Jahl, he asked (the informant) to swear thrice that he had indeed seen him dead. He did so whereupon the Messenger of God (SAAS) prostrated in prayer.'"

Al-Bayhaqī then related through Abū Nuʿaym, from Salama b. Rājī, from al-Shaṭḥā, a woman of the Banū Asad, from Abū Abd Allāh b. Abū ʿAwfā, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed two rakʿāt (four prostrations) when he was given the good news of the victory, and when he was brought Abū Jahl's head.

Ibn Māja stated, "Abū Bishr Bakr b. Khalaf related to us, quoting Salama b. Rājī, who said, 'Shaṭḥā related to me, from Abū Abd Allāh b. Abū ʿAwfā, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) made two prostrations in prayer on the day he was brought the head of Abū Jahl.'"

Ibn Abī Dunyā stated, "My father related to me, quoting Hishām, quoting Mujaḍīd from al-Sha'bi, that a man said to the Messenger of God (SAAS), 'As I passed by Badr, I saw a man coming out of the battle-field being struck by a man with an iron staff he had until he disappeared into the ground. When he next appeared, the man would hit him again, and this happened several times.'"

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, "That was Abū Jahl b. Hishām being tortured until Judgement Day."

Al-Umawī stated in his work on the military expeditions, "I heard my father say that al-Mujaḍīd b. Saʿīd related to him, from 'Āmir, who said, 'A man came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, 'I saw at Badr a man seated while another man struck him on the head with an iron rod until he disappeared into the ground.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, 'That was Abū Jahl; an angel had been appointed to do that to him whenever he came up. He is going to go on sinking down into the ground until Judgement Day.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ubayd b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, who said, 'Al-Zubayr stated, 'At Badr I met up with Usāma b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ who was fully accoutred, so that nothing of him could be seen except his eyes. He was known by the nickname 'Abū al-Kirsh',
i.e. ‘pot-belly’. He told me he was Abī al-Kirsh and I charged at him with a javelin, struck him in the eye and he died.”

“Hishām stated, ‘I was informed that al-Zubayr said, “I put my foot on him and trod down, only managing to extract it with difficulty for its two blades had bent over.”’”

Urwa stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked for it and he gave it over. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, it being still in his possession, Abū Bakr requested and received it. When Abū Bakr died, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb requested and received it. When ʿUmar died, he (al-Zubayr, tr.) took it, but ʿUthmān requested it and he gave it to him. When ʿUthmān was killed, it went to ʿAli’s family. Then ʿAbd Allāh, al-Zubayr’s son, asked for it and had possession of it until he was killed.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Abū Ubayda related to me, quoting other scholars learned in the early military engagements, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ as he passed by, ‘You seem to me annoyed about something; do you think I killed your father? If I had, I would not apologize to you for doing so. However, it was my uncle al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra whom I killed. I did pass by your father, but he was acting like a bull scraping the earth with his horn. So I avoided him and it was his nephew ʿAli who sought him out and killed him.’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan b. Ḥirthān al-Asadī, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, used his sword to fight with at Badr until it broke off in his hand. He went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who then gave him a wooden club and told him, ‘fight with this, Ukkāsha!’

“When Ukkāsha took it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and brandished it, it turned into a fine, long, white steel sword. He fought using it until God gave victory to the Muslims. That sword was named al-ʿawn, ‘the helper’; he had it at all the battles he witnessed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), until ultimately he was killed by Ṭūlayḥa al-Asadī, during the wars of apostasy. Ṭūlayḥa spoke an ode about this, part of which was,

“The evening I left Ibn ʿAqram lying prostrate, and Ṭūkāsha al-Ghanamī on a battle-field.”

Ṭūlayḥa later accepted Islam, as will be related hereafter.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Ukkāsha was he who said, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), gave his nation the good news that 70,000 of them would enter heaven without either testing or punishment, ‘Pray to God to make me one of them.’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) then spoke the words, ‘O God, make him one of them!’”

This hadith is given in all the saḥīḥ, “authentic”, and hisān, “good”, collections of traditions, as well as elsewhere.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said – so I have been told – ‘We have the finest horseman of all the Arabs.’ And who is he then?’ he was
asked, and he replied, 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan.' Dirār b. al-Azwar commented, 'He's one of our men, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'He's not one of yours. He's one of ours by alliance.'"

Al-Bayhaqi related, from al-Ḥākim, through Muḥammad b. Umar al-Waqīdī, "Umar b. ʿUthmān al-Khashni related to me, from his father, from his maternal aunt, who said, 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan stated, "My sword broke at Badr, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave me a stick and suddenly it became a long, white sword. I fought with it until God defeated the polytheists." He kept it with him until he died.'"

Al-Waqīdī stated, "Usāma b. Zayd related to me, from Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from some men of the Banū al-Ashṭal, several of whom said, 'The sword of Salama b. Ḥuraysh broke during the battle of Badr. Without a sword, he was unable to fight, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a staff he carried made of a green palm tree frond. He told him, "fight with this!" And it turned into a fine sword. He kept it with him until he was killed at the battle of Jisr Abū ʿUbaydā.'"

HOW THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) REPLACED QATĀDĀ'S EYE.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, in the Dalāʾīl (The Signs), "Abū ʿAmīr b. al-Malinti informed us, quoting Abū ʿHāmid b. ʿAdi, quoting Abū Yaʿqūb, quoting Yaḥyā al-Ḥimmānī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Sulaymān b. al-Ghāsib, from ʿĀṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda, from his father, from his grandfather Qatāda b. al-Nūmān, that his eye was wounded at Badr and that its pupil came down on to his cheekbone. They were about to slice it off, but asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who said that they should not do this. He then said a prayer for him, covering his cheek with his palm. And later you could not tell which of his eyes had been struck!"

According to one account, this became his better eye.

An account came down to us from the Commander of the Believers, Umar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz that when he was told this account by ʿĀṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda, he also recited,

"I am the son of him on whose cheek his eye descended, which was replaced so well by the hand of the Chosen-One."

Upon hearing this, Umar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, God bless him, quoted very appropriately the verse of Umayyā b. Abū al-Ṣalt about the sword of Ibn Dhu Yazīn,

"These fine qualities are not like two bowls with milk merely whitening the water that soon becomes urine."

ANOTHER SIMILAR ACCOUNT.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "The ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṣalīḥ, quoting al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad al-Shaʿrānī, quoting
Ibrahim b. al-Mundhir, quoting 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Imran, quoting Rifaa' b. Yahya, quoting Mu'adh b. Rifaa' b. Rabi', from his father Rabi' b. Malik, who said, 'At the battle of Badr, the enemy was gathered around Ubayy b. Khalaf and when I drew near him, I saw that his chain-mail had been damaged beneath his arm pit. So I stabbed him there with my sword. At Badr I was also hit by an arrow and my eye was gouged out. The Messenger of God (SAAS) spat on it and said a prayer for me. And no harm had been done to me.'"

This account is unique from this line; its chain of transmission is excellent, but the (major) scholars did not quote it. Al-Tibrani, however, related it from a hadith of Ibrahim b. al-Mundhir.

Ibn Hisham stated, "And Abu Bakr called for his son 'Abd al-Rahman who was at that time on the side of the polytheists, not yet having accepted Islam. Abu Bakr asked him, 'Well, where's my property now, evil one?' 'Abd al-Rahman replied, in verse,

"All that remains are weapons and the horse Ya'bub, and a sword with which to kill silly old men."

By this he meant that all that was left was equipment for warfare and a horse, named Ya'bub, on which misguided old men could be fought. This is what he said in his state of disbelief.

We have been informed in al-Umawi's work on the military campaigns that the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abu Bakr went out and walked among the dead, the former commenting, "We're splitting the chieftains apart," the latter reciting the verse,

"Of powerful men who were against us; they were very haughty and evil!"

An Account of how the heads of the unbelievers were thrown into the well at the battle of Badr.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Yazid b. Ruman related to me, from Urwa, from 'Aisha, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that those killed should be thrown into the burial pit, it was done. Umayya b. Khalaf, however, was not thrown in because he had swollen up in his armour and quite filled it. When they went to take him out of it, his body fell apart so they left him in it and threw on him the earth and the stones they had removed.

'Having thrown them into the pit, he stood over them and said, 'O denizens of the pit, have you found what your Lord promised you to be true, for I have found what my Lord promised me?'

'She went on, 'His Companions asked him, 'O Messenger of God, are you talking to people who are dead?"
“He replied, “They have learned that what their Lord promised them was true” (surat al-Rûm; XXX, v.52).

“Aisha stated, ‘People say that he spoke the words, “They heard what I said to them.” However, what he said was, “they have learned”’”

Ibn Ishâq stated that Humayd al-Tawil related to him, from Anas b. Malik who said, “The Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) heard him saying in the middle of the night, ‘0 denizens of the pit, 0 Wthâ h. Rabi‘a, 0 Shayba b. Rabî‘a, O Umayya b. Khalaf, O Abû Jahl b. Hishâm,’ and he went on to enumerate those in the pit. ‘Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true, for I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.’

“The Muslims said, ‘0 Messenger of God, are you calling out to decaying bodies?’

“He replied, ‘You do not hear any better than they what it is I say; but they cannot answer me.’”

Imâm Ahmad related this from Ibn Abû ‘Adî, from Hamâd, from Anas. His account was similar. This tradition conforms to the criteria of both the sheikhs (al-Bukhârî and Muslim).

Ibn Ishâq stated, “A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘0 denizens of the pit, you were very bad relatives of the prophet who was your Prophet. You called me a liar, while the people believed in me. You expelled me, while they gave me shelter. You fought me, while they aided me. Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.’”

I would comment that this is one of those ahâdîth that ‘A’isha, God bless her, used to interpret (differently), believing them to contradict the verses in the Qur‘ân. These have been documented in a single volume.

In this case the passage contradicted, in her view, is the verse, “And you do not make those in the graves listen” (surat al-Fâîr; XXXV, v.22). This verse however does not contradict the previous statement. The view of the majority of the Companions is correct in the light of the ahâdîth that contradict her views, God bless her and be pleased with her.

Al-Bukhârî stated that ‘Ubayd b. Ismâ‘îl related to him, from Abû Usâma, from Hishâm b. ‘Urwa, from his father, who said, “Someone mentioned in ‘A’isha’s presence that Ibn ‘Umar quoted the Prophet (SAAS) as having said, that the dead would be persecuted in their graves because of the weeping of their families. She commented, ‘God have mercy on him, no! What the Messenger of God (SAAS) said was, “They will be tortured for their faults and their sins, and their families are weeping for them now.”’

“She went on, ‘That is like the account saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stood at the trench in which were the polytheists who had been killed at Badr and he spoke to them, and commented, ‘They do listen to what I say.’” However, what he said was, “They now know that what I was telling them was true.’” She then recited, “you do not make the dead to hear” (surat al-Rûm;
XXX, v.52) and “you do not make those inside the graves hear” (sūrat al-Fāṭir; XXXV, v.22). She commented, “When they had taken their places in hell-fire, that is.” Muslim related it from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma.

The assertion concerning hearing the dead after their burial comes in more than one hadith, as we will establish, if God wills it, in our book on funerals in al-Ahkām al-Kabīr (The Major Statutes).

Al-Bukhārī then stated, “Uthmān related to me, quoting ‘Abda, from Hishām, from his father, from Ibn Ṭūr, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) stood at the burial pit at Badr and said, “Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true?” He then said, “They now listen to what I tell them!”

“This was related to ‘A‘īsha and she commented, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) really said, “Now they know that what I used to tell them was the truth.”’ She then recited, ‘you do not make the dead to hear’ to the end of that verse.”

Muslim related this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma, and from Abī Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Wāqī, both of them quoting Hishām b. ‘Urwa.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, (that) he heard Rawḥ b. ‘Ubāda (say), ‘Sa‘īd b. Abū Ḥurāma related to us, from Qatāda, who said, “Anas b. Mālik reported to us, from Abū Ṭalḥa, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered on the day of the battle at Badr that 24 of the chiefs of Quraysh be thrown into a dirty, refuse-laden old well. Whenever he went forth against an enemy he would stay for three nights out in an open area. On the third day at Badr he ordered his mount to be readied and it was saddled. He then set off, followed by his Companions who told one another that he had to have some important reason to be leaving. He came to a stop at the lip of the well and began calling out their names, referring also to their fathers’ names by saying, ‘You so-and-so, son of so-and-so’ etc. ‘Would you now be pleased to have obeyed God and His Messenger? We have found that what our Lord promised us was true. Have you found what your Lord promised you to be true?’”

“Umar then said, ‘Messenger of God, why do you talk to bodics that have no spirits in them?’

“The Prophet (SAAS) replied, ‘By Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, you do not hear what I say any better than do they!’”

Qatāda stated, “God gave them life until He had made them hear his words, to reprimand, denigrate, and punish them, to make them feel sorry and regretful.”

The rest of the scholars gave this tradition, except for Ibn Māja, from various lines, back to Sa‘īd b. Abū ‘Urūba.

Imām Ahmad related it from Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu‘ādib, from Shaybān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Qatāda, who said that Anas b. Mālik gave this hadith, in similar form, but without making reference to Abū Ṭalḥa. This chain of authorities is good, but the prior one is more reliable and more clear. But God knows best.
Imām Āḥmad stated, “‘Affān related to us, quoting Ḥammād, from Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) left the dead at Badr unburied for three days, till they became putrid. He then went out, stood near them and said, ‘O Umayya b. Khalaf, O Abū Jahl b. Hishām, O ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, O Shayba b. Rabīʿa, have you found what your Lord promised you to be true? I have found what my Lord promised me to be true.’"

He continued, “ʿUmar heard his voice and asked, ‘O Messenger of God, do you call out to them after three days, and do they hear? God Almighty said, “You do not make the dead to hear.”’ He replied, ‘By Him in whose hand is my soul, you do not hear any better what I say than they do. But they cannot reply.’”

Muṣlim related this from Hudba b. Khālid, from Ḥammād b. Salama.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses,

‘I recognized Zaynāb’s home on the dunes, traced like a line of revelation on a clean sheet,
The winds blow over them and all the dark clouds pouring down heavy rain,
Its traces are worn and have become defaced that once were the abode she enjoyed.
Give up remembering her every day and cast off the agony of your sad heart,
And relate shamelessly, honestly and without inventing lies.
Tell what the All-Powerful did in the morning at Badr, giving us success over the polytheists,
That morning when their force seemed as great as Mt. Ḥirā, its dimensions plain at sunset.
When we engaged them our force was like forest lions, young and mature alike,
Ahead of Muḥammad whom they defended against his enemies in the fires of warfare,
Sharp, thin swords in their hands, all well-tried and bone cutting,
The Banū al-Aws in the vanguard, helped by the Banū al-Najjar, men in the firm faith.
We left Abū Jahl prostrate, and ʿUtba on the ground,
And Shayba we left there, along with other men of noble lines.
When we threw them upside down into the pit, the Messenger of God called to them,
“Do you not now find my words were true? And God’s command does take by the heart.”
They did not speak but if they had they would have said, “You spoke true; your views were correct.”’”
Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered they be thrown into the pit. Utba b. Rabi’a was dragged there. The Messenger of God (SAAS) looked, so I have been told, into the face of Abū Ḥudhayfa, son of Utba, and he looked sad and distressed. He asked some such question as, ‘Abū Ḥudhayfa, are you very upset at your father’s fate?’

“He replied, ‘No, I swear, O Messenger of God. I’ve no problems with my father’s fate; but I once knew him as a man of reason, judgement and goodness, and hoped those qualities would lead him to Islam. When I saw what his fate was and how he had died in disbelief despite my hopes for him, I was saddened.’ Hearing this, the Messenger of God (SAAS) treated him with kindness and said a prayer for him.”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Al-Humaydi related to us, quoting Sufyān, quoting ‘Amr, from ‘Aṭā‘, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, quoting the verse of the Qur’ān, ‘those who exchanged disbelief for God’s favour’ (sūrat Ṣāliĥ; XIV, v.28), ‘These, I swear, were the disbelievers of Quraysh.’ ‘Amr commented, ‘They were Quraysh; and Muḥammad was God’s favour.’ And regarding the verse, ‘And their people came to dwell in a waste-land abode’ he commented, ‘This referred to the hell-fire, after the battle of Badr.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Hassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses,

‘My people are those who gave refuge to their Prophet and who believed him, while the earth’s inhabitants were unbelievers,

Except for certain special peoples who preceded the virtuous Helpers, aiding them,

Rejoicing in their words at God’s decree, for there having come to them one noble in line, chosen.

‘Welcome indeed! Welcome in ease and security!’ How fine the Prophet, fine the decree, and the protection!

They had him stay in a place where nothing was to fear from those neighbours who lived close by;

The Helpers shared their wealth with them when they arrived as Emigrants, while the fate of the deniers was the fire.

We went and they did too, to their fate; had they but known for sure they would not have gone.

He set them in conceit, then delivered them up; the vile are careless of those who empower them.

He told them, “I am your neighbour.” Then he brought evil upon them, including punishment and disgrace.

We then met up against them and they turned away from their leaders who were aiding them, and one faction of them fell far down.’”

Imām Ahmad stated, “Yahyā b. Abn Bakr and ‘Abd al-Razzaq related to us, as follows, ‘Isrā’il related to us, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “When
the Messenger of God (SAAS) had finished with the slain, he was told, ‘Pursue the caravan; there’s nothing protecting it now.’ Al-‘Abbās, in shackles, called out to him, ‘It behoves you not!’ ‘Why not?’ he asked. He replied, ‘Because God promised you one of the two parties and He has fulfilled His promise to you.‘”

The total number of polytheist leaders killed at Badr were 70, this taking place in the presence of 1,000 angels.

It was no doubt God’s decree that a majority of those who survived would accept Islam. If He had wished He could have sent down just one angel against them and destroyed them to the last man. But the (angels) killed only those totally devoid of good.

For among those angels was Gabriel, whom God Almighty had once ordered to destroy the cities of the people of Lot. There were seven of these cities and they consisted of a variety of nations, animals, lands and farms, and God only knows what. He lifted these cities up until he had raised them to the very heavens on the edge of his wing. He then turned them upside down and lowered them, pursuing them with stones that struck them. This was as we described it in our account of the people of Lot.

God had planned for the warfare of the believers against the unbelievers. The Almighty had laid out his judgements about that in saying, “And when you meet in battle those who disbelieve, then strike their necks until you have defeated them. Then take them prisoner. Later set them free either as a favour or for ransom until the war is concluded. That will be how it is; if God had wished he would have inflicted full retribution upon them. But He acted to try some of you through others” (sūrat Muhammad; XLVII, v.4).

The Almighty also stated, “Fight them! God will punish them through your hands and will disgrace them. He will give you victory over them and He will assist you against them, relieving the hearts of a people who are believers. He will remove the anger from their hearts and He will grant forgiveness to those He wishes” (sūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.14, 15).

The death of Abū Jahl came about at the hands of a youth from the Helpers. Thereafter ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd was placed over him; he grasped Abū Jahl by the beard and stood upon his chest, until he said, “You have reached remarkable heights, for a herdsman!” ‘Abd Allāh then cut off his head and took it and placed it before the Messenger of God (SAAS).

By this God comforted the believers. And this was more effective than if He had made a bolt of lightning strike Abū Jahl down, or made the roof of his house fall upon him, or if he had died a natural death. But God knows best!

Among those polytheists killed at Badr, Ibn Ishāq mentions some Muslims who had come to battle along with them only out of fear. These Muslims had been persecuted and enticed away from Islam. Among these were al-Ḥārith b. Zamʿa

Ibn Ishāq stated, “It was regarding them that the Almighty revealed, ‘Those whom the angels made to die were unjust to themselves. They say, “What were your circumstances?” They will reply, “We were powerless on earth.” They shall ask them, “Was God’s earth not spacious enough for you to move away elsewhere?” Those persons shall have hell as their abode, and bad will be their fate’” (ṣūrat al-Nisā'; IV, v.97).

The prisoners taken at Badr that day totalled 70 and discussion relating to them will follow, if God wills it. These included some members of the family of the Messenger of God (SAA), that is, his uncle al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his cousin ‘Aqil b. Abū Ṭālib, and Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

Al-Shāfi‘i, al-Bukhārī and others have used this as evidence in support of the view that not everyone who possesses a relative is obliged to set him free. They use this to refute the hadith of al-Ḥasan, from Ibn Samra regarding this. But God knows best.

Abū al-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘ b. ‘Abd Shams b. Umayya, the husband of Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet (SAA) was one of those prisoners.

DIVISION

The Companions differed over what to do with the prisoners taken at Badr. There were two views – that they should be killed, or that they should be freed in return for ransom.

As Imām Ahmad stated, “Āli b. ʿĀṣim related to us, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, and from another man mentioned, from al-Ḥasan, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAA) sought the advice of his men concerning what to do with the prisoners taken at Badr. He told them, ‘God has placed them in your power.’’

He went on, “Umar arose and said, ‘O Messenger of God, strike their necks!’ The Messenger of God (SAA) turned away from him.

‘He then again asked them the same question. Abū Bakr arose and said, ‘O Messenger of God, we consider you should pardon them and accept ransom for them.’

‘At this the unhappiness on the face of the Messenger of God (SAA) disappeared; he did pardon them and accepted ransom for them.

‘And God Almighty revealed the words, ‘Were it not decreed by God beforehand you would have suffered mightily?’” (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.68). Ahmad alone quoted this tradition.

He also related – and the following wording is his – as did Muslim, Abū Dā‘ūd and al-Tirmidhi, stating it to be authentic, as did Āli b. al-Madini, who also affirmed its authenticity, from a hadith of ʿIkrima b. ʿAmrār, as follows, “Simāk al-Hanafi Abū Zumayl related to us, quoting Ibn ʿAbbas, quoting Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, ‘At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (SAA)
looked out and saw his force to be some 300 strong, while that of the polytheists was more than 1,000.”

He then related the *hadith* as above as far as the words, “and 70 of them were killed, while 70 were taken prisoner.”

And the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked the advice of Abū Bakr, Ālī and ʿUmar about them. Abū Bakr responded, “O Messenger of God, these are your close relatives, your tribal brothers; I think you should accept ransom from them. What we receive from them will give us power against the unbelievers; and God might well give them guidance so that they become allied to us.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, “Well, what do you think, O ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?” ʿUmar went on, “I replied, ‘By God, I don’t agree with Abū Bakr. I think you should hand over to me so-and-so,’ referring to someone closely related to ʿUmar, ‘and I’ll strike his neck. And if you hand ʿAqīl over to Ālī, he can strike his neck. And if you hand over to Ḥamza so-and-so, his brother, he can strike his neck. That way God will know that we feel no leniency towards the polytheists. These men are their chieftains, their very leaders.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) liked what Abū Bakr had said and did not like my view. And so he did accept ransom from them.”

The following day, ʿUmar said, “I went to the Prophet (SAAS) early in the morning; he was with Abū Bakr and they were weeping. I asked, ‘O Messenger of God, tell me why you and your Companion are weeping. If I find reason to weep, I’ll do so. If not I would pretend to weep at your weeping!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘I’m weeping at how you Companions proposed to me that I accept ransom. Your punishment for doing so was proposed to me and it was closer than this tree,’ referring to a tree nearby.

“And God Almighty sent down, ‘It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land. You desire the things of this world, while God wishes for the after-life. And God is All-Powerful, All-Wise! Were it not decreed by God beforehand you would have suffered mightily for what you took’” (ṣūrat al-ʿAṣrāf; VIII, v.67, 68).

This refers to the ransom. God then did make permissible the acceptance of spoils. He then went on to complete the *ḥadith*.

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū Muṣṭawiya related to him, quoting al-ʿAʾmash, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from ʿUbayda, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘What do you say concerning these prisoners?’ Abū Bakr replied, ‘O Messenger of God, they are your people, your relatives. Let them live; be lenient to them. Perhaps God will forgive them.’”

ʿAbd Allāh went on, “ʿUmar said, ‘O Messenger of God, they exiled you and called you a liar. Bring them close and strike their necks!’

“ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa suggested, ‘O Messenger of God, find a valley with many trees, make them enter it, then set it on fire around them!’”
'Abd Allāh went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went back inside without giving him any response. Some people said he was going to do as Abū Bakr had suggested, others that he would take 'Umar’s advice, still others that he would take that given by 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he came out to them and said, ‘God softens the hearts of men concerning Him, so that they become softer than soft. And God hardens the hearts of men so that they become harder than stone. You, Abū Bakr, are like Abraham who said, “Whoever follows me is of me, and whoever disobeys me, then You are Forgiving, Merciful” (sūrat Ibrāhīm; XIV, v.36). You, Abū Bakr, are like Jesus, who said, “If You punish them, they are Your servants; if You forgive them, then You are the All-Powerful, the Wise” (sūrat al-Mu‘āṣara; V, v.118). You, 'Umar, are like Noah, who said, “O Lord, do not leave on the earth any place for the unbelievers” (sūrat Nūh; LXXI, v.26). And 'Umar, you are like Moses, who said, “O God, destroy their wealth and make their hearts hard, for they will not believe until they see the painful punishment” (sūrat Yūnūs; X, v.88). You are a support. Let none be exempt from either ransom or having their head smitten.’”


‘Abd Allāh then said, “And I was never more afraid that there should fall upon me some stone from heaven than I was that day, until he said the words ‘Except for Suhayl b. Bayḍā’.”

He went on, “And so God revealed, ‘It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land. You desire the things of this world, while God wishes for the after-life; and God is All-Powerful, All-Wise. And were it not for a decree’” (sūrat al-Anfūl; VIII, v.67-8).

Al-Tirmidhi related it thus, as did al-Hākim, from a hadīth of Abū Mu‘āwiya. Al-Ḥākim stated, “The chain of authorities is authentic, though they (al-Bukārī and Muslim) did not narrate it.” Also, Ibn Mardawayh related it through ‘Abd Allāh b. 'Umar and Abī Hurayra in similar words. And it is similarly related from Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.

Ibn Mardawayh related, and so did al-Ḥākim in the al-Mustadrak, (The Compendium), from a hadīth of Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā, (as follows), “Isrā‘il related to us, from Ibrāhīm b. Muhājir, from Mujāhid, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, ‘When the prisoners were taken at the battle of Badr, al-‘Abbās was among them; he was captured by a Helper.’ He went on, ‘The Helpers had warned him they would kill him. That information reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said, ‘I did not sleep tonight because of my uncle al-‘Abbās. The Helpers are saying they are going to kill him.’” ‘Umar asked, ‘Should I go to them?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“‘Umar went to the Helpers and asked them to release al-‘Abbās to him. They replied, ‘No; by God we’ll not release him!’ ‘Umar then asked them, ‘What if that is the pleasure of the Messenger of God?’ They replied, ‘If that is his pleasure, then take him.’ So ‘Umar did take him and when he had control over him, ‘Umar asked him, ‘Abbās, accept Islam! I swear, for you to accept Islam
would please me more than if al-Khaṭṭāb, my father, were to do so. And that would be only for the pleasure I would see your acceptance of Islam giving to the Messenger of God.'

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked the advice of Abū Bakr, who replied, "They are of your family, release them." He asked the advice of ʿUmar, who said, "Kill them!" The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked ransom for them and so God revealed, "It is not proper for a prophet to take captives before he has caused slaughter in the land"'" (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.67).

Al-Ḥakīm then stated in his saḥīḥ collection, "This hadith has an authentic chain of transmission, but the two authorities (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) did not narrate it."

Al-Tirmidhī related, as did al-Nāṣirī and Ibn Mājā, from a ḥadīth of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. ʿIrāqī, from Ubayda, from ʿAṭāʾ, who said, "Gabriel came to the Prophet (SAAS) and said, 'Ask your Companions to make a choice about the prisoners; if they want there to be ransom, so be it. If they want to kill them, so be it, provided that in a future year a similar number be killed of them.'"

"They commented, 'So it's to be ransom or some of us will be killed!'

This is a very strange hadith. Some authorities relate it with an incomplete line of authorities, from Ubayda. But God knows best.

Ibn ʿIshaq stated, from Ibn Abī Nājīh, from ʿAṭāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, concerning the verse "were it not for a decree from God that came before, you would have suffered mightily for what you took" (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.68). "He is saying, 'Were it not for the fact that I do not punish those who disobey me until I have approached them, I would have made you suffer mightily for what you took.'"

It is similarly related from Ibn Abī Nājīh, also from Mūjāhid. Ibn ʿIshaq and others chose it.

Al-Acmāsh stated, "He had previously made plain that he would not punish anyone who had taken part in the battle of Badr." It is similarly related from Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, Saʿd b. Jubayr and ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabūh.

Mūjāhid and al-Thawrī stated, "'were it not for a decree from God that had come previously.' That is, in forgiving them."

Al-Walīḥī stated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, "It had previously been stated in the Qurʾān that the 'spoils and ransom for prisoners are permitted to you'. And this is why God later stated, 'and so enjoy whatever you have taken as booty, well and legally'" (ṣūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.69).

It was related similarly from Abū Hurayra, Ibn Maṣʿūd, Saʿd b. Jubayr, ʿAṭāʾ, al-Ḥasan, Qatāda and al-Acmāsh, and Ibn Jarir selected it.

This last statement is considered preferable because of what is substantiated in the saḥīḥ collections, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allah, who stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS), stated, 'I was given five things not given to any prophet before myself: I was given victory through fear (within Quraysh) for a month; the earth was made
for me into a mosque, and a pure place; booty was made permissible for me while it had not been made so for anyone before myself; I was given intercession; and prophets were previously sent to their people, while I was sent to all mankind.'"

Al-'Amash related, from Abū Šāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra, who quoted the Prophet (SAAS) as saying, "Booty was not made permissible to leaders other than ourselves."

The Almighty therefore stated, "so enjoy whatever you have taken as booty, well and legally".

And so God Almighty made it permissible to take booty and ransom for prisoners.

Abū Dā’ūd stated, "Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Mubārak al-Qāsī related to us, quoting Sufyān b. Ḥabīb, quoting Shu‘ba, from Abū al-Qānis, from Abū al-Sha‘thā, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed a price of 400 dirhams as ransom for the non-Muslims at Badr. This sum was in fact the least taken for any one of them as ransom, while the largest amount taken for any one of them was 4,000 dirhams."

God promised those who believe that there will be returned to them what was taken from them, in this world and the next. The Almighty stated, "O Prophet, tell the prisoners now in your hands, 'If God knows there is good in your hearts, He will give you better than what has been taken from you, and He will forgive you'" (sūrat al-Anjil; VIII, v.70).

Al-Walibi stated, from Ibn ‘Abbās: "Revelation came down about al-‘Abbās, and he ransomed himself for 40 awqīyya of gold. And he commented, ‘And so God did give me 40 slaves,’ referring to those who worked for him in his business. He went on, ‘And I hope for that forgiveness that God – most highly is He to be praised – has promised.’"

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Al-‘Abbās b. Abd Allāh b. Ma‘bad related to me, from some of his family, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The night following the Battle of Badr, after the prisoners had been bound, the Messenger of God (SAAS) at first could not get to sleep. His Companions asked him why he could not sleep and he replied, “I have been hearing my uncle al-‘Abbās groaning in his fetters.” So they untied him, he became silent and the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to sleep.’"

Ibn Ishaq concluded, "And he was a wealthy man, who ransomed himself with 100 awqīyya of gold."

My own comment is that this money was on behalf of himself, and for his nephews ‘Aqil and Nawfāl, as well as for his ally, ‘Utbā b. ‘Amr, one of the Bantū al-Ḥarīrī b. Fihr, as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told him to do when he claimed to have accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, "What was evident was that you were against us. God knows best about your accepting Islam, and He will reward you."

Al-‘Abbās claimed that he had no money and so he was asked, "Where is the money that you and Umm al-Faḍl buried when you told her, ‘If I should be
killed on my expedition, then this is for my sons al-Fadl, 'Abd Allâh and Qathm?

"Al-‘Abbâs responded, ‘By God, I certainly know you’re the Messenger of God; no one except myself and Umm al-Fadl knew that.’"

Ibn Ishâq related this from Ibn Abî Najîh, from ‘Aṭrâ’, from Ibn ‘Abbâs.

It is established in the saḥîh of al-Bukhârî, through Mūsâ b. ‘Uqba that Al-Zuhrî stated, “Anas b. Malik related to me as follows, ‘Some Helpers requested to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They asked him, “Give us permission and we will leave the ransom money for our sister’s son al-‘Abbâs.” He replied, “No, by God, you won’t leave a single dirham for him!’”"

Al-Bukhârî stated, “Ibrâhîm b. Ṭâhmân said, from ‘Abd al-‘Azîz b. Suhayb, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was brought money from al-Bahrayn and ordered that it be distributed in the mosque. It was the largest sum of money that was ever brought to him. Al-‘Abbâs came to him and said, ‘O Messenger of God, give me some; I paid ransom for myself and for ‘Uqayl.’ ‘Take some,’ he told him. Al-‘Abbâs stuffed money into his gown, then moved away, dragging it, but was unable to do so. He asked, ‘Tell someone to lift it up for me!’ ‘No, I won’t,’ he replied. ‘Then you lift it upon me,’ he asked. ‘No, I won’t,’ he repeated. Al-‘Abbâs then scattered some of the money and made to go, again dragging it, but he could not. Again he asked, ‘Tell someone to lift it up on me!’ ‘No, I won’t,’ he said. Al-‘Abbâs scattered some more of the money then lifted it up on his shoulders and left. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gazed after him until he was lost to our sight, amazed at his cupidity. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not rise to collect a single dirham of the money.”

Al-Bayhaqî stated, “Al-Ḥâkim told us, quoting al-‘Aṣâmîn, from ‘Abî mad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbâr, from Yûnus, from Asbâṭ b. Našr, from Ismâ’îl b. ‘Abd al-Rahmân al-Suddî, who said, ‘The ransom for al-‘Abbâs and his two cousins ‘Aqîl b. Abû Ṭalîb and Nawfâl b. al-Ḥârîth b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib amounted to 400 dinars for each man. Then the Almighty threatened the rest, saying, “If they want to betray you, they have previously betrayed God. And so He took control of them. And God is knowledgeable, wise”’” (sûrat al-‘Anfâl; VIII, v.71).

**DIVISION**

It is well known that the prisoners at Badr numbered 70, while the number of polytheists killed was also 70, as was related in more than one ahâdîth that have been given above and will be given hereafter, if God wills it. This is also stated in a hadîth of al-Bârî b. ‘Azîb, in the saḥîh collection of al-Bukhârî, namely that at Badr they killed 70 and captured 70.

Mûsâ b. ‘Uqba stated, “At the battle of Badr 6 Muslims of Quraysh were killed and 8 of the Helpers, while 49 of the polytheists were killed and 39 were taken prisoner.”

Al-Bayhaqî related it thus from him and went on to state that Ibn Lahi‘a
reported it similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, concerning the number of the Muslims who died as martyrs, and the number of polytheists who were killed.

Al-Bayhaqi continued, “ʿAl-Ḥākim related to us, quoting al-ʿAsamī, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, ‘At Badr 11 of the Muslims died as martyrs, 4 from Quraysh and 7 from among the Helpers, while more than a score of the polytheists were killed.’”

In another passage, al-Bayhaqi stated, “With the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) there were 40 prisoners, while their dead were of a similar number.”

Al-Bayhaqi then related, through Abū Śalih, al-Layth’s secretary, from al-Layth, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhri, who said, “The first of the Muslims killed was Mihja’, the freed-man of ʿUmar, and a Helper. More than 70 of the polytheists were killed that day, a similar number of them being taken prisoner.”

Al-Bayhaqi went on, “Ibn Wahb related it from Yūnus b. Yazid, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. He commented, “It is this that we have related that is the most authentic account of the number of polytheists killed and taken prisoner.”

He then gave evidence of this, referring to what both he and al-Bukhārī had derived through Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿAzib, stating, “At the battle of Uhud, the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) placed ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr in command of the archers, and they hit 70 of us. The Prophet (ṣaṣ) and his men had struck down 140 of the polytheists at Badr, 70 being killed and 70 being taken captive.”

I would comment that the fact is that the total number of polytheists at Badr was between 900 and 1,000.

Qatāda asserted that they were 950 men, as if he were deriving his information from what we have stated. But God knows best.

In the hadith of ʿUmar given above, it is stated that they were more than 1,000; however, the first account is what is authentic, since the Prophet (ṣaṣ) stated, “The enemy force was between 900 and 1,000.”

The Muslim forces that day totalled some tens above 300 men, as evidence shows that will be given hereafter, if God wills it, along with their names.

It has been previously stated in the hadith of al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the battle of Badr took place on Friday, the 17th of Ramadān; ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr also stated this, as did Qatāda, Ismāʿīl, al-Suddi al-Kabīr and Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir.

Al-Bayhaqi related, through Qutayba, from Jarir, from al-ʿAʾmash, from Ibrahim, from al-Aswad, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said with reference to the laylat al-qadr.65 “Search for it with 11 nights remaining of the month, for Badr took place on the morning of that date.”

65. The term refers to that night in the month of Ramadān when revelation of the Qurʾān first occurred.
Al-Bayhaqi stated, “It is related of Zayd b. Arqam that he was questioned about the *laylat al-qadr* and he replied, ‘The night of the 19th, without doubt.’ He went on, ‘And the day known as *al-furgan* when the two forces met in battle.’”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “It is well known from the works of the scholars of the early military campaigns that that occurred on the 17th of Ramadan.”

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, “Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān informed us, quoting Abū ʿAmr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbal b. Ishāq, quoting Abū Nuʿaym, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, who quoted Mūsā b. Ṭalḥa, as saying, ‘Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī was asked about the battle of Badr, and he replied, ‘It was either on the 17th or the 13th, or when either 11 or 17 days remained of the month.’”

This is very strange.

The ḥāfiz Ibn ʿAsākir recounted in the biography of Qubāth b. Ashyam al-Laythi, through al-Wāqidi and others, with lines of authority going back to him, that Qubāth was present at Badr on the side of the polytheists and that he recounted their defeat despite the small size of the force of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He stated, “I kept saying to myself, ‘I only ever saw women take flight from such as this.’ I swear, if the Quraysh women had gone forth to battle bearing only easily-drawn bows, they would have turned back Muhammad and his men! And following the battle of *al-Khandaq*, ‘the trench’, I wished I had gone to Medina and had looked into what Muhammad was saying. Islam had now entered my spirit.” He went on, “I then went there and asked after him and was told he was over in the shade of the mosque with a group of his Companions. So I went there, but I was unable to distinguish him from the others. I made my greetings and he asked me, ‘So, Qubāth b. Ashyam, you’re the man who said of Badr, ‘I only ever saw women take flight from such as this?’ I replied, ‘I bear witness that you are the Messenger of God! This is something I never uttered, not even muttering it. It’s only what I said to myself. And were you not a prophet, you’d not know of it! Let me now pledge to you my allegiance to Islam!’ And I accepted Islam.”

**Division**

The Companions, God be pleased with them, disagreed among themselves over who should receive the spoils gained from the polytheists at Badr.

When the polytheists retreated, the Muslims performed three functions. One group remained on watch guarding the Messenger of God (SAAS) aware that any one of the polytheists might come back and attack him.

Another group pursued the polytheists, killing and capturing them.

A third group gathered the spoils of the battle from various places.

Each of these groups maintained that their activities were important and entitled them to a greater share than the rest.

66. The term refers to that “clear differentiation” that occurred between the forces of good and evil at the battle of Badr.
Ibn Ishaq stated, "'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith and others related to me from Sulayman b. Musa, from Makhtul, from Abu Umama al-Bahili, who said, 'I asked 'Ubada b. al-Samit about the sūrat al-Anfāl, (The Spoils). He replied, 'It was revealed about those of us who took part in the battle at Badr after we had begun quarreling about the spoils and were behaving badly. God therefore took them away from us and gave them over to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who divided them 'an bawār, equally, that is, among the Muslims.'"

Ahmad related this similarly from Muhammad b. Salama, from Muhammad b. Ishaq.

By the word given above for “equally” it is meant that the spoils were split between those who had gathered them, those who had chased the enemy, and those who had remained near the banners. No one group was given the preferential treatment they claimed.

This does not contradict the concept of spoils being divided into five parts, each fifth being allotted to a specific recipient, as some scholars might maintain, including Abu Ubayda and others. But God knows best. In fact, the Messenger of God (SAAS) received his sword Dhū al-Fiqār from the booty taken at Badr.

Ibn Jarir stated, "He similarly chose a camel that had belonged to Abu Jahl that had a silver ring through its nose. This was also before the issuance of the edict about the fifth."

Imam Ahmad stated, "Mu'awiya b. 'Amr related to us, quoting Ibn Ishaq, from 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbas b. Abu Rab'a, from Sulayman b. Musa, from Abu Sallam, from Abu Umama, from Ubada b. al-Samit, who said, 'We went forth with the Prophet (SAAS) and I witnessed Badr with him. When the forces met and God defeated the enemy, one group went off after them, putting them to flight and killing them, another group sought and gathered up the booty, while a third group kept watch over the Messenger of God (SAAS), so that the enemy would not do him harm. When night came and the forces gathered back together, those who had assembled the booty said, 'We gathered it and no one else has any right to it.' Those who had pursued the enemy said, 'You have no greater right to it than us; we drove the enemy away from the booty and we defeated them.' Those who had guarded the Prophet (SAAS) said, 'We feared some harm might come to him from the enemy, and so we devoted ourselves to him.' And so it was that God sent down, 'They ask you about the spoils. Say, 'The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers'" (sūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.1).

"And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) divided the booty among the Muslims. Whenever he raided enemy territory he would divide the spoils into fourths. But if he pursued a retreating (army) he would divide it into thirds. He had a dislike for booty."
Al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Māja related the latter part of this, from a ḥadīth of al-Thawrī, from ‘Abd al-Rāhmān b. al-Hārith. Al-Tirmidhi stated, “This is a ḥadīth ḥasan,67 a ‘good ḥadīth’.” Ibn Ḥibban related it in his ṣaḥīḥ collection, as did al-Ḥākim in his al-Mustadrak (The Compendium) from a ḥadīth of ‘Abd al-Rāhmān. Al-Ḥākim stated, “This is authentic according to the criteria of Muslim, but he did not narrate this tradition.”

Abū Dā’ūd, al-Nasā’ī, Ibn Ḥibban and al-Ḥākim related, on various lines from Dā’ūd b. Abū Hind, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, the following: “At the battle of Badr, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Those who have done so-and-so shall receive such-and-such.’ The younger men made haste to carry this out, while the older men stayed near the banners. When the booty had been collected the men gathered to claim their share. The older men asked that they not be given less credit than the rest, saying they had acted as a safeguard against the sudden attack by any enemy force. There was much dispute and so God Almighty revealed, ‘They ask you about the spoils. Say, “The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers”’” (ṣūrat al-ʿAnfāl; VIII, v.1).

We have made extensive comments elsewhere, too lengthy to explore here, on the reason for the revelation of this verse.

The meaning of the words is that decisions over the spoils devolve upon God and His Messenger to judge in accord with the best interests of the worshippers regarding this life and the after-life. The Almighty therefore stated, “The spoils belong to God and to His Messenger. So fear God, reconcile and obey God and His Messenger, if you are indeed believers.”

He then went on to recount the events and outcome of the battle of Badr, concluding, “And know that whatever thing you have taken as spoils of war, then one-fifth of it is for God and for His Messenger and for the kinfolk, orphans, the poor and wayfarers” (ṣūrat al-ʿAnfāl; VIII, v.41). It is evident that this verse explains God’s commands regarding the spoils of war which He has made subject to Himself and to His Prophet (ṢAAS). The Almighty has clarified and determined this in accord with His wish. This is the view of Abū Zayd.

Abū Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Salām, God bless him, claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the booty taken at Badr equally between the men and that he did not divide it into fifths. The edict relating to the division into fifths was revealed after this, cancelling the previous practice.

Al-Walībī related this similarly, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and Mujāhid, ʿIkrima and al-Suddī attested to it. However, there is controversy over this. And God knows best. The controversy relates to whether the above verses came prior to or following the verse referring to the division into fifths, since all relate to the battle of Badr. It seems necessary to consider them to have been revealed all together

67. Al-Tirmidhi used this term to define a ḥadīth whose narrators were known to have defective memories.
at one time and not separately, with some having come later, as would be necessary if some had cancelled others.

Then there is the hadith in both sahih collections relating to 'Ali, God be pleased with him. This tells how, regarding Hamza's having cut off the two humps of his two old mare camels, and of his stating that one of these was part of the fifth part set aside at Badr. His statement directly contradicts Abū Ubayd's contention that the spoils at Badr were not divided into five parts. God knows best; but they were divided into five according to the accounts of al-Bukhārī, Ibn Jarīr and others; this is the correct and preferable view. But God knows best.

**DIVISION**

The return of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from Badr to Medina and the events on that journey by which his Lord gave him help and assistance.

It has previously been stated that the engagement took place on Friday, the 17th of Ramadān, 2AH.

It is established in both sahih collections that following an engagement against an enemy, the Messenger of God (SAAS) would thereafter spend three days in an open area. His normal period of three days so spent at Badr, however, ended, as related above, after two days when he mounted his camel and stood above the pit at Badr, berating those dead polytheists who had been dragged there.

Thereafter he departed, taking with him the prisoners and the great quantity of booty. He had sent on ahead two heralds to Medina to announce the victory over those who had associated others with God and denied and disbelieved in Him. One of these heralds was 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, whom he sent to the upper parts of Medina. The other, Zayd b. Ḥāritah, he sent to the city's lower parts.

Usāmah b. Zayd stated, "The news reached us when we had finished levelling the earth over Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Her husband, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, God bless him, had remained behind to nurse her at the orders of the Messenger of God (SAAS) who had assigned to him a share in the spoils of Badr."

Usāmah stated further, "When my father, Zayd b. Ḥāritah, arrived, I went to him and found him standing at the prayer shrine, swamped by people. He was saying, 'Utba b. Rabi'a has been killed, as also had been Abū Jahl b. Hishām, Zam'a b. al-Aswad, Abū al-Bakhtārī al-'Āṣ b. Hishām, Umayyā b. Khalaf and Nubayh and Munabbih, the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj.' I asked him 'Father, is this true?' He replied, 'Son, I swear it is so.'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, citing a line of authorities through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from Usāmah b. Zayd, that the Prophet (SAAS) had left 'Uthmān and Usāmah b. Zayd to look after his daughter. Then Zayd b. Ḥāritah arrived, mounted on al-'Adbnā', the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS), with the good news. Usāmah said, "I heard the tumult and so went outside. There I found Zayd who had brought the good news. But, I swear, I
didn’t really believe it until I saw the prisoners. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had assigned to Uthmān a share in the spoils.”

Al-Waqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) following his return from Badr, performed the evening prayer at al-Athīl. When he had finished one rak‘a he smiled. Someone later asked why he was smiling and he replied that he could see Michael with dust on his wing, who had smiled at him and said, ‘I was looking for the rest.’ And Gabriel had come to him when he had finished fighting the enemy at Badr, riding a mare, its forelock knotted and the furrows of its head covered with dust. He had said, ‘O Muḥammad, my Lord has sent me to you and told me not to leave you until you are content. Are you content? ‘I am,’ he had replied.”

Al-Waqidi stated, “They related that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥarīthah and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥah ahead from al-Athīl and they arrived on Sunday in the heat of late morning. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥah parted from Zayd b. Ḥarīthah at al-Aqīq and began calling out, still on his mount, ‘O Helpers, rejoice at the safety of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and at the killing and capture of the polytheists! The two sons of Rabi‘a have been killed, along with the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj, Abū Jahl, Zum‘a b. al-Aswad and Umayya b. Khalaf, while Suhayl b. ʿAmr has been taken prisoner!’

“ʿĀṣim b. Ḍaḍ stated, ‘I went up to him and accompanied him, saying, “Is that the truth, Ibn Rawāḥah?” He replied, “It certainly is! And tomorrow the Messenger of God (SAAS) will arrive with the prisoners in chains.” He then went to the homes of the Helpers, one after the other, in the upper part of the town, telling them the good news. The children chanted along with him, “The evil Abū Jahl is dead!” He continued on until he reached the home of the Banū Umayya, when Zayd b. Ḥarīthah arrived on the camel called al-Qaswār belonging to the Messenger of God (SAAS) announcing the good news. When he reached the prayer shrine he shouted, still mounted, “Uṭba and Shayba, the two sons of Rabi‘a have been killed! And the two sons of al-Ḥajjāj! Umayya b. Khalaf is dead, as are Abū Jahl, Abū al-Bakhtari, and Zam‘a b. al-Aswad. Suhayl b. ʿAmr Dhū al-Anyāb has been taken captive, along with many others!’

“Some people refused to believe Zayd and began saying, ‘Zayd b. Ḥarīthah has only come because he’s been defeated!’ This confused and scared the Muslims. “Zayd arrived when we had finished levelling the earth over Ruqayya, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), at al-Baqī‘, and one of the hypocrites commented to Usāma, ‘Your master has been killed, and all those with him!’ Another said to Abū Lubāba, ‘Your friends have scattered, and they’ll never unite around him again. His Companions have died for him, and Muḥammad has been killed. This we know to be his own camel. And Zayd is so confused he doesn’t know what he is saying. He’s come in defeat.’ Abū Lubāba said, ‘God will refute what you are saying.’ The Jews commented, ‘Zayd has only come in defeat.’

68. A place near Medina, between Badr and Wādī al-Ṣafā‘.
"Usāma said, 'So I went off alone with my father and asked, "Is it really true, what you are saying?" He replied, "Yes indeed, son; I swear by God what I say is true."

"This encouraged me and I returned to that hypocrite telling him, "You are spreading lies about the Messenger of God (SAAS) and about the Muslims! We're going to have you up before the Messenger of God, and he'll execute you!" He replied. "It's only what I hear people saying."

"He went on, 'The prisoners were brought in, in the custody of Shaqra, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He had participated at Badr with the rest. They were 49 men in number."

Al-Wāqidi stated, "According to the sources, they totalled 70; and there is no doubt about this."

He went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) met with the city leaders who congratulated him on the victory God had given him. Usayd b. al-Ḥudayr told him, 'O Messenger of God, praise be to God who has given you victory and made you content. By God, O Messenger of God, nothing would have kept me from joining you at Badr if I had thought you would be meeting an enemy in battle; but I thought you were going after a caravan. If I had known it was an enemy, I'd not have stayed behind.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'You speak the truth!'"


"One of the Muslims who composed doggerel verse, who according to Ibn Hīšām was said to be ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zāghbā, spoke the lines,

'Water your camels, Basbas, for there's no place for them to halt at Dhū al-Ṭālī. Nor in the deserts of Ṣumayr is there any corral; though the people's mounts can't be kept penned in. It's smarter to get them on the road; God has given victory, and al-Akhnas has fled.'"

Ibn Iṣḥāq continued, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went forward and, having come through the pass at al-Ṣafār, he halted at a hill between the pass and al-Nāziyya called Sayar, near a willow tree. There he divided up equally the spoils that God had bestowed upon the Muslims from the polytheists. Then he moved on to al-Rawḥā, where he was met by Muslims congratulating him on the victory that God had given him and his Muslim force. Salama b. Salama b. Waqšh - as I have been told by ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar and Yazid b. Rūmān - asked them, 'What are you congratulating us about? All we faced were bald old women, like camels bound for sacrifice, and we slaughtered them!'"
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) smiled at this and said, 'Hey, cousin, those were the al-mala', chiefs!'"

Ibn Hishām observed, "He was referring to the nobles and the leaders."

**THE DEATHS OF AL-NADR B. AL-HĀRITH AND 'UQBA B. ABŪ MU'AYT, GOD DAMN THEM!**

Ibn Ishaq stated, "While the Messenger of God (SAAS) was at al-Ṣafra', al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith was killed by 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalib, or so I was told by a scholar from Mecca. After they had moved on to Irf al-Zabīyya, 'Uqba b. Abū Mu'ayṭ was executed.

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered his death, 'Uqba asked him, 'Who will look after my children, Muhammad?' 'The fire!' he responded. The man who killed him was 'Aṣim b. Thabit b. Abū al-Ąqlah, a brother of the Banū Āmṛ b. Āwfi, as I was told by Abū Ubayda b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yāsir."

Mūsa b. 'Uqba also stated this in his work on the military expeditions. He claimed that the Messenger of God (SAAS) killed no other person taken captive. He stated, "And when 'Aṣim b. Thabit came up (to kill him) 'Uqba asked, 'O tribe of Quraysh, why am I to be killed out of all those here?"

"He replied, 'For your enmity towards God and His Messenger.'"

"Hammād b. Salama stated, from ʿAtā b. al-Ṣāib, from al-Shaftī, who said, 'When the Prophet (SAAS) ordered the execution of 'Uqba, he asked, 'Will you kill only me from among Quraysh?'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, "Yes. Do you know how this man treated me? He came up while I was prostrate in prayer behind the maqām, placed his foot on my neck and pressed down on it. I thought my eyes were going to come out, before he lifted up his foot. On another occasion he brought a sheep's entrails which he threw over my head while I was prostrate in prayer. Fāṭima came and washed it off my head."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that it was 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalib who killed 'Uqba, according to al-Zuhri and other scholars."

I would comment that these two men were among the most evil of God's servants, the most stubborn, wicked, envious and disbelieving of men and they had been very active in satirizing Islam and its supporters. God damn them! And He did, indeed!

Ibn Hishām stated, "Qutayla, daughter of al-Ḥārith, sister of al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith, spoke the following verses about the death of her brother,

'O rider, al-Ąthil is a landmark since the morning of the fifth night, and you are fortunate.
Inform there a dead man of a greeting that the finest of all are still waving,
From me to you, and of tears that are shed in

69. The "shrine of Abraham", near the ka'ba.
profusion, flooding out, while others are repressed.  
Will al-Nadr hear if I call to him; or can a dead man hear who cannot speak?
Muḥammad, you, the finest son of a woman noble among her people, and her husband a fine stallion,  
It would not have harmed you to forgive him, for a valorous man often forgives, despite his anger or rage.  
Or you could have accepted ransom, and the largest sum ever paid would have been provided,  
And al-Nadr was the closest in ties to you of all your captives, and the worthiest, if any were to be freed.  
The swords of his father’s sons would then have charged for God, with wombs being split asunder on His behalf,  
Stoically he was led to death, worn out and bound, but servile.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “And it is said, though God alone knows best, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) said, when those verses were recited to him, ‘If only this had reached me before his death, I would have spared him!’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “At that place the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) was met by Abū Hind, the freed-man of Farwa b. ‘Amr al-Bayāḍī, his cupper. He had with him a wine-skin filled with hays, that being dates in a butter sauce, a gift for the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ). He accepted it and recommended Abū Hind to the Helpers.  
“The Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) then went on into Medina, arriving there one day before the prisoners.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Nabih b. Wahb, brother of the Banū ‘Abd al-Dār, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) divided up the prisoners among his Companions following their arrival and said, ‘Behave well towards them.’  
“Abū ‘Azīz b. ‘Umayr b. Hāshim, a brother of Muṣ‘āb b. ‘Umayr by the same father and mother, was among the captives. Abū ‘Azīz stated, ‘My brother Muṣ‘āb b. ‘Umayr passed me by while one of the Helpers was tying me up. Muṣ‘āb said, “Bind his hands fast. His mother is wealthy, and she’ll ransom him from you.”’  
“Abū ‘Azīz went on, ‘I was with a group of Helpers bringing me from Badr. When they had their midday and evening meals, they gave me the bread and ate the dates themselves, in accordance with the instruction given them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) regarding us. Every piece of bread that came into their hands they passed on to me. I was embarrassed and would return the bread, but they would pass it back untouched.’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “This Abū ‘Azīz was the standard-bearer of the polytheists at Badr, following al-Nadr b. Hārith.  
“And after his brother had made his comment to Abū al-Yusr, the man who had me captive, Abū ‘Azīz commented, ‘Brother, is this how you treat them?’ Muṣ‘āb replied, ‘He’s more my brother than you are!’"
"His mother asked what was the highest price paid to ransom a Quraysh man. She was told, 'Four thousand dirhams.' She therefore ransomed him with four thousand dirhams she sent."

I comment that the given name of this Abū 'Azīz was Zurārā, according to what Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work Ghabat al-Ṣaḥāba (Compendium of Companions). Khalīfa b. Khayyāt included him in his list of names of the Companions. He was Musṭāb b. Umayr's brother on his father's side. They had another paternal brother who was Abū al-Rūm b. Umayr. Those who would have him as killed at Badr as an unbeliever are in error. That person was really Abū 'Azza, as will be told hereafter. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr related to me, that Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sa'd b. Zurārā said, 'When the prisoners were brought in, Sawda, daughter of Zam'ā, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was with the family of 'Afrā, who were engaged in mourning for 'Afrā's two sons, 'Awf and Mu'awwidh. This was before the veil was made required for the wives of (the Prophet). Sawda said, "I swear by God, there I was when someone came in and said, 'They've brought in the prisoners!' So I went off to my house, where the Messenger of God was, and there I found Aba Yazīd Suhayl b. 'Amr in a corner of the room with his hands tied with a rope behind his neck. I couldn't restrain myself from saying, at the sight of Aba Yazīd, 'O Abū Yazīd! You gave yourself up then! Couldn't you have died a noble death!'"

"I swear, I was then quite startled to hear the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) call out from inside the house, 'Sawda, are you stirring up trouble for God and for His messenger!' I replied, 'O Messenger of God, by Him who sent you with the truth, I couldn't restrain myself from saying as I did when I saw Abū Yazīd with his hands tied up at his neck!'

Information will follow hereafter in detail recounting the arrival of the prisoners in Medina, and how and at what cost they were ransomed. If God wills it so, that is.

An Account of the joy of the Negus, God bless him, at the outcome of the battle of Badr.

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated, "Abū al-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥurfī of Baghdad informed us, quoting Ḥamīd b. Salmān al-Najjād, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Abī al-Dunya, quoting Ḥamza b. al-Abbās quoting, 'Abdān b. Uthmān, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd, quoting Jābir, from 'Abd al-Rahmān, a man from Ṣa'nā, who said, 'One day the Negus sent for Ja'far b. Abī Ṭalib and his Companions and when they went in to him they found him in his house sitting on the ground dressed in rags. Ja'far said, 'We felt very sorry for him when we saw him, in this state, and when he observed this in our faces, he explained, 'I have good news for you..."
that will make you rejoice. A spy has come to me from your land and has told me that God has given victory to his Prophet, defeated his enemy, taken captive so-and-so and so-and-so, and killed so-and-so and so-and-so. The forces met in a valley called Badr where many thorny trees grow. It's as if I can see it now, for I used to look after camels there for my master, a man of the Banu Damra.'"

"Ja'far then asked the Negus, "Why are you sitting on the ground, without even a carpet, dressed in those old clothes?" He replied, "We agree with what God sent down to Jesus – that it is the duty of God's worshippers to behave in humility when God performs some favour for them. Since God has favoured me with the victory of his Prophet (SAAS), I am acting in humility in this way for him.""

Chapter: On the arrival of the news of those stricken at Badr to their families in Mecca.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The first to arrive in Mecca with news of the Quraysh casualties at Badr was al-Ḥayṣumān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khuzāī. When he was asked for news, he reported the deaths of ʿUṭba b. Rabīʿa, Shayba b. Rabīʿa, Abū al-Ḥakam b. Hīshām, Umayya b. Khalaf, Zam'a b. al-Aswad, Zubayr b. Nufayh and Munabbah, and Abū al-Bakhtārī b. Hīshām.

"As he enumerated the Quraysh nobles, Ṣafwān b. Umayya commented, 'That makes no sense; ask him about me!' So they asked him what had happened to Ṣafwān b. Umayya, and he responded, 'He's over there, sitting in the hijr; I saw the deaths of his father and his brother when they were killed.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When the news reached Mecca and was verified, the women cut off their hair; and many horses and riding camels were slaughtered."

Al-Suḥaylī recounted, from the book Dala'il (The Signs) of ʿAlī b. Thābit, whose author said that at the time of the battle of Badr the people of Mecca heard a spirit calling out,

"The hanifs brought a battle to bear at Badr because of which the power of Chosroe and Caesar will collapse,

It sent men of Lu'ayy to their death, and brought forth unmarried women to strike the ground in despair.

Woe to him who becomes Muhammad's enemy, deliberately straying from the right path and getting lost!"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās related to me, from ʿIkrīma, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'Abū Raḥif, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'I was a slave of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib at the time when Islam had entered us, the people of the house. Al-ʿAbbās accepted Islam, as did Umm al-Faḍl and myself as well. Al-ʿAbbās was concerned about his people and disliked opposing them and so he concealed his acceptance of Islam. He was a man of great wealth that was scattered amongst his people. Abū Lahab had stayed behind from Badr and had sent al-ʿĀṣ b. Hīshām
b. al-Mughira in his place. This was the practice; any man who could not go to
battle sent another in his place.

""When he received news of those of Quraysh who were struck down at
Badr, God humiliated and disgraced Abī Lahab, while we experienced a sense
of power and pride. I was a weak man and I used to make arrows, sharpening
them in the pavilion near zamzam, the sacred well. I was seated there active in
this, with Umm al-Faṭṭal sitting there with me, happy at the news we had received,
when in came Abū Lahab, dragging his feet in annoyance. He sat down at one
side of the pavilion, his back facing mine. As he sat there people announced,
'Here's Abū Sufyān, al-Mughira b. al-Ḥarīth b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who has
arrived.' Abū Lahab called out, 'Come on in to me; you must have some news.'

""Abū Sufyān came and sat down, people standing all around. Abū Lahab
then spoke, 'Cousin, tell me what happened to everyone.'

""'Well,' he reported, 'I swear that no sooner had we joined battle with
them, than we turned our back to them and they killed and captured us just as
they liked. But, I swear, I don't blame them; we faced men dressed in white
mounted on piebald horses between heaven and earth. I swear, they spared
nothing, and nothing could withstand them.'"

""Abū Rāfī went on, 'I then raised the tent rope with my hand and com-
mented, 'By God, those were the angels!'

""At that Abū Lahab raised his fist and hit me a very hard blow in the face. I
charged at him, but he fought back and knocked me to the ground. He then knelt
down on me, beating me. I was a weak man. Then Umm al-Faṭṭal took hold of one
of the tent supports and began hitting him with it, making a nasty wound in his
head and shouting, 'So you think he's powerless now that his master is away!'

""He got up and left, humiliated. And by God, he only lived seven more days
before God afflicted him with the pustules that killed him.'"

Yūnus, quoting Ibn Ishāq, added, "His two sons left him unburied for three
days after his death and he began to decompose. Quraysh greatly feared those
pustules, just as they did the plague. Eventually one of the Quraysh said to his
sons, 'Aren't you ashamed that your father is decomposing in his house, without
you burying him?' They replied, 'We're scared of those terrible pustules.' The
man insisted, 'If you do it, I'll help you.' And they did not wash him and merely
threw water over him from a distance, not going close to him at all. They then
carried him to the heights of Mecca, placed him against a wall and covered him
over with stones.'

Yūnus said, quoting Ibn Ishāq, "Yahyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr
related to me, from his father, from ‘A’isha, mother of the believers, who said she
always veiled herself with her gown until she had passed beyond the place where
Abū Lahab was buried.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yahyā b. ‘Abbād related to me as follows, 'Quraysh mourned
their dead. Then they told one another not to do this because when Muḥammad
and his supporters heard of it they would revile them. They also agreed not to seek reassurance by making enquiry about the captives to discourage the Messenger of God (SAAS) from making heavy demands for their ransom."

I observe that God’s forcing them to forego mourning for their dead was part of the totality of His punishment of those of them that remained alive at that time. For weeping for the dead contributes to the recovery of the grieving heart.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib was afflicted with the loss of three of his sons, Zam'a, 'Aqil and al-Ḥārith, and he wished to mourn properly for them. He heard a woman in the night bewailing her loss and, because he was himself blind, he asked his son, ‘Go and see if mourning has become permissible. Are Quraysh now bewailing their dead? Perhaps I will now be able to lament the loss of Abū Ḥakīma’ – he was referring to his son Zam'a – ‘for I am in great pain.’

“When the boy returned, he reported that it was merely a woman lamenting the loss of a camel that had gone astray. It was then that al-Aswad spoke the verses,

‘Is she weeping because a donkey of hers has gone astray and so insomnia keeps her from sleeping?

Do not weep over a young camel, but over Badr that ruined all hopes,

Over Badr and the elite of the Bānū Ḥuṣayn and Makhzūm
and the tribe of Abū al-Walid.

And weep, if you weep at all, for Abū 'Aqil and for Ḥārith, the lion of lions.

Weep for them all, and do not hold back, for there is none the like of Abū Ḥakīma.

After them it is other men who rule, and had it not been for Badr, they would not have come to lead.’”

**DIVISION**

The payment of ransom money by Quraysh to the Messenger of God (SAAS) for their men who were captive.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abū Wādā'a b. Ḏubayra al-Sahmī was among the prisoners. The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘He has a son in Mecca who is a wealthy, shrewd merchant; no doubt he will come and seek to ransom his father.’ When Quraysh advised that there would be no hurry in ransoming the prisoners so that Muḥammad and his Companions would not seek larger sums, al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wādā'a, the man to whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) had referred, agreed and also advised against haste. But he left secretly at night and went to Medina, where he ransomed and removed his father, having paid 4,000 dirhams.”

I comment that this was the first prisoner ransomed. Then Quraysh sent to ransom their prisoners and Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaṭ went to ransom Suhayl b. Amr, who had been taken captive by Mālik b. al-Dukhshum, brother of the Bānū Sālim b. Āwīf. Mālik spoke the following verses on this,
"I captured Suhayl and I would not want for him any prisoner from any other nation. Khindif knows that, if injustice be done, Suhayl is the man to charge.

I struck with a sharp sword until it bent, forcing myself on against that hare-lipped man."

Ibn Ishâq stated, "Suhayl was a man who had a split lower lip."

He went on, "Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. 'Āṭā', a brother of the Banū 'Amr b. Luḥayy related to me, that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Let me extract the two front teeth of Suhayl b. 'Amr; his tongue will protrude and he will never speak ill of you again. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), said, 'I will not mutilate him, for if I did, God would mutilate me, even though I am a prophet.'"

I observe that this hadīth is incomplete in its line of authorities; indeed, it may be defined as mu'dāl, "problematic".

Ibn Ishâq stated, "I have been informed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to 'Umar about this, 'Maybe he will take a stand for which you will not criticize him.'"

I observe that this refers to the stand adopted in Mecca by Suhayl when, following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) some of the Arabs rebelled. Hypocrisy arose in Medina and elsewhere, and Suhayl stood up and gave a public address in Mecca in which he urged the people to remain firm in the true ḥanif religion. This will be related in its proper place.

Ibn Ishâq stated, "When Mikraz negotiated with them about Suhayl and ultimately satisfied them, they said, 'Give us what is ours.' He replied, 'Take me hostage in his place and let him go until he sends you his ransom money.' They released Suhayl and kept Mikraz with them."

Ibn Ishâq quoted some poetry of Mikraz that Ibn Hishâm suggested might not be authentic. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishâq stated, "'Abd Allah b. Abū Bakr related to me, saying, 'Amr b. Abū Sufyān Šakhir b. Ḥarb was among the prisoners.'"

Ibn Ishâq stated, "His mother was the daughter of 'Uqba b. Abū Muṣṭ."

Ibn Hishâm, however, said that his mother was 'Uqba's sister; and he added that it was 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalīb who had captured him.

Ibn Ishâq stated, "'Abd Allâh b. Abū Bakr related to me, as follows, 'Abū Sufyān was advised to ransom his son, 'Amr. He replied, 'Shall blood and money combine against me? They killed Ḥanzala, and shall I now ransom 'Amr? Let him remain with them; they can keep him as long as they want!'

"While he was thus imprisoned in Medina, Sa'd b. al-‘Uṯmân b. Akkāl, a brother of the Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf and also related to the Banū Mu‘āwiya, went forth on pilgrimage, accompanied by his young wife. He was elderly and a Muslim and had sheep at al-Baqî'. He left for there on pilgrimage with no idea he would be imprisoned at Mecca, since he was a pilgrim; Quraysh only ever
treated well those who came as pilgrims. But Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb attacked him in Mecca, imprisoning him in retaliation for this son 'Amr. Abū Sufyān spoke the following verses on this,

'O tribe of Ibn Akkāl, answer his request; you had a pact together, so do not surrender the chief in his maturity.

The Banū 'Amr is lowly, contemptible, if they do not release their prisoner's fetters.'

Hassan b. Thābit spoke the following verses in response,

"If Sa'd had been free to act that day in Mecca, he would have killed many of you before he was captured.

Using a sharp sword or a bow of nab'a wood, its string twanging when its arrows shoot."

He went on, "The Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him what had happened and asked him to give them 'Amr b. Abū Sufyān so they could release him and receive their own man in exchange. The Prophet (SAAS) agreed and they sent 'Amr to Abū Sufyān, who released Sa'd."

Ibn Ishaq went on, "Abū al-Āṣ b. al-Rabi' b. 'Abd al-Uzza b. 'Abd Shams b. Umayya was among the captives, the son-in-law of the Messenger of God (SAAS), husband of his daughter Zaynab."

Ibn Hisham added, "It was Khirāsh b. al-Šimma, of the Banū Ḥarám, who had captured him."

Ibn Ishaq continued, "Abū al-Āṣ was a respected Meccan credited with much wealth and goods. His mother was Hala, daughter of Khuwaylid, sister of Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid. It was Khadija who had asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) to marry her daughter Zaynab to him, and he never disagreed with her; this occurred before the beginnings of revelation.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) had married his daughter Ruqayya, or Umm Kulthūm, to Uthba b. Abū Lahab. And when revelation began, Abū Lahab said, 'Let Muḥammad look after his own!' He ordered his son Uthba to divorce Ruqayya with the promise to give him any woman he wanted. He did so before having consummated the marriage. She was then married by Uthmān b. Affān, God bless him. They approached Abū al-Āṣ and said, 'Leave your wife and we will marry you to any Quraysh woman you desire.' He replied, 'No, by God! I will not leave her, and I do not want any other woman from Quraysh for my wife.' The Messenger of God (SAAS), so I have been told, used to commend his son-in-law for this."

I comment that the evidence of his praise for his son-in-law is well established in the Sahih collection, as will be shown.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) had no authority in Mecca to allow or to forbid, since he was powerless. Islam had divided Zaynab,
daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), from Abū al-‘Āṣ, but he was not able to bring about their separation."

I comment that it was only in the year of the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya, in the year 6 AH that God made it unlawful for Muslim women to marry polytheists, as will be shown hereafter, if God wills it.

Ibn Ishaq stated that Yahyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father who quoted ʿAʾisha as having said, "When the Meccans sent ransom money for their men who were prisoners, Zaynab, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), sent money on behalf of Abī al-‘Āṣ. She sent the necklace for him that Khadija had given her upon her marriage to Abī al-‘Āṣ. She said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw it, he was greatly touched for her and said, 'If you should think fit to deliver her prisoner to her and to return to her what is hers, then do so.' They replied, "Yes, Messenger of God." And they did release him and returned her property to her."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Those named to us as having been freed by the Messenger of God (SAAS) without ransom having been paid for them include: of the Banū Umayya, Abū al-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabi', and of the Banū Makhzūm, al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥanṭab b. al-Ḥarīth b. Ḥubayd b. Umar b. Makhzūm. He was taken prisoner by one of the Banū al-Ḥarīth b. al-Khazraj. He had been left in their custody until he was released, whereupon he rejoined his own people."

Ibn Ishaq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) had required of him (Abī al-‘Āṣ) that he allow free movement to Zaynab, which meant that she could emigrate to Medina. And Abī al-‘Āṣ did keep to his agreement, as will be told."

It is at this point that Ibn Ishaq related this; however, we have deferred telling of it, since that is more appropriate. But God knows best.

We have previously related how al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, uncle of the Prophet (SAAS), ransomed himself and ‘Uqayl and Nawfal, sons of his two brothers, for 100 awqiyu of gold.

Ibn Hisham stated, "It was Abū Ayyūb Khālid b. Zayd who captured Abī al-‘Āṣ."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Sayfī b. Abū Riḍā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Umar b. Makhzūm was left in the custody of his captives. They agreed with him that he would send them his ransom and so let him free; but he did not keep his word. On that subject Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the lines,

'Sayfī's word was not one to be trusted, like the trail of some fox that rested at a watering hole.'"

Ibn Ishaq continued, "Abū ʿAzza ʿAmr b. Abū Allāh b. Uthmān b. Ḥubayb b. Ḥudhayfah b. Jumah was a poor man with daughters to support. He said, 'O Messenger of God, you know my state of finances. I am poor and have a family, so be gracious to me.' The Messenger of God agreed to be gracious to him on condition that he did not support anyone else against him. Abū ʿAzza spoke the following lines in praise of the Messenger of God (SAAS) for this action,
'Who is it will tell the Messenger, Muhammad, from me, "You are truth; and the All-Powerful is to be praised. You are a man who calls to the truth and to right guidance, with witness for you from God the Almighty. You are a man given a position of power among us, there being steps both easy and high up to where you are. You are someone whose opponents are unhappy being fought, while those with whom you make peace are content. But when I think of Badr and those who fought it, I am overcome again by sorrow and depression."

I comment that thereafter this Abn 'Azza broke the pact he had made with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he fell under the influence of the polytheists and rejoined them. At the battle of Uḥud he was again taken captive, and he again asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) to set him free. But the latter replied, "I'll not let you stroke your beard and say that you deceived Muhammad twice!" And so his head was cut off at Uḥud, as will be related in the account of that engagement.

It is said that it was of him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke as follows, "A believer will not be bitten twice from the same lair." This is one of those proverbs uttered only by the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Ibn Iṣḥaq stated, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, as follows, "Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥ was sitting with Ṣafwān b. Umayya in the hijr shortly after the losses that were suffered at Badr. He, Umayr, was one of the devilish Quraysh provocateurs, a man who had grievously harmed the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions at Mecca. His son Wahb b. Umayr was one of those taken captive at Badr."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The person who captured him was Rifā'a b. Rāfī', one of the Banū Zurayq."

Ibn Iṣḥaq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to me, from 'Urwa, that Umayr made mention of the fate of those caste into the pit at Badr, at which Ṣafwān said, 'I swear, there's nothing good in life now they are gone.' Umayr agreed, 'You are right. Were it not for a debt I can't pay and children whose survival after me concerns me, I would ride off to Muhammad to kill him; I have cause against them, since my son is a prisoner in their hands.'

"Ṣafwān b. Umayya seized the opportunity to say, 'Consider your debt my responsibility; I will redeem it and consider your children as my own, caring for them as long as they live. Everything I have will be theirs.'

"Umayr suggested, 'Keep this matter a secret between us both.' Ṣafwān agreed.

"Umayr then called for his sword, sharpened it, put poison on it and left for Medina. While Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was there talking with a group of Muslims about Badr and recalling how God had honoured them and how He had treated
their enemy, ɿɿmar saw ɿɿmayr b. ɿɿWahb having just dismounted at the door to the mosque, wearing his sword. ɿɿmar commented, ‘There’s that dog ɿɿmayr b. ɿɿWahb, that enemy of God; he’s come here only to do some mischief. It is he who sowed discord among us and estimated our numbers for the enemy at Badr!’

‘ɿɿmar then went in to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, ‘O Prophet of God, that enemy of God ɿɿmayr b. ɿɿWahb is here wearing his sword.’ He told him to let him enter, so ɿɿmar went and seized the sheath of ɿɿmayr’s sword and wrapped it tightly around his neck, telling the Muslim Companions there to go and sit with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and to guard him against that evil fellow who could not be trusted.

‘He then took him in to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and when the latter saw him with ɿɿmar holding his sword sheath around his neck, he said, ‘Release him, ɿɿmar; come near, ɿɿmayr.’ ɿɿmayr went over to him and said, ‘May your morning be good!’ This was the mode by which people greeted one another before Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, ‘God has honoured us with a greeting better than that, ɿɿmayr. That is salam, peace, the greeting used by the people of paradise.’

‘Well,’ ɿɿmayr replied, ‘it’s a greeting you’ve not been using for long.’

‘So what brings you, ɿɿmar?’ the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked.

‘I have come about that captive you have; treat him well,’ ɿɿmayr replied.

‘Why are you wearing a sword around your neck?’

‘God curse the swords! Have they done us any good?’

‘Seriously, why did you come?’

‘That’s the only reason,’ ɿɿmayr insisted.

‘On the contrary, you sat in the hijr with Şafwân b. Umayya; you discussed the fate of the dead in the pit, then you said, “Were it not for a debt I can’t pay and children whose survival after me concerns me, I would ride off to Muhammad to kill him.” And so Şafwân b. Umayya took responsibility for your debt and your family if you would kill me. But God prevented you from doing that.’

‘ɿɿmayr declared, ‘I testify that you are the Messenger of God! We used to call you a liar when you brought us news from heaven and the revelations that came to you, but only Şafwân and I were present on that occasion, and I well know that only God could have told you of it. Praise be to God who led me to Islam and to where I am now!’ He then gave testimony to the truth of Islam.

‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered, ‘Give your brother instruction in the religion! Teach him the Qur’an and release his prisoner to him!’ They did so.

‘ɿɿmayr then said, ‘O Messenger of God, I vigorously tried to extinguish the light of Islam and was very harsh towards those who followed God’s religion. I would like you to give me permission to go to Mecca where I will call others to God, to His Messenger and to Islam. Perhaps God will guide them. Otherwise I will persecute them in their religion just as I used to maltreat your Companions in theirs.’
The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave permission to him and he did go to Mecca.

Ṣafwân had been saying, following ʿUmayr b. Wahb’s departure, ‘Rejoice at an event soon to happen that will make you forget Badr!’

He would ask riders about ʿUmayr, and eventually one came who told him of ʿUmayr’s acceptance of Islam. He swore that he would never say another word to him and never do him any favour.”

Ibn ʿIshaq continued, “When ʿUmayr arrived back in Mecca he set about preaching for Islam and persecuting those who opposed it. Many people accepted Islam due to him.

“And it was ʿUmayr b. Wahb, or al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, who saw the enemy of God, Satan, when he turned on his heels and fled, saying, ‘I’ll have nothing to do with you, I see what you do not.’ Satan was then in the form of Surāqā b. Mālik b. Juṣhūm, the leader of Mudlij.”

Hereafter ʿImām Ibn ʿIshaq, God bless him, wrote on the revelations in the Qurʾān that relate to the battle of Badr. This is the passage from the first to the last of sūrat al-ʾAnfāl (The Spoils; VIII). He wrote well and at length. We have examined this in detail in our work of exegesis and those wishing to read this should look at it there. And all praise and credit are due to God.

He then begins giving the names of those Muslims who participated at Badr. He listed these names in the order of the Emigrants and then the Helpers, beginning with those of Aws and going on to those of Khazraj. He concludes with the statement, “The total number of Muslims, whether Emigrants or Helpers, who either witnessed Badr or who were credited with a share of the spoils from it, totalled 314 men.

“The Emigrants totalled 83 men.

“From Aws there were 61 men.

“From Khazraj there were 170 men.”

Al-Bukhari listed them in his sahih compendium in alphabetical order following the names of the Messenger of God (SAAS), ʿAbū Bakr, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, may God be pleased with them all.

What follows is a list of the names of the Muslims who were present at Badr arranged alphabetically. This is derived from the book al-ʾAḥkām al-Kabīr (The Major Statutes) by the ḥafiẓ Diyaʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Whād al-Maqdisī and others. This alphabetical listing is preceded by the name of their chief and their pride, the leader of all the progeny of Adam, Muḥammad, Messenger of God (SAAS).
THE NAMES OF THOSE AT BADR ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY.

THE LETTER ALIF.


Usayr b. ṬAmr al-Anṣārī Abū Sallīt, also known as Usayr b. ṬAmr b. Umayya b. Lawdān b. ʿAlīm b. Thābit al-Khazrajī; Mūsā b. ʿUqba did not mention him.

Anas b. Qatāda b. Ṭabīʿa b. Khālid b. al-Ḥārith al-Awṣī, also so named by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, though al-Umawi named him ṬAnṣī in his biography (of the Prophet (ṢAAS)).

I comment that Anas b. Mālik was the servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) according to the account of ʿUmar b. Shabella al-Numayrī. Muḥammad b. ṬAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī related to us, from his father, from Thumāma b. Anas, who said, “Anas b. Mālik was asked whether he had been present at Badr, and that he replied, ‘Where would I have been, to be absent from Badr, may you be motherless!’”

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, “Muḥammad b. ṬAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī informed us, my father related to us, from a freed-man of Anas b. Mālik, that the latter asked Anas whether he had been present at Badr. He replied, ‘May you be motherless, where would I have been, to be absent from Badr?’”

Muḥammad b. ṬAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī stated, “Anas b. Mālik went forth to Badr with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as a servant in service to him.”

Our teacher, the sheikh and ḥāfiz Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mizzi stated in his tahdhib, his educational text, “Thus al-Anṣārī stated, but none of the authors of the works on the military expeditions said this.”


THE LETTER BA’.

Bujayr b. Abū Bujayr, ally of the Banū al-Najjār, Bāḥḥāṭh b. Tha’laba b. Khazama b. Aṣrām b. ʿAmr b. ʿImāra al-Balawi, an ally of the Helpers; Basbas b. ʿAmr b. Tha’laba b. Kharsha b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Dhubyān b. Rashādān b. Qays b. Juhayna al-Juhāni, an ally of the Banū Saʿida, he being one of the scouts, along with ʿAdī b. Abū al-Zaghba, referred to above; Bishr b. al-Bara b. Maʿrūr al-Khazraji, who died at Khaybar from the poisoned mutton; Bashir b. Saʿd b. Tha’laba al-Khazraji, father of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashir, said to have been the first man to pledge his allegiance to Abū Bakr; Bashir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir Abū Lubāba al-Awsī, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (SAAS) from al-Rawḥā to take charge of Medina; he was assigned a full share in the spoils of Badr.

THE LETTER TA’.


THE LETTER THA’.


THE LETTER JIM.

I comment that Jabir b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr b. Hārām, al-Sulami also, is mentioned by al-Bukhārī among those at Badr. He gives a line of authorities from Sa'd b. Manṣūr, from Abū Mu'āwiyah, from al-A'mash, from Abū Sufyān quoting Jabir as saying, “I drew water from the well for my companions at the battle of Badr.”

This line of authorities is according to Muslim. However, Muhammad b. Sa'd stated, “I mentioned this hadith to Muḥammad b. 'Umar – meaning d-Waqidi – and he commented, ‘This is ficticious and comes from the Iraqi scholars.’ He refused Jabir’s having been present at the battle of Badr.”

Imām Āḥmad b. Ḥanbal stated, “Rawḥ b. 'Abāda related to us, quoting Zakariyyā b. Ishaq, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, that he heard Jabir b. 'Abd Allāh say, ‘I went on 19 military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but I was not present at either Badr or Uhud. My father prevented me. After my father was killed at Uhud, I never missed any one of the military engagements of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’”

Muslim related this from Abū Khaythama, from Rawḥ.


THE LETTER Ḥ. A.

Al-Ḥārith b. Anas b. Ṣafī al-Khazrajī; al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Muʿādh b. Akhū Sa'd b. Muʿādh al-Awsī; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaṭīb b. 'Amr b. Ḥubayr b. Umayya b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Aws, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the road to Badr, and he awarded him a share of the spoils; al-Ḥārith b. Khazmā b. 'Adī b. 'Abd al-Ghānim b. 'Alī b. 'Awf b. 'Amr b. al-Khazrajī, an ally of the Banū Zafūrā b. 'Abd al-Asḥāl; al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma al-Khazrajī, who was sent back by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because his leg was broken en route; he gave him a full share in the spoils.

Al-Ḥārith b. Ṣafī al-Awsī; al-Ḥārith b. Qays b. Khalda b. Abū Khalid al-Khazrajī; al-Ḥārith b. al-Nu'mān b. Umayya al-Anṣārī; Ḥaṭīth b. Sūraqā al-Najjārī, who was struck by a stray arrow while he was with the observers and was elevated to paradise; Ḥaṭīth b. al-Nu'mān b. Rāfi' al-Anṣārī; Ḥaṭīb b. Abū Balṭa'ā al-Lakhmī, an ally of the Banū Asad b. 'Abd al-Uẓzā b. Qūṣayy.

Ḥaṭīb b. 'Amr b. Ḥubayr b. Umayya al-Asḥaṭ, of the Banū Dahmān. This name is given thus by Ibn Hishām from a source other than Ibn Ishaq. Al-Waqrī gave it as Ḥaṭīb b. 'Amr b. Abū Shams b. 'Abd Wudd; Ibn 'A'idh gave it thus in his work on the military expeditions. Ibn Abū Ḥātim stated, “Ḥaṭīb b. 'Amr b. Abū Shams was a name I heard from my father who said that this man's identity was unknown.”

Al-Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir al-Khazrajī; it is said that the banner of Khazraj was in his care on that day.

Ḥabīb b. Aswād, freed-man of the Banū Ḥarām, of the Banū Salama. Mūsā b. Uqba stated, “The name was Ḥabīb b. Sa'd, instead of Aswād.” Ibn Abū Ḥātim
stated, “Habib b. Aslam was the freed-man of the tribe of Jusham b. al-Khazraj, and a Helper and a man who participated in the battle of Badr.”

Hurayth b. Zayd b. Thalaba b. ‘Abd Rabbihāl-Anṣārī, a brother of ‘Abd Allāh b. Zayd, who was shown al-nidā, the call to prayer.


THE LETTER KHAṬ.
Khālid b. al-Bukayr, brother of Iyās referred to above; Khālid b. Zayd Abū Ayyūb al-Najjārī; Khalid b. Qays b. Malik b. al-Ajlān al-Anṣārī; Khārija b. al-Ḥumayr, an ally of the Banū Khansā‘, of the Khazraj, a man also named as Hāritha b. al-Ḥumayr whom Ibn ʿAidh called “Khārija”; but God knows best. Khārija b. Zayd al-Khazrajī, son-in-law of Abū Bakr; Khabbāb b. al-Āratt, an ally of the Banū Zahra, one of the original Emigrants, a man whose origins were in the Banū Tamim, though some say in Khuzā‘a; Khabbāb, freed-man of Utba b. Ghazzān, one of the original Emigrants; Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma al-Sulami; Khubayb b. Iyās al-Khazrajī; Khuraym b. Ṭāʾī who was included among these by al-Bukhārī; Khaliṭa b. ʿAdī al-Khazrajī; Khulayd b. Qays b. al-ʿUrfān b. Sinān b. Ubayd al-Anṣārī al-Sulami; Khunays b. Ḥudhayfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Saḥīb b. Sahm b. ʿAmr b. Ḥuṣayn b. Kaḥf b. Luʿayy al-Sahmi, who was killed at Badr, thus making Ḥafṣā, daughter of Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, a widow; Khawwāt b. Jubayr al-Anṣārī, who was accorded a share of the spoils, though he was not himself present at Badr; Khawālī b. ‘Abd al-Khaṭṭāb, an ally of the Banū ‘Adī, one of the original Emigrants; Khallād b. Rāfī; Khallād b. Suwayd and Khallād b. ʿAmr b. al-Jumāḥ, men of Khazraj.

THE LETTER DHAṬ.
Dhakwān b. ‘Abd Qays al-Khazrajī; Dhū al-Ṣimālāyyn b. ʿAbd b. ʿAmr b. Nadla of Ghabshān b. Salīm b. Mālkān b. Afsā b. Ḥāritha b. Ṭāʾī b. ʿAmr b. Banū Khuzā‘a, an ally of the Banū Zuhra who was martyred that day. Ibn Hishām stated that his name was Umayr and that he was only called Dhū al-Ṣimālāyyn, i.e. “he with the two left hands” because he was left-handed.

THE LETTER RAṬ.
Rāfī b. al-Ḥārith al-Awস; Rāfī b. ‘Unjada; Ibn Hishām stated that ‘Unjada was his mother; Rāfī b. al-ʿUrfān b. Lūḥān al-Khazrajī who was killed that day; Rabī b. Rāfī b. al-Ḥārith b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha b. al-Jīd b. Ḥājān b. Ḥuṣayn.

70. This was a vision that he was shown while asleep of how the call to prayer was to be made to the Muslim community. See p. 222 above.

THE LETTER ZAY.


THE LETTER SIN.


Saʿd b. Muʿādh al-Awsī, and it was he who was entrusted with the Aws banner. Saʿd b. Ubāda b. Dulaym al-Khazrajī: several authorities, including Urwa, al-Bukhārī, Ibn Abū Ḥātim and al-Ṭibrānī include him among those who were present at Badr. In the saḥīḥ of Muslim, there is material substantiating that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) was preparing to meet the Quraysh force, Saʿd b. Ubāda said, “O Messenger of God, perhaps you would like us to make …” But the truth is that it was Saʿd b. Muʿādh who said this.

It is well known that Asʿad b. Ubāda was sent back from the road; it is said this was so that he should take charge of Medina. It is also said to have been
because he was bitten by a snake and was not able to proceed to Badr. Al-Suhayli related this from Ibn Qutayba. But God knows best.

Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, who was Mālik b. Uhayb al-Zuhri, one of the so-called "ten",71 Sa'd b. Mālik Abū Sahl: al-Wāqidi stated that he had made preparations to go forth but fell sick and died before he had left.

Sa'd b. Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl al-Adawi, nephew of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. It is said that he arrived from Syria after they returned from Badr; the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave him a share of the spoils.

Sufyān b. Bishr b. 'Amr al-Khazrajī; Salama b. Aslam b. Ḥuraysh al-Awsi; Salama b. Thabit b. Waqṣh b. Zaghba; Salama b. Salāma b. Waqṣh b. Zaghba; Salīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī; Salīm b. 'Amr al-Sulāmī; Salīm b. Qays b. Fahad al-Khazrajī; Salīm b. Mīlān, brother of Ḥarām b. Mīlān al-Najjārī; Simāk b. Aws b. Kharāsha Abū Dujāna, also known as Simāk b. Kharāsha; Simāk b. Sa'd b. Thā'labab al-Khazrajī, who was the brother of Bashīr b. Sa'd referred to above; Sahl b. Ḥunayf al-Awsi; Sahl b. 'Atik al-Najjārī; Sahl b. Qays al-Sulāmī; Suhayl b. Rāfī al-Najjārī, who had owned the site of the mosque built by the Prophet (SAAS) as was related above; Suhayl b. Wahb al-Fihīrī who was the son of Bayḍā, his mother; Sinān b. Abū Sinm b. Mihṣān b. Ḥirthān, a muḥājirīn, an Emigrant, an ally of Banū 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf; Sinān b. Shayfī al-Sulāmī; Sawwād b. Zuraqī b. Zayd al-Anṣārī: al-Umawī gave his name as Sawwād b. Rizām; Sawwād b. Ghazīyya b. Uhayb al-Balawi; Suwaybit b. Sa'd b. Ḥarmala al-Adārī; Suwayd b. Makhṣī Abū Makhṣī al-Tā'ī, ally of the Banū 'Abd Shams: his name is said to have been Azyād b. Ḥimmār.

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**THE LETTER Shin.**

Shujā' b. Wahb b. Rabi'a al-Asadī; Asad b. Khuzayma, ally of the Banū 'Abd Shams, one of the original Emigrants. Shammās b. Ḥūthmān al-Makhzūmī: Ibn Hishām said that his name was Ḥūthmān b. Ḥūthmān, but he was named Shammās for his good looks and his resemblance to a Shammās of the pre-Islamic era; Shaqrān, freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS): al-Wāqidi stated, "He was not awarded any share in the spoils. He was in charge of the captives. He was given money by everyone who had control over the prisoners and so he received more than a share of the spoils would otherwise have been."

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**THE LETTER Sad.**

Ṣuhayb b. Sinān al-Rūmī, one of the original Emigrants; Ṣafwān b. Wahb b. Rabi'a al-Fihīrī, brother of Suḥayl b. Bayḍā': he was martyred that day; Ṣākhr b. Umayya b. Khansaḥ al-Sulāmī.

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71. Ten early converts to Islam reported to be assured places in paradise. See footnote Vol. I, p. 113.
THE LETTER DĀD.


THE LETTER TĀ.

Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Taymi, one of the “ten”; he came from Syria after their return from Badr and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a share in the spoils; Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, an Emigrant, and the brother of Ḥuṣayn and ʿUbayda; Ṭufayl b. Mālīk b. Khansaḥ al-Sulami; Ṭufayl b. al-Nuʿmān b. Khansaḥ al-Sulami, the nephew of the preceding man; Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr b. Wahb b. Abū Ḥabīr b. ʿAbd b. Quşayy: al-Waqqīdī mentioned him.

THE LETTER ZAYN.

Zuḥayr b. Ṭalḥa al-Aswī, mentioned by al-Bukhārī.

THE LETTER ‘AYN.


ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Jīdd b. Qays al-Sulami; ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaqq b. Aws al-Saʿūdī: Mūsā b. ʿUqba, al-Waqqīdī and Ibn ʿĀṣim b. Qays al-Sulami and Ibn ʿĀṣim gave his name as ʿAbd Rabb b. Ḥaqq, while Ibn Hishām gave it as ʿAbd Rabbīhi b. Ḥaqq.
'Abd Allah b. al-Humayr, ally of the Banû Harâm, he being the brother of Khârijah b. al-Humayr of Ashja'; 'Abd Allah b. al-Rabi' b. Qays al-Khazraji; 'Abd Allah b. Rawâha al-Khazraji; 'Abd Allah b. Zayd b. 'Abd Rabbih b. Ta'labâ al-Khazraji who was shown al-nîdî, the call to prayer.

'Abd Allah b. Surâqa al-Adawi, a name not mentioned by Musâ b. Uqba, al-Wâqidi or Ibn 'A'idh, though given by Ibn Ishaq and others.

'Abd Allah b. Salama b. Mâlik al-Ajlân, an ally of the Ânsâr; 'Abd Allah b. Sahl b. Râfi', brother of the Banû Za'urâ; 'Abd Allah b. Suhayl b. 'Amr. He came out to battle with his father, on the side of the polytheists, but then he fled from them, joined the Muslims and fought with them. 'Abd Allah b. Târiq b. Mâlik al-Qudâ'î, an ally of al-Aws; 'Abd Allah b. Âmir of Balîyy, mentioned by Ibn Ishaq.

'Abd Allah b. 'Abd Allâh b. Ubâbî b. Sa'îdî, 'Abd Allâh b. Sahl b. Suhayl b. 'Amr. He came out to battle with his father, on the side of the polytheists, but then he fled from them, joined the Muslims and fought with them. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd Allâh b. Ubâbî b. Sa'îdî, an ally of the leader of the al-munâjijûn, the "hypocrites". 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Asâd b. Hilâl b. 'Abd Allah b. Amr b. Makhtûm Abû Salamâ, husband of Umm Salamâ: 'Abd Allah was killed that day. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd Manâf b. al-Nû'mân al-Sulamî; 'Abd Allah b. 'Abs; 'Abd Allah b. 'Uthmân b. 'Amir b. Amr b. Ka'b b. Taym b. Murrâ b. Ka'b Abû Bakr, "the Trusting", God bless him; 'Abd Allâh b. Urfâtâ b. 'Adî al-Khazraji.


'Abd Allah b. Makhrîma b. 'Adî al-'Uzza, one of the initial Emigrants; 'Abd Allah b. Mas'ûd al-Hudhâli, ally of Banû Zuhra, one of the initial Emigrants; 'Abd Allah b. Maṣ'ûn al-Jumâhî, one of the initial Emigrants; 'Abd Allah b. al-Nu'mân b. Baldâma al-Sulamî; 'Abd Allah b. Unaysa b. al-Nu'mân al-Sulamî; 'Abd al-Raḥmân b. Jabr b. 'Amr Abû Ubâys al-Khazraji; 'Abd al-Raḥmân b. 'Abd Allah b. Thâlabâ, Abû 'Uqayl al-Qudâ'î al-Balawi.

'Abd al-Raḥmân b. 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Hârîth b. Zuhra b. Kilâb al-Zuhrâ, one of the "ten", God be pleased with them all; 'Abs b. 'Amir b. 'Adî al-Sulamî; 'Ubayd b. al-Tayyihân, brother of Abû al-Haytham b. al-Tayyihân: his name is also given as Atîk, instead of 'Ubayd.


'Ubayda b. al-Hârîth b. al-Muṭṭalib b. 'Abd Manâf, brother of al-Huṣayn and al-Ṭufayl: he was one of the three champions who first went out to fight at Badr and whose arm (sic)72 was cut off and who died following the battle. God bless him!


72. Elsewhere in the text we learn that it was his leg that he lost.
Uthmān b. Affān b. Abū al-‘Āṣ b. Umayya b. ‘Abd Shams b. ‘Abd Manāf al-Umawi, (later) the “Commander of the Believers”, one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the “ten”. He remained behind with his wife Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), nursing her until she died. He was given a full share of the spoils.

Uthmān b. Maẓ'uẓn al-Jumahī Abū al-Sā'īb, a brother of ‘Abd Allāh and Qudāma, one of the initial Emigrants.

‘Adī b. Abū al-Zaghbā al-Juhani, who was sent ahead as a scout by the Messenger of God (SAAS), along with Basbas b. ‘Amr.


‘Uqba b. ‘Amr Abū Maṣ‘ūd al-Badrī: in the saḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī it is stated that he was present at Badr. However, many of the scholars of the military expeditions of the Prophet (SAAS) express doubts over this and therefore do not include him.

‘Uqba b. Wahb b. Rabī‘a al-Asadī, the Asad of Khuzayma, an ally of the Banū ‘Abd Shams, he being a brother of Shujā‘ b. Wahb, one of the initial Emigrants; ‘Uqba b. Wahb b. Kalda, an ally of the Banū Ghaṭfān.

‘Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan al-Ghanmī, one of the initial Emigrants, one who will enter paradise without reckoning.

‘Alī b. Abo Talib al-Hašsimī, later “Commander of the Believers”, one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the three champions who went forth at Badr. God be pleased with him!

‘Ammār b. Yaśir al-‘Anāsī al-Madhḥiḥī, one of the initial Emigrants; Umāra b. Ḥaẓm b. Zayd al-Najjārī. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, later “Commander of the Believers”, one of the Four Caliphs, and one of the two sheikhs, learned elders, known as al-muqtadā bihi ma‘, “those relied upon”, who were viewed as exemplars. God be pleased with them both!


‘Umayr b. ‘Awf, freed-man of Suhayl b. ʿĀmir: his name is given by al-Umawi and others as ʿĀmir b. ʿAwf. It is similarly given in both ṣakīḥ collections in the account of the dispatch of Abū Ubayda to Bahrayn.

‘Umayr b. Mālik b. Uḥayb al-Zuhri, brother of Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqāṣ, martyred that day; ‘Antara, freed-man of the Banū Sulaym and also said to be a member of that tribe, but God knows best.

ʿAwf b. al-Ḥārith b. Rifa‘a b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī, he being the son of ʿAfra‘, daughter of Ubayd b. Tha‘labā al-Najjāriyya: he was martyred that day; Uwaym b. Sā‘ida al-Anṣārī, of the Banū Umayya b. Zayd; Ḥyād b. Ghanm al-Fihri, one of the initial Emigrants. May God be pleased with them all!

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THE LETTER GHAYN.

Ghannām b. Aws al-Khazrajī: he was mentioned by al-Waqidi, though there is no consensus about him.

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THE LETTER FĀ.


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THE LETTER QAF.


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THE LETTER KĀF.

Ka'b b. Zayd b. Qays al-Najjāri; Ka'b b. 'Amr Abū al-Yusr al-Sulami; Kalāfa b. Tha'labā, one of the *bakkā'ūn* mentioned by Mūsā b. Uqba; Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn b. Yarbū' Abū Marthad al-Ghanawi, one of the initial Emigrants.

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**THE LETTER **

**MIM.**

Malik b. al-Dukhwshum, known as Ibn al-Dukhshun (sic) al-Khazrajī; Malik b. Abū Khawlā al-Ju'fī, an ally of the Banū ʿAdī; Malik b. Rabīʿa Abū Usayd al-Saʿūdī; Malik b. Qudama al-Awsī; Malik b. ʿAmr, brother of Thaqīf b. ʿAmr, both of whom were Emigrants and allies of the Banū Tamīm b. Dūdān b. Asād; Malik b. Qudama al-Awsī; Malik b. Masʿūd al-Khazrajī; Malik b. Thābit b. Numayla al-Mazānī, an ally of the Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf; ʿAbd al-Mundhir b. Zanbar al-Awsī, a brother of Abū Lubāba and Rifaʿa; he was martyred at Badr; al-Mujaddabbar b. Dhiyād b. Balawī, an Emigrant; Muḥrīz b. ʿAmīr al-Najjārī; Muḥrīz b. Naḍla b. Asādī, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd Shams, an Emigrant; Muḥammad b. Maslama, an ally of the Banū ʿAbd al-Asḥal; Muddīlījī, also known as Midlāj b. ʿAmr, brother of Thaqīf b. ʿAmr, an Emigrant; Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī; Miṣṭah b. Utthāthah b. ʿAbbād b. al-Muṣṭafīb b. ʿAbd Manāfī, an initial Emigrant: his name is also given as ʿAwf; Masʿūd b. Āws al-Anṣārī al-Najjārī; Masʿūd b. Khaldūn al-Khazrajī; Masʿūd b. Rabīʿa al-Qārī, an ally of the Banū Zāhra, an Emigrant; Masʿūd b. Saʿīd, also known as Ibn ʿAbd Saʿīd b. ʿAmīr b. ʿAdī b. Jusum b. Majdaʿa b. Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith; Masʿūd b. Saʿīd b. Qays al-Khazrajī; Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir al-Sulāmī, an Emigrant who bore the banner that day; Muṣʿādh b. Jabal al-Khazrajī; Muṣʿādh b. al-Ḥārith al-Najjārī: this man’s mother was ʿAfrāʾī, and he was the brother of ʿAwf and Muʿāwwidh; Muṣʿādh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jumāhī al-Khazrajī; Muṣʿādh b. Māʿṣūd al-Khazrajī, brother of ʿAṣidh; Maṣḥūd b. Abūbād b. Qushayr b. al-Qidhamm b. Sālim b. Ghanām: also known as Maṣḥūd b. Ubāda b. Qays. Al-Waqīdī gave his name as Qashṭar instead of Qushayr. Ibn Hishām gave his name as Qasṭahr Abū Khumayṣa.

Maṣḥūd b. Qays b. Ṣakhir al-Sulāmī, brother of ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays; Muʿāttib b. Ubayd b. Iyās al-Balawī al-Qudāʾī; Muʿāttib b. ʿAwf al-Khuzāʾī, an ally of the Banū Makhzūm, an Emigrant; Muʿāttib b. Qushayr al-Awsī; Maqīl b. al-Mundhir al-Sulāmī; Muʿammār b. al-Ḥārith al-Jumaḥī, an Emigrant; Maʿṣūn b. ʿAdī al-Awsī; Muʿāwwidh b. al-Ḥārith al-Jumaḥī, his mother being ʿAfrāʾī. And he was a brother of Muṣʿādh b. ʿAwf. Muʿāwwidh b. ʿAmr b. al-Jumāhī al-Sulāmī, probably a brother of Muṣʿādh b. ʿAmr; al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr al-Bahrānī, he being al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, one of the initial Emigrants; it was he whose statement was praised by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was the son of the man mentioned above and was one of the cavalry at Badr. Muṭayl b. Wabra al-Khazrajī; al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr b. Khunays al-Sāʿūdī; al-Mundhir b. Qudāma b. ʿArfaja al-Khazrajī; al-Mundhir b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqba al-Anṣārī of

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73. The category of deeply pious Muslim converts who 'wept at', i.e. deeply repented, the tardiness of their conversion or participation in the struggles of the early Islamic community.
the Banū Jahjābī; Mihja‘, the freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭāb, whose origins were from Yemen: he was the first Muslim killed that day.

THE LETTER NŪN.


THE LETTER ḤĀ.


Hilāl b. Umayyya al-Waqīfī: he is included with those at Badr in both saḥīḥ collections, in regard to the story of Kašf b. Mālik. But none of the authors of the works on the military expeditions include him.

Hilāl b. al-Muʿallā al-Khazrajī, brother of Rāfī‘ b. al-Muʿallā.

THE LETTER WAW.


THE LETTER YĀ.

Yazīd b. al-Akhnās b. Jarāb b. Ḥabīb b. Jarra al-Sulamī. Al-Suḥaylī stated that he was present along with his father and his son, something unique among the Companions. But Ibn Ishāq and most of the other authorities do not mention them. They were, however, present with him at the bayʿat al-ridwān, the “Pledge of Riḍwān”.

Yazīd b. al-Ḥārith b. Qays al-Khazrajī. It was he who was called Ibn Fushum, the latter being his mother. He was martyred at Badr that day; Yazīd b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīda Abū al-Mundhir al-Sulamī; Yazīd b. al-Mundhir b. Sarḥ al-Sulamī, he being the brother of Maʿqīl b. al-Mundhir.

74. The Pledge of Riḍwān, or the Tree, also mentioned in the Qur‘ān. It refers to the pledge given by the Companions to the Prophet (ṢAAS) during the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya. See sūrat al-Fāṭḥ, XLVIII, v.18.
Abú Usayd Malik b. Rabī'a is listed above; Abú al-Awār b. al-Ḥārith b. Zālim al-Najjārī; Ibn Hishām gave Abū al-Awār's real name as al-Ḥārith b. Zālim, while al-Waqīqī gave it as Ka'b b. al-Ḥārith b. Jundab b. Zālim; Abū Bakr, "the Trusting", Abū Allāh b. Uthmān, listed above; Abū Ḥabbā b. ʿAmr b. Thābit, one of the Bantū Thaʿlabā b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Anṣārī; Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba b. Rabī'a was an Emigrant and his given name was said to be Mihšam; Abū al-Ḥamrā', freed-man of al-Ḥārith b. Rifaʾa b. ʿAffā; ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUthmān, listed above; Aba Habba b. ʿAmr b. Thabit, one of the Bana Thaʿlabā b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Anṣārī; Aba al-Acwar b. al-Harith b. Jundab h. Znlim; ʿAbd al-Rahmān, brother of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, freed-man of al-Ḥārith b. Rifaʾa b. ʿAffā; Aba Khuzayma b. Aws b. ʿAṣrām al-Najjārī; Abū Sabra, freed-man of Abī Ruhm b. ʿAbd al-Uzzā, an Emigrant; Abū Sinān b. Miḥṣan b. Hurthān, brother of ʿUkkāsha. With him he had his son Sinān. He was an Emigrant.

Abū al-Ṣiyāh b. al-Nuʿmān, said to be Umayr b. Thābit b. al-Nuʿmān b. Umayya b. Imruʾ al-Qays b. Thaʿlabā. He returned while on the way there and was killed at the battle of Khaybar. He came back because of a wound he had from a rock and received a share of the spoils; Abū ʿArfāja, one of the allies of the Bantū Jaḥjāba; Abū Kabsha, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. Abd al-Mundhir, listed above; Abū Marthad al-Ghanawī Kannāz b. Ḥusayn, listed above; Abū Masʿūd al-Badri ʿUqba b. ʿAmr, listed above; Abū Mulayl b. al-Azʿar b. Zayd al-Awstit.

**DIVISION**

The total number of Muslims who were present at Badr was 314, including the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

As al-Bukhārī stated, "ʿAmr b. Khālid related to us, quoting Zuhayr, quoting ʿAbū ʾIṣḥāq, 'I heard al-Baraʾ b. ʿAṣib say, "The Companions, God be pleased with them of Muhammad, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, who had been present at Badr, related to me that they were of the number of the Companions of Ṭalūt who crossed the river with him — that is 310 and a few more." Al-Baraʾ stated, "No, by God, no one crossed the river with him who was not a believer!""

Al-Bukhārī then related it through Isrāʾīl and Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abī ʾIṣḥāq, from al-Baraʾ in similar terms.

Ibn Jarir stated, "This is the consensus of the early authorities, that they were 310 men, and a few more."

He also stated, "Maḥmūd related to us, quoting Wahb, from Shuʿba, from Abū ʾIṣḥāq, from al-Baraʾ, who said, 'I and Ibn ʿUmar felt outnumbered at the battle of Badr. The Emigrants totalled only approximately 60, whereas the Helpers were some 240.'"

This is what is given in this account.

Ibn Jarir stated, "Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Muḥārībi related to me, quoting Abū Mālik al-Jabāni, from al-Ḥajjāj, he being the son of Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Emigrants at Badr totalled 70
men. The Helpers totalled 236 men. The bearer of the banner of the Prophet (SAAS) was 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalib. The flag bearer for the Helpers was Sa'd b. Ḫubaida."

This determines their total to have been 306 men.

Ibn Jarir stated, "It is said that they totalled 307 men."

I observe that this latter figure may have included the Messenger of God (SAAS); the former may have omitted him. But God knows best.

It was given earlier on the authority of Ibn Ishāq that the Emigrants totalled 83 men, that of Aws there were 61, while Khazraj consisted of 170 men; and he enumerated them.

This is contrary to what al-Bukhārī reported and to what was related from Ibn ʿAbbās. But God knows best.

In the sahih it is reported of Anas that he was asked whether he had been present at Badr. He replied, "And where else would I have been then?"

In the Sunan (The Accepted Norm) by Abū Dā'ūd, there is an account from Sa'īd b. Mānsūr, from Abū Muṣāwiyya, from al-'Amash, from Abū Sufyan Ṭalḥa b. Naďf, from Jābīr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāmīr b. Ḥarām, who said, "I was drawing water from the well for my companions at the battle of Badr."

These two men are not mentioned by al-Bukhārī or by al-Ḍiyā’. But God knows best.

Among those included by Ibn Isbq in the total figure given of those who received a share of the spoils of Badr were some who were not actually there but who stayed behind for some good reason. These were the eight or nine men whose names follow: ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān who stayed behind with Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), nursing her until she died. He was given a full share of the spoils; Saʿīd b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl who went to Syria but was given a full share; ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, who said, "I was drawing water from the well for my companions at the battle of Badr."

Those Muslims who were martyred that day totalled 14 men. Those who were Emigrants were 6 in number, as follows: ʿUbayd b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib, who had his leg cut off and died at al-Ṣafrā’, God bless him; ʿUmayr b. Abū Waqqās,
brother of Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās al-Zuhri, who was killed by al-‘Aṣ b. Sa’d, he being a youth of 16. It is said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him to return home because of his youth, but he wept, and was allowed to proceed and so was killed, God bless him: their ally Dhū al-Shimālāy b. ‘Abd al-Khuzā‘; Sa‘wān b. Bayḍā; ʿAqil b. al-Bukair al-Laythi, ally of the Banū ‘Adī; Mihja‘, freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khattāb who was the first of the Muslims killed that day.

Of the Helpers, there were eight men killed, as follows: Ḥāritha b. Surāqa who had an arrow shot at him by Ḥabbān b. al-ʿArqāla that hit him in the neck and killed him; Mu‘awwidh and ‘Awf, the two sons of ‘Afrā‘; Yazid b. al-Hārith, known as Ibn Fushūm; ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥammām; Rafi‘ b. al-Mu‘alla b. Lawdhān; Sa‘d b. Khaythama and Mubashshir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir. May God be pleased with them all.

With the Muslims, as stated above, there were 70 baggage camels.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “They had two men mounted on horses, one al-Miqdād b. al-Aswād, the name of the horse being Baẓaja, also known as Sabha. The other was ridden by al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, its name being al-Yaṣṣūb. They had a banner that was carried by Muṣṭafā b. ʿUmayr, and two flags, one carried for the Emigrants by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib, the other for the Helpers by Sa‘d b. ʿUbaydā.

The leader of the council of the Emigrants was Abū Bakr, “the Trusting”, while the leader of the council of the Helpers was Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh.

As for the polytheists’ force, the best that can be said of them is that they totalled between 900 and 1,000. ʿUrwa and Qatāda stated that they numbered 930 men.

Al-Waqīḍi stated, “They were 930 men.” This figure requires proof. In some of the accounts given above they are stated to have numbered more than 1,000; perhaps such figures include their attendants. But God knows best.

The authentic account given by al-Bukhārī from al-Barā‘ states that 70 of them were killed and 70 were wounded.

This is the majority view. It was because of this that Ka‘b b. Malik stated in a poem:

“He set up 70 of them that stank at the watering hole,
Uṭba and al-Aswād among them.”

Al-Waqīḍi stated that there was unanimity on that. Yet this statement is controversial. Mūsā b. Uqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr said the opposite, and they are prime authorities on this. No unanimity can be claimed without their agreement, even though their views are superceded by any authentic tradition. But God knows best.

Ibn Iṣḥāq and others list the names of those killed and taken captive and the ḥāfiz al-Ḍiyā‘ compiles these effectively in his work, al-ʿAḵkām.

In the course of the narration of the account it is stated which of them was killed first, he being al-Aswād b. ʿAbd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī. The first of them
to take flight was Khalid b. al-Alām al-Khuza‘ī – or al ‘Uqayli – an ally of the Banū Makhzūm. But that did not benefit him since he was captured. It was he who spoke the verse:

“It is not on our heels that our wounds bleed, but on our feet the blood drips down.”

He was not truthful in this!

The first prisoners taken were ʿUqba b. Abū Muḥyī and al-Nadr b. al-Ḥārith. They were taken from the rest of the prisoners and killed stoically before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). There are two different versions regarding which of them was killed first.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) released a group of prisoners without charge or ransom. These included Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rabī‘ al-Umawi, al-Muṭṭalib b. Ḥunṭab b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī and Ṣayfī b. Abū Rifa‘a, as told above, Abū ʿAzza al-Shā‘īr, Wahb b. Ṣumayr b. Wahb al-Jumāḥī, as told above. The rest he required to be ransomed, even including his uncle al-ʿAbbās, and he took more from him than from all the rest in order to give him no preferential treatment for being his uncle. He did this even though the Helpers who had captured him asked him to forgo the ransom for him, a request he refused. He insisted, “Don’t let him off a single dirham!”

The ransom levied was variable. The least taken was 400 dirhams; for some 40 awqiyā of gold was taken. Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, “400 awqiyā of gold was taken from al-ʿAbbās.”

Some were employed in labour to the value of their ransom; as the Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting ʿAli b. ʿAṣim, quoting ʿDa‘ūd from Ḥikrīma, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās, as having said, “Some of the prisoners taken at Badr had no ransom money available, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had some of them work off their ransom by teaching the children of the Helpers to write. One day a child came in tears to his mother who asked him what was the matter. He replied, ‘My teacher hit me!’ She commented, ‘The lout! He’s seeking blood-revenge for Badr! But, by God, he’ll never get it!’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this, but it accords with the criteria for traditions. This subject has been fully referenced above; and to God goes all praise and credit.

Chapter: On the excellence of those Muslims who were present at Badr.

Al-Bukhārī stated on this subject, “Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Muṣawīya b. ʿAmr, quoting Abū Ishāq, from Ḥumayd, who said, ‘I heard Anas say, ‘Ḥāritha was struck down at Badr and his mother went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘O Messenger of God, you know how much Ḥāritha meant to me. If he be in heaven, I will be stoic and resigned; but if it be the other place, then tell me what I ought to do.’ He replied, ‘Woe unto you if you feel bereaved! Is heaven just one garden? It consists of many; he is in the garden of paradise.’’”
Al-Bukhari is alone in giving this *hadith* through this path. It is related on a different path from accounts of Thabit and Qatada from Anas, to the effect that Hāritha was an observer and that the words used were, "Your son was awarded the highest paradise."

This provides a fine indication of the special status of those present at Badr, even if not engaged in the middle of the battle or the thick of the fray, but one observing it from a distance. Though merely struck by a stray arrow while drinking from the cistern, his position nevertheless won him that paradise that is the highest of all the gardens, in the very centre of heaven. It is from there that those rivers of heaven gush forth for which the law-giving Prophet (SAAS) recommended that his nation make their requests to God.

If this be the reward of such a man, what would such be for those who actually faced an enemy three times their own number?

Al-Bukhari and Muslim both recounted, from Ishaq b. Rähawayh, from ‘Abd Allah b. Idris, from Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, from Sa‘d b. ʿUbayda, from Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulami, from ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib, the story of Ḥātit b. Abū Baltaʿa and his despatch of the latter to the people of Mecca in the year of the conquest, and how Umar sought the permission of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to strike off his head for having betrayed God, His Messenger and the believers. He responded, "He was present at Badr; do you realize that God looked down at those who took part at Badr and said, 'Do whatever you wish, for I have forgiven you!'"

Al-Bukhari’s text reads, "Is he not of those at Badr? Perhaps God looked down on those present there and said, 'Do whatever you wish, for I have guaranteed you heaven, and I have forgiven you.' Tears came to the eyes of Umar, and he said, 'God and his Messenger know best.'"

Muslim related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that a slave belonging to Ḥātit went to complain to the Messenger of God (SAAS) about his master, saying, "O Messenger of God, Ḥātit will certainly go to hell!" The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, "You lie; he will not go there! He was present at Badr and at al-Ḥudaybiyya."

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd related to us, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAyāsh; and al-Aʿmash related to me, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, 'No man who was present at Badr or al-Ḥudaybiyya will go to hell!'"

Aḥmad was alone in giving this, but it accords with the norms established by Muslim.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAskim b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra who quoted the Prophet (SAAS) as saying, "God looked down at those present at Badr and said, ‘Do what you wish, for I have forgiven you.’"

Abū Dāʾūd related it from Ahmad b. Sinān and Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, both of them quoting Yazīd b. Ḥārūn.
Al-Bazzārz related in his musnad,⁷⁵ "Muḥammad b. Marzūq related to us, quoting Abū Ḥudhayfa, quoting ʿIkrima, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, "I certainly hope that no one who was present at Badr goes to hell, if God wills it so."'"

Al-Bazzārz then commented, "We know of no other line of transmission of this hadith from Abū Hurayra other than this."

I comment that al-Bazzārz alone gives this hadith, and the other authorities did not cite it. It does accord with the criteria for sahih traditions. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his chapter on the presence of the angels at Badr, "Ishaq b. İbrahim related to us, quoting Jarir, from Yaḥyā b. Saʿd, from Muṣṭafā b. Rifaʿa b. Rāfī al-Zurqī, from his father who was present at Badr, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and asked him, "How do you view those of you who were present at Badr?" He replied, "As among the very finest Muslims" or he used some such phrase."

"He (Gabriel?) then stated, 'And likewise those of the angels who were present at Badr.'"

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this hadith.

ON THE ARRIVAL OF ZAYNAB, DAUGHTER OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AS AN EMIGRANT FROM MECCA TO MEDINA A MONTH AFTER THE BATTLE OF BADR IN FULFILLMENT OF THE CONDITION PLACED UPON HER HUSBAND BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When Abū al-ʿAṣ returned to Mecca, he having been released, as related above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for Zayd b. Ḥāritha and a Helper and told them, 'Go to the Yaʾṣūj valley and stay there until Zaynab passes by, then bring her to me.'

"They left and took up their position, it being at that time approximately one month after the battle of Badr.

"When Abū al-ʿAṣ reached Mecca he ordered Zaynab to join her father and she went off to equip herself for the journey."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me as follows, 'I was told that Zaynab said, 'While I was getting things ready Hind, daughter of Utba, met me and said, 'O daughter of Muḥammad, haven't I heard that you are planning to join your father?' It wasn't my idea,' I told her, and she commented, 'Well then, cousin, don't do it; but if you need anything to take on the trip or money to reach your father, I can provide it. Don't be reluctant with me, for women don't let such matters come between them, as men do.' I really thought she would do as she had said, but I was afraid of her and denied I had any such plans.'"

⁷⁵. A collection of traditions arranged by lines of their transmission.
Ibn Ishaq went on, "So she continued making plans and when she was ready her husband's brother Kinâna b. al-Rabi' brought a camel which she mounted and he, taking his bow and his quiver, led her away, she riding in a howdah and it being daytime. Some of the Quraysh men discussed this and followed after her, catching up with her at Dhū Ṭuwa. The first man to reach her was Ḥabbar b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad b. 'Abd al-Uzza al-Fihri. He scared her with his spear as she was there in the howdah and because, as they claim, she was pregnant at the time, she suffered a miscarriage. Her brother-in-law then knelt down and took the arrows from his quiver, saying, 'By God, if any man comes near me, I'll put an arrow into him!' The men drew away from him.

"Then Abū Sufyān arrived with some other Quraysh leaders and said, 'Put down your arrows so we can talk with you.' He did so and Abū Sufyān drew near him and said, 'You have not done well. You came forth with a woman openly, going over peoples' heads, even though you're aware of the injury and damage done us by Muḥammad. When you took away his daughter, openly and regardless of anyone else, the people thought this was due to the humiliation we have undergone, and that this reflected our weakness and incapacity. I swear we don't want to keep her from her father and we're not after revenge, but you'd better return with the woman until the talk dies down and everyone says we have brought her back. Then you can secretly take her away to her father.' And so he did."

Ibn Ishaq related that Hind spoke the following verse criticizing those men who brought Zaynab back to Mecca,

"In peacetime, they're wild young asses, fearless and violent, but in war they're like women having periods!"

"She is also said to have spoken this line to those who returned from Badr after some of their force had been killed."

Ibn Ishaq went on, "Zaynab stayed there for some days until the gossip had subsided and then Kinâna conducted her away by night and delivered her over to Zayd b. Ḥāritha and his companion. They then took her by night to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqi related in the Dala'il (The Signs), giving a path of transmission through 'Umar b. 'Abd Allâh b. 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from 'Urwa, quoting 'A'isha, the story of Zaynab's departure from Mecca and being brought back and having a miscarriage. His account relates that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent Zayd b. Ḥāritha off with a ring of his that she could use to arrive to him. Zayd then presented it to a shepherd from Mecca who gave the ring to Zaynab. When she saw it she recognized it and asked him who had given it to him, and he replied that it was someone on the outskirts of Mecca. Zaynab then left Mecca by night and rode behind Zayd who brought her to Medina.

(The account states), "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, 'She was the best of my daughters who suffered on my account.'"
“This comment reached ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidin, who then went to Urwa and asked him, ‘What is this hadith I hear you have been relating?’ Urwa replied, ‘By God, I really wouldn’t diminish ʿĀṭima’s reputation for all the world, and moreover, I’ll never relate that again!’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “On that subject, it was either ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāha or Abū Khaythama, brother of the Banū Sālim b. ʿAwf” — Ibn Hishām said it was Abū Khaythama — “who spoke the following verses,

‘There has reached me unimaginable information about Zaynab’s evil, terrible treatment by them.
But by their expelling her over a battle, there being a fierce war between us, Muḥammad was not disgraced.
By his alliance with Ḍamām and by making war on us, Abū Sufyān has earned only spite and regret,
We bound his son ʿAmr and the man pledged to him in strong, well-wrought fetters,
I swore we will never lack forces well-trained and numerous with which
We will terrify the heathen Quraysh, attacking them again and again, placing muzzles over their noses and branding them,
We will expel them up into Najd and Nakhla, and if they descend we will follow down on horse and foot,
For ever, our forces never going astray; we will make them follow in the tracks of Ṭād and Jurhum.
Those who did not obey Muḥammad will regret their actions and how they will repent indeed!
Tell Abū Sufyān, if you do meet him, “If you do not accept Islam and bow down sincerely,
Then welcome that disgrace soon coming to you in this life, and that mantle of tar for ever upon you in hell!””

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The ‘man pledged’ to Abū Sufyān referred to by the poet was ʿAmr b. al-Ḥadrāmī.” Ibn Hishām stated, “It was really ʿUqba b. ʿAbd al-Ḥarīth b. al-Ḥadrāmī; ʿAmr b. al-Ḥadrāmī was killed at Badr.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Bukayr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAshajj, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Ishaq al-Dawsī, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out a raiding party of which I was one, and told us, “If you capture Ḥabār b. al-Aswād and the other man who caught up with Zaynab, then burn them in fire!”
“The next day he sent us a message saying, “I told you to burn those two men if you took them. But then I saw that no one should burn anyone by fire except God, Almighty and Glorious is He; so if you take them, then kill them both.”’”

Ibn Ishaq alone gave this hadith, which conforms to criteria of the sahīth collections, though not cited therein.
Al-Bukhārī stated, “Qutayba related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Bukayr, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us on a mission and told us, “If you should find so-and-so and so-and-so, then burn them in the fire.” Later, as we were about to leave, he told us, “I ordered you to burn them in the fire; but only God punishes by the fire, so if you find them, execute them.””"

Ibn Ishaq related that Abū al-‘Āṣ remained an unbeliever in Mecca while Zaynab resided with her father in Medina. This was the situation until, shortly before the conquest (of Mecca) Abū al-‘Āṣ left on a business trip on behalf of Quraysh. On his way back from Syria a raiding party met and overcame his caravan, and took all they had, though he escaped. He then went by night to his wife Zaynab and asked protection from her, which she gave him.

“When, next morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth for the prayer and spoke the words, Allāhu Akbar, God is most Great! and the people repeated this, someone cried out from the women's ranks, “O people, I have given protection to Abū al-‘Āṣ b. al-Rabi’!”

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished the prayer, he turned to the worshippers and asked, ‘Did you hear what I heard?’ ‘Yes, we did,’ they answered. He then said, ‘I swear by Him who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hands, I heard nothing of this until I heard it when you did. And the lowest ranked Muslim may give protection on behalf of all.’

“He then went to his daughter Zaynab and said to her, ‘Daughter, treat him with honour; but let him not come close to you, for you are not lawful to him.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent word that what had been taken from him should be returned, and they did so, keeping nothing back.

“Abū al-‘Āṣ then took it and returned with it to Mecca. There he paid off each person to whom he had a debt, making sure that he had omitted no one. He asked them, ‘Quraysh, do I owe any of you money you have not yet received?’ They responded, ‘No, may God reward you well! We have found you to be fair and honourable.’

“Then said, ‘I now bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I swear that the only thing that prevented my accepting Islam while I was with him was my concern that you would think that I was doing so only to appropriate your property. God having returned it to you and I being free of it, I now accept Islam.’

“He then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Dāʾūd b. al-Ḥusayn related to me, from Ḥikra, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned Zaynab to her former marriage without further ceremony.”

This hadith was related by Imām Ahmad, Abū Dāʾūd al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājah from an account given by Ibn Ishaq. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “There is nothing wrong with its chain of authorities.”
However, we do not know the provenance of this hadith. It probably derived from the memory of Da'ud b. al-Ḥusayn. Al-Suhayli stated, “As far as I know, none of the legal scholars vouched for it.”

In one reading the words used are, “and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him after six years.” And in another, “after two years, by the first marriage.” Ibn Jarir related it in this form. Yet another reading states, “he did not effect a marriage.”

This hadith has caused difficulties for many scholars. Their basic premise is that if a woman is a Muslim while her husband is an unbeliever, and this is the situation before the consummation, then the disunion should occur immediately. If, however, this occurs after the consummation of the marriage, then he ought to wait out the ‘idda period. If he should accept Islam during that period then her marriage to him would continue. If he had not accepted Islam by the time that period had concluded, then her marriage would be dissolved.

Zaynab, God bless her, had become a Muslim when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission, and emigrated one month after Badr. Muslim women were declared forbidden to polytheists in the year of Ḥudaybiyya, 6 AH, while Abu al-ʿAṣ accepted Islam before the conquest (of Mecca) in 8 AH.

Therefore those who state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him after six years, that is from the date of her emigration, are correct. And those who say it was after two years, that is two years after Muslim women were forbidden to polytheists, are also correct.

By any calculation it is obvious that the conclusion of her ‘idda period would have occurred during this period which was at least two years, or thereabouts, following the forbidding of Muslim women to unbelievers, and so the question remains how he could have returned her to him by the first marriage.

Some suggest that it is conceivable that her ‘idda period had not ended, and that this story relates to an oath that must be presumed. Some scholars oppose this hadith with the previous one related by Ahmad, al-Tirmidhi, and Ibn Majah, from one of al-Ḥajjaj b. Arqa, from ‘Amr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, which has the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returning his daughter to Abu al-ʿAṣ after a new dowry and a new wedding ceremony.

Imam Ahmad stated, “This hadith is weak and unfounded, and al-Ḥajjaj did not hear it from ‘Amr b. Shuʿayb, but rather from Muḥammad b. Ubayd Allāh al-ʿArzami. And the hadith of al-ʿArzami are worthless. The truth is that which related that the Prophet (ṢAAS) affirmed her in her first marriage.”

Al-Dārqrutni maintained the same, saying, “This hadith lacks foundation; it is the hadith of Ibn ʿAbbas that is correct, namely, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned her to him by the first marriage.”

76. The period of waiting prescribed for a woman in Islamic law between the conclusion of one marriage and the commencement of another.
Al-Tirmidhi stated, “This hadith has a controversial chain of authorities. Scholars therefore maintain that when a woman accepts Islam, and her husband does so later, then he is entitled to reconcile with her during the ‘idda period. This is the view of Mālik, al-Awza‘ī, al-Shāfi‘ī, Ahmad and Ishāq. Others state that it is obvious that her ‘idda period was over. And that those who relate his having renewed her marriage are on weak grounds.”

Regarding the case of Zaynab and the above circumstances, here is evidence that if a woman accepts Islam and her husband becomes a Muslim later, her ‘idda period having expired, then her marriage is not thereby nullified. It becomes a matter of choice whether she wishes to marry someone else or to bide her time and wait for her husband to accept Islam, whenever that might be. And she will still be his wife if she has not remarried.

There is force and good in this from the legal viewpoint. But God knows best.

Testimony in favour of this is given by al-Bukhārī when he states, “Regarding the marriage of non-believing women who become Muslims and the period of their ‘idda, Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Hishām, from Ibn Jarsh, from ‘Aṭā‘, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the polytheists had two different kinds of relationship with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the believers, depending upon whether they were enemies fighting and being fought or those with whom there was a mutual non-aggression pact. If a woman were to leave the declared enemy, she could not become engaged until she had had a period and become cleansed. Once cleansed, marriage to her would be permitted. If her husband were to leave (polytheism) before she remarried, then she could be returned to him. If slaves, whether male or female, should leave polytheism, then they would become free and would have the same rights as other Emigrants.”

He then quoted from reliable authorities accounts similar to the hadith of Mujāhid.

This is what he stated, to the letter.

His statement, “if a woman were to leave the declared enemy she could not become engaged until she had had a period and had become cleansed” necessitates that she be considered free after one period, not three menses; one group of authorities accepts this view.

And his statement, “if her husband were to leave polytheism before she remarried, then she could be returned to him,” necessitates that even if he left after her being considered free, following the ‘idda period, that she would be returned to her first husband provided she had not married someone else. This is clearly the case for Zaynab, daughter of the Prophet (SAAS), and this is accepted by some scholars. But God knows best.

Section: Verses composed about the glorious battle of Badr.

These include the following given by Ibn Ishāq quoting Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Ibn Hishām declared these verses inauthentic:
“Did you not see one of time’s great wonders? And to destiny there are causes clear to see.
It was nothing but a people destroying themselves, perishing by advising towards disrespect and disbelief.
One evening they went forth with their forces towards Badr, being fate’s pawns destined for its water hole.
We had sought for the caravan, desiring nothing else, but they advanced towards us and destiny made us meet.
And when we clashed we did not wish to retreat but only to strike with well-made blades,
And to strike off heads with their edges, weapons that shone as they made their mark.
We left the evil ‘Urba lying there, and Shayba among the dead who dropped into the pit.
And ‘Amr fell dead among those of their guard who fell, and the clothes of mourning women were rent for ‘Amr,
The clothes of women of Lu‘ayy b. Ghālib, noble women, shedding tears more abundantly than the Fihr.
Those were people killed in their error, and they abandoned a banner not brought there for victory,
The banner of error, whose forces Satan was leading; he betrayed them – the evil one engages in deception.
He told them, having seen the matter clearly, ‘I am quit of you. I have no endurance today.
And I see what you do not; I fear God’s punishment, and God has power.’
He led them to doom and they were embroiled, for he had knowledge unknown to them.
On the morning of the battle at the well they were a thousand strong, while we were 300, shining like fine young horses Among us were God’s forces, helping us at that place whose reputation will always be famous.
Gabriel attacked them beneath our banner in that battle where their destiny would come.”

Ibn Ishaq also quoted their reply composed by al-Ḥarīth b. Hishām, but we have deliberately omitted this.

‘Ali b. Ābu Ṭalib spoke the following verses, though these are disputed by Ibn Hishām:

“Did you not see that God put His Messenger to the test, as one tests someone well-loved, respected and good,
By which He reduced the unbelievers to humiliation; they encountered the shame of capture and death,
And so the Messenger of God’s victory was glorious; God’s Messenger was sent with justice.
He brought a *furqān*, clear evidence, from God, its verses clear to all of intelligence,

Some believed in that and were convinced, becoming — praise be to God — fully united,

While others denied and were confused and God on His throne compounded their agitation.

At the battle of Badr He delivered them over to His Messenger, giving him a raging force, their actions superb,

Their hands bearing and wielding fine swords that they had furished, smoothed and polished.

Many young, brave warriors they have felled, as well as others mature and courageous,

Wakeful the eyes of their women mourning them, their tears flowing fast and slow.

In bereavement they weep for ʿUtbā the misguided and for his son, lamenting for Shayba and ʿAbn Jahl.

And for him whose leg was severed,77 and for Ibn Ḫudān, garbed in mourning clothes, dry-mouthed, grieving,

A group of the men dropped into the pit at Badr, men who had been unselfish both in battle and in times of famine.

Falsehood had called to them and they had answered, for falsehood has paths easily travelled.

And so they sacrificed before the house of hell, far removed now from mischief-making and enmity, in its deepest depths.”

Ibn Ḳaḥfa also gives their response to these verses, but we have deliberately omitted them here.

Ka'b b. Mālik stated,

“I was amazed at what God did, and God has power to do what He wills, there being none able to overcome God.

He had decreed that at Badr we would confront a group who had acted in evil; the path of evil leads men to doom.

They had so gathered and assembled their allies that their force was huge,

And they came at us, none else, all of Ka'b and ʿAmir united,

While with us was the Messenger of God, with Aws about him, they providing him a strong, victorious fortress,

With the Banū al-Najjār under his banner, advancing in their flexible armour, while the dust flew.

When we clashed with them all our warriors were heroic, stoic and protective of their comrades.

77. The reference is presumably to al-Aswad b. ʿAbd al-Asad, whose leg was cut off at the cistern.
We saw that there is no Lord but God, and that the Messenger of God was making truth plain,
Our light, naked swords were like firebrands that someone wielded before your eyes,
With them we destroyed their force and they scattered, and those who were evil met their doom.
Abū Jahl was cast down dead upon his face and I left Utba staggering.
Shayba and al-Taymi I left dead in the tumult, and all of these had disbelieved in Him of the throne,
And so they became fuel for fire in its abode (hell), and all who disbelieve are moving towards hell.
It will consume them, its fires stoked with molten metal and rock.
The Messenger of God had told them to come forward, but they had turned away, calling him a sorcerer.
All this for a purpose God had willed, that they perish by it; and there is no diverting any command God decreed.”

Ka'b spoke the following verses about the battle of Badr:

“Has it reached Ghassân, in their far-off abode – and the best to tell of matters are those who know them well –
That Ma'add, cruel in their enmity, their young and mature alike, have attacked us,
Because we worshipped God, hoping for none but Him and for the gardens of paradise, when its leader came to us,
A Prophet, a man with a patrimony of honour and inherited qualities of veracity fed by their roots.
They advanced and so did we, meeting like lions, their roaring impossible to quiet.
We struck them until they fell in our attacks so that the greatest of Lu'ayy stank to the nose.
They fled, our sharp swords felling them, and we cared not whether it be their ancilliaries or their core forces.”

Ka'b also spoke the following verses,

“By your father’s life, O two sons of Lu'ayy, regret your pride and haughtiness,
Now that your horsemen circled at Badr but did not persist when the forces met.
We came to it with God's light illuminating and alleviating from us the obscurity of the shadows,
The Messenger of God leading us with orders from God, the ultimate decision-maker.
Your horsemen did not gain mastery at Badr and did not bring back to you any solution,
So do not rush to Abū Sufyān and watch the finest of horses come up from Kūfā,
By God’s assistance - with that of the Holy Spirit (Gabriel) and Michael included – Oh, the best of the notables!

Hassān b. Thabit spoke the following verses, though Ibn Hishām said they are also attributed to ʿAbd Allah b. al-Ḥārith al-Sahmi:

“A man wearing a fine, light chain-mail as an undergarment led them, a man steady of temperament, effective, no coward he.
I mean the Messenger of the God of creation, who favoured him above all men in his piety and goodness,
You claimed you would protect your valuables and insisted that Badr’s waters could not be reached.
Then we did reach it, not heeding your words, and we drank our fill, not stinting ourselves,
Gripping that unbreakable rope of God stretched out and well-made,
With us was the Messenger of God, with us was the truth we will follow until death, and unlimited help,
Trustworthy, effective, a light-giving star, a full moon illuminating all men of valour.”

Hassān b. Thabit also said,

“Would that the people of Mecca knew how we destroyed the unbelievers in their hour of reckoning,
We killed their leaders on our battlefield and when they retired their backs were broken,
We killed Abū Jahl and ʿUtba before him, along with Shayba falling with hands outstretched for sacrifice.
We killed Suwayd, then ʿUrba after him, and Ṭuʿma too as the dust flew,
How many men we killed of nobility, leadership, respect and good repute among their people,
We left them for yelping animals to attend, later to cook in the hot depths of hell-fire.
I swear, Mālik’s horsemen and their attendants were no defence when we clashed at Badr.”

ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about Badr, concerning the loss of his leg in the competition that he, Ḥamza and ʿAlī fought with ʿUtba, Shayba and al-Walīd b. ʿUrba. Ibn Hishām considered these verses inauthentic:

“A battle will tell the people of Mecca about us, one in which even those far away embarked upon,
About 'Utba as he fled, and Shayba after him, and 'Utba's first-born also had no joy in it.

Though you cut off my leg, I am a Muslim still and by it will earn a life close to God,

With the houris like statues, set aside at the highest heaven for those up high,

For that I have exchanged a life the best of which I have known, and I rushed to it even though losing those close to me.

The All-Merciful has honoured me by his generosity with the gown of Islam that covers over my faults,

And to fight them was not distasteful to me on that morning when men called forth their peers to fight.

When they asked the Prophet, he wanted none but us, we three, so we answered the call,

We confronted them like lions, flourishing our spears, fighting for the All-Merciful those who disobeyed.

Our feet did not leave our stand, we three, until they met their fate.”

Ibn Isḥaq stated, “Hassān b. Thābit also spoke the following verses criticizing al-Ḥārith b. Hishām for fleeing at Badr and abandoning his people and not fighting for them:

'A lovely woman disturbs your heart while you sleep, reviving you while lying there with cool, smiling lips, like musk mixed with rain-water, or fine, vintage wine, like blood from sacrifice,

Her buttocks high, their cheeks rising, carefree and not prone to oath-swearing.

Her body is built at the waist as though boneless, when she sits it becomes like a mortar of marble,

She is seductive as she moves to her bed, her body gorgeous, her figure superb.

In daytime I never tire of thinking of her, while at night my dreams of her excite me.

I swore I would forget her and think of her no more until my bones disappear in the grave.

Could a generous woman reproach for foolishness? I reject being blamed for my passion.

She came to me early, at dawn when I was newly awake, life's cares just intruding upon me.

She claimed that a man suffers all his life from a lack of a plentitude of camels.

If you were lying in what you told me, then may you avoid the lot of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.
He left his beloved ones to fight for them, and fled by giving his steed free rein.

It outstripped the fine horses in the desert, with the speed of a rock on a rope descending a well,

Joyfully it sped away with him, while his friends lay prostrate there in a terrible state.

His brothers and people locked in battle in which God was giving his support to the Muslims.

God fulfils His purpose, and so the war, its flames flaring on them, ground them to dust.

If not for God and the horses’ racing, they would have left him for the beasts, and for them to tread underfoot.

There were some who were captive and firmly bound, like an eagle defending itself against the spears.

And others who lay prostrate, answering no call, until the highest mountains might cease to exist.

In shame and clear humiliation when he saw the swords’ blades driving off all the chiefs,

Swords held by noblemen, great lords whose ancestry lines can be traced and found blemish-free,

Swords that flash like lightning when striking iron in the gloom beneath the rain clouds.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “We have omitted three verses from the ending of the above poem since I found them obscene.”

He went on, “He was answered by al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, brother of Abū Jahl ‘Amr b. Hishām, who spoke the following verses:

‘The people well know that I did not abandon their battle until they had covered my horse with red foam.

I knew that if I battled on alone I would be killed, yet my martyrdom would not harm my enemy.

And so I left them, my friends among them, intending to bring them punishment some other terrible day.’”

Ḥassān also said,

“O Ḥārith, you acted badly, not like someone to be relied upon, at the battle, at the time for noble valour,

When you rode a swift-footed thoroughbred, fast and long-flanked.

Your people left behind you, you having quit the battle, hoping for escape when it was no time to leave.

Had you not compassion for your brother, lying there pierced with spears and plundered?

The Almighty had hastened to him, destroying his force in base dishonour and terrible punishment.”

Ḥassān also spoke the following,
“Quraysh learned at Badr, that day of captive-taking and terrible fighting,
That we were the war’s champions at that battle of Abu al-Walid, when the long spears clashed,
We fought both sons of Rabī‘a when they came at us dressed in double suits of chain-mail,
With which Ḥakīm fled on that day when the Banū al-Najjār wheeled in battle like lions.
Whereupon the Fihr forces ran away, little Ḥarīth giving them up from a distance,
You met humiliation and death that came quickly, penetrating beneath the jugular.
All the force fled together, caring nothing for their inherited honour.”

Hind, daughter of Uthātha b. Ṣā‘d b. al-Muṭṭalib, spoke the following elegy for ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥarīth b. al-Muṭṭalib:

“It was ʿUbayda who ensured glory, leadership and a well-bred gentility full of intelligence and wisdom,
Weep for him, a towering mountain visible from afar, for guests and for widows bent over dishevelled infants.
Mourn him for the masses every winter when the sky’s horizons turn red with the drought,
Mourn him for the orphans when the storms blow, for whom he would heat a pot that would boil and foam,
And if the light of its fires died down, he would relight it with cut sticks,
Mourn him for those who would knock during the night, or those seeking food, or the travellers he would comfort.”

Al-Umawi stated in his work on the maghāzi, the early military expeditions, “Ṣā‘d b. Quṭn related to me as follows: ʿĀtika, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses about the visions she saw, and in commemoration of the battle of Badr:

“Were my visions not true, now that a fugitive fleeing from the force brings you its interpretation? He saw and brought you the certainty he had seen with his own eyes; swords striking do not lie.
You spoke; I did not lie to you, rather it was those who lied who charged me with lying.
He came back in flight for fear of death, Ḥakīm, knowing no other way out.
Indian swords were there in front of your heads, along with spears glinting and victorious,
As though flames of fire on their edges when the raging lions charged.
I swear by my father, the day of the rendezvous with Muhammad, when with the help of wars the upper flanks were bitten,

Your souls were drawn forth with whetted swords in fighting as the South winds draw the clouds along.

Many were the covetous who were chilled by his swords, while stable watering-holes were made to shake.

What does it mean for those slain to be in the pit and for their like to be kept captive by my cousin and not to fight,

They being like women? Or did God bring some end to their spirits that took effect, for an end does come.

How did Muhammad’s cousins feel when they met in battle? Warfare certainly brings its trials.

Did he not surprise you with blows that would shock even a coward, making stars appear in full day?

I swear that if they repeat this we will overwhelm them with oceans of death through which the horsemen will race,

As though the light of the sun is the reflection of the edges of their swords, emitting light in conjunction and as a covering.”

‘Atika also spoke the following, according to al-Umawi’s account,

"Why could you not persevere against the Prophet Muhammad at Badr?

Who is able to overcome, with true perseverance, the tumult (of war)?

You did not respond to the thin sword blades sharp in the hands of the believers,

You failed to stand firm against the swords, until you suffered but little at the hands of the Believers.

You fled in haste, yet heroes do not flee from the weapons’ impact when they do battle.

He brought you what the prophets before him also brought.

And my nephew, that good and truthful man, is certainly not a poet.

Let it be enough what you have lost from your prophet; instead, the two tribes of ‘Amr and ‘Amir are helping him to victory.”

Ṭālib b. Abū Ṭalib spoke the following verses in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and in mourning for those of his tribe of Quraysh who were dropped into the pit. He was still following his people’s old religion at that time:

"My eyes send forth floods of tears, weeping for Ka‘b though seeing them not.

In the battles Ka‘b betrayed one another and fate overwhelmed them, for they had sinned,
And this day 'Amir lament their misfortunes; how I would wish to see them at hand!

They are my brothers, their parentage above suspicion, and one under their protection would never be harmed.

Our brothers 'Abd Shams and Nawfal, may I be your ransom! Do not excite war between us!

Do not become, following love and friendship, mere tales you all fill with complaint.

Do you not know how it was with the war of Dahis, and that of Abū Yaksūm when they filled the defile?

Were it not for the protection of God and Him alone, you would have ended by not defending your people.

We in Quraysh have committed no great sin, but merely protected the best man who ever trod the earth,

A man of trust and a support in troubles, a man noble in repute, neither miserly not evil.

Supplicants resort to him, crowding his door, seeking a river that never fails nor dries up.

By God, my soul will always be sad and ill at ease until you smite Khazraj full well."

DIVISION

Ibn Ishaq quoted much fine poetry of the polytheists in which they mourn their dead at the battle of Badr.

One poem he gives is that of Dirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mirdās, a brother of the Banū Muḥarib b. Fīhr. He eventually accepted Islam; al-Suhaylī wrote in his work al-Rawād (The Meadows) about the verses of those poets who later became Muslims:

"I am amazed at the pride of Aws, for tomorrow fate will turn against them, and destiny can be foreseen,

And at that of the Banū al-Najjār, though a group were struck down at Badr, all of whom there being fine men,

Even if some of our men were left there dead, we have others after them yet to be so left.

Our swift horses will carry us in your midst, O Banū al-Aws, until vengeance quiets our spirits.

Amidst the Banū al-Najjār we will charge, panting beneath the mail-clad spearsmen.

We will leave corpses with vultures circling above them and with only their hopes to give them aid.

The women of Yathrib will mourn them who will have passed sleepless nights there.

And that is because our swords will keep hacking at them, dripping with the blood of those they struck."
Even though you are victorious at the battle of Badr, it was only due to Ahmad, and that is plain, that you won. And due to those fine champions who were his supporters who gave protection in the heat of battle, with death all around.

Abū Bakr and Ḥamza are counted among them, and Āli could be named amidst those you remember. It is those men, not those from whose abodes came the Aws and the Najjār, whom you should vaunt, Rather those whose ancestors were Luʿayy b. Ghālib, Kaʾb and Āmir, if lineage be considered. It was they, the finest and the most important on the morning of battle who repelled the cavalry at every fight."

Kaʾb b. Mālik replied to this with his ode given above, which begins:

"I was amazed at what God did, and God has power to do what He wills, there being none able to overcome God."

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Abū Bakr, his full name being Shaddād b. al-Aswad b. Shuʿūb (and here I comment that al-Bukhārī tells that he had a child by the ex-wife of Abū Bakr, ‘the Trusting’, after the latter had divorced her, that being when God had made non-believing women forbidden to Muslims. Her name was Umm Bakr) spoke the verses,

‘Umm Bakr greeted me with peace, but now my people are gone, can I ever have peace?
What of the pit, the pit of Badr, how can there be for me singers and fine friends with whom to drink?
What of the pit, the pit of Badr, how can there be for me plates piled high with fine meat?
What of the grave, the grave of Badr, how many grazing camels and cattle will you enjoy henceforth?
What of the grave, the grave of Badr, and great ambitions, fine gifts.
What of the friends; of that fine man Abū Āli, my brother of the generous glass and companionship!
Were you to see Abū ʿAqīl and the fighters at the Naʿām pass,
Then you would be as distraught as the mother bereft of a camel newborn,
The messenger informs us that we shall live, but what life is there for corpses and heads?" 78

I would comment that al-Bukhārī quoted some of this in his sahih collection to demonstrate the poet’s state of mind.

78. Guillaume offers an interesting comment on the word ṣadaʾ, here translated as “heads” (plural), relating it to an ancient Arabian belief that an owl-like bird, the ṣadaʾ would emerge from the head of a slain man and demand revenge for his death. Op. cit. p.353, note 2.
Ibn Ishāq stated, “Umayya b. Abū al-Šalt spoke the following verses expressing his lament for those of Quraysh killed at the battle of Badr:

‘Have you not wept over those noble men, sons of nobles, worthy of praise,
Mourning like doves on swaying, pliant branches,
Weeping as they coo softly as they return at night.
The women who mourn are like them, the hired women who wait.
Whoever mourns for them does so in sorrow and whoever praises them speaks true.
What chieftains, what great leaders there were at Badr and al-Šaqāq, And at Murāfi al-Barqayn, and at al-Ḥānān by the side of al-Šawāšī,
Mature men and youthful were there, in nights of raiding, and strong men too,
Do you not see what I see, plain for all who look on?
The Mecca valley has changed, its plains now deserted,
By every prince and prince’s son, pure in friendship, confident,
Frequent visitors at the gates of kings, eminent men defeating the deserts.
Men of broad necks, tall and well-built, influential and successful,
Men who say, do and order all things proper,
Who serve rich meat piled high above the bread,
Men who pass around dish after dish after dish big as pools,
Not mere nothings for those who are guests, plates not merely flat,
Serving guest after guest after guest from huge platters,
Men who give as gifts hundreds of the pregnant camels they own to hundreds of friends,
Driving the herds of camels over to the others coming forth from Baladī, Their men of nobility having qualities outweighing other nobles on the scale. Like the weights on a scale being held down by the measurer,
One group deserted them while they were busy protecting things open to shame,
Men who struck blows against the vanguard with their Indian-made broadswords,
Their voices hurt me as they cried out, some for water, others in pain.
May God reward all the tribes of 'Ali, whether widowed or married,
If they do not attack so fiercely that all the barking dogs slink home.
On horses trained for journeys short or long, their heads held high and accompanying the unsubmitting ones. Brave men on fine horses as though attacking fierce, scowling lions.
Each combatant meets his foe as though merely walking to shake his hand,
About a thousand or a thousand more, some lancers, some in chain-mail."

Ibn Hishām stated, "We have omitted from this poetry two lines that impugn the Companions of the Messenger of God, may God be pleased with them."

I would comment that this is the poetry of a man who is feeble-minded and degenerate, a man whose ignorance and limited intelligence led him to praise the polytheists and to damn the believers. He expressed affection in Mecca for Abū Jahl b. Hishām and other accursed unbelievers and ignorant and insignificant persons, but felt none for God's servant, Messenger and true friend, the pride of mankind, none for him whose face was more luminous than the moon, a man possessed of perfect knowledge, complete intelligence, none for God's trustworthy Companion who is ready to give trust, a man eager for good works and honourable deeds, a man willing to spend thousands and hundreds more in obedience to the Lord of the earth and of the heavens.

And similar praise can be given to the rest of his noble and eminent Companions who emigrated from the abode of disbelief and ignorance to that of knowledge and Islam. May God be pleased with them all as long as light and dark intermingle, and as long as the days and the nights follow one another in succession.

We have omitted many poems quoted by Ibn Ishāq, God bless him, due to our fear of being long-winded and tiresome. There is enough in the poetry we have given. And to God is all praise and credit.

Al-Umawī has stated in his work on the military expeditions, as follows, "I heard my father say, and Sulaymān b. Arqam related to us, from Ibn Sirin, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (SAA) expressed forgiveness for the poetry before Islam. Sulaymān said, "Al-Zuhři reported that, saying, 'He forgave it all except for two odes; one was the words of Umayya in which he recalled those fallen at Badr, and the poem of al-A'šā in which he made reference to a man with sunken eyes.'"

This is a strange hadith. And this Sulaymān b. Arqam is to be disregarded. But God knows best.
Section: On the expedition against the Banū Sulaym in the second year after the emigration of the Prophet (SAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had finished with Badr by the end of Ramaḍān or in Shawwāl.

“He remained only seven nights in Medina before he himself conducted an expedition against the Banū Sulaym.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He placed Sibā‘ b. Urfaṭa al-Ghifārī, or Ibn Umm Maktūm, the blind, in charge of Medina.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “He reached one of their wells at a place called al-Kadr, where he stayed for three days before returning to Medina without engaging in battle. He remained there for the rest of Shawwāl and Dhū al-Qa‘dā and it was while he stayed there that he accepted ransom for the majority of the Quraysh captives.”

Section: On the expedition against al-Sawiq in Dhū al-Ḥiijja that year, it also being known as the expedition to Qarqarat al-Kadr.

Al-Suhaylī stated, “The word al-qarqara means ‘smooth ground’. The word al-kadr refers to a bird whose colours are dingy.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “According to what I was told by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr and Yazīd b. Rūmān, as well as by others whose word I do not doubt, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbd al-Malik, one of the most knowledgeable of the Helpers, that when ʿAḥad Allāh b. Kaʿb b. ʿAbd al-Malik, one of the most knowledgeable of the Helpers, that when Abū Sufyān and later the captives of Quraysh returned to Mecca, he swore that he would abstain from intercourse until he had carried out an attack against Muḥammad.

“He therefore went forth with 200 mounted warriors of Quraysh to fulfil his oath. He travelled along the Nejd road and stopped at the head of a water-course into the mountain called Nayb which is approximately one postal stage from Medina.

“From there he went on by night to the Banū al-Naḍīr and called at the home of Huyayy b. Akhtab. He knocked on the door, but he refused to open up, being afraid. So Abū Sufyān went on to Sallām b. Mishkam, who was at that time the chief of the Banū al-Naḍīr and the custodian of their treasure. He asked to go in and was invited to do so; he was treated as a guest and given wine and food.

“When the night was over he left and returned to his companions, sending some men of Quraysh ahead. They then went on to a place in that vicinity called al-Urayd, where they burnt some young date-palms. They came across one of the Helpers and a man allied to him in a garden there, killed them both and then left again.

“People were warned about them, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) left in pursuit.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He left Abū Lubāba Bashīr b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir in command of Medina.”
Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) reached Qarqarat al-Kadr, but then headed back since Abū Sufyān and his companions had eluded him.

“The men with the Messenger of God (SAAS) found substantial supplies that the polytheists had discarded to lighten their load. Most of what they left behind was known as al-sawiq and this name is therefore associated with this expedition.

“The Muslims asked him whether this would be credited to them as a military expedition, and he said that it would.

“Abū Sufyān composed the following verses about these actions of his and in praise of Sallām b. Mishkam, the Jew:

‘I chose one man in Medina to ally with, and I did not regret it, though I stayed only briefly.
Sallām b. Mishkam gave me refreshment with good wine, though I was hurried.
When my force turned away I told him, to alleviate his concern, “Take pleasure in glory and in booty.
Take thought, for these men are the best, pure-bred of Lu'ayy, not of some Jurhum mixed-breed.
What happened here was merely that a rider stayed a while, one who was hungry but not needy or poor.”’”

Section: On the marriage of 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib, God be pleased with him, to his wife Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

This took place in 2 AH, following the battle of Badr, according to the account given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim through al-Zuhri, from 'Ali b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ali, from 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib, who said, “I had a camel as my share of the spoils of the battle of Badr, the Prophet (SAAS) having given me one as my fifth share of what God had provided that day. When I wanted to marry Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet (SAAS), I made an arrangement with a jeweller of the Banū Qaynuqa to travel with me and to get some sweet-smelling rushes. I wanted to sell this to the jewellers and use the proceeds for a wedding feast for my bride. I gathered green fodder, sacks and ropes, having left my two camels tied down beside the house of one of the Helpers. When I had finished gathering things together, I found to my surprise that their humps had been sliced open, their flanks cut and their livers removed. I could scarcely believe my eyes at this sight. I asked who had done this and was told that it might well have been Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭālib who was there in that house drinking with some of the Helpers, accompanied by his songstress and some friends. She was singing,

‘O Ḥamza who cuts down the camels.’

79. This word refers to a mush-like dish made of wheat and barley.
“On hearing this, Ḥamza had jumped up for his sword, sliced open their humps, cut open their sides and removed their livers.”

‘Alī went on, “So I went off to see the Prophet (ṢAAS) who was with Zayd b. Ḥāritha. He knew something had happened to me and asked what was wrong. I replied by telling him what Ḥamza had done and where he was drinking.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for his cloak, put it on and walked away with myself and Zayd b. Ḥāritha following him. When he reached the house where Ḥamza was, he asked permission to enter and it was given. He set about upbraiding Ḥamza for what he had done, with Ḥamza before him drunk and red-eyed. Ḥamza stared towards the Prophet (ṢAAS) raising his eyes up to his knees, then to his face, whereupon he commented, ‘What are you but slaves to my father!’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) realized he was drunk and so turned on his heels and left, with us following him.”

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī in the Kitāb al-Maghāzi (The Book of Military Expeditions). He also gives the account in several other places in his saḥīḥ collection in various versions.

In this there is proof of the information we have given above that the spoils taken at Badr were divided into fives, contrary to what is claimed by Abū Wbayd al-Qasim b. Saˈlām in his book al-Amwāl (Monies). Therein he states that the revelation concerning division into fives only came thereafter. A number of authorities have disagreed with him in that, including al-Bukhārī and Ibn Jarir. We have made clear his mistake regarding this in our Tafsīr (Exegesis) and in our previous comments. But God knows best.

This behaviour of Ḥamza and his companions, God be pleased with them, occurred before wine was prohibited. Indeed, Ḥamza was killed at Uhud, as will be related, and that event preceded the prohibition of wine. But God knows best.

This hadith may be cited as evidence by those who maintain that anything expressed by someone drunk is of no account and without effect in such cases as divorce or the giving of testimony, or such matters, as some scholars have maintained and as is established in the Kitāb al-Ahkām (The Book of Statutes).

Imām Ahmad stated, “Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Abī Najīḥ, from his father, from a man who heard ‘Alī say, ‘I wanted to seek from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) my betrothal to his daughter but recognized that I owned nothing. But then I remembered his compassion and his relationship (to me) and so I did ask him to agree to my engagement to her.”

“He replied, ‘Do you own anything?’ “No,” I replied. “Where is your Ḥuṭāmī chain-mail I gave you on such-and-such an occasion?” he asked. I replied, “At my place.” “Well then,” he said, “give me that for her.” And so I did.’”

Ahmad relates this similarly in his hadīth collection, though in his chain of transmission there is one link who is dubious.
Abū Dāūd stated, “Ishāq b. Ismā'īl al-Ṭaliqānī related to us, quoting ‘Abda, quoting Saʿīd, from Ayyūb, from ‘Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, ‘When ‘Ali married Fāṭima, God bless them both, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, “Give her something.” He replied, “I have nothing.” “Where is your Ḥuṭami chain-mail?” he was asked.’”

Al-Nasā’ī related this from Hārūn b. Ishāq, from ‘Abda b. Sulaymān, from Saʿīd b. Ablī Ṣūrāb, from an account of Ayyūb al-Sakhīṭyānī.

Abū Dāūd stated, “Kathīr b. Mayd b. al-Ḥimsī related to us, quoting Abī Haywa, from Shuʿayb b. Abī Ḥamza; Ghaylān b. Anas related to me, from the people of Ḥims; and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḍir b. Thawbān related to me, from one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS) that when ‘Ali married Fāṭima and wanted to consummate the marriage, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prevented him from doing so until he gave her something. ‘Ali replied, ‘O Messenger of God, I have nothing.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘Give her your chain-mail.’ He did so and then went in to her.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated in al-Dalā’il (The Signs), “The ḥāfīẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-ʿĀṣamm, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related, from Muḥājīd, from ‘Ali, who said, ‘I did ask the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to become engaged to Fāṭima. A freed-woman of mine asked, “Did you know that someone has asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to become engaged to Fāṭima?” “No,” I replied. “Well,” she went on, “she has been asked for; but what prevents you from going to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and having him marry you?” I asked her, “Do I own anything with which to get married?” She replied, “If you go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he will marry you.”

“She kept on encouraging me until I did go in to him. When I sat down before him, I was struck dumb, I swear, and could not speak I was so much in awe.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked me, “What brought you here? Is there something I can do for you?” I remained silent but he said, “Have you perhaps come to become engaged to Fāṭima?” “Yes, I have,” I replied. “Do you have something to give her in marriage?” he asked. “No, O Messenger of God, I don’t,” I replied. He then enquired, “What did you do with the chain-mail I provided for you?”

“Now I swear by Him who holds ‘Ali’s soul in His hand, it was just a Ḥuṭami chain-mail, not worth four dirhams. I replied, “Yes, I have it.” “Then I marry her to you for it; send it to her as her marriage payment,” he said. This, then became the dowry paid for Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Fāṭima bore to ‘Ali, Ḥassān, Ḥusayn and Muhṣin – the last of whom died young – Umm Kulthūm and Zaynab.”

Al-Bayhaqī then related through ʿAtīb b. al-Ṣāḥib, from his father, from ‘Ali, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to Fāṭima as her trousseau a soft gown, a water-skin, and a leather pillow stuffed with sweet-smelling rushes.”
Al-Bayhaqi quoted from the *Kitāb al-Maqāna* (The Book of Knowledge) of Abū Ḥāmid ʿAbd Allāh b. Munaddah, that ʿAlī became engaged to Fāṭima one year after the hegira and that he consummated the marriage with her one year thereafter.

I would comment that by that account the consummation took place early in the third year of the hegira. However, it is obvious that the anecdote relating to the two camels must involve the period shortly after the battle of Badr, that is, as we have related, at the end of the year 2 AH. But God knows best.

*Section: Reference to a variety of events that occurred in the year 2 AH.*

We have given details above about the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ʿAʾishah, mother of the believers, God bless her, and have already referred to the famous engagements that had occurred; these accounts include information on the deaths of famous men, both Muslim and polytheist.

Among those who died that year were the martyrs of the battle of Badr. These numbered 14 including both Emigrants and Helpers. Their names have been given above, as well as those of the chiefs of the Quraysh polytheists who numbered 70, as is widely known. Shortly after the battle, Abū Lahab ʿAbd al-ʿUzza b. ʿAbd al-Muttalib, God damn him, died. As is told above.

When the good news was brought to the Muslims of Medina by Zayd b. Ḥarītha and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa concerning how God had afflicted the polytheists and given victory to the believers, they found Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), had died and they were levelling the soil on her grave.

Her husband ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān had stayed behind to nurse her, on the orders of the Prophet (ṢAAS). This is why he was given a share of the spoils of Badr and also assured his reward from God at Judgement Day.

ʿUthmān thereafter married her sister Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this is why he was known as dhū al-nūrayn, "he of the two lights". It is said that no man but him was married consecutively to two daughters of a prophet. May God be pleased with him and make him content.

That year the direction of prayer was changed, as we have related above. And there was an addition made to the prayer performed when in residence, as explained above.

That year fasting was prescribed, that of Ramāḍān, as related. The *zakāt* ḏāt al-nuṣāb and the *zakāt* al-fiṣr were imposed at that time.

That year the polytheists and Jews of Medina, among the Banū Qaynuqāʿ, the Banū al-Naḍlr and the Banū Qurayza who lived there, along with the Jews of the Banū Ḥarītha, pretended co-operation with the Muslims. A large number of the

80. The *zakāt* ḏāt al-nuṣāb (plural of a singular noun *nuṣāb*) is a tax payable on certain categories of possessions, provided the tax-payer possessed a defined minimum (*nisāb*) value of these. The *zakāt* al-fiṣr is an obligatory payment of provisions by all Muslims of means to the poor at the end of the fasting month of Ramāḍān.
polytheists and Jews professed Islam while secretly being hypocrites. Some did remain as they had been, while others were totally indecisive, tending first this way then the other, as God has depicted them in His Book.

Ibn Jarir stated, “In that year the Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote his *al-maʿāqiṣ* which were kept attached to his sword.”

Ibn Jarir stated, “It is said that al-Ḥasan, ‘Ali’s son was born that year.”

He went on, “Al-Wāqidi, however, claimed that Ibn Abī Sabra related to him, from Ishāq b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abī Jaʿfar, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭālib consummated his marriage with Fāṭima in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year.

“And if that account is true, then the former one is inaccurate.”

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81. The word refers to arrangements concerning the payment of the bloodwit in the case of murder or manslaughter.
ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭalib would mean Ṭalib’s father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭalib, would mean ‘the son of Ṭalib’s father’. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters ‘al-’ before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, ‘the’.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word ‘Ibn’, ‘son’. Thus, the name ‘Ya’qūb b. ‘Utba’ means ‘Ya’qūb, son of ‘Utba’. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as ‘Ya’qūb b. ‘Utba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas’ the names of Ya’qūb’s father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic bint, indicates ‘girl’ or ‘daughter’. Thus the name ‘A’īsha bt. Abū Bakr refers to ‘A’īsha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters ŠAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words ʿalla Allāhu ḥlayhi ma sallām; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as ‘May God’s peace and blessings be upon him’.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhdh: plural of fakhd (q.v.).

ahdith: plural of hadith (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father’s side.

ʿālīm (pl. ʿulamāʾ): scholars or theologians of Islam.

ansār: the plural of nāṣir, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who
officially fraternized with the muhājirin, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

'arab al-‘āriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Ya’rub b. Qahtān.

'arab al-mustāriba: ‘the arabized Arabs’, initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Hijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

‘Arafāt (also ‘Arafā): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the hajj pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

‘Ashīra (pl. ‘ashā’ir): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An ‘ashīra is composed of several afkhādh (q.v.), while several ‘ashā’ir form a single qabila (q.v.).

badāna: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the hajj (q.v.).

barakā: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believed suffused with barakā, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb baka, he wept, applied to Adam’s sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

baṭn (pl. butūn): an agnatic group smaller than a qabila (q.v.) but larger than a fākhādh (q.v.).

dafṣ: the word used to denote the act of departure from ‘Arafāt during the pilgrimage rites.

fākhādh (pl. afkhādh): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

al-fajr: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two rakʿāt (q.v.) to be recited audibly.
faṣila (pl. faṣā'il): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one's ʿashira (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. ghazawat): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as sarāyya (pl. of sariyya).

ḥadīth (pl. aḥādīth): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An isnād (q.v.) precedes the ḫadīth and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marfū': a ḫadīth related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see sāḥib) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥāfiz (pl. ḥuṭas): a person who has memorized the entire Qurān. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥajj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

ḥanif: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanifiyya: the religion of Abraham and the ḥanifs.

ḥaram (or ḥarām): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

ḥijāba: the office of the custodian of the kaʿba; he is known as the ḥājib.

ḥijra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a ḫadīth and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

ifāda: the movement or departure of pilgrims from ʿArafát following their performance of the wuqūf, 'the standing'.

īḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the īḥrām state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.
**Isnād**: the prefatory material to a *hadith* (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muhammad up to the time when it was written down.

**Izār**: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of *ihram*.

**Jahiliyya**: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

**Jamra (pl. Jamrāt)**: ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as *jamrāt*.

**Kabā**: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring *zamzam* (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see *qibla*).

**Al-Khalil** 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

**Liwāʾ**: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the *kaʿba*.

**Maqām Ibrāhīm**: the ‘station’ of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the *kaʿba* where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

**Maghrib**: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three *rakʿāt*; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

**Masjid**: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafāt.

**Hadith Mursal**: a *hadith* which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

Al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ‘Arafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from ‘Arafāt spend the night.
nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the ka'ba.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a farsakh. One parasang equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabila (pl. qaba'il): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A qabila is larger than an 'ashira (q.v.) but smaller than a sha'b (q.v.).

qādi: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muhammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the ka'ba there.

rak'a (pl. rak'āt): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These rak'āt total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramadān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during Ramadān that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muhammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridā: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the ihram state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-sa'ī: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

sahab: the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muhammad.

sahīb (pl. aṣhāb, sahāba): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muhammad during his mission.
**sahih**: a *hadith* (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such *ahadith*.

**sam'ah**: the receipt of a *hadith* (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a *hadith* was considered the most trustworthy of all.

**sha'b** (pl. *shu'āb*): a tribal group larger than a *qabtla* (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

**shahāda**: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: ‘There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger’.

**shaykh** (pl. *shuyukh*): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

**shī'a**: the doctrine and its adherent, a *shīr*, that considers ‘Alī, son of Abū Ṭalib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

**sunna**: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, *sunan*, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

**tafsīr**: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

**tasmiyya**: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: ‘In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate’ prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

**tawāf**: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the *kaʿba*.

**tubbaʾ** (pl. *tabābēʾa*): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

**wuduʾ**: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

**zamzam**: the sacred well positioned close to the *kaʿba* (q.v.) within the *ḥarām al-sharif*, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham’s wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.
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The Life of the Prophet Muhammad

Volume III

Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick
Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed
The work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abū al-Fīdā’ Imād al-Dīn ʿIsāmīl b. ʿUmar b. Kathīr, and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muhammad to which Ibn Kathīr makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qurān. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathīr. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathīr’s own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathīr’s chief work, his opus on history, the al-Bīdiya wa al-Nihāya. He argues that the sīra section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muhammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the al-Bīdiya. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥīd must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it al-Sīrā al-Nabawīyya li Ibn Kathīr.

Ibn Kathīr, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, the Mālikī jurist Abū Mūsā al-Qaraṭī, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taymiyya al-Ḥarrānī.

Ibn Kathīr’s was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathīr and his


2. According to C. Brockelman in his Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathīr is itself based on al-Bīzālī’s chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥādī al-Asqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).
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The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Ṭabari, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathir’s efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of hadith literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, “If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the sīra material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth.”

Not that the method of Ibn Kathir is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for sīra studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathir’s sīra are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., sīra material contains, in the first instance, virtually “nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet.” And so, “when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muhammad”, Rudi Paret warns, “we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way.”

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of “sacred biography”, and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathir’s, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer’s “quest of the historical Christ” would be appropriated by


scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muhammad; after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly similar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the *sira* seems to betray a casual disregard for the *Sitz im Leben* of that very corpus. The life and work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muhammad; the former’s mission—if it can be described as such—is, for example, singularly devoid of the political and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article “The Quest of the Historical Muhammad” points out, that “even though a great deal of effort has been invested in research into the life and times of Muhammad, the results do not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons are not at all clear.”

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his *Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und seine Lehre* in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical Muhammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more, importantly, al-Ṭabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to “holy orders”. Their primary purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was “not any rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system.” As for Muhammad, he was for many in that era “so coarse and barbarous an imposter, that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating and corruption.” Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars vis-à-vis the study of Muhammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, *The true nature of imposture fully display’d in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex’d*

12. Ibid., 300.
13. Ibid., 300.
for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age. Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored The History of the Saracens, a “much more solid contribution to historical knowledge” as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did “not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Muhammad in his first line, as ‘the great Imposter’ and then describing the Arab conquests as ‘that grievous calamity’.” The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Muhammad, La vie de Mahomet. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: “With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Muhammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his.”

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel “the historical person of Muhammad”, Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating “the possibility of the critical analysis of the sīra”. Lammens’ efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Muhammad per se, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. “Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam’s obstinacy and insensitivity to the missionary influence.”

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the hadith traditions as well as the sīra material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the hadith material was but a “pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (isnād) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the ‘Companions’ who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

15. Ibid., 311.
in pertinent ways.” Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the isnād of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that “hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards.” From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: “that the bulk of the sīra . . . consists of second century hadiths has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded.”

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his Muhammad at Mecca, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht’s conclusion. He thus maintains that “in the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a ‘tendentious shaping’ of the material . . . .”

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of hadith criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the isnād and the mutān of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Albānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (al-Nahḍa al-Islamiyya). Such a renaissance, Albānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into hadith and sīra works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history. He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical hadith studies. His findings, which were first published under the title “al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa‘ifah wa al-Mawdū‘ah” in a weekly column in the magazine al-Tamaddun al-Islami, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled Sīlsilah al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍa‘ifah wa al-Mawdū‘ah.

23. Ibid., 6.
Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on *hadith* literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early *hadith* literature has attempted to show that *hadith* literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

“In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Aṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the *ahādith* narrated by ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr’s books. Urwah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sirah, e.g. *Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet*, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet’s letters in a very early period.”

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than “the rubble of early Muslim history”. For Patricia Crone therefore, the “inertia” of material such as appears heretofore “comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam.”” The bulk of it”, she argues, “has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles.”

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable *solution intermédiaire*, “a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship.” For him therefore, the *hadith* traditions “taken as a whole” do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and “a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports...collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of ‘what really happened’.”

28. Ibid., 7.
Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*, \(^{29}\) "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."\(^{30}\)

Muneer Fareed
Reviewer of Volumes II–IV

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30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.
TRANSLATOR’S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathir repeats anecdotal *ahādīth* with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathir’s objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific *ahādīth*; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing – of which this work is essentially a record – would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted
have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for the initial 'readership' of this work as well as to students and researchers today. However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathir's preference for certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since common English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as Abū and sūrat – change in their form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the form in which they are most commonly met. Initial hamza, moreover, has been omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathir himself. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text, especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that 'to err is human'. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 2000
Early that year the Najd expedition, known as the raid on Dhū 'Amarr, took place.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned from the expedition to al-Sawiq, he remained for roughly the remainder of Dhū al-Hijja and then attacked Najd, seeking out Ghaṭafān; this expedition is known as that of Dhū ‘Amarr.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He left ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān in command of Medina.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “He remained for all, or almost all, of Ṣafar in Najd and then returned without being ambushed.”

Al-Waqīdī stated, “News reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) that a force of Ghaṭafān fighters, from Bant Thqalāb, Ibn Muḥārib, had gathered at Dhū ‘Amarr intending to attack him. He therefore left Medina on Thursday, 12th of Rabī’ al-Awwal in 3 AH, placing ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān in command of Medina. He was away for 11 days, and was accompanied by 450 men.

“The bedouin fled from him away into the mountains. He travelled on until he reached a well known as Dhū ‘Amarr, where he made camp. Much rain fell and the clothes of the Messenger of God (SAAS) were soaked. He dismounted beneath a tree there and hung out his clothes to dry, in full sight of the polytheists, who were keeping to themselves.

“The polytheists then sent out one of their warriors, a man named Ghawrith b. al-Ḥārith, or Duṭhūr b. al-Ḥārith, telling him, ‘God has enabled you to kill Muḥammad!’

“Then Ghawrith took the Prophet’s sword off his belt and mounted the Prophet’s horse, his sword drawn, and asked, ‘Muḥammad, who will protect you from me now?’ ‘God will,’ he replied. Then Gabriel gave the man a push in the chest and the sword fell from his hand.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) picked it up and said, ‘And who will protect you from me?’ ‘No one’, the man replied, ‘and I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is God’s messenger! I swear, I’ll never gather a force to attack you.’

“And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave him back his sword.

“When the man rejoined his men, they criticized him and asked what had happened. He explained, ‘I saw a tall man who pushed me in the chest and made me fall over on to my back. I knew him to be an angel. I then testified that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God and that I would not gather a force against him.’ He then began inviting his people to accept Islam.
“It was about this incident that God Almighty stated, ‘O you who believe, remember God’s favour to you when a force had prepared to stretch out their hands against you, but He held back their hands away from you’” (sūrat al-Mā‘īda; V, v.11).

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “A similar account will be given about the expedition of Dḥāt al-Riqa‘; there may be two different incidents.”

I comment that if the above account is correct, then the other is definitely not. Because in that case — the man’s name also being Ghawrith b. al-Ḥarīth — he did not accept Islam but retained his old faith, and he did not vow to the Prophet (ṢAAS) that he would not attack him thereafter. But God knows best.

THE ATTACK ON AL-FURU‘ OF BUHRĀN.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “He remained for almost all of Rabī‘ al-Awwal in Medina, but then mounted an expedition against Quraysh.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He appointed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.”

Ibn Išāq went on, “He continued on to Buhrān, a mine in Ḥijāz over towards al-Furū‘.”

Al-Wāqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was absent from Medina only for ten days.” But God knows best.

An Account of the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā‘ who dwell in Medina.

Al-Wāqidi claimed that this relates to a Saturday (during the first) half of Shawwāl in 2 AH. But God knows best.

It is to them that reference is made in the words of the Almighty: “Like those shortly prior to them; they experienced the ugly consequences of what they did, and they shall have painful punishment” (sūrat al-Ḥashr; LIX, v.15).

Ibn Išāq stated, “It was at the time of these raids made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that the affair of the Banū Qaynuqā‘ arose.

“People say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assembled them in their market and addressed them, saying: ‘O Jews, beware of God afflicting you as He did Quraysh. And so accept Islam. You well know that I am a prophet sent with a mission; you find that to be so in your Book and in God’s pact with you.’

“They responded, ‘Muḥammad, do you think we are your people? Don’t delude yourself, just because you did battle with those who lacked knowledge of warfare, and so you could take advantage of them. If you fight against us, you’ll find us to be real men!’”

Ibn Išāq continued, “A freed-man of Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, and from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, ‘The following
verse was revealed specifically concerning them. “Tell those who disbelieve: ‘You shall be defeated and herded into hell, a terrible abode. A proof of this came to you when two forces clashed.’” (sūrat Al’Imrān; III, v.11). This refers to the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), to those who participated at Badr, and to Quraysh. (Along with:) “One side fights for God’s cause, while the other is unbelieving, whom they see with their own eyes to be twice their like. And God aids with His help whomsoever He wishes. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight.”” (sūrat Al’Imrān; III, v.12).

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Āsim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the Banū Qaynuqāʾ were the first of the Jews who broke their pact and fought in the period between the battles of Badr and Uhud.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama related, from Abū ʿAwn, ‘The problem with Banū Qaynuqāʾ arose as follows. An Arab woman took an ornament of hers and sold it in the market of Banū Qaynuqāʾ. She sat there with one of their goldsmiths and the men present began pestering her to uncover her face. She refused, but the goldsmith managed to attach the hem of her dress to her back. When she got up, she was exposed, and they all laughed at her. She screamed and one of the Muslim men attacked and killed the goldsmith, who was a Jew. The Jews then seized the Muslim and killed him. The Muslim’s family called for help from the other Muslims against the Jews. The Muslims were enraged, and so enmity arose between them and Banū Qaynuqāʾ.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Āsim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me, ‘And so the Messenger of God (SAAS), besieged them until they surrendered to him.”

Ibn Hishām stated that this pocket was known as the dhāt al-fuḍūl, “the bounteous”.

Ibn Ishāq continued, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told him ‘Let go of me! His face darkening in rage, he repeated, ‘Let go of me, I say!’

“‘Abd Allāh replied, ‘No; I’ll not do so until you agree to treat my allies well. Four hundred men without armour and three hundred with chain-mail have protected me from all and sundry, and you would mow them down in one morning! I’m a man who is afraid of turns of fate.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said to him, ‘They are yours!’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) placed Abū Lubāba ʿBashir b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir in charge (of Medina) during his siege of them, which lasted for 15 days.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “My father related to me, quoting ʿUbad b. al-Walid, from ʿUbad b. al-Šāmit, who said, ‘When Banū Qaynuqāʾ opposed the Messenger
of God (SAAS) `Abd Allāh b. Ubayy remained allied with them and protected them, while `Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, who had the same alliance with them as did `Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and gave them over to him, renouncing his pact with them in favour of God and His Messenger. `Ubāda told him, “O Messenger of God, I ally myself with God, His messenger and the believers, and I renounce my association and alliance with these unbelievers.””

Ibn Ishaq continued, “It was about him and `Abd Allāh b. Ubayy that the following verses were revealed, ‘O you who believe, do not ally yourselves with the Jews and the Christians; they are allied with one another’” (ṣūrat al-Māʿida; V, v.50). This referred to `Abd Allāh b. Ubayy. And “... those who ally themselves with God and His messenger and those who believe; they are the party of God who will triumph” (ṣūrat al-Māʿida; V, v.56). This referred to `Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit. We have discussed this in our Tafsīr.

THE ATTACK MADE BY ZAYD B. ḤĀRITHA AGAINST THE QURAYSH CARAVAN WHICH WAS ALSO ACCOMPANIED BY ABŪ SUFYĀN AS WELL AS, IT IS SAID, BY ṢAFWĀN.

Yūnus b. Bukayy quoted Ibn Ishaq as follows, “This occurred six months after the battle of Badr.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The account of it related that Quraysh became insecure about the route they usually followed to Syria, after the events of Badr, and so they took the Iraq route. Some of their merchants, including Abū Sufyān, who was bearing a large quantity of silver which was the greater part of their merchandise, left, having hired as a guide for that route a man of Banū Bakr b. Wā'il named Furāt b. Ḥāyān, that is al-ʾIjli, who were allied to Banū Sahm.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent forth Zayd b. Ḥāritha who met up with them at a well called d-Qarda. He seized the caravan, and all it contained, but its men escaped. He returned with the spoils to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses about this:

‘Say farewell to the rivulets of Syria, for in the way are swords like the mouths of pregnant camels hurting from eating arāk leaves
In the hands of men who have moved off towards their Lord and to His helpers in truth, and in angels’ hands.
If they proceed to the lowlands from the sand valley, then tell them, “the route is not there!”’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “This qaṣida is included in the verses by Ḥassān; Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed a response to them.”

Al-Waqidi stated, “This foray by Zayd b. Ḥāritha occurred at the start of Jumādā al-Uwšt, some 28 months after the Hijra. Ṣafwān b. Umayya was the leader of this caravan.
“The reason he sent out Zayd b. Ḥaritha was that it was Nuʿaym b. Masʿūd, then still a follower of his own people’s religion, who had come to Medina with news of this caravan. This Nuʿaym had met with Kināna b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, along with some of Banū al-NDAR, among whom was Sulayṭ b. al-NDm, of Aslam. They had been drinking, this being before the prohibition of wine. Nuʿaym had talked of the departure of the caravan with Ṣafwān b. Umayya, and of the valuables it carried. Sulayṭ had immediately left and informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who had promptly despatched Zayd b. Ḥaritha. His force met and seized the caravan, but the men accompanying it escaped. They did capture a man or two, then took command of the caravan and brought it in. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided it up into five portions, each of which amounted to 20,000 dirhams. He apportioned four-fifths of it to the expedition. Among those captured was the guide, Furāt b. Ḥayyān. He accepted Islam, may God be pleased with him.”

Ibn Jarir stated, “Al-Waqidi asserted that in the spring of that year Ḥtān b. ʿAffān married Umm Kulthūm, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that she was brought to him in Jumādā al-Ākhira.”

THE KILLING OF KAʾB B. AL-ASHRAF, THE JEW.

He was of the Ṭāʿī tribe, part of Banū Nabhān; but his mother was of Banū al-NDAR.

Ibn Ishaq related it thus, before the withdrawal of the Banū al-NDAR. Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqi, however, noted it following their accounts of the Banū al-NDAR affair. Ibn Ishaq was correct in relating it as he did, as will be clear from what follows, namely that the Banū al-NDAR matter occurred after the battle of Uhud. It was in the siege of the enemy then that wine was prohibited, as we will later explain, if God wills it.


“Muḥammad b. Maslama then approached him (Kaʾb) and said, “This fellow (i.e. the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), asked us for charity, but he has become a nuisance to us. I’ve come to you to ask you to give us a loan.”

“He responded, “So, by God, you too are tired of him!”

“Muḥammad b. Maslama responded. “Having followed him, we don’t want to abandon him until we see how it turns out for him. We’d just like you to make us a loan.”

“All right; give me some security.’ ‘What would you like?”
"'Pledge me your womenfolk!' "
"They objected, 'How could we pledge you our women, you being the most handsome of the Arabs!'

"'Then pledge me your sons', he asked.

"'How could we pledge you our sons?' they demanded, 'and have them insulted by being told they are only worth the value of a wasq or two! That would be shameful for us. But we will pledge you our la'ma.' Sufyān said that by this he meant their weapons.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama then made a night rendezvous with him and did go to him one night, accompanied by Abū Nāpīla, who was Ka'īb's foster-brother. Ka'īb invited them into his castle and came down to them. His wife asked him, "

"Where are you going at this late hour?" (According to another account, one not from 'Amr, she commented, "I hear a voice dripping blood!")

"He replied, 'It's only my brother Muḥammad b. Maslama and my foster-brother Abū Nāpīla. A man of honour, if invited to a stabbing at night, would still accept!'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama went in accompanied by two men. He told them, 'When he comes, I'll lean over towards his hair to smell it. When you see me seize his head, then you come on over and strike him.' He went on, 'I'll do it once, then let you smell.'

"When Ka'īb came down, he was wearing a loose sash and was redolent with perfume. Muḥammad b. Maslama commented, 'I never smelled a finer scent than today!' (According to the other tradition, he (Ka'īb) commented, "I have the best-perfumed and best-looking women of all the Arabs!")

"'Amr went on, "He then asked, 'Would you permit me to smell your head?'' 'Certainly,' Ka'īb replied.

"He then smelled it and had his companions do the same. He then asked, 'Do you permit me?' 'Yes,' Ka'īb replied. And then he (Muḥammad b. Maslama) seized him, calling out, 'Get him!' And they killed him. They then went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and informed him."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ka'īb b. al-Ashraf was of the Taʿī tribe, of the sub-tribe of Banū Nabāḥān, though his mother was of Banū al-Nadīr. He received news of the deaths of those at Badr after the arrival of Zayd b. al-Ḥarīthah and 'Abd Allah b. Rawāḥa. He commented, 'By God, if Muḥammad has really struck down those people, then better be inside the earth than upon it!'

"When this enemy of God was sure of this news, he left for Mecca, where he visited al-Muṭṭalib b. Abū Wadā'ā b. Dubayrat al-Sahmi, whose wife was 'Āṭika, daughter of Abū al-Īs b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf. She accommodated him graciously and he began instigating an attack upon the

1. The Arabic of this comment, curious since it is being made to a Jew, reads, ma anta ajmalu al-sarab.
Messenger of God (_PARAS) speaking verses and mourning the deaths of those polytheists killed at Badr."

Here Ibn Ishāq gave his poem which begins with the verse,

"The Badr millstone ground to death those killed there,
and for the like of Badr one speaks and weeps."

He also gave the response to this poem by Hassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, as well as verse by others.

He went on, "Ka'b then returned to Medina where he composed verses that were suggestive about the Muslim women and critical of the Prophet (PARAS) and his followers."

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, "Ka'b b. al-Ashraf was of Banū al-Naḍīr, or associated with them; he harmed the Messenger of God (PARAS) by ridiculing him in verse and he rode in to Quraysh to incite them further. Abū Sufyān, in Mecca, asked him, 'In your view, I pray you tell me, which religion is more favoured by God, that of Muḥammad and his friends, or our own? Which of us, do you think, is more correct and appropriate? We slaughter our meat generously, give milk-topped water to drink, providing food for all and sundry who come.'

"Ka'b b. al-Ashraf replied, 'You are better-guided in your path than they are.'"

Mūsā went on, "And so God revealed to His Messenger the verses, 'Have you not considered those given a part of the Book who believe in enchantment and devils, and who say to those who disbelieve, ‘These are better guided on the path than those who believe (in God).’ They are indeed cursed by God; those whom God curses you shall find to be without succour' (ṣūrat al-Nisā'; IV, v.51, 2).

Both Mūsā and Ibn Ishāq stated further, "He went to Medina where he proclaimed his enmity and incited people to go to war. He had not left Mecca before he had united them to fight the Messenger of God (PARAS); he then began composing amatory verse about Umm al-Fadl b. al-Hārith and other Muslim women."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (PARAS) asked, as 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mughith b. Abu Burda related to me, 'Who will take care of Ibn al-Ashraf?'

"Muḥammad b. Maslama, a brother of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, responded, 'I’ll take care of him for you, Messenger of God. I will kill him!'

"'Do so then, if you can,' he told him.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Muhammad b. Maslama then returned and stayed three days and nights eating and drinking nothing except what was essential. The Messenger of God (PARAS) was informed of this and he summoned him and asked, 'Why have you given up food and drink?' He replied, 'O Messenger of God, I promised you something that I don’t know whether I can fulfil or not.' He was told, 'You only have to try.'

"He replied, 'O Messenger of God, we’ll have to say certain things.'

"'Say whatever you think fit; you will be free of blame for doing so.'"
Muḥammad b. Maslama then set about killing Ka'b with Salkān b. Salāma b. Waqsh, who was known as Abū Naʿīla. He was of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal. He was, moreover, the foster-brother of Ka'b b. Ashraf. Also with them were ʿAbbād b. Bishr b. Waqsh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, along with al-Ḥārith b. Aws b. Muʿādh, of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal, and Abū ʿAbs b. Jabr, a brother of Banū Ḥaritha."

Ibn Iṣḥāq went on, "They then dispatched to Ka'b, that enemy of God, Salkān b. Salāma Abū Naʿīla. When the latter was with him, he talked with Ka'b and they recited poetry to one another; Abū Naʿīla was a poetry reciter. He then told Ka'b, 'I'm so sorry, Ibn al-Ashraf, but I've come to you about something I want to discuss, and for you to keep confidential.' 'I'll do that,' he said.

"Muḥammad b. Maslama went on, 'This man's arrival among us was a disaster! The Arabs became hostile to us, and united against us. They have cut off our routes, so that our young are deprived and scared. We and our families are suffering greatly.'

"Ka'b commented, 'I'm al-Ashraf's son! Didn't I tell you, Ibn Salāma, that things would turn out this way?'

"Salkān then told Ka'b, 'What I wanted was for you to sell us some food for which we would give you a surety and keep trust with you; you'll do well by that.'

"He asked, 'Will you give me your sons as surety?'

"'You want to disgrace us? I have companions who share my views, and I wanted to bring them to you for you to sell to us, by which you would do well, and we would give you an equivalent pledge in weapons.'

"Salkān wanted him not to refuse to have weapons present when they brought them. Ka'b agreed, saying, 'Weapons would be good security.'

"Salkān then returned to his companions and informed them what had transpired. He told them to get their weapons and to set off, and to meet up with him. They then assembled with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

Ibn Iṣḥāq went on, "Thawr b. Zayd related to me, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) travelled with them as far as Baqīʾ al-Gharqad, and there he dispatched them, saying, 'Go in God's name! O God, give them help!' He then returned home. It was a moonlit night, and the men set off and reached Ka'b's castle.

"Abū Naʿīla called up to him. Ka'b had recently taken a new wife, and he jumped up wrapped in a coverlet. His wife took hold of its hem and said, 'But you're a man engaged in combat! Warriors don't go down at such a time as this!' Ka'b replied, 'But it's Abū Naʿīla. He'd not have woken me if I had been asleep.' She commented, 'I swear I sense evil in his voice!' Ka'b replied, 'If a man of honour were invited to a stabbing, he'd still accept!'"

"'He then went down and engaged them in conversation. Eventually they asked him, 'Ibn al-Ashraf, would you like to take a walk with us to Shi'b
al-ʿAjūz, where we can spend the rest of the night talking?” “If you wish,” he replied. And so they left and walked for a while.

“Eventually Abū Naʿīla touched the hair at Kaʿb’s temple with his hand, which he then sniffed, saying, “I swear, I’ve never before this night smelled anything so fine!” He then walked further, then did the same, to make Kaʿb feel secure. Having gone yet further, he then took hold of Kaʿb’s hair at both temples and said, “Strike down the enemy of God!” Their swords rained blows upon him, but to no effect.’

“Muḥammad b. Maslama continued, ‘I then remembered a poignard I had with my sword and drew it, Kaʿb meanwhile making such a din that all the forts thereabouts had lit up. I stabbed my dagger into his lower stomach and bore down on it till it reached his scrotum. The enemy of God then collapsed. Meanwhile al-Ḥārith b. Aws had suffered a wound from one of our swords in his leg or on his hand.

“Then after we left, our path taking us past Banū Umayya b. Zayd, then Banū Qurayṣa and then Buʿath. After that we went on up the stony tract of al-ʿArid. On account of the blood he was losing, our companion al-Ḥārith b. Aws was lagging behind and so we halted for a while. When he came up, following our tracks, we carried him and so arrived at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as the night was ending and he was engaged in prayer. We greeted him and he came out to us. We told him of the execution of God’s enemy. He then spat upon our companion’s wound and we went on to our families. By next morning the Jews were in shock at our attack upon God’s enemy; every Jew feared for his safety.’”

Al-Waqidi claimed that they had brought the head of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Kaʿb b. Malik spoke the following verses about this affair:

‘Kaʿb having been left lying stretched out, after his demise al-Naḍir were humiliated.
As he lay prostrate on his hands, our men with drawn swords having overcome him
Upon Muḥammad’s order, when he told Kaʿb’s brother to slip by night secretly to Kaʿb.
And he tricked him, bringing him down by deceit, yet praiseworthy is he, worthy of trust and brave.’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “These verses are from an ode he composed about the battle with Banū al-Naḍir that will be quoted hereafter.”

I note that the death of Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf at the hands of Aws came after the battle of Badr. Khazraj killed Abū Rāfiʿ b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq after the battle of Uhud, as will be explained hereafter, if God, in whom is all trust, so wills it.

Ibn Isḥāq also gave the following verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit:

“How fine a party of men you met, O Ibn al-Ḥuqayq, and you too, Ibn al-ʿAshraf
Men who travelled by night to bring their light swords
to you, as cheerful as lions prowling in their lairs.
They came to you in your own territory, making you
taste death with their swift-killing blades
Foreshewing the victory of the religion of their
prophet, minimizing every matter of danger.”

whatever Jew you may conquer!’

“Muḥayyiṣa b. Masʿūd of Aws thereupon attacked and killed Ibn Sunayna, a
Jewish merchant who used to associate with them and do business with them.
His brother Ḥuwayyiṣa b. Masʿūd was older than Muḥayyiṣa and had not yet
accepted Islam. When the latter killed the Jew, Ḥuwayyiṣa began hitting his
brother and shouting, ‘You enemy of God, you! Have you really killed him? Yet
much of the fat in your belly is from his money!’

“Muḥayyiṣa replied, ‘I was ordered to kill him by someone who, if he ordered
me to kill you, I would strike your neck!’ He also said that this was the start of
Ḥuwayyiṣa’s acceptance of Islam.

“Ḥuwayyiṣa asked, ‘Do you really mean that if Muḥammad told you to kill
me, you would do it?’

“Muḥayyiṣa reiterated, ‘Yes, by God! If he were to order me to strike your
neck, I would do so.’

“‘By God, any religion that would so affect you is truly wonderful,’ said
Ḥuwayyiṣa, and he accepted Islam.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “A freed-man of Banū Ḥāritha related this to me, from
Muḥayyiṣa’s daughter, from her father.

“Muḥayyiṣa spoke the following verses about this:

“A mother’s son complains that if I were ordered to
kill him, I would strike him with my sharp sword at the
nap of his head.

Its blade salt-like in colour, it is so well burnished;
when I aim it, it never deceives.

It would not have pleased me to kill you voluntarily,
even if we owned all between Buṣrā and Maʿrib.’”

Ibn Hishām recounted, from Abū ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAmr al-Madani, that this
story relates to the time following the battle with Banū Qurayṣa, and that the
man killed was Kaḥ b. Yahūdā. He stated that when Muḥayyiṣa executed him
on the orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the battle with
Banū Qurayṣa, his brother Ḥuwayyiṣa said what he did and Muḥayyiṣa replied
as above. And so that day Ḥuwayyiṣa accepted Islam. But God knows best.

Note: al-Bayhaqi and al-Bukhari related the Banū d-Nadir affair before
the battle of Uhud, but what is correct would be to refer to it thereafter, as did
Muḥammad b. Ishāq and other authorities on the early military engagements.
The proof of this is that wine was prohibited on the nights when Banū al-Naḍīr were being besieged. It is established in the ṣaḥīḥ collections that some of those who died as martyrs at Uhud had been drinking that morning. This indicates that wine was permitted at that time and was only prohibited later. And so it is clear that the Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uhud. But God knows best.

A further note: the affair relating to the Jews of Banū Qaynuqa’ came after the battle of Badr, as told above. The same applies to the killing of Ka‘b b. al-Ashraf, the Jew, at the hands of Aws.

The Banū al-Naḍīr affair came after the battle of Uhud, as will be told hereafter. The same is true of the death of Abū Ra‘fī, the merchant Jew from Ḥijāz who was killed by Khazraj.

The account relating to the Jews of Banū Qurayṣa will be given after the report of the battle of the ahzāb – “the clans” – and after that of al-khandaq, “the trench”.

THE BATTLE OF UHUD, IN SHAWWĀL, 3 AH.

A supplementary note from the author on the naming of Uhud: Uhud was so named because of its unique distinction among these mountains.

In the ṣaḥīḥ collection it states, “Uhud is a mountain that loves us and that we love. It is said that its name refers to its inhabitants. It is also said that it is so named to affirm the closeness of one’s family on one’s return from a trip, as does a lover. It is also said to mean, ‘alā zāhirīhi, i.e. ‘in a concrete and literal interpretation’, as in God’s words, ‘some of them tumble down in fear of God’” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.74).

In a hadith from Abū Abbās b. Jabr, it states, “Uhud loves us and we it; it stands at the gate of paradise. And it is (like a) wild ass that loathes us as we it. It stands at one of the gates of hell.”

Al-Suhaylī commented, in substantiation of this hadith: “It is well established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘A man is with whomever he loves.’”

Al-Suhaylī’s comment is strange. For this hadith relates to people and a mountain could not be referred to as human.

This battle took place in Shawwāl, 3 AH. This is stated by al-Zuhri, Qatāda, Mūsā b. Uqba, Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq and Mālik.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “It occurred in the middle of Shawwāl.” Qatāda said, “It took place on Saturday, the 11th of Shawwāl.”

Mālik stated, “The battle took place early in the day, and it is commonly agreed that the reference is to it in the words of the Almighty: ‘... when you went forth from your family in the morning to set the believers in their positions for the battle; and God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing. When two groups from

2. The Arabic root aḥad implies the number one and singularity or uniqueness.
among you were inclined to being cowardly, even though God was their ally. It is in God that believers should trust. And God did aid you at Badr when you were weak. Be pious in God, that you may give thanks. (Remember) when you said to the believers, “Is it not enough for you that your Lord give you the aid of 3,000 angels He has sent down? Yes indeed! If you remain fast and pious and they charge straight down upon you, your Lord will send down 5,000 of the angels to cause havoc ...” and so on to the words, “... and God is not one to leave the believers in circumstances such as yours without differentiating evil from good. Yet God is not one to reveal to you the unknown”” (sūrat Al Īmārān; III, v.120–124 and v.178).

We have sufficiently discussed details relating to all this in our Tafsīr. And all praise and reliance is for God.

We will relate herewith the essentials of the battle as in the accounts given by Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him, and other scholars expert in this field.

(Ibn Ishaq stated) “Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Zuhri, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥabbān, Āṣim b. Ūmar b. Qatāda, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. Muʿadh and others of our scholars related to me various aspects of the battle of Uḥud. What follows is a composite of all their accounts.

“When those polytheists of Quraysh suffered their fate of burial in the pit, the remnants of their force returned to Mecca, as did Abū Sufyān with his caravan. ʿAbd Allāḥ b. Abū Rabīʿa, Ikrima b. Abī Jahl and Ṣafwān b. Umayya gathered with others of Quraysh whose fathers, sons or brothers had been struck down at Badr. They talked with Abū Sufyān and with others of the Meccan merchants who had been with that caravan, as follows: ‘O Quraysh, Muḥammad has done you great harm and has killed your like. Give us your assistance with this wealth to make war on him and to take revenge on him.’ They agreed.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “It was about them, so I have been told by certain scholars, that Almighty God revealed the words, ‘Those who disbelieve are spending their wealth to block off God’s path. And they shall spend it and then they shall suffer regret and be defeated. Those who disbelieve will be herded together into hell’ (sūrat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.36).

“And so Quraysh gathered to go to war against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Abū Sufyān and the caravan owners did this, assembling their Abyssinian mercenaries and those of the tribes of Kināna and the lowlands who accepted their authority.

“Abū Āzza ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāḥ al-Jumahi had been treated kindly by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Badr. He was a poor man with children and responsibilities and had been taken captive. Ṣafwān b. Umayya now asked him, ‘Abū Āzza, you are a poet. Help us with your voice and go forth with us,’ He replied, ‘But Muḥammad was kind to me, and I don’t want to oppose him.’ Ṣafwān persisted, ‘Yes indeed, so help us with your mind; I swear that if you
return safe, I will make you wealthy. If you are killed, I swear I'll treat your daughters just like my own. Whatever happens to my children, good or bad, will be their lot too.'

"So Abū 'Azza went off into the lowlands calling upon Banū Kināna and reciting,

'O Banū 'Abd Manāt, brave men, you are fine warriors, as were your fathers too.
Let not your help be promised a year from now; do not let me down, for letting me down is not right.'

"And Nāfi' b. 'Abd Manāf b. Wahb b. Hudhayfa b. Jumāḥ went out to Banū Mālik b. Kināna haranguing them and saying,

'O māl(ik), māl (possessed of) prominent repute, I appeal to ties and to covenants
Whether to relatives or to those not related, by the alliance amidst the holy city,
At the venerated wall of the ka'ba.'

"Jubayr b. Mu'tim summoned an Abyssinian warrior slave of his, named Wahshi, who could toss a spear in the Abyssinian manner, rarely missing, and told him, 'Go forth with our men; and if you should kill Ḥamza, the uncle of Muḥammad, in revenge for my uncle Ṭu'ayma b. 'Adi, then you are a free man.'"

"And so Quraysh went forth fully armed and accoutred and with their Abyssinian mercenaries and clients from Banū Kināna and the lowlands. They also took with them their womenfolk in howdahs (camel litter, sedan chairs) to keep their spirits high and so that they would not take flight.

"Abū Sufyān, Ṣakhr b. Ḥarb, he being their commander, went forth too, accompanied by his wife Hind, daughter of Ḫubayt b. Rabī'a.

"Ikrima b. Abī Jahl also went out with his wife, his cousin Umm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughira. His uncle al-Ḥārith b. Hishām also went, accompanied by his wife Fāṭima, daughter of al-Walīd b. al-Mughira.

"Ṣafwān b. Umayyā was accompanied by Barzā, daughter of Masʿūd b. Ṭūmar, a lady of Ṭaḥqīf; Ṭumār b. al-ʿĀṣ had with him Rayṭa, daughter of Munabbī b. al-Ḥājjāj, she being the mother of his son Ṭūmar b. Ṭālīb.

Ibn Iṣḥāq also mentioned other Quraysh men who were accompanied by their womenfolk.

He went on, "And whenever Wahshi passed by Hind, daughter of Uthba or she passed by him, she would say, 'Go to it, Abū Dasma, avenge us and help yourself too!' That is, she urged him on to kill Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

"They advanced and made a halt at ʿĀynayn, on a mountain at the Sakhba valley of Qanāt, on the edge of the wādi facing Medina.

3. The poet uses the word ʾislām, here connoting "abandonment".
4. That is, "father of blackness", a reference to his black Abyssinian colouring.
"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard of this, he told the Muslims, ‘I swear by God, I had a favourable vision! I saw a cow being slaughtered and noticed a nick on the tip of my sword blade. Then I saw I had thrust my hand through a strong coat of mail. This I interpreted to be Medina.’"

This hadith was related by both al-Bukhari and Muslim from Abû Kurayb, from Abû Usâma, from Burayd b. ʿAbd Allâh b. Abû Burda, from Abû Burda, from Abû Müsâ al-Ashʿarî, from the Prophet (SAAS) whom they quoted as follows, "I saw in a dream that I was leaving Mecca for some land where there were palm trees. I thought that it was either al-Yamâma or Hajar, but then I realized that it was the city of Yathrib (Medina). In that vision, I saw myself wielding a sword, the middle of which broke. And that was what happened to the believers at the battle of Uhud. I then wielded it again and it became better than ever. And that was what happened when God gave victory and united the believers. In the vision, I also saw a cow. And, by God, this was good, for it represented the band of believers at the battle of Uhud. And the good was what God brought forth from the good, and the reward of the truth that came to us after the battle of Badr."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "Abû ʿAbd Allâh al-Ḥafiz informed us, as did al-ʿAṣamm, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam and Ibn Wahh, while Ibn Abû Zinâd informed me from his father, ʿUbayd Allâh b. ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿUtba, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) took possession of his sword Dha al-Fiqdr at Badr. And it was about that sword that he saw the vision on the day of the battle of Uhud."

"When the polytheists came at the Messenger of God (SAAS), at Uhud, it was his view that he should remain in Medina and fight them there. But people who had not witnessed Badr told him, “Let’s go out, Messenger of God, to them and fight them at Uhud.” They hoped to attain some of the credit that had accrued to those at Badr. They kept on at the Messenger of God (SAAS), until he put on his chain-mail. Then they repented and told him, “O Messenger of God, stay here. Your view must prevail.”

"He told them, “It is not proper for a prophet to take off his armour after dressing in it until God decides between him and his enemy.”

"Before putting on my armour that day,” he had been telling them, ‘I had a vision of myself in stout armour – which I interpreted to be Medinâ – and that I made the (squadron) leader ride behind me; this I interpreted as the leader of the squadron. I also saw that my sword, Dhū al-Fiqâr, had been notched; this I interpreted as a weakness in you. Then I saw a cow being slaughtered, its stomach open. I swear by God, it was good.’"

Al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Mâjah related this from a hadith of ābd al-Rahmân b. Abû al-Zinâd, from his father.

Al-Bayhaqi related this hadith marfûʿan, through Hammad b. Salama, from Ali b. Zayd, from Anas, back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said, “I had a vision as if I had made the (squadron) leader ride second saddle. And the blade
of my sword seemed to have been damaged. This I interpreted as meaning that I would kill the enemy’s leader. I interpreted the damage to my sword’s blade as being the death of a man from my own family.”

And Ḥamza was killed, while the Messenger of God (ṣaas) killed Ṭalḥa, who was in charge of their banner.

Mūsā b. Ḥuqā stated, “When Quraysh returned (from Badr) they brought in all the Arab polytheists whom they controlled. Abū Ṣufyān b. Ḥarb then went forth with a Quraysh force, it being in Shawwāl of the year following the battle of Badr. They halted in the middle of the wāḍi across from Uhud. There were some Muslims who had not been present at Badr and who regretted the distinction that they had lost. They were eager to meet the enemy to attain what their brethren had achieved at the battle of Badr.

“When Abū Ṣufyān and the polytheists halted at the base of Uhud, the Muslims who had not attended Badr were delighted at the enemy’s approach to them. They told one another that God had fulfilled their dreams.

“The Messenger of God (ṣaas) received a vision on the Friday night. When he arose next morning a group of his Companions came to him and he told them, ‘Last night in my sleep I saw a cow being slaughtered, and by God, it was good. And I also saw that my sword, Dhū al-Faqtār, had been notched on its blade.’ (Or he said, ‘And it had notches in it, and I hated this. These were two disasters.’) ‘And I saw myself in stout armour and that I was making a (squadron) leader ride second saddle.’

“When the Messenger of God (ṣaas) told them of his visions, they asked, ‘O Messenger of God, what interpretation do you give your visions?’ He replied, ‘I interpreted the cow I saw as one among us and among the enemy; I disliked what I saw happen to my sword.’

“Some men say that what he saw in his sword was what was to strike his face, for the enemy did wound him in the face that day; they broke one of his front teeth and tore his lip. They claim that it was ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqās who threw it. The cow represented those of the Muslims who were killed at that battle.

“(The Messenger of God (ṣaas) said) ‘I interpret the kabsh, to be the (squadron) leader of the enemy, God damn them, and the stout armour to be Medina. So remain here, drawing the families into the citadels. When the enemy attacks us through the alleys, we’ll fight them and fire down at them from on top of the houses.’ The Muslims had lined the alleys of Medina with fortifications so that they had become like fortresses.

“Those Muslims who had not been present at Badr said, ‘We had been looking forward to this day, and praying to God for it. God has brought it to us, and made the outcome close at hand.’

“One of the ansār asked, ‘When will we do battle with them, O Messenger of God, if not right here in our area?’
"Others asked, 'What about our people; what will we be able to defend, if we can't defend ourselves in war because of fear?'

"Others made statements agreeing with him or going even further. One of these men was Hamza b. 'Abd al-Mu'ttalib, who said, 'By Him who revealed the Book to you, we shall take issue with them!'

"Nu'aym b. Malik b. Tha'labah, he being of Banu Salim, said, 'O Prophet of God, do not deprive us of paradise! By Him who holds my soul in His hands, I shall enter it!'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, 'By what?' 'By my loving God and His Messenger, and I will not run away on the day of war.' 'You have spoken the truth,' commented the Messenger of God (SAAS). And the man did die a martyr on that day.

"Many of the Muslims insisted on going forth to battle, refusing to accept the words and views of the Messenger of God (SAAS). If they had been content with what he had told them, it would have turned out so. But fate and destiny were to triumph.

"Most of those advising him to go forth were men who had not been present at Badr; they were aware of the credit that had earlier accrued to those who were present at it.

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) made the Friday prayer, he preached to the congregation and enjoined them to fight hard and well. Having finished his address and his prayer, he called for his armour and dressed in it. He then made announcement to the people that they were to go forth to battle.

"Aware of all this, some men of good sense observed, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered us to remain in Medina and he knows best about God and what He wants; revelation comes to him from heaven.'

"They addressed him, 'O Messenger of God, remain here, as you told us to do.' He replied, 'It is not fitting for a prophet who has put on armour for war and given the order to proceed to battle the enemy to return without fighting. I did call upon you to do that, but you insisted on going out to battle. You must fear God and remain firm in the violence when you meet the enemy. Look for what it is God has ordered you, and do it.'"

The account continued, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then left with the Muslims. They took the route through al-Badatir and numbered 1,000 men. There were 3,000 in the polytheist force. The Messenger of God (SAAS) went on till he reached Uhud.

"Then 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy b. Salul went back with 300 men, there remaining 700 with the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "This is what is widely known among scholars of early military affairs – namely, that their force remained at 700 fighting men."

Al-Zuhri, however, was of the opinion that they had 400 fighting men left.
Ya'qūb b. Sufyān related it thus from Uṣbūgh, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri; but by this chain of authorities the number was also given as 700. God knows best.

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, "The polytheists' cavalry was under the command of Khalīd b. al-Walīd. They had with them 100 horses. Their banner was in the charge of ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa. The Muslim force did not have a single horse." He then related the battle, as will now be done in detail, if God wills it.

Muḥammad b. ʾIṣḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had related his visions to his Companions, he told them, 'If you agree to remain in Medina and leave them where they have halted, that spot will turn out bad for them, while if they come in after us, we will fight them in the town.'

"ʿAbd Allah b. Ubayy b. Salūl agreed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that they should not go forth to meet the enemy.

"Some Muslims, however, including some whom God granted martyrdom at Uhud and others who had not attended at Badr, said, 'Messenger of God, lead us forth to our enemies so that they won't consider us to be scared of them, or too weak.'

"ʿAbd Allah b. Ubayy stated, 'Messenger of God, don't go out to attack them. Whenever we have left the town to do battle with an enemy, we have been beaten, whereas whenever they came in we beat them.'

"People kept on badgering the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) until he went in and dressed in his armour. That was on Friday, after he had finished the prayer. A man from Banū al-Najjār named Mālik b. ʿAmr had died that day. He said prayers for him and then went out to his men. They were now repenting their attitude and saying, 'We made him do what he did not wish, and we had no right to do that.'

"When he came out to them, they told him, 'Stay here if you wish, Messenger of God.' He replied, 'It would not be fitting for a prophet who put on armour to take it off before he did battle.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went forth with 1,000 of his men."

Ibn Ḥishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn ʾIṣḥāq stated, "He went on as far as al-Shawt, between Medina and Uhud, and there ʿAbd Allah b. Ubayy withdrew back with one-third of the men. He said, 'He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) agreed with them, but not with me. We don't know why we should kill ourselves out here, men!'

"He returned home with those of his tribe who were hypocrites and doubters. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām al-Sulami, the father of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allah, went after them, saying, 'People, I enjoin you by God not to abandon your people and your Prophet when their enemy is at hand!' They replied, 'If we knew that you would do battle, we would not surrender you; but we don't believe there will be any fighting.'
“When they disobeyed ‘Abd Allāh and refused to change their decision to retreat, he commented, ‘May God banish you, you enemies of God; His Prophet (ṢAAS) will do without you!’”

I comment that these people are those to whom reference is being made in the words of the Almighty, “And so that He would know the hypocrites who were told, ‘Come fight in God’s cause, or defend yourselves.’ They replied, ‘If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you.’ On that day they were closer to disbelief than to faith. They spoke with their mouths what was not in their hearts. But God knows well what they conceal” (ṣūrat ʿAl ʿImrān; III, v.166).

This meant that they were lying in their statements, “If we knew there would be fighting, we would have followed you.” This is because the occurrence of the fighting was completely clear and evident, not something unknown or in doubt.

About them God also revealed, “What ails you then, that you have become two parties about the hypocrites; God had subverted them because of what they had earned” (ṣūrat al-Nisāʾ; IV, v.88). This is because one group had said, “We shall fight them!” while others said, “We will not fight them!” This is made clear and is well-established in the sahih collections.

Al-Zuhri stated that on that day the Companions asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for permission to enlist the aid of their Jewish allies in Medina, but that he replied, “We have no need of them.”

ʿUrwa b. Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubbay and his men withdrew, Banū Sālama and Banū Ḥāritha were about to lose courage, so God Almighty gave them strength. He therefore revealed, “When two of your parties were about to lose courage, yet God was the protector of them both, and it is upon God that believers rely” (ṣūrat ʿAl ʿImrān; III, v.123).

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh stated, as is established about him in both sahih collections, “I would not have liked it if it had not been revealed, for ‘... God was the protector of them both.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on, passing through the stony tract of Banū Ḥāritha. A horse swished its tail and caught against the hilt of a sword and jerked it out. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told the man whose sword it was, ‘Sheathe your sword; I can see swords are to be drawn today.’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) then asked his Companions, ‘Who can take us close to the enemy by a path that will not take us past them?’ Abū Khaythama, brother of Banū Ḥāritha b. al-Ḥārith replied, ‘I will, Messenger of God.’ He then led them out into the territory of Banū Ḥāritha, passing through their properties. Eventually Abū Khaythama led him into the farm of Mirbāʾ b. Qayzā. This man was a hypocrite and also blind. When he heard the sound of the Messenger of
God (SAAS) and the Muslims with him passing by, he began tossing dirt into
their faces, saying, ‘If you are the Messenger of God, then I do not permit you
to enter my garden!’

Ibn Ishāq continued, “It was told to me that he then took up a handful of dirt,
saying, ‘By God, if I knew I’d strike no one but you, Muhammad, I’d hit you in
the face with this!’ The Muslims charged at him to kill him, but the Messenger
of God (SAAS) said, ‘Don’t kill him! This sightless fellow is blind both in
his heart and in his eyes!’ But Sa’d b. Zayd, brother of Banū `Abd al-Ashhal, had
already charged at him before the command of the Messenger of God (SAAS)
and had hit him with his bow in his head and split it open.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded ahead and came down the defile
from Mt. Uḥud, at the head of the valley, at the mountain. He positioned his
camels and his men towards Uḥud and said, ‘Let no one begin fighting before I
give the order to attack.’

“Quraysh had released their camels and horses in the fields at al-Ṣamgha, part
of Qanāt that was Muslim territory. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave
the order not to attack, one of the Companions asked, ‘Are the fields of Banū
Qayla to be grazed without us going to battle?’

“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) made ready for battle. His force
consisted of 700 men; he appointed `Abd Allah b. Jubayr, brother of Banū
`Amr b. `Awf, in charge of the archers. He stood out by being dressed in white
clothing; the archers totalled 50 men. He (the Prophet (SAAS)) said ‘Fend off
the cavalry from us with your arrows, so that they don’t come at us from the rear.
Whether the battle goes for or against us, hold your position so that we can’t be
attacked from your direction.’”

This statement will receive testimony in both sahih collections, if God wills it.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went out wearing two sets
of armour; that is, he wore one suit of chain-mail above another. He gave charge
of the banner to Muṣʿab b. Umayr, brother of Banū `Abd al-Dār.”

I comment that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent back a group of
young men from the battle of Uḥud, not permitting them to be present at the
fighting because of their youthfulness. These included `Abd Allāh b. `Umar,
as is established in both sahih collections. He stated, “I was offered to the
Messenger of God (SAAS) for the battle of Uḥud, but he would not allow me.
I was later presented to him for the battle of al-khandaq, ‘the trench’, at a time
when I was 15, and he then did permit me to participate.”

On that occasion he also rejected Usāma b. Zayd, Zayd b. Thābit, al-Barā’ b.
`Āzib, Usayd b. Dhahir and `Arāba b. Aws b. Qayy. Ibn Qutayba related this and
al-Suhaylī also gave it. It is of the last-mentioned that al-Shammākh stated:

“If a banner be raised for glory, then `Arāba will take
it in his right hand.”
Ibn Saʿd b. Khaythama was also one of these. Al-Suhaylī mentioned him too. He (the Messenger of God (ṣaas)) allowed all of these to participate at the battle of al-khandaq.

He had sent back from Uhud Samura b. Jundub and Rāfīʿ b. Khadij, both of these being 15 years of age. But someone told him that Rāfīʿ was an archer, and so he let him stay. Then someone told him that Samura could wrestle Rāfīʿ down, and so he let him stay too.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Quraysh positioned their forces. They numbered 3,000. They had brought 200 horses with them which they positioned on the flanks, with Khalid b. al-Walid in charge of the right flank of the cavalry and Ḥikrima b. Abū Jahl b. Hishām in command of its left.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṣaas) asked, ‘Who will take this sword, along with its rights?’

‘Various men arose, but he refrained from giving it to them. Then Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharsha, brother of the Banū Saʿīda, came to him and asked, ‘What are its rights, Messenger of God?’

‘For you to strike the enemy with it until it bends.’

‘I will take it, Messenger of God, along with its rights,’ he agreed, and the Messenger of God (ṣaas) gave it to him.”

Ibn Ishaq related this anecdote thus, ṣaqa?r.“The Imam Ahmad stated, “Both Yazid and ʿAffān related to us as follows, Ḥammād, he being Ibn Salama, related to us, and Thābit informed us, from the Prophet (ṣaas) that at Uhud he picked up a sword and asked, “Who will take this sword?” Some men began examining it and he then asked, “Who will take it along with its rights?” The men withdrew, but Abū Dujāna Simāk responded, “I will take it with its rights.” And he did take it and cleaved a path with it through the middle of the polytheists.’”

Muslim related this from Abī Bakr, from ʿAffān.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abū Dujāna was a brave man who engaged in bravado when he went into battle. He had a red headband he would put on to set himself apart in battle and it would be known that he was preparing to fight.”

He went on, “When he took the sword from the hand of the Messenger of God (ṣaas), he took out the red headband and put it on. He then began strutting about between the two lines.

“Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aslam, the freed-man of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb related to me, from one of the ansār of the Banū Salama, who related to me as follows, ‘The Messenger of God (ṣaas) said, when he saw Abū Dujāna strutting, “That is a way of walking that God dislikes except in circumstances like this!”’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Abū Sufyān had told those of Banū ʿAbd al-Dār who were in charge of the banner, inciting them to battle, ‘Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, you were in

5. This word indicates a ḥadīth of which the line of transmission is incomplete.
charge of our banner at the battle of Badr, and you saw what happened to us. Men will only fight for their flags; if once they are lost, they withdraw. Either take care of our banner for us, or give it over to us and we will relieve you of it.'

"They were angered at this and threatened him, saying, 'We give over our banner to you? You will learn tomorrow, when we meet in battle, how we will behave!' That was the response that Abū Sufyān wanted.

“When the forces met and drew close to one another, Hind, daughter of 'Utba, arose amidst the women accompanying her, and they took up tambourines and began beating them, positioning themselves behind the men and urging them on to battle. Hind spoke the following verses:

'Go to it, 'Abd al-Dār, go to it protectors of the rear!
Strike with your sharp weapons!'"

“She also said,

‘If you advance we will embrace and spread out cushions;
But retreat and we’ll leave and love not!’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Āsim b. Umar b. Qatādah related to me that Abū Āmir 'Abdu 'Amr b. Ṣayfī b. Mālik b. al-Nu‘mān, one of Bānti Dūbay‘a, had left for Mecca, having disagreed with the Messenger of God (SAAS); he was accompanied by 50 young men of Aws, though some say they were 15 in number. He had been promising Quraysh that if he were to meet up with his people, no two men of them would quarrel with him.

“When the sides clashed, the first to meet them was Abū Āmir with the Abyssinians and the slaves owned by the Meccans. Abū Āmir shouted out, ‘Aws, I am Abū Āmir!’ They responded, ‘May God grant you no ease, you sinner!’

‘Before Islam, Abū Āmir had been known as ‘the monk’; the Messenger of God (SAAS) had renamed him ‘the sinner’.

“When Abū Āmir heard their reply, he shouted, ‘So, evil has befallen my people since I left!’ He then engaged them in fierce battle, eventually casting stones at them.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The sides advanced until the warfare grew intense and Abū Dujān progressed deep into the enemy’s force.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “More than one scholar related to me that al-Zubayr b. al-'Awvām said, ‘I was offended when I asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) for the sword and he refused it me and gave it to Abū Dujān. I told myself, ‘I’m the son of his aunt Ṣafiyya, and of Quraysh. Also, I went up and asked him for it before he did, yet he gave it to Abū Dujān, rejecting me. By God, I’ll watch what he does!’

“So I followed him. He took out a red headband and put it on his head. The ansār then said, ‘Abū Dujān has put on the death headband!’ This is what they
would say to him whenever he did this. He then went forth to battle, reciting the words,

"I am one with whom my companion made a pact, when we were there on the hillside amidst the palm trees
I'll never remain at the rear; I'll strike hard with the sword of God and His messenger."

Al-Umawi stated, "Abū Ubayd related to me, quoting the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said that a man had approached him while he was battling with it and he had asked him, 'If I give it to you, you'll probably fight at the rear.' 'No, I won't,' the man replied. So he gave the man the sword, who then recited the words,

'I am one with whom my companion made a pact;
I'll never remain at the rear!'"

This is a hadith that is related from Shu'ba. Isrā'il also related it, both of them quoting Ibn Ishāq, from Hind, daughter of Khālid; others also give it, attributing it directly to the Prophet (SAAS).

The word used in the above hadith interpreted as "the rear" is the noun al-kayyūl, a word I have not encountered elsewhere. It is said by some scholars to mean "the ranks at the back".

Ibn Hishām's text stated, "Every man he met, Abū Dujāna killed. Among the polytheists there was one man who executed every man he wounded. This man and Abū Dujāna came ever closer to one another, and I prayed to God to bring them together. And they did meet. They exchanged a couple of blows. The polytheist then struck at Abū Dujāna, who fended off the blow with his shield which trapped the man's sword. Then Abū Dujāna struck and killed him. I next saw Abū Dujāna aiming at the centre of the head of Hind, daughter of Utba. But he turned his sword aside, and I commented, 'God and his messenger know best!'"

Al-Bayhaqi related this hadith in Dalā'il (The Signs), quoting Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām, who gave it.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Dujāna said, 'I saw one man who was giving great encouragement to his side, so I headed for him. When I attacked him with my sword, he let out a scream and I saw it was a woman! I respected the sword of the Messenger of God (SAAS) by refraining from striking a woman with it.'"

Mūsā b. Uqba related that the Messenger of God (SAAS), refused Umar's request when he made it for the sword and when next al-Zubayr sought it he rejected him too. This troubled them both. When he offered it a third time and Abū Dujāna asked for it, he gave it to him, and he did give the sword its rights.

He went on, "People claim that Ka'b b. Malik said, 'I was among those Muslims who went forth to the battle. When I saw that the dead on both the Muslim and polytheist sides were similar, I moved forward to participate. I then
saw that one polytheist, heavily armoured, was striking the Muslims hard and saying, “Come on then, you sheep gathering for the slaughter!” But then I saw one Muslim, fully armoured, waiting for him and I went on over behind him and began comparing the Muslim with the polytheist. The latter was better in equipment and in form. I kept on waiting until they met. The Muslim then struck the unbeliever a blow with his sword on his shoulder artery. The sword came right down through to his thigh, cutting him into two. Then the Muslim uncovered his face and said, “What about that, Ka'b! I’m Abū Dujānā!”’

THE DEATH OF HAMZA, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Hamza b. ‘Abd al-Mut'ālib fought on until he killed Artāt b. Ābd Shuraqīl b. Hashim b. ‘Abd Manāf b. ‘Abd al-Dār, who was one of those bearing the banner. He also killed Uthmān b. Abū Ṭalḥa while he was carrying the flag and reciting,

’It is the duty of those who bear the flag to keep up tall or to be struck down low.’

“Hamza then attacked and killed him.

“After that Sībā’ b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza al-Ghubshānti, who was commonly known as ‘Abū Niyār’, passed him by and Ḥamza called out to him, ‘Come on over here, you son of a female who does circumcisions!’ The man’s mother was Umm Anmār, a freed-woman of Shariq b. ‘Amr b. Wahh al-Thaqafi; she was circumcisor (of women) in Mecca. When the two men met, Ḥamza struck and killed him.

“Waḥshi, the slave of Jubayr b. Mu‘ṣim stated, ‘I swear, I watched while Ḥamza struck out at everyone with his sword, letting none escape; he was like some gigantic camel. Sībā’ got to him before me, then Hamza said, “Come on over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!” He then struck him so fast that he seemed to have missed his head. So I readied my spear until sure it was well aimed, then I let it fly at him. It hit him beneath his navel and came out between his legs. He advanced towards me, but collapsed. I left him till he died, then I went, retrieved my spear and returned to the camp; my only business was with him.’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Fadl b. ‘Ayyāsh b. Rabī’ta b. al-Hārith related to me, from Sulaymān b. Yāsār, from Ja’far b. ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍāmri, who said, ‘I and ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Adī b. al-Khiyār, one of Banī Nāwfa‘l b. ‘Abd Manāf, went out on a military expedition during the reign of Mu‘āwiyah. Having served with the others, we passed by Ḥimṣ, where Waḥshi, the freed-man of Jubayr, had taken up residence. When we got there, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Adī asked, “Should we go to see Waḥshi and ask him about the death of Ḥamza, and how he killed him?” “If you would like,” I responded.
“So we went off and enquired about him in Ḥims. When we asked a man about him, he told us, “You will find him in the courtyard of his house. He has become addicted to wine; if you should find him sober, you’ll find him to be a true Arab man and you’ll get what you want from him and he’ll tell you whatever you ask him about. But if you find him under the influence, you’d better just leave him alone.”

“

He continued, ‘So we went off to visit him and found him in the courtyard of his house on a rug. He was a large old man who looked like a bugḥāth, a blackish bird. He was sober and in good health and we greeted him when we reached him.

“

He raised his sight to Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Adī and asked, “Are you the son of ‘Adī b. al-Khiyār?” “Yes, I am,” he replied. Wāḥṣi commented, “Well, I swear, I’ve not seen you since I handed you to your mother, al-Sa’diya, who was suckling you, at Dhū Ṭūwā. I lifted you up to her as she sat on her camel. She took hold of you around the waist and your feet shone as I handed you up to her. I swear, I therefore recognized your feet as soon as you stood before me!”

He went on, ‘So we sat down with him and told him, “We have come to you to ask you about the death of Ḥamza; how did you kill him?”

“

He replied, “Shall I tell it to you just as I did to the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he asked me about it? I was a slave of Jubayr b. Muṭṭim, whose uncle was Tu‘aymā b. ‘Adī, who was struck down at Badr. When Quraysh went forth to Uhud, Jubayr told me, ‘If you kill Ḥamza, Muhammad’s uncle, in retaliation for my uncle’s death, then you will be a free man.’

“

“So I went out with the warriors. I was an Abyssinian and could throw the spear like my countrymen; I rarely missed with it. When the forces met in battle, I went forth looking for Ḥamza to lie in wait for him. I found him right amidst the fray, like an enormous camel, striking out viciously at our men with his sword, nothing withstanding him. I made use of bushes and rocks to get close to him, but Sīḥā b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza got to him before me. When Ḥamza saw him, he said, ‘Come over here, you son of a woman who does circumcisions!’ He then struck him a blow so quickly that it appeared to have missed his head. I aimed my spear carefully, and when sure of it, I hurled it at him. It struck him below his navel and emerged between his legs. He tried to move towards me, but was overcome. I left him with the spear until he died. Then I went over to him, retrieved my spear and returned to camp, where I stayed. I had no business with anyone other than him. I only killed him to gain my freedom.

“

“When I reached Mecca, I was manumitted and remained there until the Messenger of God (SAAS) conquered Mecca. I then fled to Ṭā’if, where I stayed. When the Ṭā’if delegation left to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) and to accept Islam, I didn’t know what to do. I told people, ‘I’ll go to Syria or Yemen or some other country!’ I was in this state of indecision and anxiety when

6. Ibn Hishām adds the comment to Ibn Isḥāq’s account that the word stands for “a kind of bird inclining to black in colour”. See Guillaume, op. cit. p.753.
someone told me, 'Come on now! I swear, he'll not kill anyone who has adopted his religion and testified to the truth.'

"When he told me that, I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina, surprising him by standing before him and speaking the testimony of the truth.

""When he saw me, he asked, 'Are you Wahshi?' I replied, 'Yes, O Messenger of God.' He then said, 'Sit down and relate to me how you killed Hamza.'

""So I related it as I did to you both. When I finished my account, he said, 'Remove your face from me; I'll not see you!'

""So I used to avoid the Messenger of God (SAAS) wherever he might be so that he would not see me, and eventually God, Almighty and Glorious is He, took him to Himself.'

""When the Muslim force went to war against that liar Musaylima, who controlled Yemen, I accompanied them, taking the spear with which I killed Hamza. When the forces met, I saw Musaylima standing sword in hand, though I didn't then know for sure the man was him. I prepared to attack him, as did another Muslim, an anṣāri, coming from the other side. Each of us was heading for him. I steadied my spear until I felt good about it and then let it loose at him. It pierced him. The anṣāri then attacked him with his sword. So God alone knows which of us killed him. If it was I who killed him, then I killed the best of men after the Messenger of God (SAAS), and also killed the worst of them!"

I note that the anṣāri was Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharasha.

Al-Waqīḍi stated in his account of al-ridda, "the apostasy wars", as follows: "He was 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd b. Ḥārim al-Māinī. Sayf b. 'Amr stated, 'He was 'Adi b. Sahīl. And it was he who spoke the verses,

"Do you not know that it was I and their Wahshī, who killed Musaylima, who sowed dissension.

People ask me about his death and I reply, 'I struck and he pierced!'"

What is well known is that it was Wahshī who struck him when he attacked and that Abū Dujāna finished him off when wounded. This is because of what Ibn Iṣḥāq related, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-ʿAfālī, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "I heard someone shout out at the battle of Yamāmā, 'It was the black slave who killed him!"

Al-Bukhārī related the story of the killing of Hamza through ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Salāma al-Mājishawn, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAfālī, from Sulaymān b. Yasār, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍāmī. He said, "I went forth to battle with ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdi b. al-Khiyār." And he then related the incident as given above. He recalled that ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAdi was wearing a

7. A self-styled prophet of Yemen whose Banū Ḥanīfa forces were defeated by the Caliph Abū Bakr's army under Khalīd b. al-Walīd at 'Aqrabā' in 12 AH.
turban, and that all Wahshi could see of him was his eyes and his feet. And he related as above from his knowledge of him.

This was a great piece of detection, comparable to Mujazziz al-Mudliji's noticing a similarity in the feet of Zayd to those of his son Usama despite the difference in their complexion.

He (al-Bukhari) quoted Wahshi as saying, "When the men were lined up for battle, Sibai went out and said, 'Will someone accept my challenge?' Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muttalib came forward and answered, 'So Siba, it's you, son of Umm Anmar, the woman who does circumcisions! Do you challenge God and His messenger?' He then attacked him and it was all over for Siba."

Wahshi continued, "I was lying in wait for Hamza beneath a rock. When he came close to me I hurled my spear at him and it hit him beneath the navel and emerged between his thighs. And that was the end of him."

His account continued until he said, "And when God took the Messenger of God (SAAS) unto Himself and the pretender Musaylima appeared, I said, 'I'll go out after Musaylima in hopes of killing him to atone for Hamza.' So I did go forth with our force and the warfare progressed. Then I saw a man standing in a gap in a wall, looking like an enormous camel, rearing its head. I hurled my spear at him; it struck him in the middle of the chest and emerged between his shoulders. Then one of the Helpers charged at him and struck him with his sword on the top of his head."

'Abd Allah b. al-Fadl stated, "Sulayman b. Yasar related to me that he heard 'Abd Allah b. Umar say, 'A girl at the back of the house screamed, 'The Commander of the Faithful! The black slave killed him!'""

Ibn Hisham stated, "I have heard that Wahshi continued being punished for abuse of wine until he was eventually removed from the pension list. Umar b. al-Khattab used to say, 'I always said God would not leave Hamza's killer unpunished!'"

I note that Wahshi b. Harb, Abn Dasma, known as Aha Harb, died in Hims; he was the first person to wear his clothes madliuka, rubbed clean and hand-pressed.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Mu'ammad b. 'Umayr fought on, protecting the Messenger of God (SAAS), until he was killed. It was Ibn Qamra al-Laythi who killed him, thinking that Mu'ammad was the Messenger of God (SAAS). He went back to Quraysh and announced, 'I have killed Muhammad!'"

I note that Musa b. Uqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions, quoting Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, to the effect that the man who killed Mu'ammad was Ubayy b. Khalaf. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "When Mu'ammad b. 'Umayr was killed, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave the banner into the charge of 'Ali b. Abul Talib."

Yunus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Ibn Ishaq, "The banner was first with 'Ali b. Abul Talib. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw that 'Abd al-Dar had
charge of the polytheists’ banner, he said, ‘We have a greater right to their allegiance than they do!’ He then took the banner away from ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalib and gave it to Musʿab b. ʿUmayr. When Musʿab was killed, he awarded the banner again to ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalib.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “And ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalib and Muslim warriors fought the enemy.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Maslama b. ʿAlqama al-Māzīnī related to me, ‘When the fighting grew fierce at the battle of Uhud, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sat beneath the standard of the anṣār and sent a message to ʿAli, saying, “Bring the banner forward!” ʿAli went forward, shouting, “I am Abū al-Qaṣm!” Abū Saʿd b. Abū Ṭalḥa, he being the standard bearer of the polytheists, called back, “Will you accept single combat, Abū al-Qaṣm?” “Yes,” he replied. So they both went forth between the opposing sides and exchanged two blows. Then ʿAli struck him down, but left without killing him off.”

“Some of the men asked him, “Why didn’t you finish him off?” He replied, “He exposed his private parts to me and I had pity on him because of our ties of kinship. And I knew that God had condemned him to death.”’

ʿAli himself, may God be pleased with him, did this at the battle of Siffin. When Busr b. Abū Arqāt came up to kill him, he exposed himself to him and Busr withdrew from him.

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ acted similarly when ʿAli came over to kill him in one of the battles at Siffin; he exposed himself and ʿAli withdrew. On this subject al-Ḥarīth b. al-Nadr spoke the following verses:

“Is there at every battle a knight not yet expired, with his private parts visible amidst the dust? Because of this ʿAlī holds back his spearhead, and Muʿāwiya secretly scoffs at this!”

Yūnus related, from Ibn Ishaq, that Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa al-ʿAbdārī, standard bearer of the polytheists that day, made a challenge for single combat, but the men held back from him. Then al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām went out to him and leapt up on to his camel with him. He then hurled him down from it on to the ground and killed him with his sword. The Messenger of God (SAAS) praised him, saying, “Every prophet has his disciple, and my disciple is al-Zubayr.”

He then said, “If he had not gone out to fight him, I would have done so myself, having seen how everyone held back!”


“ʿĀṣim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqlah fought and killed Nafiʿ b. Abū Ṭalḥa and his brother al-Ḥallas with arrows. One went to their mother Sulāfa and laid his head in her lap. She asked, ‘Who was it shot you, son?’ He replied, ‘As he shot me, I heard a man say, “Take that; I’m Ibn Abū al-Aqlah!”’ She then swore that if God gave her ʿĀṣim’s head, she would drink wine from it.”
‘Āsim had sworn to God that he would never touch a polytheist or have one touch him. That is why God protected him at the battle of al-Raj‘ī, as will be related hereafter.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Hānzala b. Abū ‘Amīr met in battle with Abū Sufyān Sakhr b. Harb. Hānzala was known as ‘Amr; he was also known as ‘Abd ‘Amr b. Shayfī. His father, Abū ‘Amīr, was known in the jahiliyya, as ‘the monk’, because he prayed so much. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him ‘the sinner’ since he opposed the truth and those believing in it and fled from Medina abandoning Islam and in opposition to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Hānzala was also known as al-ghasil, ‘the washed one’, since he was washed by the angels, as will be related.

“When Hānzala bested Abū Sufyān, Shaddād b. al-Aws, known as Ibn Sha‘īb, saw this and struck Hānzala down, killing him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘Your friend is being washed by the angels in heaven; ask his family about his circumstances.’

“So they did ask his wife. According to al-Waqīdī, she was Jamīla, daughter of Ubayy b. Salīl; she had become his bride that night.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “She replied, ‘When he went forth on bearing the call to arms, he was in a state of ritual impurity.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘And so the angels washed hi.”

Miṣa b. Wqba related that his father struck him in the chest with his foot and said, “Two sins you committed. I forbade you this fate of yours. And, by God, now you’ve achieved mercy, thanks to your father!”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Ibn Sha‘īb recited on this subject,

‘I guard my companion and myself with a thrust like a flash of sunlight.’”

Ibn Sha‘īb spoke the verse,

“Were it not for my defence, Ibn Harb, and my presence, you would have been unresponsive at the mountain-slope battle.
And had I not brought the colt back to the hilltop, hyenas or jackals would have devoured it.”

Abū Sufyān spoke the verses,

“If I wished, my red-black swift-footed horse would have saved me and I would bear no debt of thanks to Ibn Sha‘īb.
And my colt would have stayed a safe distance from them, that morning and on till dusk,
While I fought them, crying, ‘Hail to the victor!’
Fending them off with a stout arm.
Weep on, caring not for how others rebuke you, nor tire of your tears and sighs,
For your father and his brothers who have passed away; their fate deserves tears.

I am relieved of my earlier pain, now that I have killed all the great chiefs of Banū al-Najjar,

And a fine leader of Ḥashim, and Muṣ'ab too, a man who was never timid in the fray.

Had I not relieved my mind by killing them, my heart would have been hurt and scarred.

They withdrew, their jalābī now dead, their wounds gaping and oozing blood,

Struck down by men not equal to them either in descent or in rank."

Ḥassān b. Thabit answered him with the verses,

"You mention the fine leaders of Banū Ḥashim, and here you are stating no lie.

Are you pleased at having struck down Ḥamza, a great chief, as you yourself said,

And did they not kill ʿAmr, and ʿUtba and his son,
along with Shayba, al-Ḥajjāj and Ibn Ḥabīb,

That morning when al-ʿĀṣi challenged ʿAlī and he scared him with the blow of a blood-stained sword?"

DIVISION.

Ibn ʿIṣḥāq stated, “Then God sent down victory for the Muslims, fulfilling his promise to them. They massacred them with swords, ultimately cutting them off from their camp. The enemy’s defeat was indisputable.

“Yahyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father ʿAbbād, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, ‘I swear, I remember seeing the legs of Hind, daughter of Utba and her companions, their clothing tucked up as they fled. Almost nothing prevented them being captured when the archers turned away to the camp after we had blocked the enemy from reaching it. But this meant we had left our rear open to the cavalry, and they came at us from behind. Someone yelled, ‘Muḥammad has been killed!’ So we turned back, the enemy reeling back on us too, after we had killed their standard bearers, preventing any of them from approaching it.

“And a scholar in the traditions told me that their standard remained down until ʿAmra, daughter of ʿAlqama, the Ḥārith woman, raised it again for Quraysh, and so they rallied back around it. The banner had been in the charge of Sawāb, an Abyssinian slave of Banū Abū Ṭalḥa. He was the last of them to take it; he fought on with it until his hands were cut off. He then crouched down

8. Guillaume offers an interesting discussion of this word. Normally meaning “leather smock”, it seems here to have a pejorative sense of “vagabond” or “tramp”. See op. cit. p.378.
over it, holding the banner between his neck and chest. He was killed right
over it, and as he died, he said, “O God, have I ’azarru” (for ’adhartu, improperly
pronouncing the dh sound) that is, ‘Am I absolved?’

“Hassan b. Thabit spoke the following verses on this:

‘You were proud of your flag, yet poor pride it was to
give it over to Sawab
You entrusted your pride in it to a slave, grovelling
in the dust on the ground
You thought – and a fool too has thoughts – though
rarely does he get them straight
That fighting us would be as when we would meet in
Mecca, with you selling us red leather bags.
It pleased us well when his hands turned red, though it
was not dye that made them so.’

“Hassan also spoke the verses that follow regarding how it was ‘Amra, daughter
of ‘Alqama, who raised their banner for them:

‘When the ‘Adl were led to us, like gazelles of Shirk,
their eyebrows prominent,
We set at them, thrusting at them from all sides,
destroying, punishing and aggrieving them,
Were it not for the woman of al-Harith having taken
their banner, they would have been sold in the markets
like slaves.’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Muslim ranks broke and the enemy gained advantage
over them. It was a day of trial and testing in which God honoured some with
martyrdom. At last the enemy broke through to the Messenger of God (SAAS);
he was hit with a rock and fell on his side, breaking his front teeth, slashing his
face and splitting his lip. The man who struck him was Uthba b. Abū Waqqas.

“Humayd al-Tawil related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘The front
tooth of the Prophet (SAAS) was broken at the battle of Uhud, and he was
slashed in the face. Wiping off the blood, he said, “How could any people
prosper who would bloody the face of their prophet while he invites them to
come to God?” And so God sent down the verse: “You have no say in the matter;
He may indeed forgive them or punish them (though) they are wrongdoers”’

Ibn Jarir stated in his history, “Muhammad b. al-Husayn related to us, as did
Ahmad b. al-Fadl, as did Ashūṭ, from al-Suddī, who said, ‘Ibn Qāmiṣa al-Harithī
came up and cast a rock at the Messenger of God (SAAS) which broke his nose
and his front teeth, gashed his face and knocked him over. His Companions then
scattered away from him, some going back to Medina and others climbing up
the mountain to al-Sakhra. The Messenger of God (SAAS) began calling out to
everyone, “Come to me, servants of God! Come to me, servants of God!” Thirty men did gather around him, then began moving out ahead of him, only Talha and Sahl b. Hanif staying. Talha shielded him and was struck by an arrow in his hand that became paralysed. Ubayy b. Khalaf al-Jumahi then approached; he had sworn to kill the Prophet (SAAS). He said, “I really will kill him!” He (the Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, “You liar! Where will you hide?” Ubayy then attacked, but the Prophet (SAAS) pierced him through the chain-mail over his chest and Ubayy was slightly injured. He fell, bellowing like a steer and they carried him off, telling him, “You’ve not been badly wounded; what is upsetting you so?” He replied, “Didn’t he say, “I shall certainly kill you!” If all Rabia and Mudar had assembled, he would have killed them!” And it was only a day or so thereafter that Ubayy did die of that wound.

“Word spread that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had been killed. Some of those up at al-Sakhra said, “We’d better send an envoy to 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy and have him get us a truce from Abu Sufyan. People! Muhammad has been killed! Go back home before they get to you and kill you!”

‘Anas b. al-Nadr responded, “People; even if Muhammad has been killed, Muhammad’s God has not. Fight on for what Muhammad (SAAS) strived for. O God, I apologize to You and seek Your forgiveness for what these people have said.” He then gripped his sword and fought valiantly until he was killed.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) hurried off to summon his men and reached those at al-Sakhra. When they saw him coming, one of them put an arrow to his bow to shoot, but he called out, “I’m the Messenger of God!” They were overjoyed to see him and he too was delighted to have found some of his men to protect him. When they gathered around the Messenger of God (SAAS) their depression lifted, and they advanced, talking of victory, how it had escaped them and making mention of their comrades who had been killed.

“And so God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed the following verse about these men who had said, “Muhammad is dead! So go back to your people!” It was: “Muhammad is only a messenger, and messengers have passed away before him” (sūrat Al-‘Imrān; III, v.144).

‘Abu Sufyan then advanced and took a position where he could look down upon them. When the men looked up at him, they forgot their enthusiasm and Abu Sufyan became their sole concern. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the words, “It must not be that they overcome us: O God, if this group of men are killed, then You will not be worshipped on earth.” His Companions then repented and hurled rocks at the enemy until they forced them down.

“Abu Sufyan said on that day, “Raise up Hubal! Ħanzala for Ħanzala! The battle of Uhud for the battle of Badr!”

He then went on to relate the rest of the story. This account is very strange and objectionable in part.
Ibn Hishām stated, “Rubayḥ b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Sa‘īd claimed, quoting his father, from Abū Sa‘īd, that it was ‘Utbā b. Abū Waqqāṣ who shot at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), breaking his lower right incisor and damaging his lower lip. He stated further that ‘Abd Allāh b. Shīhāb al-Zuḥrī wounded his forehead, and that ‘Abd Allāh b. Qamīṣa cut open his cheek, making two rings of his chain-mail helmet pierce it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then fell into one of the pits Abū ʿĀmir had prepared for the Muslims. ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭālib took him by the hand and Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh raised him up till he could stand straight. Mālik b. Sinān, the father of Abū Sa‘īd, sucked the blood from the cheek of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and swallowed it. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘Whoever has had his own blood touch mine will not be touched by hell-fire.’”

I comment here that Qatāda related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) lost consciousness when he fell on his side. He stated that Salīm, freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfā, went over to him, sat him down and wiped the blood from his face. As he came to, he said, “How could any people succeed who have done this to their prophet while he invited them to come to God?” And so God revealed, “It is not your business” (sūrat Al Ḥārām; III, v.127).

Ibn Jarir gave this tradition, incomplete in its line of transmission; discussion of this will come later, separately.

I would comment that early in the day the Muslims had the upper hand over the unbelievers. As God Almighty stated, “God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave, until you failed and disputed about what to do and were disobedient after He had demonstrated to you what you liked. Some among you desire this world, while others of you desire the next. He then put you to flight before them, to test you all. And He has now forgiven you; God is generous to believers. Remember when you went rushing up the hill, while the Messenger called you from your rear. And so He exchanged for you one sorrow for another” (sūrat Al Ḥārām; III, v.151, 2).


“He (ʿUbayd Allāh) said, ‘We contradicted this’, and Ibn ʿAbbās responded, ‘The Book of God stands between me and anyone contradicting that. God states about Uḥud, ‘God certainly made good to you His promise when you killed them by His leave.’’” Ibn ʿAbbās then said, ‘In this text the word al-hass means “killing”. The text continues, “... until you failed” and so on till the words, “... and He has forgiven you; God is generous to believers.” By this he was referring to the archers. This is because the Prophet (ṢAAS) placed them in a position and said, “Protect our backs. If you see us being killed, don’t come to our aid. And if you see us winning, don’t join us.”’
“But when the Prophet (SAAS) was winning and laid open the polytheists’ camp, all the archers lost control of themselves and went in for plunder; the ranks of the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) then met up with them and intermingled with them in confusion.

“When the archers left the position they had had, the enemy cavalry attacked the men of the Prophet (SAAS) from that spot. The forces engaged in a general confused mêlée, and many of the Muslims were killed. The battle had gone to the Messenger of God (SAAS) early in the day, to the point where seven or nine of the standard-bearers of the polytheists had been killed. The Muslims went on, making a circuit towards the mountain; they did not reach the place where people say is the cave, which was beneath the large hollowed-out rock.

“Then Satan shouted, ‘Muhammad has been killed!’ It was not doubted that this was true. And we went on believing that this was so until the Messenger of God (SAAS) appeared amidst a group of men of Banu Sa’d; we recognized him from the distinctive way he walked. We were so overjoyed that it was as if we had not suffered what we had. As he approached us, he was saying, ‘God will be extremely angry with a people who have bloodied the face of the Messenger of God!’ He also said, ‘O God, it must not be that they overcome us!’

“Eventually he reached us and stayed awhile. Then Abū Sufyān lower down on the mountain began shouting, ‘Raise up Hubal! Raise up Hubal!’ His reference was to his god. (He also shouted), ‘And where is Abū Kabsha’s son? And where is Abū Quṭāfa’s son? Where is al-Khaṭṭāb’s son?’

“At this, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) ‘Shouldn’t I answer him back?’ ‘You should,’ the latter replied. And so when Abū Sufyān next said, ‘Raise up Hubal!’ ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb responded, ‘God is far higher and more Glorious!’ Abū Sufyān then said, ‘Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the war has favoured us. Give it up!’

“He then said, ‘And where is the son of Abū Kabsha? Where is Abū Quṭāfa’s son? And where is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb?’ ‘Umar responded, ‘This, here, is the Messenger of God (SAAS); this, here, is Abū Bakr. And here am I, ‘Umar.’

“Abū Sufyān then said, ‘A battle for that of Badr. Battles move in cycles. Warfare has its ups and downs.’ ‘Umar replied, ‘They’re not equivalent. Our dead are in heaven, yours in hell!’

“He responded, ‘That’s what you claim! If that were indeed so, then it is we who have failed and lost!’ Abū Sufyān went on to say, ‘Regarding your discovery of some mutilated bodies among your dead, this was not from a decision of our leadership.’ But then his pagan fanaticism got the better of him, and he said, ‘However, if we had deliberated the matter, we might well not have decided against it!’”

Ibn Abū Hātim related this, as did al-Ḥakīm in his compendium. Al-Bayhaqī related it in his Dalā’il (The Signs), from a hadith of Sulaymān b. Dā’ūd al-Ḥashimi.
This hadith is gharib, "unilateral". It is one of the incomplete traditions ascribed to Ibn ‘Abbās. A variety of authorities testify to it, and we will quote those we can, if God wills it. And in Him is all trust, upon Him all reliance. It is He to whom one goes for help.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Ubayd Allah b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrā’īl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barṣ, who said, "It was on that day that we met the enemy in battle. The Prophet (ṢAAS) positioned a contingent of archers, placing ‘Abd Allāh b. Jubayr in charge of them, and telling them, 'Don’t leave here; if you see us defeat them, don’t leave. And if you see them defeat us, don’t come to our aid.'

“When we met the enemy in battle, they fled in such disorder that I saw their women scurrying up into the mountains raising their legs and exposing their ankles. Our troops began calling for plunder, but ‘Abd Allāh replied, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) charged me not to let you leave.’ But they rejected this and no sooner had they done so than they became completely confused.

"70 men were killed and then there was Abū Sufyān looking down on us and asking, ‘Is Muḥammad there among the men?’ He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) told us not to respond. Abū Sufyān then demanded, ‘And is the son of Abū Quḥāfa among you?’ Again he told us not to reply. Now Abū Sufyān asked, ‘Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?’ He then commented, ‘Well, these men have been killed; if they were alive, they would have responded.’

"‘Umar could no longer contain himself. He shouted, ‘You lie, you enemy of God! May God give you lasting torment!’

"Abū Sufyān now said, ‘Raise up Hubal!’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘Now give him an answer!’ ‘What should we say?’ the men asked. He replied, ‘Say: God is far higher and more Glorious!’

"Abū Sufyān responded, ‘Consolation is ours; you have none.’

"The Prophet (ṢAAS) told them, ‘Answer him back!’ ‘What should we say?’ they asked. He replied, ‘Say; “God is our master, but you have no master.”’

"Abū Sufyān then said, ‘A battle for the battle of Badr. Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn’t bother me.’”

And this is one of the traditions that al-Bukhārī includes, but Muslim does not.

Imām Ahmad stated that Mūsā related to him, as did Zuhayr and Abū Ishāq, that al-Barṣ b. ‘Azib said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed ‘Abd Allāh b. Jubayr over the archers, who were 50 men in all, at the battle of Uhud. He positioned them in a particular site and told them, ‘If you see the vultures flying off with us don’t leave until I send you a message. If you see us victorious over the enemy and trampling them underfoot, don’t leave until I send you a message.’

“Our forces defeated them and, I swear by God, I saw their women scurrying up the mountain, their ankles and legs exposed as they raised their garments.
“The men under 'Ahd Allāh b. Jubayr asked, ‘The plunder! Let’s go for the booty, men! Your troops have won, so what do you think?’

‘Abd Allāh b. Jubayr replied, ‘Have you forgotten what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said?’ They replied, ‘By God, we should go and join our forces and get some of the booty.‘

“And when they did join them, everyone became confused and they suffered a defeat and went on ahead, while the Messenger (ṢAAS) called at them from behind.

“Only 12 men were left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). 70 of our men were struck down; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his forces had taken out 140 of the enemy at Badr, 70 being killed and 70 being taken prisoner.

“Abū Sufyān then asked, ‘Is Muḥammad among the men?’ He said this three times, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them not to respond.

“Then he said, ‘Is the son of Abū Qulāfa among the men? Is Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb there?’ He then went forward to his own force and said, ‘Those people have been killed; you have requited them.’

“Umar could not restrain himself from saying, ‘You lie, you enemy of God. Those you enumerated are all alive. And the living will bring your harm!’

“Abū Sufyān commented, ‘A battle for the battle of Badr! Warfare goes in cycles. And you will find some bodies mutilated. We did not order that, but it doesn’t bother me.’

“He then began chanting, ‘Raise up, Hubal! Raise up, Hubal!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked his men, ‘Aren’t you going to respond to him?‘ ‘But Messenger of God,’ they asked, ‘what should we respond?’ He told them, ‘Say: “God is far higher and more Glorious!”‘

“Abū Sufyān then commented, ‘We have consolation, not you.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, ‘Won’t you respond to him?’ They asked, ‘What should we respond, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘Say: “God is our master and you have no master.”‘

Al-Bukhārī related this in abbreviated form from a ḥadīth of Zuhayr, he being Muḥāwiyya’s son, in abbreviated form. His version has been related above through Isrā‘īl, from Abū Isḥāq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting Thābit and ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that when the polytheists overwhelmed the Prophet (ṢAAS) while he was in the company of seven of the anṣār and one man of Quraysh, he said, “Whoever will repel them from us will be my companion in paradise!” At this, one of the anṣār came up and did battle until he was killed.

The account goes on that when they next overwhelmed him, he again said, “Whoever will repel them will be my companion in paradise!” And eventually all seven were killed.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, “Our forces have not treated us fairly.”
Muslim related this from Hudba b. Khālid, from an account of Ḥamād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqi stated in his work Dalā'il (The Signs), giving his chain of transmission from Umāra b. Ghaziyya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, "The men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uhud. Eleven of the anṣār and Ṭalḥa b. Ḫubayd Allāh remained with him as he climbed on up the mountain, but the polytheists caught up with them. The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' 'You stay where you are,' he told him. One of the anṣār then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' and he fought hard in defence of him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) climbed up higher, along with those men remaining with him. Then the anṣār was killed and the enemy again caught up with them. Another of the anṣār then said, 'I will, Messenger of God!' And he fought on while his companions went on up. Eventually he was killed, and the polytheists caught up with them.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on saying as he had the first time, with Ṭalḥa always volunteering, but being restrained, and another of the anṣār asking permission to do battle. He would be permitted to do so and would fight on as had those before him.

Eventually only Ṭalḥa was left with him. The enemy was again attacking them, so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked once more, 'Will no one take care of these?' Ṭalḥa responded that he would and he fought on as had all those before him. He was injured in his fingertips and called out in pain. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, 'If you had called out the words, 'In God's name!' the angels would have raised you up while everyone looked on at you, until they carried you right on up into the air of heaven.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then climbed up to join his men who were gathered there."

Al-Bukhārī related, from 'Abd Allah b. Abī Shayba, from Waki', from Ismā'īl, from Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, who stated, "I saw Ṭalḥa's hand to be a stump, and with it he defended the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the battle of Uhud."

In both sahīh collections there is a hadith of Muṣāb b. Ismā'īl, from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, from his father, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdi, who said, "During some of those days when he engaged in battle, no one remained with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), except Ṭalḥa and Sa'd, according to their accounts."

Al-Ḥasan b. 'Arafa stated that it was related to him by Marwān b. Muʿāwiyya, from Ḥāshim b. Hashim al-Saʿdī, who said, "I heard Saʿd b. al-Musayyab say, 'I heard Saʿd b. Abū Waqqāṣ state, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), took the arrows out of his quiver for me at the battle of Uhud and said, 'Shoot, may my father and mother be your ransom!'""

Al-Bukhārī derived this hadith from 'Abd Allah b. Muḥammad, from Marwān.
In the *sahih* collection of al-Bukhārī, there is a *hadith* traced from ʿAbd Allāh b. Shaddād who quoted ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib as follows, “I never heard the Prophet (SAAS) swear by both his parents to anyone except Saʿd b. Malik. At Uhud I heard him say, ‘Saʿd, shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!’”

Mūḥammad b. Ishaq stated that it was related to him by a member of Saʿd’s family, Sāliḥ b. Kaysān, from Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās, that at Uhud he shot his arrows from directly in front of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Saʿd said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, ‘Shoot, may my father and my mother be your ransom!’ He even handed me arrows without points, saying, ‘Shoot with this!’”

It is established in both *sahih* collections, from a *hadith* of Ibrahim b. Saʿd, from his father, from his grandfather, that Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās said, “At the battle of Uhud I saw to the right and to the left of the Messenger of God (SAAS) two men dressed in white who were fighting fiercely; I never saw them before that, and I never saw them thereafter.” He was referring to Gabriel and to Michael, peace be upon them both.

Ahmad stated, “ʿAffān related to us and Thabit recounted to us, from Anas, that at the battle of Uhud Abū Ṭalḥa was shooting from directly in front of the Messenger of God (SAAS) who was shielding himself behind him. As he shot, the Messenger of God (SAAS) would raise himself up to see where the arrows would strike. At this Abū Ṭalḥa would say, as he brought his chest up to its full height, ‘Let it be so, may my father and my mother be your ransom, Messenger of God; no arrow will hit you. My chest will be in the way of yours.’ Abū Ṭalḥa would position himself directly before the Messenger of God (SAAS) and say, ‘I am sturdy, Messenger of God. Direct me according to your needs and order me to do whatever you want.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Maʿṣūr ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-ʿAqdi, that is – related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāris, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAziz (b. Suhayb), from Anas, who said, “When the battle of Uhud occurred the men fled in defeat away from the Messenger of God (SAAS). Meanwhile Abū Ṭalḥa was directly in front of him, protecting him with a leather shield he had. Abū Ṭalḥa was a marksman and a very vigorous man who broke two or three bows that day. As the man with the leather bag of arrows would pass, he (the Prophet) would say, ‘Hand them over to Abū Ṭalḥa.’”

He went on, “The Prophet (SAAS) would rise up to observe the enemy and Abū Ṭalḥa would say, ‘May my father and mother be your ransom! Don’t stand up! An enemy arrow may strike you. My body shields yours.’ And I saw ʿAʾisha, daughter of Abū Bakr, and Umm Sulaym with their garments tucked up so that I could see their anklets, carrying water containers on their backs that they would empty into the mouths of the troops, return to refill them and empty them as before. The sword fell from the hands of Abū Ṭalḥa twice or thrice.”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Khalīfa told me, ‘Yazid b. Zarīr’ related to us, quoting Saʿd, from Qatāda, from Anas, from Abū Ṭalḥa, who said, “I was one of those
overcome by lassitude at the battle of Uhud, so that my sword kept falling from my hands. It would fall and I would pick it up once more.”’”

Al-Bukhārī reported it thus, along with an affirmative commentary. In testimonial of this there are the words of God Almighty, “Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you. Another group had been made anxious by themselves; they have incorrect thoughts about God, thoughts of ignorance, saying, ‘Does the matter affect us at all?’ Say: ‘The entire matter is in God’s hands.’ They conceal within their souls what they would not reveal to you. They say, ‘Had we had any hand in this, we would not have been killed here.’ Say: ‘Even if you had stayed at home, those destined for being killed would still have gone forth to the places where they died. And so that God would test what was in your hearts and that He might purge what was in your hearts. And God knows what is inside one’s heart. Those of you who retreated on the day the two forces met were merely induced by Satan who made them slip on account of some things they had done. God, however, has pardoned them, for God is Forgiving, Merciful” (surah Al ‘Imrān; III, v.153, 4).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abdān – ‘Abd Allāh b. Uthmān al-Marwazi – related to him, quoting Abū Hamza, from Uthmān b. Mawhab, who said, “A man arrived to make the pilgrimage to the kaba. He saw a group seated and asked, ‘Who are those people seated?’ He (Uthmān b. Mawhab) replied, ‘They are men of Quraysh.’ The man then asked, ‘And who is the sheikh, the elder?’ ‘He’s Ibn Umar,’ they told him. The man then went over to him and said, ‘I’d like to have you respond to something I ask you. Please, I charge you by the sanctity of this place, do you know if Uthman b. Affān fled from the battle of Uhud?’ ‘Yes,’ the sheikh replied. The man asked, ‘And do you know him to have been absent from Badr, and not to have witnessed it?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘And do you know that he missed the bay‘āt al-ridwān, “the pledge of willingness”, and did not witness it?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied again. The man then, in satisfaction, affirmed the greatness of God.

“Ibn Umar then said, ‘Come on over so I can tell you more, and explain more about what you asked me. Regarding his fleeing at Uhud, I bear witness that God forgave him. Regarding his absence from Badr, his wife was the daughter of the Prophet (SAAS) and she was ill. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, ‘You will receive the same full share of the spoils as a man who was present at Badr.’

“Regarding his absence from the bay‘at al-ridwān, if there had been anyone more respected in the valley of Mecca than Uthmān b. Affān, he would have sent him in his place. The bay‘at al-ridwān took place after Uthmān had gone to Mecca. And the Prophet (SAAS) said, referring to his right hand, ‘This is ‘Uthmān’s hand.’ He then clasped it to his other hand, saying, ‘This is for Uthmān.’

“‘Now take this information away with you,’ Ibn Umar told him.”
Al-Bukhari also related this in another place. Al-Tirmidhi’s hadith has a chain of authorities from Abī 'Awāna, from 'Uthmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mawhāb. Al-Umawī, in his military chronicle, quoted Ibn Ishaq as saying, “Yahyā b. 'Abdād related to me, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, on the occasion when his men had fled in defeat away from him, some of them going as far as the sandy hillock below al-'A'was, while 'Uthmān b. Affān and Sa'd b. 'Uthmān, one of the ānṣār, had fled and reached al-Jalī'ab, a mountain near Medina, adjoining al-'A'was. They stayed three nights there, then returned. They claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) told them, ‘You went there by chance.’”

All this shows that at Uhud some of the same things happened as at Badr. One such is the occurrence of the nuqās, the lassitude, amidst the warfare. This is an indication of their security of mind in God’s help, and the totality of their reliance upon their Creator and Exculpator.

Comment has been previously made concerning the words of God Almighty concerning the expedition to Badr: “When He made lassitude overcome you as a security from Him” (surat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.11). Regarding Uhud, He stated, “Then He sent down upon you, after sorrow, a sense of security, a lassitude overcoming a group of you” (surat Al-'Imrān; III, v.153). The reference here is to the perfect Muslims. As Ibn Mas'ud and others of the early authorities stated, “Lassitude in war stems from faith, while lassitude in prayer stems from hypocrisy. This is why God stated thereafter, ‘another group had been made anxious by themselves’” (surat al-Anfāl; VIII, v.11). And another similarity is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) appealed for help at Uhud as he had at Badr, saying, “If it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth.”

As Imām Ahmad stated, “Abd al-Ṣamad and ‘Affān both related to us, as follows, ‘Hammād related to us, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said at the battle of Uhud, ‘O God, if it is Your wish, You will no longer be worshipped on earth.’” Muslim related it from Hajjāj b. al-Shāfīr, from ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, from Hammād b. Salama. Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Amr, who heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “At the battle of Uhud a man said to the Prophet (SAAS) ‘If I am killed, where will I then be?’ ‘In heaven,’ he replied. Thereupon the man threw the dates out of his hand and fought until he was killed.”

Muslim and al-Nasā’ī related this from a hadith of Sufyān b. Uwayna. And this is similar to the story of Umayr b. al-Humām, which is given above relating to the expedition to Badr. May God be pleased with both these authorities.
Section: Concerning the treatment received that day by the Prophet (ṢAAS) from the polytheists, God damn them!

Al-Bukhārī gives a section entitled: “On the injuries done to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at the battle of Uhud.”

He went on, “Ishāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Ḥamīm b. Muḥammat, who heard Abū Hurayra say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “The wrath of God is great towards those who did this” (pointing to his lower teeth) “to His prophet. Great is God’s wrath towards a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God’s cause!’”

Muslim related this through ʿAbd al-Razzāq. Mālik b. Mālik related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Saʿd al-Umawī, quoting Ibn Jurayj from ʿAmr b. Dīnār, from Ḥakīm, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Great was the wrath of God against those whom the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed in God’s cause. Great was the wrath of God against a people who bloodied the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

(Imām) ʿАḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle of Uhud as he wiped the blood from his face, “How could any people prosper who struck their prophet and broke his front teeth while he called people to God?” And God sent down, “It is not your business whether He forgives them or punishes them; they are wrong-doers” (ṣūrat ʿAl-ʿImrān; III, v.127).

Muslim related this from al-Qāчист, from Ḥammād b. Saʿīd. ʿАḥmad related it from Hushaym and Yazīd b. Ḥārūn, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had his front teeth broken and was struck in the face so that his blood flowed, and that he said, “How could a people prosper who did this to their prophet while he was calling them to their Lord?” And so God Almighty sent down, “It is not your business” (ṣūrat ʿAl-ʿImrān; III, v.127).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb, from Abū Ḥāẓim, who heard Sahl b. Saʿd being asked about the injuries suffered by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He said, “I swear by God, I certainly do know who it was who washed the wounds of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who poured the water and with what he was treated. Fāṭima, his daughter washed him, and ʿAṭī poured the water from a shield. When Fāṭima saw that the water was only increasing the blood flow, she took a piece of matting, set fire to it, then attached it to the wound; the blood ceased flowing. And his front tooth was broken that day, his face was wounded, and his helmet was crushed on to his head.”

Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated in his Musnad ḥadīth collection, that Ibn al-Mubārk related to him, from Ishaq, from Yahyā b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh quoting Ṣaʿīd b. Ṭalḥa from ʿAʾisha, umm al-muʾminīn, the “mother of the believers”, as having stated, “Abū Bakr would say, regarding Uhud, ‘All credit that day was due to Ṭalḥa!’ He then would relate as follows, ‘I was the first one to return. I saw a man fighting hard in front of him in God’s cause. I saw him shout, “To the defence!””
I responded, "(Let it) be Talha!" having lost track of things. Then I told myself, "I hope he is someone from my own people." Between myself and the polytheists there was a man I did not know. I was closer to the Messenger of God (SAAS) than he was, but he walked faster than I did. Then I saw him to be Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. When we reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) his front teeth had been broken and his face had been gashed. Two links from the chain-mail of his helmet had pierced his cheek. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Both of you, take care of your companion!" meaning Talha. He was bleeding profusely, but we disregarded his words.'

He went on, "I went over to pull it out of his face, but he (Abn Wbayda) said, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." I left him to do it, but he was reluctant to take it in his hand and so hurt the Messenger of God (SAAS). So he put his mouth over it and drew out a link, one of the front teeth falling with it. I then went over to do as he had, but he said again, "I insist on my right of you letting me do it." He then did as he had before and the other tooth dropped along with the link. It turned out that Abū Ubayda was great at tooth extraction!

"Having treated the Messenger of God (SAAS) we then went over to Talha who was in one of the pits there. He had some 70 wounds, including spear thrusts, arrow wounds and cuts. His fingers had been sliced off. We gave him treatment."

Al-Waqidi recounted, from the son of Abū Sabra, from Ishāq b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Farwa, from Abū al-Huwayrith, from Naṣir b. Jubayr, who said, "I heard one of the mukāhirīn saying, 'I was present at Uhud and saw the arrows coming in from all directions, with the Messenger of God (SAAS) right in their middle, but all of them were diverted from him. And I saw ‘Abd Allah b. Shiḥāb al-Zuhri that day as he said, "Direct me to Muhammad; I'll not survive if he does." The Messenger of God (SAAS) was right there at his side, with no one else with him. He went on past and Ṣafwān b. Umayya criticized him for that. ‘Abd Allāh responded, "By God, I didn't see him! I swear by God, he is forbidden to us. There were four of us who agreed together and made a pact to kill him, but we couldn't get to him.'"

Al-Waqidi stated, "In my opinion, it is well established that it was Ibn Qamī'a who shot the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the cheek and Utba b. Abū Waqqās who hit him in the lip and struck his lower teeth."

An account similar to this has been given above from Ibn Ishaq; it states that his front tooth that was broken was his lower left incisor.

Ibn Ishaq stated that Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān related to him, from someone who related it to him, on the authority of Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās, who said, "I was never more determined to kill anyone than I was to kill Utba b. Abū Waqqās; I knew him to be a man of evil character and hated by his people. And the statement made by the Messenger of God (SAAS) was enough for me – that 'Great is God's wrath against those who bloodied the face of His messenger.'"
'Abd al-Razzāq stated that Ma‘mar related to him, from al-Zuhri, from Uthmān al-Hārūtī, from Miqṣām, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke a curse against Utba b. Abū Waqqāṣ when he broke his lower teeth and bloodied his face, saying, “O God, may change not come to him, so that he dies an unbeliever!”

And no change did come over him, so that he did die an unbeliever, bound for hell-fire.

Abū Sulaymān al-Jawzājānī stated, that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to him, quoting Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Ḥarb, from his father, from Abū Umāma Sahl b. Ḥanīf, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) treated his face at Uhud with a dried bone.

This hadith is gharib, “unilateral”, and I found it in the military chronicle of al-Umawi regarding the battle of Uhud.

When he had done injury to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘Abd Allāh b. Qāmi’a went back and said, “I’ve killed Muḥammad!” And on that occasion that devil the ‘izb of al-ʿAqaba shouted at the top of its voice, “Hear this! Muḥammad has been killed!”

Consternation spread among the Muslims. Many people believed it, and yet remained determined to fight on in defence of Islam until they died in the same way as had the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Anas b. al-Naḍr and others of whom mention will be made were among these.

Almighty God had sent down consolatory verses to deal with this eventuality. He had stated, “And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him. And if he dies or is killed, will you turn on your heels? Whoever should turn on his heels will do no harm to God thereby. And God will reward the grateful. And no soul shall die except with God’s permission at a specified time. And whoever desires the rewards of this world, those We will give him; and whoever desires the rewards of the hereafter We will give him those. We will reward the grateful. And many are the prophets who have fought along with many worshippers! And they did not weaken because of what befell them in God’s cause. They neither weakened nor abased themselves. God loves those who stand firm. And what they said was merely, ‘O God of ours, forgive us our sins and our excesses! Set our feet firmly and give us victory against the disbelieving enemy!’ And so God did give them the reward of this world and the fine reward of the hereafter; God does love those who do good. O you who believe, if you obey those who disbelieve, they will turn you back on your heels and you will go back having lost. But God is indeed your master and He is best of all helpers. We will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve for their having associated with God that for which He sent down no authority. Hell-fire shall be their abode. And terrible is the abode of the unjust!” (sūrat ʿAl-ʾImrān; III, v.143–50).


42 THE LIFE OF THE PROPHET MUḤAMMAD
Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, made an address at the first assembly he held following the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in which he said, “O my people, regarding those who worshipped Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died. Regarding those who worshipped God, God is alive and shall not die!” He then recited this verse: “And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger.” He said, “It was as though the people had never heard this before, and so all, without exception, recited it thereafter.”

Al-Bayhaqi related in his Dalāʾīl al-Nubūywa (Signs of the Prophethood), through Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, who said, “At Uḥud, one of the muḥājrīn passed by one of the aṣārīr, a man who was covered in his own blood, and asked him, ‘Are you aware that Muḥammad has been killed?’ The aṣārīr responded, ‘If Muḥammad (SAAS) has been killed, then he must have fulfilled his mission! So fight on for your religion!’

“And so the verse was revealed, ‘And Muḥammad is no more than a messenger; messengers have passed away before him.’”

That aṣārīr might well have been Anas b. al-Nadr, may God be pleased with him; he was the uncle of Anas b. Mālik.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Yazīd related to us, quoting Ḥamīd, from Anas, that his uncle was absent from the fighting at Badr and said, ‘I was absent from the first battle fought by the Prophet (SAAS) against the polytheists; if God should have me witness a battle against the polytheists, I’ll certainly show him what I can do!’

“When, at the battle of Uḥud, the Muslims gave way, he said, ‘O God, I apologize to you for what these men have done’ – meaning his fellow fighters – ‘and I declare myself innocent of what these others’ – meaning the polytheists – have done against You.’ He then advanced and was met before Uḥud by Saʿd b. Muʿādh. Saʿd told him, ‘I am with you!’ And Saʿd also said, ‘But I could not do what he did.’

“Some 80 wounds were found on him, consisting of sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures.”

He went on, “We used to say that it was about him and his Companions that the verse was revealed, ‘and of them there are those who fulfilled their vow; and of them there are those who wait’” (ṣūrat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.23).

Al-Tirmidhi related this from ʿAbd b. Ḥamīd; al-Nasāʿī related it from Ishāq b. Ṭabātābāy; both gave Yazīd b. Ḥārūn as a link. Al-Tirmidhi stated, “This tradition is ḥasan, ‘good’.”

I would comment that this ḥadīth conforms to the criteria of the saḥīḥ collections, from this source.

Imām Aḥmad stated that both Bahz and Ḥāshim related to him that Sulaymān b. al-Mughira quoted Thābit as having said, “Anas (b. Mālik) stated, ‘My uncle’ – Ḥāshim gave his name as Anas b. al-Nadr – ‘was the one for whom I was named. He was not present at Badr. This fact troubled him, and so he said, ‘I was absent from the first battle fought by the Messenger of God (SAAS); if
God allows me to participate with him later in another battle, then he will certainly see what it is I can do!"

He (Anas b. Malik) went on, "He was too much in awe to say anything different. And he was present at Uhud with the Messenger of God (SAAS). He met up with Sa'd b. Mu'adh, and Anas asked him, 'Abū 'Amr, where to? How wonderful is the fragrance of paradise I sense before Uhud!'"

He (Anas b. Malik) continued, "He fought them until he was killed. Some 80 wounds were found on his body - sword cuts, spear thrusts and arrow punctures.

His sister, my aunt al-Rabi'a, daughter of al-Nadr, said, 'I only recognized my brother by his fingertips.' And this verse was revealed, 'and of them are those who fulfilled their vow, and of them there are those who wait - and they have not changed at all' (ṣūrat al-Ahzab; XXXIII, v.23).

He concluded, "They used to consider that this verse was revealed about him and his Companions."

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, from Bahz b. Asad. Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nāṣrī related it from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak. Al-Nāṣrī added to this. Abū Dā'ūd and Ḥammad b. Salama also gave it, and all four of these authorities quoted Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra as a source. Al-Tirmidhī stated the tradition to be ḥasan ṣahih, "good and authentic".

Abū al-Aswād stated, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, "Ubayy b. Khalaf, a brother of Banū Jumāh, had made an oath in Mecca that he would certainly kill the Messenger of God (SAAS). When news of the oath reached him, he said, 'No; I will kill him, if God wills it!'

"When it was time for the battle of Uhud, Ubayy came forth armoured and helmeted, saying, 'I will not live on if Muḥammad does!' He attacked the Messenger of God (SAAS) trying to kill him, but Muḥṣab b. Umayr, a brother of Banū ʿAbd al-Dar, met him in defence of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Muḥṣab b. Umayr was killed. The Messenger of God (SAAS) noticed that Ubayy's collarbone was visible between his helmet and his suit of chain-mail, and so he thrust him there with his spear. Ubayy fell from his horse, though no blood was coming from his wound.

"His companions came and carried him off; he was bellowing like a bull, but people told him, 'He's not harmed you; it's just a scratch.'

"He then told them of what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said, namely that he would kill Ubayy. He then said, 'I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, if what afflicts me were to afflict all the people of Dhū al-Majāz, they'd all die of it!'

"And he did die and go to hell; and damned be all the denizens of hell-fire!"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this tradition in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhri, from Saʿīd b. al-Muṣayyab, in similar terms.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) made his way up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him and said, 'I shall not live on if you do!'"
“The Muslims asked, ‘O Messenger of God, should one of our men go for him?’ He replied, ‘Just leave him alone.’

“When Ubayy came close, the Messenger of God (SAAS) took a spear from al-Harith b. al-Summa. Some people said, as I have been told, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) took it from him, he shook himself so hard that they flew away from him like a hair from the back of a camel stung by a fly! The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went towards Ubayy and thrust him in the neck, so that he swayed back and forth several times, then fell from his horse.”


Al-Waqidi stated that Ibn Umar used to say, “Ubayy b. Khalaf died in the Rābigh valley. I was once passing through the Rābigh valley late at night when all of a sudden flames flared up, scaring me greatly. And there was a man emerging from it, dragging a chain and with a raging thirst. Then another man said, ‘Don’t give him anything to drink! He was killed by the Messenger of God (SAAS); this man is Ubayy b. Khalaf.”

This ḥadīth is fully authenticated in both saḥīḥ collections, as stated above, through ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from Hammām, from Abu Hurayra, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Great is God’s wrath against a man whom the Messenger of God kills in God’s cause.’”

Al-Bukhari related this through Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAmr b. Dinw, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbas, with the wording, “Great is God’s wrath against someone killed by the hand of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in God’s cause.”

Al-Bukhari stated that Abu al-Walid said, quoting Shuʿba, from Ibn al-Munkadīr, who said, “I heard Jābir say, ‘When my father was killed, I began to weep and to uncover the shroud from his face. The Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) stopped me, but he himself did not. Instead, he told me, ‘Don’t weep for him; the angels kept him shaded with their wings until he was raised up.’”

This tradition is related here in this form with a full chain of authorities. In the section (of his work) on funerals, he (al-Bukhari) gives its provenance as from Bindar, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba. Muslim and al-Nasaʿi related it from various paths, all quoting Shuʿba.

Al-Bukhari stated that ʿAbdān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhīm, from Ibrāhīm’s father, to the effect that ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAwf was brought food while he was fasting. He then said, “Muṣāb b. Umayr was killed, yet he was better than me. A cloak was used as his shroud. If it was placed over his head, his feet were visible, while if his feet were covered his head was visible.” He is also quoted as saying, “Hamza was killed, yet he was better than me, while we have been granted earthly favours.” He is also quoted as saying, “Things have been given to us here on earth, and we fear that the favours have come prematurely for us.” He then wept, till the food was cold.
Al-Bukhari is alone in giving this hadith.

Al-Bukhari stated that Ahmad b. Yunus related to him, quoting Zuhayr and al-A'mash, from Shaqtq, from Khabbâb b. al-Aratt, who said, “We went forth with the Prophet (SAAS), seeking to work in God’s cause, and reward from God was our due. Some of us passed away or left without enjoying any part of their reward. Mus'ab b. Umayr was one of these; he was killed at the battle of Uhud, leaving nothing but a woollen cloak. When we covered his head with it, his feet emerged. When his feet were covered with it, his head emerged. And so the Prophet (SAAS) told us, ‘Cover his head with it and place the al-ridkâr, (an aromatic rush), over his feet. Some of us have their fruit already ripened; he is harvesting them.’”

The rest of the authorities on traditions – with the exception of Ibn Majah – derive it through various paths from al-A'mash.

Al-Bukhari also stated that Wbayd Allah b. Sa'd related to him, quoting Abu Usâma, from Hishâm b. 'Urwa, from his father, from 'A'isha, who said, “When the battle of Uhud arrived, the polytheists were being defeated. So Satan, God damn him, called out, ‘Worshippers of God, look to your rear!’ At this the forward lines turned around and began battling with their rear lines. Hudhayfa saw his father al-Yaman right there and so he shouted, ‘Worshippers of God! My father!’”

'A'isha went on, “But, I swear by God they continued fighting until they had killed him. And Hudhayfa said, ‘May God forgive them.’

‘Urwa commented, ‘I swear that goodwill continued on in Hudhayfa until he joined Almighty and Glorious God.’”

I note that the reason this happened was that al-Yaman and Thabit b. Waqsh were back in the defences with the women because of their age and debility. The two men had said, “There’s no more than a donkey’s life-span left for our generation.” And so they had dismounted to be there at the fighting and their course had taken them over towards the polytheists. Thabit was killed by the polytheists, while al-Yamân was killed by mistake by the Muslims. Hudhayfa gave up his claim against the Muslims to blood money for his father and blamed none of them because of the obvious excuse for it.

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “And Qatada b. al-Nu'mân was struck in the eye that day, so that it fell out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (SAAS) put it back in for him, using his hand; it was thereafter always the better and sharper of Qatada’s eyes.”

There is a hadith from Jâbir b. 'Abd Allah that Qatada b. al-Nu'mân was struck in the eye at Uhud, so that it slipped out on to his cheek. The Messenger of God (SAAS) put it back in its place and it was thereafter the better and sharper of his eyes. It did not become inflamed when his other eye was so inflicted.
Al-Dārquṭnī related, with a hadith that was gharib, “unilateral”, from Mālik, from Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ṣaṣaṣa’ā, from his father, from Abū Saʿād, from his brother Qatāda b. al- Ṣuʿmān, who said, “Both my eyes were struck at Uhud and they fell out on to my cheeks. I went with them to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he returned them both to their places. He spat into them and they regained sight.”

The first version is the one generally accepted – that he was struck in the one eye. This is why, when his son presented himself to ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and the latter asked him to identify himself, he replied, in verse:

“I’m the one whose father’s eye slipped out on to his cheek
And it was replaced most effectively by the hand of the Chosen One.
It became again as it had been at first.
How fine an eye it became and how fine a cheek!”

Thereupon ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz responded with the line:

“That those noble qualities were not two cups of milk mixed
with water that would later change into urine!”

ʿUmar then welcomed him and rewarded him richly; may God be pleased with him!

Ibn Hishām stated, “ʿUmāra’s mother, Nasība, daughter of Kaḥl al-ʿAzīziyya, fought at Uhud. ʿAbd Zayd al-Anṣārī recounted that ʿAbd’s mother, daughter of Saʿd b. al-Rabiʿ, used to say, “ʿUmāra’s mother came in to me and I asked her, ‘Aunt, tell me your story.’ She replied, ‘Early in the day I went out to see what our people were doing, bearing a water-skin filled with water. At the time I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was among his Companions, everything was going in the Muslims’ favour. When the Muslims were defeated, I stood near the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), engaging in the battle, defending him with my sword and shooting with my bow until I was ultimately wounded.’”

ʿUmm Saʿd went on, “And on her shoulder I saw a deep scar, so I asked her, ‘Who was it gave you this wound?’ She replied, ‘It was Ibn Qamīʿa, God damn him! When our men deserted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he advanced, saying, “Direct me towards Muḥammad; I will not live on if he survives!” I blocked his way, along with Muṣṭafā b. ʿUmayr and others who stayed firm with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was then that he gave me this wound; and I struck him many times back, but that enemy of God was wearing double armour.’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “ʿAbū Ḕajāna shielded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with his own body. The arrows fell upon his back while ʿAbū Ḕajāna leaned over him.”

He continued, “ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shot from his bow until its curved frame broke. Qatāda b. al-Ṣaʿmān then took and kept it.
"Al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Rāfi‘ related to me, he being a brother of Bani ‘Adi b. al-Najjar, as follows, ‘Anas b. al-Nādr, uncle of Anas b. Mālik, reached ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ʿAlī b. Ubayd Allāh along with some muhājirin and ansār who wanted to surrender. He asked them, “Why are you just sitting?” They replied, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) has been killed.” “And what will you do with your lives after he has gone?” Anas asked. “Get up and die for the same cause as he has!” He then advanced to the enemy and fought until he was killed. Anas b. Mālik was named after him.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq continued, “Humayd al-Ṭawil related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘That day we found 70 wounds on Anas b. al-Nadr. The only person to recognize him, from his fingertips, was his sister.’

Ibn Hishām stated, “It was related to me by a scholar that ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Āwfi was injured in the mouth and lost some teeth; he had 20 or more wounds, including one in his foot, which made him lame.”

DIVISION.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated that according to what he was told by al-Zuhri, it was Ka'b b. Mālik who first reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) after the defeat and the report of his death. Ka'b said, “I saw his eyes gleaming from beneath his helmet. So I shouted at the top of my voice, ‘Muslims! Rejoice! This is the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ But he signalled me to be silent.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq continued, “When the Muslims recognized the Messenger of God (SAAS) they and he moved on together up into the defile; with him went Abū Bakr, ‘the trusting’, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿAli b. Abū ʿAlī, ʿAlī b. Ubayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, al-Ḥārith b. al-Simma and a group of other Muslims. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had climbed up into the defile, Ubayy b. Khalaf caught up with him.”

Ibn Iṣḥāq then proceeded to relate how the former killed the latter, in an account similar to that given above.

He then went on, “Ubayy b. Khalaf, so it was related to me by Ṣāliḥ b. ʿIbrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Āwfi, used to tell the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he met him in Mecca, ‘Hey, Muḥammad, I’ve a horse, al-ʿAwdh, that I feed every day with measures of corn. I’ll be riding it when I kill you!’

“To this the Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘No; it is I who will kill you, if God wills it.’

“When Ubayy was taken back to Quraysh having suffered a small injury in his neck, the blood having stopped flowing, he said, ‘By God, Muḥammad has killed me!’ They told him, ‘You’ve lost your courage! You’re not badly hurt.’ He replied, ‘But he told me in Mecca that he was going to kill me. And, I swear, he’d have killed me if he’d only spat on me!’ And that enemy of God did die, at Sarif,10 while they were transporting him to Mecca.”

10. A place some six miles from Mecca.
Ibn Ishaq went on, “Hassân b. Thabit spoke the following verses on this:

‘He inherited evil from his father, did Ubayy, the day the Messenger engaged him in combat.

You came at him, Ubayy, bearing a rotting bone, threatening him, unaware who he was;

Banû al-Najjâr killed Umayya from among you as he called for aid, “Aqil!”

Abû Rabî’a’s two sons died when they obeyed Abû Jahl, bereaving their mother.

Hârîth escaped when we were diverted by our work in taking prisoners; capturing him was a trivial matter.’

“Hassân also composed:

‘Who will be my messenger to Ubayy? You have been tossed into deepest hell.

You longed for evil from afar and swore oaths that you were all-powerful.

Your designs subverted you from afar, but stating disbelief results in delusion.

You were struck by a thrust from a man with divine protection, of noble lineage, no sinner he.

He has precedence over all others alive when disasters occur.’”

Ibn Ishaq further stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached the start of the defile, ‘Ali emerged and filled up his shield with water from the well al-Mihârîs. He brought it to the Messenger of God (SAAS) so that he would drink from it. But the latter found it had an unpleasant odour and declined to drink it. But he did wash the blood from his face and poured it over his head, saying, ‘Great is God’s wrath against whoever bloodies the face of His prophet!’”

Sufficient authentic ahâdîths have been given above to testify to this quotation.

Ibn Ishaq went on, “While the Messenger of God (SAAS) was there in the defile, along with some of his Companions, a band of Quraysh warriors climbed up the mountain.”

Ibn Hishâm added, “Khalid b. al-Walîd was among them.”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then stated, ‘O God, it is not fitting for them to be above us!’

“Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâbab, along with a group of muhâjîrîn, fought on until they forced the enemy down from the mountain. The Prophet (SAAS) arose to climb upon a rock but, since he was heavy due to his age and the fact that he was wearing a double chain-mail, he could not. Tâlîh b. Ubayd Allâh then bent beneath him and lifted him up upon it.

“Yahyâ b. Abbâd b. Abd Allâh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father, from Abd Allâh b. al-Zubayr, from al-Zubayr, who said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say that day, ‘Tâlîh earned his place in heaven for what he did that day for the Messenger of God.’’”

Ibn Hishâm stated, “Umar, the freed-man of ‘Afra, related that the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained seated for the noon prayer the day of
the battle of Uhud because of his wounds, while the Muslims remained seated behind him.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatada related to me as follows, ‘There was with us a man none of us knew who went by the name of Quzmān. Whenever he was mentioned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, “He will go to hell!”

‘At the battle of Uhud he fought very fiercely, himself killing some seven or eight of the polytheists. He was a man of great courage. Eventually his wounds disabled him, and he was carried off to the Banū Zafar quarter.

‘Some of the Muslims told him, “You fought superbly, Quzmān, cheer up!” “Why should I?” he replied. “It was only for my people’s account that I fought; otherwise, I would not have.” When the pain from his wounds became extreme he took an arrow from his quiver and used it to kill himself.’

A story similar to this is also given regarding the fighting at Khaybar, as will be told hereafter, if God wills it.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ma’mar, from al-Zuhri, from al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘We were present along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar, and there was one man claiming to be a Muslim of whom he said, “He’ll go to hell.”

‘When the fighting began, the man fought most bravely and he was wounded. Someone told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “The man you said was going to hell fought most bravely, but now he’s dead.” The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “He’s gone to hell.”

‘Some of our men were almost sceptical about this, and while they were in this state it was announced that he had not died, though he was gravely wounded. That night he could no longer stand the pain of his injuries and so he killed himself.

‘When the Prophet (ṢAAS) was told of this, he proclaimed, “Allahu Akbar! God is Most Great! I testify that I am God’s servant and His messenger!”

‘He then ordered Bilāl to call out among the Muslims, “Only a Muslim soul shall enter paradise! And God even aids this religion by using sinners!”’”

The compilers of both ṣaḥiḥ collections gave this tradition from one of ‘Abd al-Razzāq.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “At Uhud, one of those killed was Mukhayriq. He was of Banū Tha‘labā b. al-Fityawn. On the day of the battle of Uhud he proclaimed, ‘O Jews, you have learned, I swear by God, that it is your duty to help Muḥammad to victory.’ They responded, ‘But today is the sabbath.’ ‘You shall have no sabbath,’ he insisted.

‘He then took his sword and equipment saying, ‘If I should fall, then my wealth goes to Muḥammad to do with as he wishes.’

‘He then went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and fought along with him until he was killed.
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, so I have been told, 'Mukhayriq is the very best of the Jews.'"

Al-Suhayli stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) converted Mukhayriq's property, consisting of seven orchards, into a waqf, a charitable endowment, in Medina.

Muhammad b. Ka'b al-Qurazi stated, "This was Medina's very first waqf.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Al-Husayn b. 'Abd al-Rabn b. 'Umar b. Sa'id b. Mu'adh related to me, from Abū Sufyān, the freed-man of Abū Aḥmad's son, from Abū Hurayra, that the last-mentioned used to say, 'Tell me which man it was who entered paradise without ever having performed the prayer?'

"If those there did not know who it was and asked him, he would reply, 'Uṣayrim of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, 'Amr b. Thabit b. Waqsh.'"

Al-Husayn went on, "I asked Mabad b. Asad, 'Tell me about al-Uṣayrim.' He replied, 'He used to deny Islam despite his own people's acceptance of it. But when the day for Uhud arrived, he accepted Islam. He then took his sword and piled into the thick of the fray, fighting on until overcome by wounds. When some of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal were searching out those of them killed in the battle, they came upon him. They commented, "By God, this man is al-Uṣayrim; what brought him here? When we left him he was against this event." They asked him, "What brought you here, 'Amr? Was it your concern for your people, or a desire for Islam?"

"'It was my desire for Islam,' he replied. 'I have come to believe in God and His messenger and I have accepted Islam. I took my sword and joined the Messenger of God (SAAS) and fought until I was injured.'"

"Soon thereafter he died in their arms. When they told the Messenger of God (SAAS) he said, 'He has gone to paradise.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "My father related to me, from elders of Banū Salama, who said, 'Amr b. al-Jamāh was a man who was exceedingly lame. He had four sons who fought battles like lions alongside the Messenger of God (SAAS). When it came time for the battle of Uhud, they wanted to restrain 'Amr, saying that God had excused him. So he went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, 'My sons want to restrain me from going forth to battle with you. But, by God, I hope to set foot in paradise despite my lameness!'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, 'Regarding yourself, God has indeed excused you; it is not your duty to fight.' Then he addressed the sons, saying, 'It is your duty not to restrain him; God might well grant him martyrdom.'

"And so al-Jamāh did accompany him to battle and he was killed at Uhud. May God be pleased with him.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "As Šāliḥ b. Kaysān related to me, Hind, daughter of Utba, along with other women, mutilated the bodies of the dead Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), cutting off their ears and their noses. Hind would
make the noses and ears of the men into anklets, necklaces and pendants and then give them over to Waḥshi. She also cut open Ḥamza’s liver and chewed it. But she couldn’t swallow it and so she spat it out.”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that it was Waḥshi who cut open Ḥamza’s liver and then took it to Hind who chewed it but was unable to swallow it. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Hind then climbed upon a rock overlooking the place and, at the top of her voice, spoke the following verses,

'We've now repaid you for the battle of Badr and terrible is the warfare that follows war!
I could not stand the loss of ʿUtba, of my brother, of his uncle, and of my first-born son.
Now I have assuaged myself and fulfilled my vow; you, Waḥshi, have relieved my burning breast.
My thanks to Wabhi will be due for all my life, until my bones rot in my grave.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “She was answered by Hind, daughter of Athātha b. ʿAbbād b. al-Muṭṭalib, who recited,

'You were dishonoured at Badr and after Badr too, you daughter of a worthless fellow extreme in his disbelief!
God brought against you in the early dawn tall, fit Hashimite warriors
Each man wielding his sharp sword, Ḥamza, my lion, ʿAlī, my falcon.
When Shayb and your father sought to deceive me, they put sacrificial blood upon their chests;
Your oath was evil in the extreme.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Al-Ḥulays b. Zabbān, a brother of Banū al-Ḥarīth b. ʿAbd Manāt, who was at that time commander of the Abyssinian levies, passed by Abū Sufyān while he was striking the jawbone of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib with the tip of his spear and saying, 'Taste this, traitor!'

“At this al-Ḥulays asked, 'Banū Kināna, tell me, can this really be, as you see, the Lord of Quraysh mutilating the flesh of his cousin?'

“The reply came, ‘Confound you, keep quiet about this; it was done in error.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When wishing to depart, Abū Sufyān ascended the mountain and shouted at the top of his voice, ‘A splendid achievement! Warfare goes in cycles. This day for that at Badr! Arise, Ḥubal!’ By this he meant, ‘Hubal, your religion triumphs.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿUmar, ‘Get up, ʿUmar, and respond to him. Say, “God is far higher and more glorious! There is no equivalence: our dead are in paradise, yours in hell.”

“Abū Sufyān then said, ‘Come on up to me, ʿUmar!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told ʿUmar, ‘Go to him and see what he wants.’
“'Umar did so and Abî Sufyân told him, ‘I adjure you by God, 'Umar, have we killed Muḥammad?' 'Umar replied, ‘I swear by God, no; he is listening now to your words.’ Abî Sufyân commented, ‘I consider you more truthful and artless than Ibn Qaṣîma.’”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “Then Abî Sufyân called out, ‘Some mutilation was done to your men. I swear this neither pleased nor angered me; I neither ordered nor forbade it.’

“As Abî Sufyân moved off, he called out, ‘We have an appointment with you next year, at Badr!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told one of his men to reply, ‘Say: “Yes there is indeed an appointment we have with you.”’

Ibn Ishaq went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then despatched ‘Ali b. Abû Ṭalîb saying, ‘Follow after the enemy and see what they do and plan. If they lead their horses and ride their camels, then they will be heading for Mecca. If they ride the horses and lead the camels, they will be heading for Medina. By Him in whose hands is my soul, if they head for Medina, I’ll fight them there and annihilate them!’

“‘Ali said, ‘So I followed them to see what they would do; they led their horses and rode their camels and headed for Mecca.’”

An Account of the prayers that the Prophet (ṢAAS) spoke after the battle of Uhud.

Imám Ahmad stated that Marwân b. Mu'awiya al-Fazârî related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wâhid b. Ayman al-Makki, from Ibn Rifâ'a al-Zurqi, from his father, who said, “When the polytheists withdrew after the battle of Uhud, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Stand up, so that I may give praise to my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He.’ The Muslims assembled behind him in ranks and he then said, ‘O God, to You is due all praise. O God, there is no grasping what You have dispersed, nor dispersing what You grasp. There is no guiding aright those whom You have led astray, nor any leading astray of those You have guided. There is no giving of what You have prevented, nor any prevention of what You have given. There is no drawing close what You have distanced, nor any distancing what You have drawn close. O God, spread forth Your blessings, Your mercy, Your generosity and Your favours upon us.

“‘O God, I ask of You those enduring blessings that never change nor cease. O God, I ask You for blessings at a time of deprivation, and security at a time of fear.

“‘O God, I seek refuge with You against the evil of what You have given us, as well as from the evil from which You have saved us.
“O God, have us view faith with favour, and endear it to us well. Have us view disbelief, immorality and disobedience with antipathy. Place us among those who are well-guided.

“O God, take us to Yourself as Muslims and give us life as Muslims. Place us among the virtuous, not the shamed or the demented.

“O God, do battle with those disbelievers who give the lie to Your messengers and who oppose them. Torment and punish them. O God, do battle against those disbelievers who were given the scripture, O God of the Truth!”


Chapter.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Muslims looked for their dead. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allah b. 'Abd al-Muqalin b. 'Abd ʿAbd al-Muqqalib, a brother of Banū al-Najjār, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Who will find out for me what became of Sa‘d b. al-Rabī‘, whether he is alive or dead?’ One of the ānṣār told him, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to find out whether you are among the living or the dead.’ Sa‘d replied, ‘I’m among the dead; inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of this: “Sa‘d b. al-Rabī‘ says to you: ‘May God reward you on our account better than He ever rewarded any prophet on account of his nation.’ And greet your people from me and tell them: ‘Sa‘d b. al-Rabī‘ says to you, ‘You will find no excuse with God if harm comes to your prophet while you still have one eye to blink!’”’

“Thereupon he died. I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and told him what had happened to him.”

I would observe that the ānṣārī who found Sa‘d among the dead was Muḥammad b. Salama, according to Muḥammad b. Umar al-Waqqīḍī. He related that he called out to him twice without him replying, but that when he said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered him to locate him, he responded to him in a very weak voice.


Sa‘d b. al-Rabī‘, God be pleased with him, was one of the leaders at the pledge of al-‘Aqaba. It was he whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established as the brother of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAwf.

Ibn Iṣḥāq continued, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set off, so I have been told, to locate Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He found him in the middle of the
valley, his liver having been cut from his mutilated body, from which his nose and ears had been removed.

"Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, when he saw the sight, 'If it were not for the sorrow it would cause Safiyya and become a tradition after myself, I would leave him here to find his way into the stomachs of wild beasts and the crops of birds. And if God gives me victory over Quraysh anywhere else, I will have 30 of their men mutilated!'"

“When the Muslims saw the sadness of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his anger at those who had done this to his uncle, they determined to mutilate their enemy as no Arabs had ever done if God one day gave them victory over them.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslami related to me, from Muhammad b. Ka‘b, and another reliable source related to me from Ibn ‘Abbās, that in that regard God revealed the verse, ‘If you inflict punishment then do so in the like manner that you were punished; but if you are patient, it is indeed better for those who are patient’ (surat al-Nahl; XVI, v.126).

“And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) forgave, was patient and forbad mutilation.”

I observe that this verse was revealed in Mecca. And the battle of Uhud occurred three years after the Hijra. How, then, could this relate? But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Humayd al-Tawil related to me, from al-Hasan, from Samura, who said, ‘Whenever the Messenger of God (SAAS) made a stop somewhere he would always before he left enjoin charity and forbid mutilation.’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) stood over Ḥamza, he said, ‘I shall never be afflicted as you have been; I have never experienced anything that has angered me more than this!’ He then said, ‘Gabriel came to me and told me that Ḥamza’s name is written in the seven heavens in the words, “Ḥamza, the son of Ṭabd al-Muṭṭalib – lion of God and lion of His messenger.”’”

Ibn Hishām also said, “Both Ḥamza and Abū Salama b. Ṭabd al-Asad were foster-brothers of the Messenger of God (SAAS). All three were suckled by Thuwayba, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab.”

**An Account of the Prayers said for Ḥamza and the Dead at Uhud.**

Ibn Ishāq stated that he was told by a reliable source, from Miqsam, that Ibn ‘Abbās said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that Ḥamza be covered with a cloak and he then prayed over him. He spoke the words, Allāhu Akbar, ‘God is most Great’, seven times. The other dead were then placed next to Ḥamza and he prayed over them and him together, so that a total of seventy-two prayers were spoken over him.”
This hadith is gharib, “unilateral”, and its line of transmission is weak. Al-Suhayli stated, “None of the scholars at the major centres of learning support this tradition.”

Imam Ahmad stated that ‘Affân related to him, quoting Hammâd, quoting ‘Aţâ b. al-Sâ‘îb, from al-Sha‘bî, from Ibn Mas‘ûd, who said, “At Uhud the women were following behind the Muslim fighters finishing off the polytheists who were wounded. If I had sworn an oath that day that I would have hoped to fulfil, it would have been that none of us desired this world. But this was before God sent down the verse, ‘Some of you desired this world, while others of you desired the hereafter; then He turned you away from them, so that he might test you’ (sûrat Al ‘Imrân; III, v.151).

“When the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) disobeyed the orders they had received, he was left with only nine men about him. Seven of these were ansâr, two were of Quraysh; with himself added, they totalled ten men. When the enemy set upon him, he said, ‘May God have mercy upon any man who repels them from us!’ He continued saying this until all seven had been killed. Then he said to his two Companions, ‘Our comrades did not treat us fairly!’

“Then Abû Sufyân came and said, ‘Arise, Hubal!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) told his men to respond, ‘God is far higher and more glorious!’

“To this Abû Sufyân replied, ‘We have (the goddess) al-Uzzâ; you have no ‘izzâ, “consolation”!’

“Abû Sufyân then called out, ‘A battle for that of Badr. One for us, one against us. One gave us distress, one pleasure. Tit for tat. Man for man.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘There’s no equivalence. Our dead live on and are rewarded; your dead are in hell being tortured.’

“Then Abû Sufyân said, ‘There has been some mutilation engaged in by our people, though not the result of any decision by us. I neither ordered nor forbad it, liked nor disliked it. It neither annoyed nor pleased me.’

“When they searched, they found Hamza. His liver had been cut out and chewed by Hind, but she had been unable to swallow it. The Messenger of God (SAAS), asked, ‘Did she eat any of it?’ ‘No,’ they told him. He commented, ‘God would never have allowed any part of Hamza to enter hell-fire!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) positioned Hamza and one of the dead ansâr was brought and placed beside him. When he had prayed over them both, Hamza was left there, that ansârî was lifted away and another was brought in his place. This was repeated so that he ultimately said 70 prayers over Hamza.”

Ahmad is alone in giving this hadith. And there is some weakness in its chain of authorities, namely relating to ‘Aţâ b. al-Sâ‘îb. But God knows best.

The account given by al-Bukhârî is more solid. He stated, “Qutayba related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Ibn Shihâb, from ‘Abd al-Ra‘mân b. Ka‘b b. Malik, (who said) that Jâbir b. ‘Abd Allâh recounted to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would place one piece of clothing over each two of the men killed at Uhud and then would ask, ‘Which of these had a better knowledge of the
Qur'an? He would then place the one indicated in the grave first, saying, ‘I will testify for these at Judgement Day.’ He ordered that they be buried in their blood; he did not pray over them, nor were they washed.’

Al-Bukhari alone gave this; Muslim did not. Other scholars relate it from a hadith of al-Layth b. Sa’d.

Ahmad stated, “Muhammad - meaning Ibn Ja’far - related to us, quoting Ibn Ja’far, quoting Shu’ba, having heard ‘Abd Rabbih relate from al-Zuhri, from Ibn Jabir, from Jabir b. ‘Abd Allah, that the Prophet (SAAS) said about those killed at Uhud, ‘Each wound, each drop of blood will exude musk at Judgement Day.’ And that he did not pray over them.”

It is well established that he did pray for them some years thereafter, shortly before his death. As al-Bukhari stated, “Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahim related to us, quoting Zakariyya b. ‘Adi, and Ibn al-Mubarak recounted to us, from Haywa, from Yazid b. Abû Ḥabib, from Abû al-Khayr, from Uqba b. ‘Amir, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) delivered a prayer for those killed at Uhud eight years thereafter, just as though he were saying farewell to the living or the dead. He then mounted the minbar and said, ‘I shall stand before you, having preceded you, and will be a witness for you. Your appointment is at the al-hand, ‘the celestial pool’, and I look at it now from this position of mine. I do not fear for you that you will (later) become polytheists. What I do fear for you is the influence of this world, that you will compete with one another over it.’’”

Uqba concluded, “And that was the last time I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Al-Bukhari also related this elsewhere, as did Muslim, Abû Dâ’ud and al-Nasâ’i, from a hadith of Yazid b. Abû Ḥabib in similar words.

Al-Umawi stated, “My father related to me, quoting al-Hasan b. Umâra, from Ḥabib b. Abû Thabit, who said, “‘A’isha said, ‘We went forth from al-Sâr, the place through which the Messenger of God (SAAS) had left for Uhud, seeking news. When dawn arose, there was a man barring our way and reciting insistently:

“Stay awhile. A load will bear witness to the battle.”

“We then saw him to be Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. We stayed where we were after that and then saw a camel approaching, being ridden by a woman seated between two loads.

“We approached her and found her to be the wife of ‘Amr b. al-Jamâh. We asked her for news and she replied, “God protected the Messenger of God (SAAS) while some of the Muslims have been martyred.” “God turned back those who disbelieved, in all their anger, and they did not achieve advantage. God sufficed for the believers in the fighting, and God is mighty and powerful” (sûrat al-Ahzâb; XXXIII, v.25).

“She then told her camel to kneel, and she dismounted. We asked her about her loads, and she replied, “My brother and my husband.”’”
Ihn Ishaq stated, “Safiyya, daughter of ‘Abd al-Mut‘alib had come forward to see him (Hamza), who was her full brother. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told her son al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, ‘Go and meet her and take her back so that she does not see her brother’s state.’ Al-Zubayr told her, ‘Mother, the Messenger of God (SAAS) orders you to go back.’ She replied, ‘Why? I have been told how my brother has been mutilated; that was in God’s cause. And that fact has comforted us. I will keep myself under control and remain calm, if God wills it.’

“When al-Zubayr went back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and reported this, he said, ‘Let her through.’ When she came, she looked at him (Hamza), said a prayer over him, asked forgiveness for him and spoke the words, ‘To God we belong, and to Him do we return.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then gave orders that he be buried, and this was done. With him was buried his cousin ‘Abd Allah b. Jahsh, whose mother was Umayma, daughter of ‘Abd al-Mu‘talib. He too had been mutilated, though his liver had not been cut out. May God be pleased with them both.”

Al-Suhayli stated, “He was later known as al-mujadda, ‘he who was mutilated in God’s cause’. And Sa‘d related that he and ‘Abd Allah b. Jahsh had said prayers, both of which had been answered. Sa‘d had prayed that he meet a polytheist horseman whom he would kill and rob, and that came true. ‘Abd Allah b. Jahsh had prayed that a horseman would meet and kill him and cut off his nose in God’s cause. And that came true.”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakka related that his sword broke at Uhud, and that the Messenger of God (SAAS) then gave him the bough of a palm tree, which when in the hand of ‘Ahd Allah b. Jāsh turned into a sword with which he fought. It was later sold in the estate of one of his sons for 200 dinars.

This is also what had happened earlier to ‘Ukásma at the battle of Badr.

It is also given in, as above, al-Bukhārī’s sahih collection that the Messenger of God (SAAS) used to bury two or three men in one grave, and even in one shroud.

He permitted this because of the wounds the Muslims had that would have made it hard for them to dig a grave for each individual. And he would position first in the grave whichever dead Muslim had had a greater knowledge of the Qur’ān.

He would join in the same grave two men who had been close friends, as he did ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amr b. Harām, Jabir’s father, along with ‘Amr b. al-Jumūh. This was because they were friends.

They were not washed, the wounds and blood being left untouched.

Ibn Ishāq also related from al-Zuhri, from ‘Abd Allah b. Tha‘lab a. ‘Su‘ayr, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said as he was leaving the dead at Uhud, “I shall bear witness for these men; every man wounded in God’s cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day, his wounds still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk.”
Ibn Ishaq went on, "My uncle, Musa b. Yasar, related to me that he heard Abū Hurayra say, 'Abū al-Qāsim (i.e. the Prophet (SAAS)) said, "Every man wounded in God's cause will be raised by God on Judgement Day while his wounds are still bleeding. The colour shall be that of blood, the fragrance that of musk.""

This hadith is also firmly given in both sahih collections from other lines of transmission.

Imām Ahmad stated, "Ali b. Āṣim related to us, from ʿĀṭā b. al-Ṣāḥib, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) said that those martyred at Uhud should have all articles they wore of iron or leather removed from them. He said, "Bury them in their blood and clothing."'"

Abū ʿAbdūd and Ibn Mājah related this from a hadith of 'Ali b. Āṣim.

Imām Abū Daʾūd stated, in his work al-Sunan, "Al-Qašābi related to me that Sulaymān b. al-Mughira related to them, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. Āmir, who said, 'The ansūr went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Uhud and told him, "We are suffering from wounds and exhaustion; what are your orders?" He replied, "Dig and extend, placing two or three in the one grave.""

"'He was asked, 'Which dead man will be placed in it first?' (The reply was) 'The one with the greater knowledge of the Qur'an.'"

He then related it from a hadith of al-Thawri, from Ayyūb, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Hishām b. Āmir. His account adds a word, "Dig, deepen and extend."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Some Muslims had borne their dead to Medina and buried them there. But then the Messenger of God (SAAS) forbade that practice, saying, 'Bury them where they were struck down.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated, "Ali b. Ishaq related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAttāb, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted ʿUmār b. Salama b. Ḥabīb b. Yazīd al-Madīnī, who quoted his father, as follows, 'I heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, 'My father was martyred at Uhud. My sisters sent to me for him a transport camel they owned with the message, 'Load your father on this camel and bury him in the cemetery of Bāṭnū Salama.'"

"'So I went for him, with some helpers, and news of this reached the Prophet (SAAS) while he was seated there at Uhud. He called for me and told me, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, he'll be buried only with his brothers!'"

"'And he was buried with his comrades at Uhud.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this hadith.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣar related to him, quoting Shuʾba, from al-Aswad b. Qays, from Nabiḥ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that when those who were killed at Uhud were being carried away, the crier of the Messenger of God (SAAS) shouted out that the dead had to be returned to where they lay.

Abū ʿAbdūd and al-Nasāʾi related this from a hadith of al-Thawri, while al-Tirmidhī gave it from one of Shuʾba. Al-Nasāʾi also gave it, as did Ibn Mājah, from a hadith of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. All of these were derived from al-Aswad b.
Qays, from Nabiḥ al-'Azi, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth from Medina to battle the polytheists, and my father 'Abd Allāh told me, ‘Jābir, there’ll be no harm in you being among the lookouts of the people of Medina until you know how things fare with us. I swear, if it weren’t for my having daughters who will survive me, I’d be happy for you to be killed right before me!’”

Jābir continued, “While I was there among the lookouts, my aunt arrived with my father and my uncle whom she had balanced on a baggage camel. She bore them into Medina to bury them in our cemeteries when a man arrived and called out, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) orders you to return with the dead and to bury them where they were killed.’ So we did take them back and buried them where they had been killed.

“During the Caliphate of Mu‘awiyya b. Abū Sufyān, a man came to me and said, ‘Jahir h. ‘Abd Allah, some of Mu‘awiyya’s workers have uncovered your father to sight, and part of him is outside the grave.’ So I went and found him to be in a similar, unchanged state as when I buried him, except for what always happens to those killed.”

The Imam then went on to relate how Jābir paid off his father’s debt, as is established in both sahīh collections.

Al-Bayhaqi related through Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said, “When Mu‘awiyya made the canal where the dead of Uḥud were buried, it being by then 40 years later, we were asked to help. When we arrived there, we brought them out. A spade struck the foot of Ḥamza, and blood came forth.”

In Ibn Ishāq’s account, Jābir stated, “We brought them out and it was as though they had been buried the previous day.”

Al-Waqidi related that when Mu‘awiyya was about to dig the canal, he had a crier announce, “Anyone who had a relative killed at Uḥud should be witness.” Jābir said, “When we dug for them, I found my father in his grave lying as though asleep, unchanged. We also found that his companion in the grave, ‘Amr b. al-Jamāḥ, had his hand over a wound and when it was removed, the wound emitted blood!”

And it is said that the grave of each one of them, may God be pleased with them, gave forth a scent like that of musk. This was 46 years following the day of their burial.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufāḍḍal, quoting Ḥusayn al-Mu‘allim, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amir b. al-Jamāḥ, who said, “When Uḥud arrived, my father called out to me in the night, ‘I see myself as definitely being one of the first of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be killed. And there will be nothing dearer to me I will leave on earth than yourself, apart from the soul of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I have a debt I want you to redeem; and I charge you to take good care of your sisters.’
"When morning came, he was the first to die. I also buried another man in his grave with him. But later it disturbed me to have placed him along with another, so six months thereafter, I exhumed him. I found him to be in the same state as when I put him there, except for his ear."

It is established in both sahih collections from a hadith of Shu'ba, from Muhammads b. al-Munkadir, from Jabir, that when his father was killed, Jabir began tearing at his clothing and weeping. People told him not to do this, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Whether or not you weep for him, the angels went on shading him (with their wings) until you had lifted him up."

In one account it is his aunt who is the person who cried.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "Abū 'Abd Allah al-Hāfiz, and Abū Bakr Ahmad b. al-Hasan al-Qādi, both related to us as follows, 'Abū al-'Abbās Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishaq, quoting Fayd b. Wathiq al-Baštī, quoting Abū Ubāda al-Ansāri, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, from Aḥisha, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to Jabir, 'Jabir, shall I tell you good news?' 'Yes indeed, do,' replied Jabir, 'may God give you much good news.'" The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, 'Have you sensed that God gave life to your father and said, 'O worshipper of Me, request anything of Me and I shall give it to you.'?' He responded, 'O Lord, I have truly worshipped you well; I request of You that you return me to the world so that I may battle alongside Your prophet and be killed in Your cause once more.' He (God) answered, 'It has been previously decreed by Me that there shall be no returning there.'"

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abū al-Ma'ruf al-Asfarāyini related to us, quoting Abū Sahl Bishr b. Aḥmad, quoting Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr, quoting 'Ali b. al-Madini, quoting Mūsā b. Ibrahīm b. Kathīr b. Bashīr b. al-Fākīh al-Anṣāri, who said, 'I heard Ṭalḥa b. Khirāṣh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khirāṣh b. al-Simma al-Anṣāri al-Sulami say, "I heard Jabir b. 'Abd Allāh say, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) looked at me and said, 'Why do I see you looking depressed?'" I replied, 'Messenger of God, my father has been killed and he has left a debt and children.' He commented, 'Didn't I tell you. God only ever spoke to anyone before from behind a screen, whereas He spoke to your father face to face! He told him, 'O worshipper of Me, ask of Me and I will give you it.' He replied, 'I ask of you that you return me to the world so that I may be killed a second time.' God answered, 'I said previously, "They will not return there!"' He then asked, 'O Lord, then tell those I left behind.' And so God revealed, 'Do not consider those killed in God's cause to be dead, but alive. They will be well provided for by their Lord.'"' (ṣūrat Al-ʿImrān; III, v.169)."

Ibn Ishaq quoted from a colleague of his who related to him, quoting from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl, who stated, "I heard Jabir say, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'Shall I not give you good tidings, Jabir?' "Please do!" I replied. He then said, 'God greeted your father right there at ʿUḥud where he was struck down. He then asked him, 'What is your wish, 'Abd
Allāh? What do you wish me to do with you?’ He replied, ‘O Lord, to return me to the world so that I may fight again for You and be killed once more.’"

Āḥmad related this from ʿAli b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān b. Uyyāna, from Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. Rabiʿa al-Salāmī, from Ibn ʿUqayl, from Jābīr. His account adds, “God replied, ‘I have decreed that they shall not return to it.’”

Āḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Iṣḥāq, who said, “ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatādā related to me, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jābīr, from ʿAbd Allāh, from Jābīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, when he made a reference to those who fought at Uhud, “O God, how I would have liked to have been left there with them at the ḥidn, the foot of the mountain’” – meaning at the saflr, “the foot of the mountain”.”

Āḥmad is alone in giving this tradition.

Al-Bayhaqi recounted, from a hadith of ʿAbd al-Aʿla b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from Ḥabīb b. Wahb, from Ubayd b. ʿUmayr, from Abū Hurayra, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) left Uhud, he passed on his way by Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr who had been killed. He stood over him, said a prayer for him, then recited, “There are some Muslim men who indeed spoke true in the pact they made with God” (sūrat al-ʿAzwāb; XXXIII, v.23). And he stated, “I testify that these men will be seen as martyrs by God at Judgement Day. So come and visit them. And I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, all who greet them up to Judgement Day will have their greeting returned.”

This hadith is gharīb, ‘unilateral’.

It is related as mursal, from ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr.

Al-Bayhaqi related from a hadith of Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbbād b. Abū Ṣalīḥ, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) used to go to the graves of the martyrs. And when he came to the entry to the defile, he would say, ‘Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent!’ Abū Bakr continued with this tradition after the Prophet (SAAS), as did ʿUmar after Abū Bakr and ʿUtbmān after ʿUmar.”

Al-Wāqīḍī stated, “The Prophet (SAAS) would visit them every year. When he reached the hollow in the defile, he would say, ‘Peace be upon you for what you bravely suffered and may the rewards of paradise be truly excellent.’ Abū Bakr did the same every year thereafter, as later did ʿUmar and then ʿUtbmān. Fāṭima would weep when she would go to them, and she would pray for them. And ʿAṣʿād would greet them, then go over to his companions and ask, ‘Won’t you greet some men who will respond to you?’”

Al-Wāqīḍī then related their visit in another hadith from Abū Saʿīd, Abū Hurayra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar and Umm Salāma, may God be pleased with them all.

11. Both words mean the same. It is unclear why the text explains the first word with a synonym; perhaps al-ḥidn was a rare word in the writer’s dialect.
Ibn Abī Dunyā stated, “Ibrāhīm related to me, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Nāfi’, quoting ʿAṭṭāf b. Khalīd, who said that his aunt related to me saying, ‘I rode one day to the graves of the martyrs’—something she often did—‘and I stopped and prayed for a certain time near Ḥamza. There was no one there in the valley except for the youth standing holding the head of my mount. When I had finished, I made a farewell gesture indicating “Peace be upon you”. Then I heard the greeting being returned to me, emanating from beneath the ground! I am as sure of this as I am that Almighty and Glorious God created me, and as I know night from day. Every hair on me stood on end!’”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated, from Ismā‘īl b. Umayya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbas, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) told me, ‘When your brothers were struck down at Uhud, God placed their spirits in the crops of green birds that would go down to the rivers of paradise and feed off the fruits there. Then they would retire to golden candelabra hung in the shade of the throne. Enjoying their food, drink and lodgings so well, they asked, “Who can tell our brothers about us, that we are alive in paradise and being well provided for, so that they will not shirk the battle, not be reluctant in warfare?”

“God, the Almighty and Glorious, replied, “I will inform them about you!” And so God sent down in the Book His statement, “Do not consider those killed in God’s cause to be dead, but alive. They are being provided for by their Lord”’ (sūrat Al-Imrān; III, v.169).

Muslim and al-Bayhaqi related from a hadīth of Abū Mu‘āwiya, from al-Asmash, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Murra, from Masrūq, who said, “We asked ʿAbd Allāh b. Masqūd about this verse, ‘Do not consider those killed’ and he replied, ‘Actually, we asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about that and he said, “Their souls are in the crops of green birds that fly wherever they want, then retire to candelabra hanging near the throne. Once when they were there your Lord looked over at them and said, ‘Ask whatever you want.’ They replied, ‘What could we have to ask for, flying about anywhere in paradise as we do?’ He repeated His question to them three times and when they realized that they would be asked again and again, they replied, ‘We ask of You that You return our souls to our bodies on earth so that we may be killed in Your cause once more.’ And when God saw that this was the only request they would make, they were left alone.’”

Section: On the number of the martyrs at Uhud.

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, “The total of the muhājirin and ansār martyred at Uhud was 49 men.”

It is established in the authentic tradition given by al-Bukhārī from al-Barā’ that 70 Muslims were killed. But God knows best.

Qatāda stated, from Anas, that 70 ansār were killed at Uhud, 70 at the battle of Bpr Maṣʻūna and 70 at the battle of al-Yamāma.
Hammād b. Salama stated, from Thābit, who said that Anas used to say, “Approximately 70 were killed at Uhud, Bīr Maʿūna, Muʿta and al-Yamāma.”

Mālik stated, on the authority of Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Ansārī, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that at Uhud and al-Yamāma 70 ansār were killed and 70 again at the battle of Abū Ubayda bridge.

Ikrīma, Urwa, al-Zuhārī and Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq all made similar statements about Uhud and further testimony was given by the Almighty’s words, “And when an affliction struck you, you having already afflicted them twice the like, you said, ‘Whence comes this?’” (sūrat Al-ʾĪmār; III, v.164). This refers to their having killed 70 at Badr and captured 70 more.

Iṣḥāq reported that the ansār who were killed at Uhud – perhaps he meant Muslims – totalled 65; there were four muḥājirūn: Ḥamzah, ‘Abd Allāh b. Jahsh, Muṣʿab b. Umayr and Shammās b. Uthmān, while the remainder were ansār.

He listed their names by tribe. Ibn Hīṣām added 5 more names to these, thus totalling, in his view, 70 men.

Iṣḥāq also listed the names of those polytheists who were killed, and they totalled 22 men.

According to Urwa, there were 44 men martyred at Uhud, though he also gave this number as 47.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated that 49 Muslims were killed at that battle, along with 16 polytheists.

ʿUrwa gave this figure as 19, while Iṣḥāq stated they numbered 22.

Al-Rabiʾ stated, from al-Shaḥīṭ, “The only polytheist captured then was Abū ʿAzza al-Jumaiḥ. He had been among the prisoners taken at Badr, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had released him without ransom on condition that he not fight against him again. When Abū ʿAzza was captured at Uhud, he said, ‘O Messenger of God, please release me for the sake of my daughters, and I promise you I won’t fight you again.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘I’ll not have you stroking your beard in Mecca and saying, ‘I’ve tricked Muhammad twice over!’’ Then he gave orders and he was beheaded.”

Some say that it was on that occasion that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “A believer doesn’t get bitten twice from the same lair!”

DIVISION.

Iṣḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left for Medina where, so I have been told, he was met by Ḥamna, daughter of Jahsh. When she was told of the loss of her brother, ‘Abd Allāh b. Jahsh, she prayed for forgiveness for him and stated the creed, ‘To God we belong and to Him we return.’ Then she was told of the death of her uncle Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and she spoke similar prayers for him. Then she was informed of the death of her husband, Muṣʿab b. Umayr, and at this she screamed and wailed. The Messenger of God
(SAAS) having seen how stoically she had received the news of the deaths of her brother and her uncle and how she lamented for her husband, commented, ‘A woman’s husband has a very special place with her.’"

Ibn Majah stated that Muhammad b. Yahyä related to him, quoting Ishäq b. Muhammed al-Farwa, quoting Muhammed b. Umar, from Ibrahim b. Muhammed b. ‘Abd Alläh b. Ja’hsh, from his father, from Hamna, daughter of Ja’hsh, who said that when she was told of the death of her brother, she said, “May God have mercy on him! To God do we belong, and to Him do we return.” When she was then told that her husband had been killed, she burst out, “O woe!” The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, “A husband alone has control over part of his wife’s feelings.”

Ibn Ishäq stated, “‘Abd al-Wähid b. Abu ‘Awãn related to me, from Isma’il, from Muhammad, from Sa’d b. Abn Waqqás, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) went past a woman of Banû Dinâr whose husband, brother and father had been struck down while with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Uhud. When their deaths were reported to her, she asked, “And how is it with the Messenger of God (SAAS)?” They replied, “He is fine. He’s just as you might wish.” She then asked, “Show him to me; I want to see him.” When he was pointed out to her, she commented, “Every loss after you had gone would be jalal, trivial.”’"

Ibn Hishâm noted, “Al-jalal is a word that can apply to minor or to major matters. Here it means ‘minor’. Imru’ al-Qays spoke the verse, ‘Banû Asad’s killing of their chief makes anything thereafter jalal.’

“Here the word jalal means trivial or few.”

Ibn Ishäq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived home to his family, he handed his sword to his daughter Fâtimâ and said, ‘Wash the blood off this, my child. I swear by God, it was true to me today!’

‘Ali b. Abu Talib then handed her his sword repeating, ‘Wash the blood off it; I swear by God it was true to me today!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then commented, ‘And if you stood true in the fighting, so too along with you did Sahl b. Hunayf and Abû Dujâna!’”


Al-Bayhaqi recounted from Sufyân b. ‘Uyayna, from ‘Amr b. Dinâr, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn ’Abbâs, who said that ‘Ali b. Abû Talib at the battle of Uhud brought along his sword that had bent and told Fâtimâ, “Be thankful when you take this sword, for it satisfied my thirst for revenge!”


Ibn Hishâm stated, “This sword of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was Dhû al-Fiqâr. And a scholar told me, quoting Ibn Abû Najîh, ‘A crier called out at the
battle of Uhud, "There is no sword to match Dhū al-Fiqār."") And a scholar told me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to 'Ali, 'The polytheists will not cause us similar losses again before God gives us victory over them.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by the home of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal and he heard weeping and wailing over their dead. The eyes of the Messenger of God (SAAS) welled with tears and he then said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!"

"When Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr returned to the home of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, they ordered their women to dress for outdoors and to go and weep for the uncle of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"Ḥakim b. Ḥakim b. 'Abbad b. Hanif related to me, from a man of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal, who said, 'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard their weeping over Ḥamza, he went out to them; they were at the door to the mosque, weeping. He told them, "Go home, God bless you all; you have been very kind."

"And the Messenger of God (SAAS) forbade public lamentation that day, according to Ibn Hishām. But this ḥadith he gives is munqatī, 'discontinuous' and mursal, 'incompletely transmitted'."

Imām Aḥmad gave the tradition a complete line of transmission, stating, "Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb related to us, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, and Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned from Uhud and the ansār women began weeping over those of their husbands who had been killed, he said, 'But Ḥamza has no women weeping for him!'

"He then went to sleep and when he awoke, the women were weeping. He said, 'Today they are weeping and lamenting the loss of Ḥamza.'"

This tradition meets the criteria of Muslim.

Ibn Mājah recounted it, from Hārūn b. Sa'id, from Ibn Wahb, from Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythī, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by some women of Banū 'Abd al-Ashhal who were weeping over their dead at Uhud. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "But Ḥamza has no women weeping over him."

So then some ansār wives did go and weep for Ḥamza. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) awoke, he said, "Confound them! They'll not be upset when they leave! Let them return, and not wail for the dead from this day on!"

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) went off into the alleys of Medina, there was much lamentation in progress in the houses. He asked, 'What's all this?' He was told, 'These are ansār women lamenting their dead.' He said, 'But there are no women lamenting for Ḥamza.' He then prayed for forgiveness for Ḥamza.

"Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, Sa'd b. Ubāda, Mu'ādh b. Jabal and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāha heard this and walked to their homes, where they set about assembling all the

12. The editor of the Arabic printed text observes in a footnote, "Ibn Hishām stated: 'There is no sword to match Dhū al-Fiqār, and no warrior to match ʿAli!"
weeping and lamenting women there in Medina. The men told them, ‘By God, don’t weep for those slain from among the ansār until you have mourned for the uncle of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He has mentioned how there are no women lamenting him in Medina.’

“They claim that the man who summoned the mourning women was ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. And when the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard them, he asked, ‘What’s all this?’ He was told what the ansār had told their wives; he then prayed for them warmly and asked for them God’s forgiveness, saying, ‘But I didn’t want this; I don’t like wailing!’ And he forbade it.”

Ibn Lahi’a recounts it similarly, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr. Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, “The hypocrites took advantage of the mourning of the Muslims to further sadden them and divide them from the Messenger of God (SAAS). The deceit of the Jews was evident and all Medina boiled with hypocrisy.”

The Jews said, “If he were indeed a prophet, they would not have defeated him, and he would not have suffered such losses at their hand. But he’s just ambitious to establish a domain under his own absolute control.”

The hypocrites said similar things, telling the Muslims, “If you had provided properly for us, those who made you suffer would not have done so.”

And so God sent down the Qurʾān concerning the obedience of those who were obedient and the hypocrisy of those who were that, and in consolation for the Muslims, for those of them who were killed, that is. God stated, “And (remember) when you went forth from your family to establish the believers in camps for battle – and God is All-Hearing and All-Knowing” (ṣūrat Al-ʾImrān; III, v.120). We have discussed this subject in our Tafsīr (Exegesis); and to God belongs all praise and credit.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions, despite their bruises and their wounds, to intimidate and pursue Abū Sufyān and his men as far as Hamrāʾ al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina.

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, following his account of the battle of Uhud and of the return of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Medina, “A man from Mecca came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the latter asked him about Abū Sufyān and his men. The man replied, ‘I stayed with them and heard them arguing, some saying, “You have accomplished nothing. You damaged their leadership and their elite, but then you left them without finishing them off. They still have leaders left who will gather men against you.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave orders for his men – despite their grievous wounds – to move out in pursuit after the enemy in such a way that they would hear of this. He announced, ‘Only those who were present at the
battle may go.' 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy asked, 'May I ride with you?' 'No,' he told him.

"And the Muslims did respond to God and to His messenger, despite their suffering, and set off.

"God stated in His Book, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good, and who are pious shall have a great reward' (sūrat Al-‘Imrān; III, v.171).

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did give permission to Jābir (b. ‘Abd Allāh) to go forth when he related how his father had ordered him to stay in Medina to care for his sisters.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pursued the enemy as far as Ḥāmrā’ al-Asad."

Ibn Lahi’a related this similarly, from Abī al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr.

Muhammad b. Ishāq related in his military chronicle, as follows, "The battle of Uhud took place on Saturday in the middle of Shawwāl. On the morning of Sunday, the 16th of Shawwāl, the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people that they should leave in pursuit of the enemy. His crier also announced that only those who had been present at the previous day’s battle should go forth. Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh spoke with him and he permitted him to join the force.

"The purpose of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in pursuing was to frighten the enemy. This was by making them aware that they were still powerful and that their losses had not so weakened them that they could no longer face their enemy.

"‘Abd Allāh b. Khārija b. Zayd b. Thābit related to me, from Abū al-Sā‘ib, the freed-man of Quraysh, daughter of Uthmān, that a man of Banū ‘Abd al-Ash’al said, 'I was present at Uhud, along with a brother of mine. We came home wounded and when the crier of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced the pursuit of the enemy, I and my brother agreed that we should not lose the opportunity of participating in another expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) even though we did not (each) have a mount to ride and were badly wounded. So we left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I was less badly wounded than my brother; when he became exhausted, I would let him ride for a while and then he would again walk for a while. Eventually we caught up with the other Muslims.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on as far as Ḥāmrā’ al-Asad, a place some eight miles from Medina. There he remained the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday and then he returned to Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "He left Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr related to me that Ma’bad b. Abū Ma’bad al-Khuza‘ī passed by them. The Khuza‘ tribe, both those of them who were Muslims and those who were unbelievers, were secretly the allies of the
Messenger of God (SAAS) in Tihama and their understanding with him was that they would not conceal from him anything that happened there. Ma‘bad at that time was a polytheist and he told the Messenger of God (SAAS) on his way past Ḥamrā‘ al-Asad, ‘Muḥammad, we’re deeply sorry at what happened to your men, and we would hope for God to protect you and them.’

‘He then left, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was still there at Ḥamrā‘ al-Asad, and met up with Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and his men at al-Rawḥā‘. They had decided to return to fight the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men. They had concluded, ‘We have severely damaged the best of his Companions and their chieftains and nobles, so should we now go home before we uproot them completely? We should go back for the rest of them and be finished with them.’

“When Abū Sufyān saw Ma‘bad, he asked him, ‘How are things back up behind you, Ma‘bad?’ He replied, ‘Muḥammad has come out with his men seeking you in a force the like of which I never saw before. They are truly enraged towards you. He has been joined by those who stayed behind when you did battle with him, and these men much regret what they did. The anger they have towards you is something the like of which I’ve never seen before.’

‘What are you suggesting, confound you?’ Abū Sufyān demanded. He replied, ‘I swear, I don’t think you’ll be able to leave before you catch sight of the forelocks of their cavalry.’

‘But we’ve decided to attack them to destroy the rest of them!’

Ma‘bad commented, ‘I really do advise you against that. I swear, I was so affected by what I saw that I composed some verse on the subject.’

‘What did you compose?’ Abū Sufyān asked.

Ma‘bad then recited,

‘At the noise, my mount almost shied, the earth streaming with masses of fine horses.

Racing on, their riders like noble lions, men not effeminate in the fray and not poorly armed.

I ran on, thinking the earth itself moving, as they brought up a leader never to be forsaken.

And I said, “Woe to Ibn Ĥarb when you meet and the plain shakes beneath the lines of men!”

I warn the people of Mecca very plainly, addressing every wise and sane man they have,

Of the army of Aḥmad, not some mixed rabble, and my warning should not be described as mere hearsay.’

“Abū Sufyān and his party were dissuaded from action by this.

“A party of men from ‘Abd Qays passed by, and he asked them where they were headed. When they told him to Medina, he asked why, and they replied that they were going there for supplies. Abū Sufyān asked them, ‘Would you deliver a message I will give you for Muḥammad? If you will, I’ll load up these camels of yours with raisins at Ukāz tomorrow.’ They agreed and he then told
them, ‘When you reach him, tell him that we have decided to come on after him and his Companions to wipe out the rest of them!’

‘The men passed by the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad and told him what Abū Sufyān had said. To this he commented, ‘God suffices for us; a fine protector is He!’’

Al-Ḥasan al-巴基r gave the same tradition.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Ahmad b. Yūnus related to us, saying, ‘Abū Bakr related to us, from Abū Ḥusayn, from Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that this phrase ḥabdūnā Allāh wa nāma al-wakil, “God suffices for us; a fine protector is He” was spoken by Abraham when he was cast into the fire. Muḥammad (SAAS) spoke it when they told him, “The people have assembled for you; make them afraid.” And he did inspire greater faith in them and they said, “God suffices for us; a fine protector is He.”’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account.

He also stated, “Muḥammad b. Salām related to us, quoting Abū Muḥāwiya, from Hishām, from his father, from Ḥishā, God bless her, who said to Ṣumra about the verse, ‘Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are pious shall have a great reward’ (ṣūrat Ṭ-Ṭrīm; III, v.171): ‘Nephew, your fathers were among these, al-Zubayr and Abū Bakr, God be pleased with them. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) suffered his losses at Uḥud and the polytheists withdrew, he was concerned that they might return. And so he asked, “Who will pursue them?” Seventy of his men volunteered, including Abū Bakr and al-Zubayr.”’

This is the account given by al-Bukhārī. Muslim gave it in an abbreviated form through Hishām. Saʿīd b. Manṣūr and Abū Bakr al-Ḥumaydī jointly related this from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Ibn Mājah also verified it through him, from Hishām b. Ṣur. Al-Ḥākim related it in his compendium through Abū Saʿīd from Hishām b. Ṣur; he related it from a ḥadīth of al-Suddī, from Ṣur. He said that both scholars considered the tradition ṣaḥīḥ, authentic, but that these scholars had not narrated it.

This is what he stated. But the context of this is very strange. For it is well known by the scholars who have written on the military expeditions that all those who advanced with the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad were those who had been present at Uḥud and that these totalled 700, as is told above, of whom 70 were killed, the remainder surviving.

Ibn Ḥajar related, through al-ʿAwnī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “God cast terror into the heart of Abū Sufyān after what had happened at Uḥud and he returned to Mecca. The battle of Uḥud took place in Shawwal. The merchants would come to Medina in Dhū al-Qaʿda, staying once every year at Badr al-Ṣughrah. They arrived again after the battle of Uḥud. The Muslim warriors had suffered severe injuries and were complaining of these to the Messenger of God (SAAS). However, he told his men to go forth and continue what they
had been doing. He told us, 'If you leave now, the month for the hajj will soon
be upon us and they will not be able to do the same again until next year.'

"Then the devil came to scare his deputies, saying, 'The enemy is all gathered
against you.' His men refused to follow him and so he said, 'I am going forth,
even if no one follows me.'

"Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Aṭīya, Talḥa, al-Zubayr, Sa'd, 'Abd al-Rahmān
b. 'Aṣwāf, Abū Ubayda, Ibn Masʿūd and Ḥudhayfā left with him, accompanied
by 70 men. They went in pursuit of Abū Sufyān as far as al-Ṣafra'. And God
revealed the verse, 'Regarding those who responded to God and to His messenger
after all the injuries they had suffered, those of them who do good and who are
pious shall have a great reward'" (ṣūrat Āl-ʿImrān; III, v.171).

This account is also very strange.

Ibn Hishām stated, "Abū Ubayda related to us that when Abū Sufyān b.
Harb withdrew after the battle of Uhud, he wanted to return to Medina. But
Safwān b. Umayya advised him, 'No, don't do that. The enemy is thoroughly
enraged and we fear they might engage in battle differently from before. Return
home.' And so they did.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was at Ḥamrā' al-ʿAsad when he
received news that they were about to go home, then said, 'By Him who holds
my soul in His hand, rocks have been assigned them; if they had been greeted
with them, they would have been history!'

"While out there and before his return to Medina, the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS) captured Muʿawiyah b. al-Mughīrā b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. 'Abd
Shaṃs, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's grandfather on his mother's side, she
being Ṣā'īda, daughter of Muʿawiyah, along with Abū 'Azza al-Jumaḥī. The
Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had captured this Muʿawiyah at Badr and then
released him. Muʿawiyah asked him, 'O Messenger of God, forgive me?' But he
replied, 'No, by God, you'll not stroke your beard in Mecca and say, "I've twice
deceived Muḥammad!" Strike off his head, Zuhayr!' And his head was severed."

Ibn Hishām also stated, "Ibn al-Musayyab was quoted to me as having
said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, 'A believer doesn't get bitten
twice from the same lair; strike off his head, 'Asim b. Thabit!' And his head was
severed.'

Ibn Hishām went on, "Muʿawiyah b. al-Mughīrā b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ was given
sanctuary by 'Uthmān provided that he remain only three days. Thereafter the
Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Zayd b. Ḥarīṭha and 'Ammār b. Yāsir to capture
him, telling them, 'You'll find him in such and such a place; kill him!' And they
did so, may God be pleased with them both."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "It was related to me by al-Zuhri that 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy had
a particular spot (in the mosque) he would occupy each Friday; this position

13. The sanctity of the hajj season would deprive the Meccans of the opportunity of attacking
the Muslims.
would not be disputed by anyone else, out of respect for him and his people, he being a chieftain. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) took his seat to address the people on Friday, 'Abd Allâh would arise and say, 'People, this is the Messenger of God before you. God has given you honour and glory through him. Give him aid and support and listen and obey.' He would then sit down.

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men had returned to Medina, following the events at Uhud, 'Abd Allâh got up as usual but the Muslims grasped his clothing from all sides, saying, 'Sit down, you enemy of God! You're no longer worthy of that, having acted as you did!'

"He therefore left, stepping over the necks of the men there, saying, 'By God, it's as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!"

"At the door of the mosque he was met by some of the ansâr, who asked him, 'What's wrong with you?' He replied, 'I arose to express my support for him, but some of his Companions jumped on me and roughed me up. It's as if I were committing some sin by arising to express my support for him!' 'Go back inside', they told him, 'and the Messenger of God (SAAS) will ask them to forgive you.' 'By God,' he replied, 'I don't want him to ask forgiveness for me!'

Ibn Ishâq then referred to what was revealed in the Qur'ân concerning the battle of Uhud, in sûrat Al-'Ismrân, beginning with the verse, "And (remember) when you went forth in the morning from your family to place the believers in positions for the fighting. And God is Al-Hearing, All-Knowing."

He made reference to 60 verses and discussed these.

We have ourselves written at sufficient length on this in our work of exegesis. He then proceeded to mention the martyrs of Uhud, enumerating them and their names and those of their fathers, according to their tribes, as was his custom.

He referred to 4 of the muhâjjirûn - Ḥamza, Muṣâb b. Umayr, 'Abd Allâh b. Jaḥsh, Shammâs b. Uthmân, God be pleased with them all. He named 65 ansâr who were killed. Ibn Hîshâm added 5 other names to these; thus in his view the ansâr killed totalled 70 men.

Ibn Ishâq then named those of the polytheists who were killed; these totalled 22 men whom he arranged by their tribes.

I observe that none of the polytheists were captured except for Abû 'Azza al-Jumaḥî, as al-Shâfi'î and others report. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had him killed right before him; he ordered al-Zubayr to execute him. It is also said that this was done by 'Asîm b. Thâbit b. Abû al-Aṣâf. The man's head was cut off.

Chapter: The verses exchanged between the believers and the unbelievers concerning the battle of Uhud.

We record here the poems of the unbelievers merely in order to give the responses to them made in the Islamic poetry, emphasizing the aesthetic and intellectual impact of the latter and exposing the idiocy of the former, that rabble!
Imám Muḥammad b. Ishaq, may God be pleased with him, stated, “Among the poems spoken at Uḥud was the following by Ḥubayra b. Abū Wahb al-Makhzūmi, a follower of the religion of his people, the Quraysh,

‘Why do I suffer this painful love-sickness that afflicts me for Hind when warriors are on the move?

Hind now blames and reproaches me at a time when warfare diverts me from her,

Easy now, do not reproach me; my character is thus, as you have learned, and I have never concealed.

I give aid to Banū Ka'b as they require; I bear weights and burdens I suffer from.

I bore my sword upon a tall, long-paced steed, smooth its gait, keeping up with the rest when it runs,

As it races it is like an onager in the wild which, though pursued, stays by the female asses, protecting.

From the line of Ā'waj he is, and the crowd loves him; he is like the healthy, full branch of a very tall tree.

I readied him along with a fine, select blade and a spear for whatever dangers I might meet.

And also chain-mail, rippling like running water, finely wrought and closely fitting, no faults apparent.

We led Kināna forth from the ends of Yemen across the lands, herding them along.

Kināna asked, “Where are you taking us?” We replied, “To al-Nukhayl.” And so they headed for it, and for those there.

We were the knights of the battle on the slope of Uḥud; Ma'add were afraid, so we said we would go to them.

They feared the blows and thrusts, accurate and damaging, that they had seen when their advance forces were engaged.

Then we arrived like a hailstorm, and up went the bird-spirit of Banū al-Najjār, mourning them,

And their heads in the battle were like ostrich eggs, shattered and scattered.

Or a colocynth plant, its stem dried out, being buffeted by fierce winds.

We expend our funds generously and without accounting and thrust at the knights, in their eyes, from all sides.

Many is the night a man warms himself at a carcass he has slaughtered, but reserved for the wealthy he invited.

And many the frosty and rainless, freezing night of Jumādā I've travelled through,

So bitter cold that dogs would bark only once, and snakes not move.

On such nights I've lit for the needy a big fire, bright as lightning, illuminating all around.

‘Amr and his father before him bequeathed me this practice, one he would often repeat.

Such men rivalled the stars in brightness, their achievements no less than the greatest of deeds.’

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Hassan b. Thabit, God be pleased with him, responded with the following verses."

However, Ibn Hisham said that these were also attributed to Ka'b b. Malik and others. In my view the attribution Ibn Ishaq makes to Hassan is more widely and frequently accepted. But God knows best.

"It was your foolishness that made you blindly lead Kinana against the Messenger, for God's forces would humble them.

You brought them down to pools of death that morning, for being killed and hell-fire await them.

You gathered up Abyssinian slaves, devoid of ancestry, you chiefs of disbelief, deceived by your tyrants.

Did you not remember God's horsemen when they killed those at the well, and those they threw therein?

How many were the captives we freed without cost and how many a forelock we cropped of those we mastered!"

Ibn Ishaq went on, "Ka'b b. Malik also spoke the following verses in response to Hubayra b. Abu Wahab al-Makhzumi,

'Has, then, Ghassan heard about us, even though between us and them there is desert land difficult to traverse?

Wastelands and mountains, their dark forms from the distance looking like barren dust columns, widely scattered,

Where young, hardy camels weaken and the annual heavy rain clouds pass over when they come,

Where the bones of the carcasses of exhausted beasts appear stretched out like the linens of traders.

There the wild cows and the antelopes walk in file and ostrich eggs have their shells scattered far.

Our fighters defending our faith are all fine warriors, the crests of their helmets glinting.

Every chain-mail in storage when put on seems like a full-running stream.

But at Badr ask any man you meet and any news of people far away may be useful.

There we were in the land of fear and had others than us been there, they would have left by night, in flight.

When one of our out-riders came he would say, "Prepare for what Ibn Harb is gathering and preparing."

No matter how others would react at what affects us, we would have remained more calm than them.

If others than us had faced such a host, they would have given up and dispersed.

We battled them and no tribe could have withstood us without becoming terrified and taking flight.

When they went to live at al-'Irâd," our chief said, "If we do not protect al-'Irâd, the seed, why sow it?

15. A place on the outskirts of Medina. The use of the word 'ird again in the same verse, meaning "seed", is, of course, a deliberate pun.
We have a messenger among us whose instruction we obey; when he orders us we do not delay. The spirit comes down upon him from his Lord, made to descend from the heavens and then to arise again. We seek his advice on what we want, and our goal is to listen and obey all his wishes.”

The messenger said, when they came in our sight, “Give up fear of death and seek it instead; Be like those who sell their lives by coming close to a King who gives life and restores it. Take up your swords and put your trust in God; all power rests with God.”

We headed straight for them on their mounts, our swords held above us and not afraid, Our squadron bearing swords and lances, the feet of our mounts not wavering once planted. We plunged on as into the waves of the sea, amidst which were their Abyssinians, some bearing armour, others not. They were 3,000 strong, we some 300 or at most 400 choice warriors

When we plunged into them death flowed all around us; we raced towards death’s pool and we came first. Lote-wood bows shot to and fro between us, all with fine strings from Yathrib, The arrows all made from the holy city of Sa'd, and treated with poison when crafted That pierced men’s bodies and sometimes glanced off their armour, making a noise.

The cavalry on the plain were numerous as locusts on a cool night, brought by an east wind. Then we clashed and fighting was fierce between us; and there is no denying God’s command. We struck at them until we left their leaders in the hollow lying like felled trees. That morning and on till refreshed by evening, our energy was like the heat of a fire, consuming all.

They retreated in suffering, as though they were cloud remnants that had shed their water, blown away by the wind. We advanced, our rearguard following slowly; we were like lions striking out at their game at Bisha.

We caused casualties, as did the enemy to us; it was we who acted, but God’s role was greater. We fought hard and they fought too, all getting their fill of evil. We are a people who do not consider that to kill is blameworthy for those who protect and defend their charges.

Stoic in adversity, we never find ourselves to weep over someone killed. We are warriors who never retract what we said, and we never despair at whatever warfare brings. We are warriors who, if victorious, never commit atrocities, and we never complain at our injuries.
We are like a flame from whose heat others seek protection while those near it and exposed are scorched.

You claim superiority over me, Ibn al-Ziba'rā, yet a party went forth in pursuit of you late at night.

And so on the heights of Ma'add and elsewhere ask yourself about which of all men is the least esteemed,

And who it was the warfare left with nothing to boast of, and whose face was most shamed in the battle.

We attacked you fiercely, with God's help and support, the heads of our spears well directed.

Our lances caused wounds among you like the orifices of waterskis, gushing water.

We headed for the standard-bearers and those who speed to defend the banner are those swiftest in receiving praise.

Yet your men were traitors and gave up in desertion; and God refutes any order but it is He who is most effective.'"

Ibn Ishaq went on, "'Abd Allāh b. al-Ziba'rā spoke the following verses about the battle of Uhud, he still being a polytheist at that time,

'O rook of ill-omen, since you foretell, then speak; you only announce what is already done.

Both good and evil have their course and both of these have witnesses to them.

For them gifts are valueless and the graves of rich and poor are all alike.

All life, all pleasure, fades and fate's handmaidens toy with us all.

Convey to Hassān a message from me, for composing poetry alleviates those in pain.

How many were the skulls you saw at the mountain's foot, how many the severed feet and arms.

How plentiful the fine armour removed from warriors slaughtered in the fray.

How many the noble lord we killed, men of fine lineage, on both sides, leaders and heroes,

Men truly brave, lords of distinction, not cowards when the sharp points struck.

Ask al-Mihrās, the well at Uhud, what skulls and brains inhabit it, like partridges.

How I wish that my elders at Badr had witnessed the terror of the al-Khazraj when the points struck home,

When warfare scratched its chest at Qubā and killing boiled among the 'Abd al-Ashhal.

They sped away rapidly then, like young ostriches climbing up the mountain.

Of their nobles we killed twice as many, and we reversed the trend at Badr, and it was equalized.

I am not blaming ourselves, except that if we had done it again we would have harmed them badly

With our Indian swords rising above their heads, drinking deep again and again.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "Hassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him, responded as follows,
'Ibn al-Ziba'ra got carried away by a battle in which we had the advantage; if only he had been fair!

We damaged you and you us; warfare sometimes goes in cycles like that.

We put our swords to your shoulders and there we drank your blood time and again.

We made your backsides flow, as happens to old camels eating 'asafl for medicine!

You took to your heels in flight in the defile, following along like sheep.

Then we attacked you fiercely, forcing you down to the foot of the mountain;

Our groups of warriors were like ashdāq in the desert wastes, terrifying whomever came across them.

The defile pressed in upon us and we crossed through it and filled its heights and low places alike,

With men whose equal you are not and who were aided by Gabriel who came down.

It was our piety that won the day at Badr, our obedience to God and our belief in the prophets.

We killed every one of their chieftains and all their nobles in flowing robes.

At the battle of Badr we left shame upon Quraysh and exemplary tales to be told.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) in truth was witness to the battle of Badr, while the short, corpulent men

Of Quraysh assembled there were like unattended camels gathering in a pasture.

It is we, not people like you born to your mothers' arses, who face up to the fray when warfare comes!"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ka'b recited the following verses honouring Ḥamza and those Muslims, may God be pleased with them all, killed with him at Uhud,

'You wept. And was it another who made you do so, when it was you who cried when remembering?

Your memory was of a people about whom stories have reached me in this tortuous time.

To think of them your heart throbs in longing and tear-filled sadness.

But those they killed are in pleasant gardens, honoured therein both when they enter or leave

For what they endured beneath the flag, the flag of the prophet at Dhū al-Adwaj

That day when all of Aws and Khazraj gave answer with their swords.

Along with Aḥmad's men following the truth, its path so well illuminated.

They kept on striking the warriors as they traversed through the swirling dust.

So it was until the King summoned them to a garden whose entrance was shielded by much foliage.

All of them died heroically, in God's faith, and received no punishment,

Like Ḥamza when he held true, wielding a sharp sword, cutting deep.
The slave of Banū Nawfal confronted him, snorting like a black camel,  
And ran him through with a spear, fast as a flame blazing up in a fire.  
Nu‘mān fulfilled his promise, and Hanzalla, the good, did not turn away  
From the truth until his spirit passed on to a place splendid with jewels.  
Those were men, not those of yours lying in the furthest depths of hell.”

Ibn Ḳaṣṣāf stated, “Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses in mourning for  
Ḥamza and the Muslims struck down at the battle of Uhud. It is in the same  
rhyme as the poem of ʿUmayya b. Abū ʿAlī ʿAlī eulogizing the polytheists killed  
at the battle of Badr.”

Ibn Ḥishām stated, “There are some scholars expert in the poetry who deny  
that this poem should be attributed to Ḥassān. But God knows best.”

(Ḥassān b. Thābit recited),

“O Mayy, arise and lament loudly as the mourning women do,  
Like hags bearing heavy burdens, complaining, overladen,  
Wailing, and scratching at the faces of other women,  
Their flowing tears reminding one of pillars stained with the blood of sacrifice,  
Tearing at their hair and letting its ends appear,  
Looking like the tails of restive horses being tossed in the morning,  
Looking like scraps of meat cut up and left to be blown dry in the wind.  
They cry in sadness, mourning women overwhelmed by tragedy,  
Their hearts wounded, emitting pus from beneath scabs,  
Now that fate has struck down those we relied upon when we feared  
The warriors at Uhud injured, and destroyed by fate,  
Our knights and protectors when warriors are sent forth.  
O Ḥamza, I will not, I swear, ever forget you as long as time goes on.  
You were the refuge of orphans, strangers and modest-eyed widows,  
Protecting against that fate that brings successive, searing wars.  
O knight and champion, O Ḥamza, you were our gallant defender  
Protecting us from terrible, calamitous blows of hate.  
I thought of you as the lion of the Prophet, who is himself our champion, our  
protector,  
He who has always been considered when our noble and generous lords are counted.  
Towering above all nobles in fame, a man of generosity and pre-eminence,  
Not an irresponsible or fearful or weak man who complains at bearing burdens.  
A liberal man who would never withhold any generosity or kindness from his  
neighbours.  
Fine young men have perished, men of great esteem,  
Men who would provide food in winter when the cattle were dispersed,  
Camel meat with chunks and slices of fat on top of it,  
Defending their neighbours for so long as those hating them attack.  
I grieve for the young men of whom we are deprived, men like shining lamps,  
Proud men, lords, nobles, men of generosity and breeding,  
Men who purchased praise with their wealth, for praise brings dividends,  
Men who jumped to their bridles if there cried out for them
Someone beset by the misfortunes of an evil time,
His mounts moving steadily along on the flat land,
Competing with one another, he being in one group whose chests poured with sweat,
Moving on until success came, but not from the luck of a winning arrow of chance.
O Ḥamza, you have rendered me lonely, like a branch severed by someone pruning it.
I express my pain to you, now that earth and stones are piled above you,
And a flagstone placed on top of you by the gravedigger, completing his work,
On an open plain, covering the grave with earth and smoothing it well.
Our consolation is for us to say, though our speaking it is very hard, that whoever
has been spared life's misfortunes
Should come to us for his eyes to weep for our noble dead
Who acted as they spoke, men of generosity and good deeds,
Men whose hands were always stretched forth in liberality.”

Ibn Hishām commented, “Most scholars of poetry refute attribution of this poem to Ḥassān.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Ka'b b. Mālik spoke the following verses eulogizing Ḥamza and his fellow warriors,

‘Struck by anxiety, you lay sleepless, worried that joyful youth had been stripped from you,
While a Damri girl invited your heart to loving; but your passion is of Ghawr, and your wakefulness of Najd.
Abandon excessive pursuit of passion; you were always blamed for acting that way. It is now time for you to refrain, obediently, and to pay heed when counsel warns.
You were devastated by the loss of Ḥamza, your stomach in confusion.
If Mt. Ḥirā' itself suffered such a shock its peaks would collapse.
A chief he was, formed from Hashim's stock wherein lie prophethood, nobility and leadership,
Leaders who would slaughter big-humped camels when the wind almost froze the water,
Men who would leave their brave foes prostrate on the battlefield, their lances broken in two.
This was a man who strutted in his armour as though he were a huge, brown, big-pawed lion.
He was the uncle and the confidant of the Prophet, Muḥammad, and he went most gloriously to his death.
He went with distinction to his fate, one of a family who aided the Prophet, and of whom some sought martyrdom.
Hind was told the good tidings of this, to alleviate the burning pain inside her,
When we met her folk that morning on the sandhill, that day her happiness fled.
(And we talked) of the well at Badr, when Gabriel and Muḥammad, beneath our flag, repelled the enemy,
So that the Prophet saw their hosts as two parts whom we could either kill or drive away at will,
Left prostrate at the site, they were 70 in number, Uthba and al-Aswad among them.

And Ibn al-Mughira too whom we struck above his neck-artery, making it flow and foam.

And it was a sharp sword in the hands of the believers that set Umayya al-Jumahi straight.

The polytheist rabble came to you, chased by the cavalry, like ostriches in retreat. What a difference there is in those for ever in hell and those who dwell in paradise in eternity!"

Ibn Ishaq went on to say that Abd Allâh b. Rawâha spoke the following verses in mourning for Ḥamza and his fellow warriors killed at the battle of Uhud. Ibn Hishâm, however, stated that Abî Zayd recited them to him as having been composed by Ka'b b. Malik. But God knows best.

“My eyes wept, and they had a right to do so; but weeping and wailing will do no good.

For the lion of God, that day they asked, ‘Could that man slain be Ḥamza?’

Through his death all the Muslims were injured there, the Messenger as well.

O Ḥamza, Ya'la’s father, the very foundations were destroyed; you were the epitome of glory, piety and kindness.

May God’s peace be upon you in paradise, in pleasure that will never end!

O Ḥashim, of all men the best, be steadfast; and all your deeds were good and generous.

The Messenger of God is noble and patient; it is at God’s command he enunciates when he speaks.

Who will inform Lu'ayy for me, for after today, the world will be utterly changed.

And before this day they have known and tasted deeds of ours by which the thirst for vengeance was satisfied.

You have all forgotten our blows at the pool of Badr, that day when sudden death struck you.

That day when Abû Jahl fell prostrate, the vultures circled and hovered above him, And Uthba and his son also fell, and Shayba was bitten by the burnished sword.

There we left Umayya stretched out, a slim spear between his ribs.

Ask the heads of Bânî Rabî‘a; our swords have notches because of them.

O Hind,” weep and tire not of it; for you are passionate, shedding tears as though bereaved of a son.

And You, Hind, show no joy at Ḥamza’s death; your exultation is despicable.

Ibn Ishaq continued, “Ṣafiyya daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib spoke the following verses, mourning her brother Ḥamza b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. She was the mother

19. This Hind is presumably Hind daughter of Uthâtha b. ‘Abbad b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib who had eulogized Ḥamza (see above p.52), while the Hind of the next line would be the daughter of Uthba b. Rabî‘a, the wife of Abû Sufyân, who had sworn to eat Ḥamza’s liver when the latter had killed her father Uthba at Badr. The two women spoke verses against one another after the battle of Uhud.
of al-Zubayr and was the aunt of the Prophet (SAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

‘Are you, sisters of mine, asking, in fear, those present at Uhud, the ignorant and knowledgeable alike?

The knowledgeable replied, “Hamza is dead! The adviser, the very best adviser of the Messenger of God!

The God of truth and the throne has summoned him to paradise, where he will live in joy.”

That was what we had hoped for; we anticipate for Hamza the best of fortunes on assembly day.

By God, I'll not forget you so long as the winds blow; I will mourn and be sad whether I am at home or away.

For God’s lion who was a defender who protected Islam from all who disbelieved.

How I wish my limbs and bones had been there then, for the hyenas and vultures to attack me!

I say, my family having made louder their lament, “May God reward well this brother, this champion!””

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Nu’mān, wife of Shamās b. Uthmān, spoke the following verses in mourning for her husband; but God, to whom all praise and credit are due, knows best.

‘Eyes, weep copiously and without stop for a noble, brave warrior,

A man of firm conviction and fine disposition, a standard-bearer and a horseman.

When his death was announced, I cried in pain, “Gone is the man of generosity! Gone is he who fed and clothed!”

And I said, when his usual places were empty of him, “May God not distance from us our nearness to Shamās!””

“Her brother al-Ḥakam b. Saʿīd b. Yarbiʿ responded as follows in consoling her,

‘Guard your modesty, in seclusion and dignity; Shamās was just one of our men.

Do not kill yourself because his death has come, in obedience of God, and on a day of violence and terror.

Now Hamza was God’s lion; so bear up, for he tasted from Shamās’s cup that day.’

“Hind, daughter of Utba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, recited, upon their return from Uhud,

‘I have returned home with my mind in much confusion, some of those I was after having escaped me,

Those of Quraysh at Badr, and others, including some of Banū Hāshim and of the people of Yathrib.

However, I did gain one thing, even if it was not all as I had hoped in my journey.’”

Ibn Ishāq gives many more such poems. We have left out the others because of our concern not to be long-winded and boring; those poems we have given suffice. And to God be all praise.
Al-Umawi gave in his military chronicles even more poems than Ibn Ishaq; this was his usual practice, though even more evident here.

Among the verses quoted from Hassān b. Thābit were the following delivered about the battle of Uhud,

"It was the devil they obeyed, when he let them down and their disgrace and failure was fully evident,

When they shouted in unison with Abū Sufyān, ‘Rise up, Hubal!’

We all answered back, ‘Our Lord, the All-Merciful, is greater and more splendid!’

Be sure, you used this cry once at the ‘pool of death’ (at Badr), death being a place to drink.

You should know that when thoughts of death must be slaked, we are cooking pots on the boil."

It seems that these verses may well be part of Hassān’s response to ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zibār; but God knows best.

This brings to an end commentary on the battle of Uhud.

DIVISION.

There has been recounted above those events, raids and expeditions that occurred in 3 AH. The best-known of these was the battle of Uhud, that occurred in the middle of Shawwal of that year, as we have detailed above. And to God be all praise.

At Uhud, there died as a martyr Abū Yaṣā, also known as Abū ʿAmāra, Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) who was known as ‘God’s lion’ and ‘His messenger’s lion’. He was the foster-brother of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as also was Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad. All were suckled by Thuwaybā, the freed-woman of Abū Lahab, this fact being established in a reliable hadith account.

He would, moreover, have been more than 50 when he was killed. He was a brave, heroic man and a major early trusting follower; at that battle others totalling 70 were killed along with him. May God be pleased with them all!

That same year Uthmān b. ʿAffān married Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), following the death of her sister Ruqayya. His betrothal to her took place in Rabiʿ al-Awwal of that year, and the marriage was consummated in Jumādā al-Ākhira, as has been told above. Al-Waqidi related this.

Ibn Jarir also said of that year: “Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib was born to Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).” He added that the same year she conceived al-Ḥusayn; may God be pleased with them all!
In the name of God, the Most Merciful 
and Compassionate; O Lord, facilitate!

THE YEAR 4 AH.

In Muharram of that year Abu Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad made his foray against Tulayha al-Asadi, and he went on as far as the place known as Qatan.

Al-Waqidi quoted 'Umar b. Uthmân b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Sa'id al-Yarbûq, from Salama b. 'Abd Allah b. Umar b. Abu Salama and others, as having said, "Abû Salama was present at Uhud, where he was seriously wounded in the upper arm. He rested for a month recuperating and then, in Muharram, at the beginning of 35 months after the Hijra, the Messenger of God (SAAS) summoned him and told him, 'I want you to go forth into Banû Asad territory and to attack them.'" He charged him to behave with piety and to treat the Muslims with him well.

One hundred and fifty men accompanied him on this expedition.

He went out to near Qatan, which is a well belonging to Banû Asad, where Tulayha al-Asadi and his brother Salama, both sons of Khûwaylid, were also present. He had assembled his allies from Banû Asad with the intention of making war against the Prophet (SAAS). But one of their men had come to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him of what they were planning against him. He had therefore dispatched Abû Salama on this expedition.

When they (the Muslims) reached their territory, they dispersed, leaving large quantities of camels and goats as booty for them. Abû Salama took all this into his possession, along with three of their slaves he had taken prisoner, and set out to return to Medina. He then awarded a substantial portion of the booty to that man of Banû Asad who had given them information. Having extracted the portion due to the Prophet (SAAS), a slave and one-fifth of the booty, he divided up the rest among his companions. Then he entered Medina."

'Umar b. Uthmân stated that 'Abd al-Malik b. Ubayd related to him, from 'Abd al-Rahman b. Sa'id b. Yarbûq, from 'Umar b. Abu Salama, who said, "It was Abû Usâma al-Jushami who injured my father. He spent a month recovering and when he had done so, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent him, in Muharram of that year, 4 AH that is, to Qatan. He was away for some ten days and when he returned to Medina his wound got the better of him and he died, three days prior to the end of Jumâdâ al-Ulîl."

'Umar then added, "My mother then observed the 'idda" period of four months and ten days. Thereafter the Messenger of God (SAAS) contracted marriage with her and this he consummated a few days prior to the end of Shawwâl. My mother used to say, 'There's nothing wrong with contracting and consummating a marriage in Shawwâl; it was then that the Messenger of God (SAAS) both contracted and consummated marriage with me.'"

20. The period of waiting prescribed in Islamic law during which a woman may not remarry following the death of her husband.
He stated that Umm Salama died in Dhū al-Qa‘da, 59 AH. Al-Bayhaqi related this.

I observe that we will report in regard to the latter part of this year, 4 AH, that it was in Shawwāl that the Prophet (SAAS) arranged his marriage with Umm Salama. (I will also comment) on whether the son negotiates on his mother’s behalf in marriage, and I will note the views of scholars in that regard. If God Almighty wills it so, and in Him is all confidence.

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**THE EXPEDITION TO AL-RAJF.**

Al-Waqqādī stated, “In Safar – of the year 4 AH – the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent men to the Meccans to receive safe passage from them.”

He added, “Al-Rajf is positioned some eight miles from ʿAsfān.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿIbrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Ḥishām b. Yūsuf, from Māʿarim, from al-Zuhri, from ʿAmr b. Abū Sufyān al-Thaqafī, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) sent out a reconnaissance expedition, having appointed ʿAṣim b. Thābit as their leader; he was the grandfather of ʿAṣim b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

“They travelled out to a point between ʿAsfān and Mecca and there news of them reached a tribe of Banū Hudhayl known as Banū Liḥyān. The latter proceeded to pursue them, their force consisting of some 100 archers. They followed their tracks to a camp site where they had made a halt and there they found kernels of the dates with which the Muslims had provisioned themselves in Medina. The Banū Liḥyān men recognized these as being from Medina, followed on after them and eventually caught up with them.

“When ʿAṣim and his companions could go no further, they took refuge on an outcrop of rock where they were surrounded by Banū Liḥyān. The latter told them, ‘If you come on down, we give you our pledge and promise not to kill any one of you.’ ʿAṣim replied, ‘For myself, I’ll not place myself under the security of a non-believer. O God, inform Your prophet about us!’

“The Banū Liḥyān men then attacked and killed ʿAṣim and seven of his men with arrows. Khubayb, Zayd and one other man remained alive. When Banū Liḥyān repeated their pledge and promise, Khubayb and the others came down. When they had them in their power, their enemy untied some bow strings with which they bound their prisoners. The third Muslim remonstrated, ‘So now the treachery begins!’ He then refused to accompany them. His captors dragged him along, trying to force him to accompany them, but when he resisted, they killed him.

“They then set off with Khubayb and Zayd and sold them in Mecca. The tribe of al-Ḥārīth b. ʿAmir b. Nawfal bought Khubayb; it had been Khubayb who had killed al-Ḥārīth at the battle of Badr. He remained with them for some time as their prisoner until they decided to kill him. Khubayb then asked one of...
al-Ḥārith’s daughters if he could borrow a razor with which to shave his pubic hair and she loaned him one.

“She later said, ‘My attention then left a baby of mine who crawled over to Khubayb, who lifted it up on to his lap. When I saw the baby there I was terrified and Khubayb, holding the razor, saw this and asked, ‘Are you scared I might kill him? I would hope to God I’d never do any such thing!’

“She used to comment, ‘I never saw a better prisoner than Khubayb. I once saw him, bound in irons, eating a large bunch of grapes at a time when there were no such fruit in Mecca; the grapes were nothing but bounty that God bestowed on him.’

“His captors ultimately took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. He asked, ‘Allow me to make two rakʿāt in prayer.’ Having done so, he went over to them and said, ‘Except for the fact that you would have thought me scared of dying, I would have prayed longer.’ He was the first to institute the practice of making two rakʿāt before execution. Khubayb then said, ‘O God, count them one by one, and give them violent death!’

“He also spoke the following verses,

‘Being killed as a Muslim, I care not how my death comes, since it is in God’s cause.

For that is God’s prerogative; and if He wishes He will give His blessings to severed limbs.’

“Thereupon ‘Uqba b. al-Ḥārith went up and killed him. Quraysh later sent for a part of Āṣim’s body that they would recognize; Āṣim had killed one of their leaders at Badr. But God sent down a cloud of wasps; these protected his body from the Quraysh emissaries who could not gain access to him.”

Al-Bukhari went on to state that ‘Abd Allah b. Muhammad related to him, quoting Sufyan, from ‘Amr, who heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “It was Abü Sarwā’a who killed Khubayb.”

“I comment that the man’s name was ‘Uqba b. al-Ḥārith He accepted Islam thereafter and there is a hadith attributed to him concerning the foster relationship. It is said that Abü Sarwa’a and ‘Uqba were brothers. But God knows best.

This is the account of the expedition to al-Rajt as given by al-Bukhari in the section of military campaigns in his Sahih collection. He also related this in his section on al-tawḥīd, and on al-jihād, through various lines from al-Zuhri, ‘Amr b. Abü Sufyān, Asad b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqafi, ally of Bani Zuhra. Some authorities give the above name as ‘Umar b. Abü Sufyān, though it is widely accepted to be ‘Amr.

In one account of al-Bukhari he states, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) despatched ten men on a reconnaissance expedition, appointing Āṣim b. Thabit b. Abü al-Aqlaḥ as their leader.”
Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Mūsā b. Uqba and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, however, offer somewhat contradictory accounts. We will give herewith the wording of Ibn Ishāq to show the difference and discrepancy. Ibn Ishāq is, however, the unchallenged leading authority in this, for as al-Shāfiʿī, may God be pleased with him, put it, "Whoever wishes to research the early military engagements is reliant upon Muḥammad b. Ishāq."

Ibn Ishāq stated that ʿĀsim b. Umar b. Qatāda related to him, "A group of men from ʿĀdāl and from al-Qāra approached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the battle of Uhud and asked, 'O Messenger of God, Islam has already reached us. Could you now send a group of your Companions to give us instruction in the religion, in how to recite the Qurʾān, and in the laws of Islam?'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), therefore did send with them a group of six of his Companions. These were Marthad b. Abū Marthad al-Ghanawi, an ally of Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib – Ibn Ishāq relates that he was their leader – Khālid b. al-Bukayr al-Laythī, ally of Banū ʿAdī, ʿĀsim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqālah, brother of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Khubayb b. ʿAdī, brother of Banū Jahjābī b. Kūlfa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, Zayd b. al-Dathīna, brother of Banū Bayyāda b. ʿĀmir, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀtiq, ally of Banū Zafar. May God be pleased with them all."

Ibn Ishāq, therefore, is stating that they were six in number; Mūsā b. Uqba stated the same, and named them as Ibn Ishāq had done.

Al-Bukhārī, however, states that they were ten in number and, according to him, it was ʿĀsim b. Thābit b. Abū al-Aqālah who was their leader. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "These men went forth as far as al-Rajī, a well belonging to Hudhayl in the Ḥijaz, above al-Hadīpa. There (other persons) betrayed them and aroused Hudhayl against them. The party were there in camp when men bearing swords suddenly descended upon them. They therefore took up their own swords to do battle. Their attackers, however, told them, 'We swear by God we don't want to kill you; we just want to get some money for you from the Meccans. We pledge and promise by God that we will not kill you.'

"Marthad, Khālid b. al-Bukayr and ʿĀsim b. Thābit, however, replied, 'By God, we'll never accept any pledge or oath made by a polytheist.' ʿĀsim b. Thābit then recited – and God knows best and to Him is all praise and reliance –

'What weakness do I have, a brave archer with a bow that has a tough string?
Long, thick arrows can wing from it; and death is truth, life false.
All that God determines comes about for man and man to Him returns.
If I do not battle you, then may my mother be bereaved!'"

"ʿĀsim also recited,

'I am Abū Sulaymān, and I have arrows made by al-Muqʿad and weapons like hell's fire.

21. A location between ʿAsfān and Mecca, some seven miles from ʿAsfān.
22. The name of a well-known Meccan arrow-maker.
When fighters throng, I’m not afraid; I have my shield of smooth bull’s leather.
And I’m a believer in Muḥammad’s mission.’

“He also said,

‘I’m Abū Sulaymān, an archer, and my people are of noble stock.’”

Ibn Iṣḥāq went on, “He then fought until he was killed, as were also two of his companions.

“When Āṣīm was killed, Hudhayl wanted to take his head and sell it to Sulāfa, daughter of Saʿd b. Suhayl. She had sworn after he had killed her two sons at Uḥud that if she got possession of Āṣīm’s head, she would drink wine from his skull.

“But when wasps prevented their getting access to it, they said, ‘Let’s leave him till nightfall; then they will leave and we will take it.’ And so God sent (a flood) into the wādī which bore Āṣīm away. He had made a pledge to God that no polytheist would ever touch him, or he one of them, because they might sully him.

“Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to say, when someone said that the wasps had protected him, ‘God does protect believers.’

“Āṣīm had sworn that no polytheist would ever touch him or he one of them during his life; and God protected him after his death just as he had defended God while living!”

Ibn Iṣḥāq went on, “However, Khubayb, Zayd b. al-Dāthina and Ābū Allāh b. Ṭāriq were weak and pliant and protective of their lives and so gave themselves up. The enemy took them prisoner and then took them into Mecca to sell them there.

“When they were in al-Zahrān, Ābū Allāh b. Ṭāriq extracted his hand from his bonds and drew his sword. The enemy, however, kept their distance from him and pelted him with stones until they had killed him. His grave is there at al-Zahrān.

“Khubayb b. ʿAdī and Zayd b. al-Dāthina were brought on into Mecca where they were bought by Quraysh in exchange for two prisoners of Hudhayl who were in Mecca.

“Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb al-Ṭamīmī, an ally of Bānū Nawfal, bought Khubayb on behalf of ʿUqba b. al-Ḥārith b. Āmīr b. Nawfal to kill him for his father; Abū Ihāb was the brother of al-Ḥārith b. Āmīr by the same mother.

“Zayd b. al-Dāthina was bought by Ṣafwān b. Umayya to kill him in revenge for his own father. Ṣafwān despatched him to al-Ṭanīm in the company of a freed-man of his named Nīṣās who took him outside the sanctuary to kill him. A group of Quraysh gathered among whom was Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. Abū Sufyān asked him, as he was being brought forth for execution, ‘I implore you, by God, Zayd; wouldn’t you like it to be Muḥammad here in your place with us now for us to strike off his head, and for you to be with your own people?’

23. The line could be translated alternatively: ‘... just as God had protected him while he was alive’.
“He replied, ‘By God, I would not like Muḥammad, wherever he now is, to be harmed by even a single thorn and for me to be sitting among my people.’

“Abū Sufyān used to say, ‘I never saw anyone so love anyone else as Muḥammad’s Companions loved Muḥammad.’

“Nisṭās then killed him.

“Regarding Khubayb b. ‘Adi. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me that it was related to him from Mawiyya, the freed—woman of Ḥujayr b. Abū Ihāb, who had accepted Islam, who said, ‘Khubayb was kept prisoner in my home. One day I looked at him and saw that he was eating from his hand a bunch of grapes as large as a man’s head – and that at a time when I don’t know of any grapes being eaten anywhere on God’s earth!’”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to me that she also said, ‘When the time for his execution came, he said, “Send for a steel blade with which I can clean myself off for the execution.”’ She went on, ‘So I gave a razor to a young man from the tribe and told him, “Take this to the man in the house.” But no sooner had the youth left with it than I began asking myself what I had done. The man will take his revenge by killing this youth, making it one man for another, I thought. But when the youth handed Khubayb the blade, the latter commented, “Wasn’t your mother afraid of my treachery when she sent you to me with this blade?” He then allowed the youth to leave.’”

Ibn ʿHishām stated, “It is said that the youth was her own son.”

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote ʿĀṣim as saying, “They then took Khubayb out to al-Tanʿīm to crucify him.

“He spoke to them as follows, ‘I’d appreciate you letting me alone to make two rakʿah in prayer.’ They agreed and he did so very well. Then he went over to those present and said, ‘I swear, if I had not been concerned that you would think I had taken a long time out of fear of dying, I would have prayed more!’

“It was Khubayb who was the first to begin the practice by Muslims of making two prayer prostrations before execution.

“They then raised him up to the scaffold and when they had bound him there he said, ‘O God, we have announced your messenger’s mission, so inform him tomorrow of what is being done to us.’ He then said, ‘O God, count them and kill them violently; let none of them escape.’ They then killed him.

“Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān used to say, ‘I was there along with others in the company of Abū Sufyān and had him throw me to the ground in fear of Khubayb’s curse. People used to say, “A man who has an oath spoken against him can escape it by falling on his side.”’”

In the maghāzi, military chronicle, collection of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, it states, “Khubayb and Zayd b. al-Dathina were killed on the same day and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard of it that very day. He then said, ‘May peace be upon you both’ – or ‘upon you’, singular. ‘Quraysh have killed Khubayb!’”
It is said that when they crucified Zayd b. al-Dathina, they cast arrows at him to subvert him away from his religion, but this only increased his faith and his acceptance of his fate.

Urwa and Mūsā b. Uqba related that when they raised Khubayb on to the wooden frame, those present called out to him, "Would you not prefer Muḥammad to be in your place?"

He replied, "No, by God Almighty, I'd not have him ransom me by having a thorn pierce his foot!" But they laughed at him. This is reported by Ibn Ishāq in his account relating to Zayd b. al-Dathina. But God knows best.

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, "They claim that it was 'Amr b. Umayya who buried Khubayb."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, from his father 'Abbad, from Uqba b. al-Jāḥiṣ, who said, 'I heard him say, 'I swear by God, it was not I who killed Khubayb; I was too young for that. It was Abū Māysara, brother of Banū 'Abd al-Dār, who took the spear and placed it in my hand. He then grasped my hand and the spear and pierced him with it until he had killed him.'"

Ibn Ishāq continued, "One of our associates told me, "Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb appointed Saʿīd b. ʿAmir b. Ḥidhyām al-Juḥāmī over part of Syria. He would suffer from fainting spells when he was with people and this was reported to Umar. It was said that the man had some affliction. Umar asked him on a visit he made to him, "Saʿīd, what is it that ails you?" He replied, "By God, Commander of the Faithful, there's nothing the matter with me; it's just that I was among those present when Khubayb b. ʿAdī was killed. And I heard his curse. And whenever I'm meeting people and recall this, I feel faint." Umar thought all the better of him thereafter."

Al-Umawi stated, "My father quoted Ibn Ishāq as having said, 'We have been told that Umar said, "Anyone who wants to see a man who is unique should look at Saʿīd b. ʿAmir."'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "Khubayb remained in their captivity until the sacred months had expired and then they killed him."

Al-Bayhaqi related, from Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl, as follows, "Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Umayya related to me, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Umayya, that the Messenger of God (ṣaw) had sent him forth alone to get information. He said, 'I made my way to the wooden frame where Khubayb was and climbed up, fearing I might be seen. I released him and he fell to the ground. I then drew away a little, then turned but could not see anything there; it was as if the earth had swallowed him. And not a trace of Khubayb has appeared up to this time.'"

Ibn Ishāq then quoted Muḥammad b. Abū Muḥammad, from Saʿīd or ʿIrka, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "When the men were killed at al-Raji', some hypocrites said, 'How sad for those misguided people who died that way. They neither stayed with their families, nor did they carry out their master's mission.'"
It was about them that God revealed the words, "There may be a person whose words about this life may please you, while he invokes God to witness what is in his heart. Yet he may be the most vehement of enemies" (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.204).

And God revealed concerning those who went on this expedition, "There are those who sell themselves seeking God's favour, and God is compassionate to His servants" (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.207).

Ibn Ishaq stated that the following verses were spoken about this expedition by Khubayb when people gathered to kill him. Ibn Hishām observed that some authorities deny that he was their author:

"The parties gathered around me, assembled their tribes and collected all the groups together;
All of them showed enmity towards me and antagonism, because I was in bonds, tightly held.
They had gathered their women and children and I was taken to a tall, stout tree-trunk;
I complain to God at my isolation and my torment and at the death the enemy planned for me.
O Lord of the Throne, give me patience to withstand what it is they intend; they have slashed my flesh and my hope despairs.
This is happening in God's cause, and if He wishes He will bless torn-off limbs.
They offered me the choice between disbelief and death, and my eyes were wet from something other than fear.
I have no fear of death — and am already dead; but what I dread is the consuming fire of hell.
By God, if I die a Muslim, I care not in what way my death in God's cause may occur.
I shall not express subservience to the enemy, nor any fear, for it is to God I am returning.""

Two of these verses are given also in the Sahih collection of al-Bukhari. These are the lines,

"I do not care, when I die as a Muslim, in what manner my death in God's cause may occur.
This is happening in God's cause; and if He wishes, He will bless torn-off limbs."

Ibn Ishaq quotes Hassan b. Thabit as having spoken the following elegy for Khubayb:

"What is wrong with your eyes, ceaselessly letting fall their teardrops on to your breast like pearls,
Over Khubayb, a hero of the brave, no coward when you challenge him and not frivolous, as is well known.

24. With slight variations in some wording and the transposition of one line.
Go forth, Khuhayh, and may God reward you well, in eternal paradise with houris for companions.

What will you respond when the Prophet asks you, while pure angels are there on the horizon,

Why it was you killed God’s martyr for a tyrant who committed crimes throughout the land?”

Ibn Hishām commented that he had left out certain verses containing obscenities.

Hassān also, according to Ibn Ishaq, recited the following verses attacking those of Banū Liḥyān who had betrayed those who went to al-Raji. But God alone, in Whom is all trust, confidence and protection, knows best.

“If pure, unadulterated treachery delights you, then go to al-Raji and ask where Liḥyān live;
They are a people who advise one another to eat the neighbours who come among them, dogs, monkeys and men being all alike!
If a billy-goat could talk and arose one day to address them, they would consider him someone of honour and importance!”

Hassān b. Thābit also said, satirizing Hudhayl and Banū Liḥyān for their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Raji, may God be pleased with them all:

“By my life, the stories told of Khubayb and ʿĀsim have disgraced Hudhayl b. Mudrik,
Tales told of Liḥyān have brought them ignominy,
For Liḥyān have committed the most evil of crimes.
Their men, those from the very best of their tribe, those like the very hairs behind the fetlock of a horse’s front legs.
They betrayed at al-Raji and surrendered their charges, men of decency and fine qualities.
They betrayed the apostle’s messenger; Hudhayl gave no protection against horrendous crimes.
They will one day see victory go against them for killing one protected against evil actions,
By swarms of wasps guarding his flesh, protecting the flesh of one who witnessed mighty battles.
Hudhayl may well see the bodies of those killed laid out or at funerals.
We will engage them in fierce battles that riders will relate to fairgoers.
At the orders of the Messenger of God; His messenger has made his decision against Liḥyān, forcefully and with knowledge.
A despicable tribe that cares nothing for fidelity and does not repel the tyrant’s hand when wronged.
When (some) people live in the open desert, them you find at the very rivers, amidst the streams.

25. In Islam, the handmaidens of paradise whose company is a reward for exemplary behaviour on earth.
Hassān, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following in praise of the men at al-Rajī, naming them in his verses. Ibn Ishāq, God be pleased with him, recorded the following:

“May God bless those who went forth together at al-Rajī and who were honoured and rewarded.

The party’s leader and commander was Marthad, and Ibn al-Bukayr was their Imām, along with Khubayb.

And there was a son of Ṭāriq and Ibn Dathina was of them; it was there he met his pre-determined fate.

And there was al-‘Āṣim, slain at al-Rajī, who reached the very heights (of heaven); how much he gained!

He prevented the panderers from striking his back by fighting fiercely; he was splendid.”

Ibn Hishām commented that most authorities deny that these are verses of Ḥassān.

THE EXPEDITION OF ‘AMR B. UMAYYA AL-ḌAMRĪ, FOLLOWING THE EXECUTION OF KHUBAYB.

Al-Waqidi stated, Ibrāhīm b. Ja’far related to me, from his father, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ubayda, from Ja’far b. al-Fadl b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī, and (as did) ʿAbd Allāh b. Ja’far, from ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Abū ʿAwf, some of these giving longer accounts than others. They stated, “Abū Sufyān had asked a number of Quraysh men in Mecca, ‘Won’t someone assassinate Muḥammad? He goes walking in the markets. We would then have our revenge.’ A bedouin came to him, went inside his house and told him, ‘If you will hire me, I’ll go out and assassinate him. I’m a skilled tracker and I have a dagger that is (concealed) like the under-wing feathers of an eagle.’ ‘Then you’re our man!’ he replied, and gave him a camel and expense money. He told him, ‘Keep this secret; I don’t want anyone to hear of this and report it to Muḥammad.’ The bedouin assured him that no one would know of it.

“He then left by night on his mount, travelling on for five days, arriving in the quarter on the morning of the sixth. He then went about enquiring after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); when he reached the place for prayer someone told him, ‘He has gone off to see Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal.’

“The bedouin then left, leading his mount. When he arrived where Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal were, he hobbled his camel and went to seek the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He found him amidst a group of his Companions, addressing them in his mosque. When the bedouin entered and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw
him, he told his men, 'This man intends some treachery, but God will foil his plan.' The bedouin stood there and asked, 'Which one of you is 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son?' The Messenger of God (ṣaas) replied, 'I'm 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's son.' The bedouin approached and leaned down over the Messenger of God (ṣaas) as though confiding a secret to him. But Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr pulled him away, saying, 'Keep away from the Messenger of God (ṣaas)!' Usayd then felt down in his loin cloth and there found the dagger. He then announced, 'Messenger of God, this man is a traitor!'

"The bedouin stood there aghast and said, 'Take my blood! Take my blood, Muḥammad!'

"Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr seized him and was about to slit his throat when the Prophet (ṣaas), said, 'Tell me the truth about yourself and why you have come. And if you tell the truth your honesty will serve you well; but if you lie to me, I'll proceed as I intended.'

"'Then I'll be free?' the bedouin asked.

"'Yes, you'll be free,' he replied.

"The bedouin then told him about Abo Sufyān and what he told him to do, and he was then given over to the charge of Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. Next day the Messenger of God (ṣaas) summoned him and told him, 'I will either set you free to go wherever you want, or would you prefer something better than that?'

'What would that be?' the bedouin asked. 'That you give testimony that there is no god but God, and that I am God's messenger.'

"The bedouin then said, 'I do testify that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God. I swear by God, Muhammad, that I was never afraid of any man. But as soon as I saw you all my strength left me. Then you perceived what I had intended, though no rider had reached you before myself with any information and no one had any information. So I realized that you were inviolate, that you were truth and that the party of Aba Sufyān was that of the devil.'

"The Prophet (ṣaas) began to smile at this. He (the bedouin) remained there for some days then asked permission of the Prophet (ṣaas) to leave and, having done so, nothing more was heard of him.

"The Messenger of God (ṣaas) then said to 'Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamri and to Salama b. Aslam b. Ḥāris, 'Go to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and if you should catch him unawares, then kill him.'

"'Amr related, 'I and my companion then left, travelling on until we reached the Ya'jij valley. We tied up our mounts and my companion asked me, 'Amr, would you like for us to go on into Mecca and circumambulate the ka'ba seven times and make two rak'as in prayer?' I replied, 'I'm better informed about the people of Mecca than you are and after dark they dampen down their courtyards and sit down there. I know Mecca better than a piebald mare!' But he disagreed with me and so we went on into Mecca. We made seven circumambulations and did make two rak'as. When I went outside (the sanctuary) I was met by
Mu'awiya b. Abū Sufyān, who recognized me. “It’s 'Amr b. Umayya! What a pity,” he said. He then drew the attention of the Meccans to us, who said, “'Amr has not come here for anything good!’ — 'Amr had been renowned before Islam as an assassin.

“The Meccans then gathered men together and 'Amr and Salama left, being pursued, and all hurried up into the mountains.

“'Amr went on, ‘I entered a cave and hid from them till next morning. They had spent the night searching for us, but God blinded their sight from finding their way to the road to Medina. The morning of the next day, ʿUthmān b. ʿAbbās b. Malik b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Taymī approached, looking for grass for his horse. I commented to Salama b. Ṭaswir, “If he sees us, he’ll tell the Meccans where we are, and they will discover us.” He kept on approaching until he was right over us. I then went out to him and thrust my dagger once beneath a nipple. He fell down, screaming. So the Meccans gathered and advanced together, having previously been separated. I went back inside and told my companion, “Don’t move!” The Meccans approached until they were right there and then they asked (‘Uthmān b. ʿAbbās b. Malik) who had killed him. “It was 'Amr b. Umayya al-Damri,” they replied. Abū Sufyān then said, “We knew he had not come for any good reason!” But (‘Uthmān) was not able to tell them where we were; he was at his last gasp and died. They were distracted from seeking us by their (dead) comrade and carried him away.

“We remained in our place for two nights until the search for us had died down; we then left for al-Tanʿīm. My companion asked me, “'Amr b. Umayya, would you like us to go for Khubayb b. ʿAdi, to bring him down?” “Where is he?” I asked. “Over there, crucified,” he replied, “with a guard around him.” I answered, “Leave me here awhile, and you go on. If something frightens you, then move over to your camel and sit on it. Then proceed to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and tell him the news. Leave me here; I know the town.” I then searched for him (Khubayb’s body) until I found him and carried him away on my back. I had not walked more that 20 arms’ lengths before they all woke up and set off after me. I threw down the wooden scaffold, and I’ll never forget the sound it made. Then I piled earth up over it with my feet and took off on the ʿṢafā road. Eventually they tired (of following) and went back, leaving me much relieved. My companion hurried over and mounted his camel, which he rode off to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and told him what had happened. I then travelled on until I was overlooking al-Ghalīl, al-Ghalīl ʿAjnān; there I went into a cave carrying my bow, arrows and dagger. While I was there a man of Banū Dīl b. Bakr arrived; he was tall, one-eyed and herding sheep and goats. He came inside the cave and asked, “What man is here?” I replied, “A man of Banū Bakr.” “I too am of Banū Bakr,” he said. He then made himself comfortable, and raised his voice in a song,

“I’ll be not Muslim so long as I live; I’ll never profess the Muslims’ faith.”
"I said to myself, "By God, I hope I get to kill you!" When he was asleep, I went over to him and killed him more brutally than I ever have anyone.

"I then left there and proceeded on down. When I got to the road, there were two men who had been sent by Quraysh to gather news. I told them, "Consider yourselves prisoners!" One of them refused, so I shot and killed him. When the other saw this, he gave himself up and I bound him and took him on in to the Prophet (SAAS).

"When I reached Medina, ansār children gathered around me, playing, and they heard their elders say, "This is 'Amr." The children raced off to tell the Prophet (SAAS), and I took the prisoner in to him, having bound his thumbs together with my bow string. I noticed that the Prophet (SAAS) was laughing. He then said a prayer for me."

The arrival of Salama was three days before that of 'Amr.

Al-Bayhaqi related this.

It is stated above that after 'Umar cut Khubayb down, he saw no cadaver or body. Perhaps he was buried where he fell; God knows best.

Ibn Hishām merely added this expedition to the text of Ibn Ishāq, his being similar to that of al-Wāqidi. However, his account gives the companion of 'Amr b. Umayya on this expedition as Jabbār b. Ṣakhr. But God knows best; and all praise be to God.

**THE EXPEDITION TO BPR MA'UNA.**

It took place in Safar of that year, 4 AH. The late Makḥūl, may God have mercy on him, is unique in stating that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch".

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Ma'am ar related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārīth, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿĀzīz, from Anas b. Mālik who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent out 70 men, known as al-qurrā', on a mission. Their way was blocked by two tribes of Banū Sulaym, Riḍ and Dhakwān, at a well called Ma'ūna. The Muslims told them, 'We have not come out to fight you; we're sent on a mission for the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ But the tribesmen killed them.

"Consequently, the Prophet (SAAS) spoke against them for a month at each morning prayer. This began the practice of saying the qunūt; 26 previously we had not done so."

26. The word, used in the Qur'an, has associations of being humble and submissive to God, and also to stand up, or to remain standing. The term du'ū al-qunūt, the prayer of supplication or of standing, is given in Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon* in Arabic and with an English translation, as follows, "O God, verily we beg for Thy aid to be obedient and to forsake disobedience, and we beg of Thee forgiveness of sins (and we believe in Thee, and we rely upon Thee) and we laud Thee well, and we will not be unthankful to Thee for Thy favour, and we cast off and forsake him who disobeys Thee: (O God Thee we worship. And to Thee we perform the divinely appointed act of prayer, and prostrate ourselves); and we are quick in working for Thee and in serving Thee; we hope for Thy mercy, and we dread Thy punishment; verily, Thy punishment overtakes the unbelievers."
Muslim related it from a *hadith* of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit, from Anas in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī then stated, "Abd al-Aʿfāb b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, quoting Saʿīd, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Ṣalāḥ, that Riḍ, Dhakwān, ʿUṣayya and Banū Liḥyān asked the Messenger of God (ṣaas) for assistance against an enemy and so he provided them the help of 70 of the *anṣār*. We used at that time to name them the *al-gurrah*; they would collect wood by day and pray by night. Eventually, when they were at Bpr ʿaṣāna the tribesmen killed them, having betrayed them. After this reached the Messenger of God (ṣaas), he said the *qunūt* prayers for a month, each morning saying prayers against these bedouin tribes of Riḍ, Dhakwān, ʿUṣayya and Banū Liḥyān." Anas stated, "And we would recite Qurʾān verses too, but these were later rescinded. These words were, 'Inform our people about us — that we have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'"

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Hamām, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣalāḥ, quoting Anas b. Ṣalāḥ, that the Messenger of God (ṣaas) sent out Ḥarām, the brother of Umm Sulaym, in charge of a party of 70 mounted men. The pagan chief ʿAmīr b. Ṭūfayl had proposed three choices to the Messenger of God (ṣaas). He had told him, 'You can have control over the bedouin, while I will control the townspeople. Or I could be appointed as your successor. Otherwise, I will do battle with you at the head of 2,000 men of Banū Ḥaṭṭafān.'

"But ʿAmīr contracted typhoid at the home of Umm So-and-So. He then said, 'Shall I suffer from a swelling like that of a she-camel in the home of a woman from the So-and-So family? Bring me my horse.' And subsequently he died on the back of his horse.

"Ḥarām, Umm Sulaym's brother, along with one man who was lame and another man of Banū So-and-So then went further on. Ḥarām told his companions, 'Stay close by me until I get near them; if they are peaceful, you'll be right there, but if they kill me, then you can go back to your comrades.'

"Ḥarām then went out to them and asked them, 'Will you let me deliver in peace a message to you from the Messenger of God (ṣaas)'?"

"He then began addressing them, but they signalled to a man who came up to him from behind and stabbed him. Ḥarām cried out, 'God is very great! I have succeeded, by the Lord of the kiʿba!'"

"The tribesmen then attacked and killed all Ḥarām's companions except for the man who was lame, and escaped up into the mountain. It was then that God revealed to us the verses, later rescinded, 'We have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'

"Each morning for the following 30 days the Prophet (ṣaas) spoke prayers against Riḍ, Dhakwān, Banū Liḥyān and ʿUṣayya, who had disobeyed God and His messenger.'"
Al-Bukhari also said that Hibbân related to him, quoting 'Abd Allâh, who said that Ma'âmîr informed him as follows, “Thumâma b. 'Abd Allâh b. Anas related to me that he heard Anas b. Mâlik say, 'When Ĥârâm b. Mîlân — who was Anas's uncle — was stabbed at al-Ma'âmînâ, he said, “Thus I do with my blood!” And he began wiping it all over his face and head. Then he said, “I have succeeded, by the Lord of the ka'bah!””

Al-Bukhari also recounted, from Ubâyda b. Ismâ'il, from Abû Usâma, from Hîshâm b. Urwa, who said, “My father told me as follows, ‘When the men were killed at Bi'r Ma'âmînâ and 'Amr b. Umayya al-Dâmî was taken prisoner, 'Amîr b. al-Ţufayl asked the father, pointing to a corpse, “Who is this?” ‘Amr replied, “This was 'Amîr b. Fuhayra. And after he was killed, I saw him raised up into the sky until I could actually see sky between him and the earth. He was then brought back down.” When news of them reached the Prophet (SAAS), he announced their death, saying, “Your comrades have been killed; they asked their Lord, ‘O God, inform our brothers about us, and of how we are pleased with You and You are pleased with us.’” And so it was that He had informed them (the Prophet (SAAS) and his Companions) about them. On that day Urwa b. Âsâb b. al-Sâlût, who was among them, was killed. And Urwa (b. al-Zubayr) was named after him, while Mundhir (b. al-Zubayr) was named after Mundhir b. 'Amr (also killed that day).’”

These, then are the accounts related by al-Bukhari on a line of transmission back to Urwa.

Al-Bayhaqi related this from a hadîth of Yahyâ b. Sa'îd, from Abû Usâma, from Hîshâm, from his father, from 'A'îsha. That account proceeds from the Hijra and relates at its conclusion what is told here by al-Bukhari. But God knows best.

Al-Wâqidi recounted it from Mu'sâb b. Thâbit, Abû al-Aswad, from Urwa. He related the story of 'Amîr b. Fuhayra, and how 'Amîr b. al-Ţufayl reported how he was raised up to heaven. His account tells that the person who killed him was Jabbâr b. Salmâ al-Kilâbî.

He stated, “And when the man pierced him with the spear, he exclaimed, ‘I have succeeded, by the Lord of the ka'bah!’

“Then Jabbâr asked, ‘What did he mean when he said, “I have succeeded?”’ People replied, ‘He meant with paradise.’ And so he then said, ‘He was right, by God!’ Thereafter Jabbâr accepted Islam, for that reason.”

In the Maghâzi, the military chronicle, of Mûsâ b. Uqba, Urwa is quoted as saying, “The body of 'Amir b. Fuhayra was not found; it is said that the angels hid it.”

Yûnûs (b. Bukayr) stated, quoting Ibn Ishaq, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained there — following Uhud, that is — for the rest of Shawwâl, through Dhû al-Qâ'da, Dhû al-Ĥijja and Muḥarram. Then, in Šâfâr, he sent out the men who died at Bi'r Ma'âmînî, four months following Uhud.”
He went on, "Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār related to me, from al-Mughīrah b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām, and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, along with scholars other than these two men, as follows, ʿAbū Baraʿ ʿAṭīr b. Ṭāhir b. Jaʿfar, (known as) mulāḥib al-asimmā, "He who Toys with Spears", came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina, who explained Islam to him and invited him to accept it. But Abū Baraʿ neither did so nor refused, but said, "O Muḥammad, if you were to despatch some of your Companions to the people of Najd, inviting them to join you, I would hope they would respond positively to you."

"But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, "But I would fear for them from the people of Najd."

"Abū Baraʿ replied that he would give them protection.

"And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) despatched al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, brother of Banū ʿAṣṣida, (known as) al-muṣnīq li yamāt, "Eager for Death", with a party of 40 of his companions, some of the best of the Muslims. They included al-Ḥārith b. al-Ṣimma, Ḥarrān b. Ṭimān, brother of Banū ʿAdi b. al-Najjār, Urwa b. ʿAṣṣa b. al-Ṣalt al-Sulami, Nāfiʿ b. Budayl b. Warqaʿ al-Khuwāṣ, ʿAṭīr b. Fuhayra, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, along with other warriors of the Muslim elite.

"They travelled as far as the well at Maʿīna, between the territory of Banū ʿĀmir and the barrāʿ, "the lava field", of Banū Sulaym, where they halted. Having made camp, they sent out Ḥarām b. Milḥān with a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), addressed to ʿAmr b. al-Ṭufayl. When Ḥarām reached him, ʿĀmir did not look at the document but attacked and killed the man. He then invited Banū ʿĀmir to attack, but they refused to do as he wanted, responding, "We'll not betray Abū Baraʿ; he has given them a pledge and his protection."

"ʿAmr b. al-Ṭufayl then invited the tribes of Banū Sulaym, ʿUṣayya, Ṭir, Dhakwān and al-Qāra, and they agreed to attack the Muslims. They came out against them by surprising and surrounding them while the Muslims were with their baggage. When they saw the enemy attacking, they drew their swords and fought them until all the Muslims were killed, except for Kaʿb b. Zayd, brother of Banū Dīnār b. al-Najjār. The left him there barely alive; he was picked up from among the dead and lived on until he was killed at the battle of al-khaṇḍaq.

"ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamri and another Muslim, one of the anṣār, of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf, were out grazing the camels and did not know of the death of their comrades until they saw vultures circling over their camp. They assumed something was wrong when they saw the birds and when they came in to see, they found them lying in their blood while the horsemen who had killed them were still there. The man of the anṣār asked ʿAmr b. Umayya what they should do; ʿAmr suggested they return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to give him the news. But the anṣār could not bring himself to leave the place where al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr had been killed, and he also did not want to be the one to inform the others of the bad news. He therefore fought the enemy until he was
killed. ‘Amr was taken prisoner, but when he told them he was of Banū Muḍar, ʿAmir b. al-Ṭufayl released him, after cutting off his forelock. It is claimed that he let him go because of a pledge his mother had made.

“ʿAmr then left, travelling on till he reached al-Qarqara, before Qanāt; there he was met by two men of Banū ʿAmir, who made a halt at the shady place where he had stopped. The two ʿAmir men had made a pact of peace and protection with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which ʿAmr b. Umayya was unaware. When the two men dismounted, ʿAmr asked them who they were and they replied that they were of Banū ʿAmir. He left them alone until they were asleep and then he attacked and killed them, believing that by doing so he was taking revenge against their tribe for the attack they had made against the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“When ʿAmr b. Umayya reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), however, and told him the news, the latter told him, “You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit.” He then went on to comment, “This must be the work of Abū Baraʾ; I was reluctant and apprehensive about this.”

“When news of it reached Aba Baraʾ, he was very upset at how ʿAmir b. al-Ṭufayl had betrayed him, and at what had befallen the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) because of him and while under his own protection.

“Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit spoke the following verses about ʿAmir’s betrayal of Abū Baraʾ and to incite the latter’s tribe against ʿAmir,

"O tribe of Umm al-Banin, does it not distress you, 
fine men of Najd, 
That ʿAmir has treated Abū Baraʾ with scorn in 
betraying him? 
And making a mistake is not the same as acting 
deliberately. 
Won’t you ask Rabīʿa, a man of deeds, ‘What things have 
you accomplished after I left you? 
Your father, Abī Baraʾ, is a man of war, while your 
uncle Ḥakam b. Saʿd is a nobleman.’”»

Ibn Hishām stated, “The Umm al-Banin referred to was Abū Baraʾ’s mother; she was the daughter of ʿAmr b. ʿAmir b. Rabīʿa b. ʿAmir b. Ṣaʿṣaʿa.

“Rabīʿa b. ʿAmir b. Mālik attacked ʿAmir b. al-Ṭufayl and pierced him in the thigh, but not fatally, though he did fall from his horse. ʿAmir then said, ‘This is the work of Abū Baraʾ. If I die, I award my blood to my uncle, and he is not to be pursued for it (in revenge). If I live, I will later decide what to do.’”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba recounted from al-Zuhri in approximately the same words as those of Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq. He also stated that the leader of the Muslim party was al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr; he is also said to have been Marthad b. Abū Marthad.

Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit spoke the following verses eulogizing those killed at Biʿr Maṭʿūna; at least, that is what Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, may God be pleased with him. However, God knows best:
"For those killed at Ma‘ūna weep endless, copious tears.

For the Prophet’s cavalry who met their death, (God’s) fate.

Annihilation struck them because of men who broke their pledge in treachery.

Alas for Mundhir who passed away, who accepted his death with willing stoicism!

What a lot of fine men of ‘Amr’s people died then!"

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**THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANU AL-NADIR.**

It was about this expedition that God Almighty revealed **sūrat al-Ḥashr** (LIX). In the *sahih* collection of al-Bukhārī there is a quotation from Ibn ‘Abbās that he used to refer to it as the (**sūrat**) **Banū al-Nadīr**.

Al-Bukhārī related from al-Zuhri, who quoted Urwa as saying, “The expedition against Banū al-Nadīr came six months after (the battle of) Badr, and before (the battle of) Uḥud.”

Ibn Abū Hāṭim, in his *Tafsīr* (Exegesis), traced this from his father, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, from al-Layth, from ‘Uqayl, back to al-Zuhri:

Hanbal b. Ishāq related similarly, from Hilal b. ‘Ala, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Raqī, from Mu‘ṭirīf b. Māzīn al-Yamānī, from Mu‘āmmar, from al-Zuhri; he gave the date for the battle of Badr as the 17th of Ramaḍān, 2 AH.

He went on, “He attacked Banū al-Nadīr, then fought the battle of Uḥud, in Shawwāl, 3 AH. In Shawwāl of 4 AH he fought the battle of al-khandaq.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Al-Zuhri used to say that it took place before the battle of Uḥud.”

He went on, “Others maintained that it occurred thereafter, and after the expedition to Bīr Ma‘ūna as well.”

I would comment that this was what Ibn Ishāq related, as stated above. He referred to it following his account of Bīr Ma‘ūna and after the return of ‘Amr b. Umayya and his killing of those two men of Banū ‘Āmir. (This occurred because) he was not aware of the pact they had with the Messenger of God (**SAAS**), this leading to the latter’s statement, “You have killed two men for whom I must pay the bloodwit.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (**SAAS**) then went to Banū al-Nadīr to ask their help in paying for the bloodwit for the two men of Banū ‘Āmir who had been killed by ‘Amr b. Umayya; this was because of the pact of protection he had given the two men. There was, moreover, a pact and a treaty between Banū al-Nadīr and Banū ‘Āmir. When the Messenger of God (**SAAS**) went to them, they replied, ‘Yes, Abū al-Qāsim, we’ll help you as you wish.’

“But then some of them met secretly and concluded that they would never have a better opportunity to attack the Messenger of God (**SAAS**), since he was
seated at the wall of one of their houses. They asked for a volunteer to climb up on to the house to drop a rock down on him so that they would be rid of him.

"'Amr b. Jaahsh b. Ka'ab volunteered to do this and climbed up to drop the rock as suggested. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had been accompanied by his Companions, who included Abu Bakr, 'Umar and 'Ali. He received information from heaven about what the enemy intended, so he got up and set off back to Medina. When his Companions tired of waiting for him, they set about looking for him and met a man arriving from Medina. When they asked him about the Prophet (SAAS), he replied, 'I saw him entering Medina.' The Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) then went to him and told him of the treachery Banû al-Nadr had planned against him."

Al-Waqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent forth Muhammad b. Maslama to tell them (Banî al-Nadrî) to leave his territory and protection. But the hypocrites sent messages to them giving them their support, urging them to stay and promising them aid. This encouraged Banû al-Nadrî, and Huyayy b. Akhtab became adamant. They then sent word to the Messenger of God (SAAS) that they would not leave and warned him against breaking the agreements.

"It was then that the Prophet (SAAS) sent his forces out against them."

Al-Waqidi continued, "They kept them besieged for 15 days."

Ibn Ishâq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that preparations be made to go forth to war against them."

Ibn Hishâm stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktûm in command of Medina; this took place in Rabi' al-Awwal."

Ibn Ishâq went on, "He journeyed forth and besieged them for six days. It was then that the prohibition of wine came down. The enemy set up defences in their forts and the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that their date-palms be cut down and burned. They appealed to him, saying, 'Muhammad, you used to forbid causing destruction and criticized those who did so. Why are you cutting down and burning our date-palms?'

Ibn Ishâq went on, "A group of Banî 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, including 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy, Wadîa, Malik, Suwayd and Dâsî, had advised Banû al-Nadrî as follows: 'If you stay firm and resist, we will not give up on you. If you fight, we'll fight along with you, and if you are expelled, we will leave with you.' And so Banû al-Nadrî waited for their help, but they did nothing. And so God cast fear into Banû al-Nadrî, and they asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) to evacuate them and to spare their blood, allowing them to depart with whatever of their belongings they could transport, except for their armour."

Al-'Awfî quoted Ibn 'Abbâs as saying, "He gave one camel to each three persons, along with a baggage carrier."

Al-Bayhaqî related this, quoting Ya'qûb b. Muhammad, from al-Zuhri, from Ibrâhîm b. Ja'far b. Ma'mûd b. Muhammad b. Maslama, from his father and his
grandfather, from Muḥammad b. Maslama, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had dispatched him to Banū al-Ｎaḍīr with instructions to delay their withdrawal for three days.

Al-Bayhaqi also related, as did others, that they had debts outstanding to them that were due. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, "Hurry up and pay them!"

There is dispute over the veracity of this. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "They therefore loaded their belongings on their camels to the extent they could bear. Some of their men tore down their houses and removed the door lintels which they mounted on the backs of their camels and took away. Some of them left for Khaybar, while some went to Syria. Among their leaders who went to Khaybar were Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, Kināna b. al-Rabi b. Abū al-Huqayq, and Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab. When they arrived there the people of Khaybar accepted their control."

"Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him that they were received by women and young men and gifts, with tambourines, flutes and girls walking behind them singing boldly and with pride; nothing similar is related of any tribe of people in their era.

"They left their properties for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); these consisted of their palm trees and their farms. These became his personal property to dispose of as he wished. He divided them up among those who first migrated with him, to the exclusion of the ānṣār, except for Sahl b. Ḥanif and Abū Dujānā. These both complained of poverty and so he gave to them."

Some authorities add al-Ḥarith b. al-Ṣimma to these two men. Al-Suhaylī related this.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Only two men of Banū al-Ｎaḍīr accepted Islam: Yāmīn b. 'Umayr b. Ka'b, the cousin of 'Amr b. Jaḥāsh, and Abū Sa'd b. Wahb; these men retained their properties.

"A member of Yāmīn's family related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Yāmīn, 'Did you see how your cousin treated me, and what he intended to do to me?' Yāmīn therefore gave a fee to a man to kill 'Amr b. Jaḥāsh, God damn him, and he did so."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "God revealed sūrat al-Ḥāshr in its entirety about them, telling in it of the vengeance he took on them, how He empowered His messenger over them and what He did to them."

Ibn Ishāq then detailed this. We have spoken of this at length and in clarity in our Tafsīr (Exegesis); and to God be all praise.

God Almighty stated, "All in the heavens and all on earth declare God's glory; He is the Almighty and All-wise. He it is who drew forth from their homes for the first deportation those people of the scriptures who disbelieved. You did not think they would leave; and they thought that their forts would protect them from God. But God came at them from where they did not expect, casting fear
into them. They demolished their houses with their own hands and with those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes! Had God not decreed for them that they should leave, He would have punished them severely on earth; and in the hereafter, they shall have the torture of hellfire. That is because they opposed God and His messenger. And for those who oppose God, God shall be severe in His punishment. Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission, so that He may humiliate the evil-doers” (ṣūrat al-Ḥashr; LIX, v.1-5).

God Almighty, may He be praised, declared His own glory and related how all creatures, high and low, glorify Him. He stated that He is All-Powerful, and unassailable, His greatness and majesty insurmountable, and that He is All-Wise in all He has created and in all He has planned and purposed. It is from all this that stem the empowerment, management and effectiveness (He gave) to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and to the believers who serve Him, in their victory over their enemies the Jews who disobedied God and His messenger and opposed His messenger and His law, all of which was the cause leading to conflict with them, as told above, until he with (God's) support encompassed them with fear and dread for a month. In addition, he imprisoned them by besieging them with his forces and his own noble self for six days. Their terror put them to total confusion, so that they ultimately cooperated and made peace to spare their blood, removing of their property what their mounts would carry. This was conditional upon their not bearing away any of their weapons, a shameful and humiliating circumstance. They proceeded, moreover, to demolish their homes, by their own hands and by those of the believers. Consider this, you who have eyes to see!

The Almighty then stated that if they had not suffered withdrawal and the remove into exile from the protection of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and from Medina, then He would have afflicted them with far worse punishment, here on earth, namely execution, along with what He had in store for them in the after-life, namely the painful punishment He has decreed for them.

The Almighty went on to refer to the wisdom that was evident in the burning of their palm trees and their abandonment of the rest of their property, all of this being palatable. He stated, “Whatever palm trees you might cut down ...” The word used here, līna, “palm trees”, refers to palms giving much fruit. And He went on, “... or leave standing over their roots shall be by God's permission.” (This implies) the following, that all of this was permitted by law and by authority, and that they should not object to it but (recognize) that it was all for their own good, not some iniquity, as some evil-minded men have said. It was, on the contrary, an expression of power, and purposed the disgrace of the shameless unbelievers.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Naṣr, from Ibn Umār, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) burned and cut down the date-palms of Banū al-Naḍīr, this being at al-Buwayra, and so God
revealed, “Whatever palm trees you might cut down or leave standing over their roots shall be by God’s permission, and so that He may humiliate the evil-doers” (ṣūrat al-Ḥashr; LIX, v.5).

Al-Bukhārī quotes from Juwayriyya b. Asma, from Nafi, from Ibn Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cut down and burned the date-palms of Banū al-Nāḍīr at al-Buwayra and that on that occasion Hassān b. Thābit spoke the verses,

“It left unmoved the nobles of Banū Lu‘ayy that there was a terrible fire at al-Buwayra.”

In response to this Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith composed the following,

“May God bless that action and set aflame all its (Medina’s) parts.

You will learn which of us it is who gains thereby, and which of our lands it will harm.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Ka’b b. Malik recited, in reference to the withdrawal of Banū al-Nāḍīr and the killing of Ka’b b. al-Ashraf, (though) God knows best (whether the verses are authentic),

“The rabbis were dishonoured by their treachery; thus it is that the vicissitudes of fate revolve.

This was because they disbelieved in a great Lord whose orders are of great import.

They were brought understanding and knowledge combined, and the warner came to them from God.

A truthful warner, who brought a book and verses that were plain and illuminating.

But they said, “You did not bring truth, and you are more worthy of being denied than are we.”

He said, “Not so; I tell the truth. Those who are understanding and knowledgeable believe me.”

Those who follow him will be guided to all that is true; those who disbelieve in him will be shamed for disbelief.

When they were made to drink of deceit and disbelief, and rejection of him turned them from the truth

God made the Prophet see accurately, and God deals wisely and does not deceive.

He aided him and empowered him over them; He was his helper, a fine helper.

Of them, Ka’b was left there prostrate, and al-Nāḍīr were humbled after his downfall,

There on his two hands; flashing swords in our hands overwhelmed him
By God’s command, when he sent Ka‘b’s brother secretly to go by night to Ka‘b.

He tricked him, defeating him by guile; and Maḥmūd is brave and trustworthy.

Those of Banū al-Naḍīr were in a state of evil; the Destroyer ruined them for the crimes they committed.

That morning when the Messenger of God came slowly towards them, he being well aware of them.

Ghassān, the defenders, were helping him against his enemies, as he would aid them.

He told them, “Peace – or woe to you!” But they rejected him; and deceit and corruption allied with them.

So they tasted the outcome of their actions in distress, each three of them having one camel.

They were expelled and headed for Qaynuqā‘, abandoning their homes and date-palms.”

Ibn Ishāq also gives the response made by the Jew Sammāl; we have intentionally omitted it.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The following verses of Ibn Luqaym al-‘Absī were also spoken about Banū al-Naḍīr. It is also said that they were spoken by Qays b. Bahr b. Ṭarf al-Ashja‘ī,

‘May my people be a ransom for that man who will never die who resettled the Jews in territories not their own.

They siesta in embers of thorn trees, having exchanged uplands where young date-palms sprouted.

If my view about Muḥammad is correct, you will see his cavalry between al-Ṣallā and Mt. Yaramyam,

Directing them towards ‘Amr b. Buhtha. They are an enemy; and an honest tribe is unlike one that is evil.

On the horses are heroes as they race on to battle, waving their straight wooden lances.

And each of their fine thin-bladed swords inherited from the eras of ‘Ād and Jurhum.

Who will deliver to Quraysh a message from me? Shall anyone succeed them in being so honoured,

For the fact – know this well – that their brother Muḥammad, is of the line of those between al-Ḥaǧūn and Zamzam?

If you serve him in truth, you will prosper and you will rise from below to the very heights.

He is a prophet, with mercy ordained him by God; do not ask of him anything undisclosed (by God) or improper.
By my life, there was a lesson for you, Quraysh, in what happened at Badr, and at the crowded well.

That morning he came among the Khazrajis, heading for you in obedience to God, the Powerful and Much-Honoured.

Being helped by the holy spirit, striking his enemies, a true messenger with knowledge from the All-Merciful.

A messenger from the All-Merciful reciting His Book, not having hesitated.

I see his authority rising everywhere, in accord with a command decreed by God.'"

Ibn Ishaq went on to quote the following verses from ‘Ali b. Abu Ṭalib. Ibn Hishām, however, stated, "These were spoken by a Muslim man, but I do not know anyone who attributes them to ‘Ali,

'I know, and whoever judges well does know, and I am truly sure and do not waver from

The specific words that came from God, the Kind and the Kindest of all,

In messages that are studied by the believers and in which he selected Ahmad, the One Chosen.

And so Ahmad was honoured among us, honoured in status and role.

You who threaten him foolishly, though he has done no wrong or violence,

Are you not fearful of imminent punishment? And those who are secure with God are not like those afraid!

And afraid of falling beneath his swords, felled like Ka'b Abū al-Ashraf

That day when God saw his tyranny as he disobeyed like a refractory camel?

And Gabriel kindly brought down revelation about his death to His servant.

And so the Messenger secretly sent an envoy to him with a sharp blade.

Eyes then began flowing in lament for him, when news of Ka'b’s death was announced.

They asked, “Ahmed, leave us awhile, for we have not yet recovered from our mourning.”

He did leave them, then said, “Go away, in banishment, despite your wishes.”

He despatched al-Naḍīr into exile, though they had enjoyed comfortable homes,

Away to Adhri'āt, riding double on their mounts, any emaciated old camels they could find.”
We have intentionally also omitted the response to these verses from the Jew Sammāl.

God Almighty then went on to refer to the awarding of al-fay’\(^{27}\) and to the fact that God had judged that the property of Banū al-Naḍīr should go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore gave him possession of it and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) disposed of it as God Almighty wished. It is similarly established in both Sahih collections, from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, “The properties of Banū al-Naḍīr were awarded by God to His messenger from whatever the Muslim forces, mounted on horse or camel, had not themselves taken.” These were specifically for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He would set aside his family’s expenses for a year and then whatever riding beast or weapons remained he would treat as military supplies to be used in the cause of God, the Almighty and Glorious.

The Almighty then made clear His judgement about the al-fay’, to the effect that it was for the muhājirīn and the ansār as well as for their dependants in whatever ways and manner was customary to them. (God stated) “… and for those close in kin, orphans, the needy, wayfarers, so that it not be something taken in turns by those of you who are wealthy. Whatever the Messenger gives you, you should take. And from whatever he forbids you, keep away. And fear God; God is severe in punishing” (ṣūrat al-Hashr; LIx, v.7).

Imām ʿAḥmad stated, “‘Ārim and ‘Affān quoted Muṭʿamir as having related to them both, ‘I heard my father say, ‘Anas h. Mālik related to us, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), that a man might donate to him his palms, or whatever else God might wish, up to when Qurayza and al-Naḍīr were conquered for him; thereafter he began giving it back.’’”

Muṭʿamir’s father went on, “My family told me to go to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and to ask him back for all or part of what they had given. But the Prophet (ṢAAS) had given some of the trees to Umm Ayman – or he had done whatever it was that God had wanted.”

He went on, “So I asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he gave me some of them.”

Then Umm Ayman came up angrily, pulled my clothing up around my neck and began saying, ‘No! By the One and Only God, I won’t give them to you! He gave them to me!’ – or some such comments. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, ‘But you can have so-and-such.’ She responded, ‘No! By God!’ He repeated, ‘Then I’ll give you so-and-such.’ ‘No! By God!’ she replied. “Then I’ll give you so-and-such!’ he offered until he had given her in full. I think he must have given her ten times as much as she had formerly owned.”

\(^{27}\) The word comes from a verb meaning “to restore”, “to give back”. It refers here to a category of property acquired from an enemy who has not engaged in actual warfare but has acknowledged Muslim supremacy.

\(^{28}\) Presumably some of the date-palms referred to above.
This is derived in similar terms in various lines of transmission from Mu'tamir.

God Almighty then stated that blame was due the hypocrites who were secretly sympathetic towards Banū al-Naḍir, as we have mentioned above, promising them victory, though none came. In fact they abandoned them completely, having misled them about themselves. And so God stated, "(Have you not) seen those who were hypocritical, telling their disbelieving brethren from among the people of the scriptures, 'If you are driven out, we will go forth with you. We will never obey anyone concerning you. If you are attacked, we will certainly assist you.' But God bears witness that they are liars. If they were expelled, these people would not leave with them. If they were attacked, these would not help them. Even if they did help them, they would then turn their backs. Then they will not be helped."

The Almighty condemned them for their cowardice, ignorance and foolishness. He then drew an ugly and awful comparison regarding them and Satan, "... who says to mankind, 'Disbelieve!' But when they disbelieve, he (Satan) tells them, 'I am innocent of (responsibility for) you! I fear God, the Lord of the worlds.' And the outcome for them both is to enter hell-fire, to live therein forever. That is the reward of the unjust" (sūrat al-Hashr; LIX, v.16, 17).

The Story of 'Amr b. Su'da al-Qurashi.

He passed by the homes of Banū al-Naḍir and found them laid to waste and completely abandoned. The fact that Banū al-Naḍir had been of higher status than (his own) Banū Qurayza stimulated his interest in Islam and he brought forth a description of the Messenger of God (SAAS), from the Old Testament.

Al-Waqqidi quoted Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far as stating that his father said, "When Banū al-Naḍir left Medina, 'Amr b. Su'da arrived and when he viewed their houses and saw their destruction, he went into deep thought. When he returned to Banū Qurayza, he found them assembled in the temple. He blew on their horn and when they had gathered together, al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā asked him, 'Abū Sa'id, where were you? You've never been away before this.' 'Amr used never to leave the temple and absolutely worshipped Judaism.

"He replied, 'Today, I have seen things that should be a lesson for us. I have seen our brothers' houses empty that before were places of honour, comfort, great virtue, prestige and intellectualty. They have abandoned their possessions, given them away to others, and gone into humiliating exile. By the Torah, the fact is that God never before gave such power to a people with whom He was dissatisfied. Previously, he had been in dispute with Ibn al-Ashraf, their respected leader, and then had kept him secure in his house. He was also at odds with their chief, Ibn Sunayna, and with Banū Qaynuqā'. These people, of the greatest prestige among the Jews, he expelled, even though they were possessed of much arms and equipment and support. Then he besieged them, taking prisoner any one of
them who emerged. He then addressed them, telling them he would leave them alone if they moved out of Medina. ‘My people, you have seen what you have seen! Obey me! Come, let us follow Muhammad! You well know, by God, that he is a prophet; Ibn al-Hayyibn Abī ‘Umayr and Ibn Ḥirāsh foretold us of him, these being the most learned of Jews. They expected him to come and told us to follow him. They came to us from Jerusalem and ordered us to deliver him their greetings. They then died in their faith, and we buried them in this piece of land of ours.’

‘His people were silent at this, not one of them speaking. He then repeated something similar and warned them of warfare, capture and exile. Al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā then said, ‘By the Torah, I have read the description of him in Bāṭā’s book, the Torah that was revealed to Moses, though it is not in the works we instituted.’

‘Ka’b b. Asad then asked him, ‘Well, what’s preventing you, Abī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from following him?’ ‘You, Ka’b, are preventing me,’ he replied. ‘Why so?’ Ka’b asked. ‘I have never, I swear by the Torah, come between you and him.’

‘Al-Zubayr insisted, ‘On the contrary, you are the custodian of our pacts and pledges; if you followed him, so would we. If you refused, so will we.’

‘At this ‘Amr b. Su’dā approached Ka’b and referred to discussion between them on that. Eventually, ‘Amr stated, ‘I’ve said all I’m going to about him; I would not feel comfortable being his follower.’”

Al-Bayhaqi related this.


Al-Bayhaqi related this in his *Dalāʾil (The Signs)*. Ibn Ishāq, so far as I have seen, related it through Hishām, from Ziyād, to the effect that it happened in Jumādā al-Uwāl of the year 2 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq, “the ditch”, and after the expedition against Banū Qurayza. This is similar to the account given by al-Bayhaqi. But God knows best.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi stated, “Abū ʿAbd Allāh, the ḥāfīz, related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʾAṣāmm, quoting Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār and others, as follows: ‘After Khubayb and his companions had been struck down, the Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to revenge them by making a surprise attack against Banū Liḥyān. He took the route to Syria to give the impression that he was not attacking them, then headed for their territory. But he found that they had taken the precaution of moving into defensive positions in the mountain heights. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “If we go on down to Usfān, Quraysh will think we’re going on to Mecca.” And so he proceeded on with 200 men and encamped at Usfān. He then sent on two horsemen to Kurāʾ al-Ghamīm; they then left there.’”
Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zurqī narrated that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣa) performed the *ṣalāt al-khawf* at Ḫusfān.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting al-Thawrī, from Mansūr, from Mughīd, from Ibn ʿAyyāsh, who said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣa), at Ḫusfān. The unbelievers met us, under the command of Khalīd b. al-Walīd. They were positioned between us and the qibla. The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣa) led the noon prayer and the enemy told themselves, ‘In the position they were in we could have taken them unawares.’ They then observed, ‘They have a prayer approaching that is more dear to them than their children or themselves.’

‘But between the noon and the early evening prayer Gabriel brought down the verse, ‘When you are among them and lead the prayer for them’ (*ṣūrat al-Nisā’*; IV, v.102).

‘Then time for prayer arrived and the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣa) ordered his men to take up their weapons. We lined up in two rows behind him. He then performed a rakʿa, and we all did the same. After that he stood upright and we all did the same. He then made the prostration with the line next to him, while the others stood guarding them. When these had made their prostrations and stood up again, the others prostrated in their place. Then those others occupied the lines of the former who exchanged places with them. Thereafter, he performed one rukuʿ and they all did so too, after which he stood up, as did all of them. Following that, the next row prostrated while the others remained standing guarding them. When they sat, the others did so too, then they prostrated. He then delivered the salām greeting to them, after which he left.

‘The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣa) performed the prayer this way twice — once at Ḫusfān and again in the territory of Banū Sulaym.’”

Aḥmad related this from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Mansūr in similar terms.

Abū Dāūd related it from Saʿīd b. Mansūr, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; al-Nasāʾī related it from al-Fallās, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamād, from Muhammad b. al-Muthānā and Bundār, from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, all three deriving it from Mansūr.

This chain of authorities is in accord with the criteria of both saḥīḥ collections; (yet) neither of them included it.

However, Muslim related through Abū Khaythama Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiya, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, ‘We went forth on an expedition with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣa), against a tribe from Juhaynam. They engaged in a fierce battle. When he (the Prophet (ṣaṣṣa)) led the noon prayer, the unbelievers said, ‘If we had attacked them (then) we would have decimated them!’

29. A prayer performed in turn by various contingents of Muslim forces who are about to do battle with an enemy confronting them; those not praying protect those engaging in prayer against the possibility of a surprise attack.
Gabriel then informed the Messenger of God (SAAS) of this and he said, ‘They said, “A prayer is coming for them that is dearer to them than their children.”’ The hadith is then recounted in similar words as above.

Abū Dā'ud al-Ṭayālisi stated, “Hishām related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the noon prayers among his Companions at Nakhl. The polytheists observed this, then said, “Leave them alone; they have a prayer coming after this one that is dearer to them than their children.”’

Gabriel then made a revelation to the Messenger of God (SAAS), informing him of this comment. When, therefore, he led the evening prayer he lined up his men in two rows with himself standing in front of them and the enemy out in front of him. He spoke the words Allāhu Akbar! “God is most Great”, and all his men said the same. Then they all performed a rak'a. After that those in front performed the prostration, while the rest remained standing. When they brought their heads up, the others made their prostration. Then that group went forward, while the next group stayed back. They all then proclaimed the takbir and performed their bows. Thereafter the ones next to him made their prostrations while the others stood, and when they raised their heads the others prostrated.’

Al-Bukhārī testified to this in his sahīh collection, giving this account of Hishām from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “'Abd al-Samad related to us, from Sa‘īd b. 'Ubayd al-Hunāfī, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Shaqīq, quoting Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) made a halt between Dajnān and Usfān and that the polytheists commented, ‘They have a prayer to come that is dearer to them than their sons and daughters—the evening prayer, that is. Prepare to have everyone attack them all together (then).’

‘But Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and told him to divide up his men into two groups; some would perform the prayer while the others would stand at the ready behind them. He told them to be careful and to have their weapons prepared. The troops would perform a single rak'a each, in groups in sequence with the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he would perform two.’

Al-Tirmidḥi and al-Nasāʿī related this from an account of 'Abd al-Ṣamad. Al-Tirmidḥi categorized the tradition as ḥasan sahīh, “good and authentic”.

I comment that for Abū Hurayra to have witnessed this, it must have happened after Khaybar. Otherwise it would have to be considered of the mursalāt al-saḥāba. This categorization does not diminish the authority of such a hadith in the view of most. But God knows best.

30. That is, accounts attributed to Companions that, because of possible gaps in the lines of transmission or the reputation of the transmitters, do not meet the full criteria of ahādīth that can be viewed as sahīh.
In the text of the hadith of Jābir in the works of either Muslim or Abū Dāūd al-Ṭayālīsī there is no reference to ʿUsfān, nor to Khālid b. al-Walīd. However, it is apparent that they are one and the same.

The question remains as to whether the expedition to ʿUsfān was before or after the battle of al-khandaq, "the ditch". Some scholars, including al-Shāfīʿī, claim that the ṣalāt al-khawf was instituted only following that battle, on the basis that they deferred holding the prayer that day because of the fighting. But if practice of the ṣalāt al-khawf had been in force at that time, they would have performed it and not postponed it. Some scholars of the military engagements therefore maintain that the expedition against Banū Liḥyān, during which the ṣalāt al-khawf was said at ʿUsfān, took place after the expedition against Banū Qurayṣa.

Al-Wāqidi has a line of transmission back to Khalīd b. al-Walīd, whom he quotes as saying, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya, I met him at Usfān. I formed (my forces) before him and blocked his way. He performed the al-zuhr prayer with his men there in front of us. We were about to attack him, but could not make up our minds to do so. God then made him aware of what we had been contemplating. And so he said the ṣalāt al-khawf with his Companions at the al-ṣuhr prayers."

The ʿumrah of al-Ḥudaybiyya took place in Dhū al-Qaʿda of 6 AH, after the battle of al-khandaq and the expedition against Banū Qurayṣa, as will be related hereafter.

The text of the account of Abū ʿAyyāsh al-Zarqāʾi requires that the verse relating to the ṣalāt al-khawf was revealed during this expedition, at the fighting at Usfān. This in turn necessitates that it was the first time he prayed the ṣalāt al-khawf. But God knows best.

We will, if God Almighty wills it, relate the manner in which the ṣalāt al-khawf was prayed and the various accounts about it in our work al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr; and it is in God we trust and have confidence.

THE EXPEDITION TO DHĀT AL-RIQĀʾ.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Medina following the expedition against Banū al-Naḍir for the two months of Rabīʿ al-Awwal and Rabīʿ al-Thānī, and also for part of Jumāda. He then sent forces into Najd against Banū Muḥārib and Banū Thaʿlabā of Ḥaṭṭāfān. He placed Abū Dharr in command of Medina."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is also said that he appointed ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān in command there."

Ibn Ishaq went on, "He then went forth as far as Nakhl, this being on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqāʾ."

31. The word riqāʾ, pl. riqāʾ, means a piece of land, paper or cloth.
Ibn Hishām commented, "(It is so named) because they patched up their banners there. Others say it is so named because there was a tree there known as Dhāt al-Riqā'.

Al-Wāqīḍī stated that it was named after a mountain there that had patches of red, black and white.

In the ḥadīth of Ābu Mūsā it is said that it was so named because of the rags they tied to their feet on account of the excessive heat.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "There he encountered a force of Ghatafān. The forces came close together without engaging in battle, each side being wary of the other; then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the salāt al-khawf prayer."

For his account here of the salāt al-khawf prayer, Ibn Hishām relies upon one line of transmission from ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd al-Tannūrī, from Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, from al-Ḥasan, from Jabir b. ʿAbd Allāh, and on another from ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Ābū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, and on a third from ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Ayyūb, from Nāṣr, from Ibn ʿUmar. However, in these three lines he makes no reference to either the expedition to Najd or to that to Dhāt al-Riqā'. Nor did he turn attention to any (particular) time or place.

There is, moreover, dispute over whether or not the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā', which was in Najd and against Banū Muḥārīb and Banū Thaqābā b. Ghaṭafān, came before the battle of al-khandaq.

Al-Bukhārī took the position that that took place after the expedition against Khaybar. As evidence for that, he refers to Ābū Mūsā al-Ashʿārī's presence there, as will be shown. His arrival occurred only during the nights of the Khaybar campaign, in the company of Jaʿfār and his men. The same is true of Ābū Hurayra. He stated, "I prayed the salāt al-khawf in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at the expedition to Najd."

Evidence that it occurred after the battle of al-khandaq is that Ibn ʿUmar was first authorized by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to participate in the fighting at that battle. It is established of him (Ibn ʿUmar) in the saḥīḥ collection that he stated, "I participated in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) before that to Najd during which he prayed the salāt al-khawf."

Also there is al-Wāqīḍī's statement, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to Dhāt al-Riqā' with a force of 400 (it is also said 700) of his Companions on Saturday, ten days before the end of al-Muḥarram, 5 AH." But there is dispute over this.

Moreover, there is no escaping the fact that the salāt al-khawf was only instituted after the battle of al-khandaq because that battle took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH, as is widely known (though some date it as in Shawwāl of 4 AH), this being substantiated by the gist of the ḥadīth from Ibn ʿUmar. However, the ḥadīth of Ābū Mūsā and that of Ābū Hurayra do not (suggest this).
The Story of Ghawrath b. al-Ḥarīth.

Regarding this expedition, Ibn Ishāq stated, "'Amr b. Ubayd related to me, from al-Ḥasan, from Jābir ibn ʿAbd Allāh, that a man of Banū Muhārib named Ghawrath said to his tribe of Ghaṭafān and Muhārib, 'Shall I kill Muḥammad for you?' 'Yes indeed! And how will you kill him?' 'I'll assassinate him,' he replied.

"So he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was seated with his sword in his lap. Ghawrath asked him, 'Muḥammad, could I see that sword of yours?' 'Yes.' He took it and began to raise it to strike, but God prevented him. He asked, 'Muḥammad, don't you fear me?' 'No,' he replied. 'What should I fear from you?' 'You're not afraid of me even though I have a sword in my hands?' 'No; God is protecting me from you.'

"Ghawrath then returned the sword to him. Thereafter, God, Great and Glorious is He, revealed the verse, 'O you who believe, remember God's favour to you when a people intended to lay hands on you but He turned their hands away from you. Fear God, let believers place their reliance upon God!"' (sūrat al-Māʿūdah; V, v.11).

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Yazīd b. Rūmān related to me, however, that this verse was revealed about 'Amr b. Jahāhsh, brother of Banū al-Naḍīr, and what he had intended.'

It is thus that Ibn Ishāq related the story of this Ghawrath, from 'Amr b. Ubayd al-Qadārī, the leader of the misled. He, although not deliberately engaging in falsehood in his hadīth accounts is one of those who should not be quoted as a source because of his innovations and support for them.

This hadīth is firmly established in both saḥīḥ collections from other sources than him, thanks be to God!

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī recounted here a variety of lines of transmission for this hadīth from a number of places. It is established in both saḥīḥ collections from a hadīth of al-Zuhrī, from Sīnān b. Abū Sīnān, and Abū Salama from Jābir, that he accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the expedition to Najd. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the way home, the time for the afternoon rest came when they were in a valley with many thorn trees. The force divided up as the men sought the shade of the trees. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped in the shade of a tree on which he hung up his sword.

Jābir said, "And so we slept. Then suddenly, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to us; we responded and found that there was a bedouin seated near him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, 'This fellow unsheathed my sword while I was asleep. I awoke to find him brandishing it in his hand. He then asked me, 'Who is there to protect you from me?' I replied, 'God.' He then sheathed the sword and sat down.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not punish the man for having done this."
Muslim also related this, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAffān, from Abān, from Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, “We advanced with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and reached Dhāt al-Riqaʿ. Whenever we came across a shade-giving tree we would reserve it for the Messenger of God (SAAS). (We did so now) and one of the polytheists came over to him while his sword was hanging on a tree. The man took the sword, unsheathed it, then asked the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘Do you fear me?’ ‘No,’ he replied. ‘Who is to protect you from me?’ ‘God protects me from you,’ he answered. Then the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) intimidated the man and he sheathed the sword and hung it up again.”

He went on, “Then the call for prayer was made. He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) prayed two rakʿas with one group, and they went aside while he prayed two rakʿas with the next group. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed four rakʿas, while the rest prayed two.”

Al-Bukhārī also derived this report with absolute certainty from Abān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, quoting Musaddad, from Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Bishr, that the name of the man was Ghawrāt b. al-Ḥārith.

Al-Bayhaqī drew his account through Abū ʿAwāna, from Abū Bishr, from Sulaymān b. Qays, from Jābir, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) engaged Muhārib and Ghaṭafān in battle at Nakhl. The enemy detected a deficiency in the Muslim defences, and sent through one of their men, Ghaṭarāt b. al-Ḥārith, who went and stood with his sword right over the head of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Ghaṭarāt asked him, ‘Who is there to defend you from me?’ ‘God,’ he replied. And the sword fell from the man’s grasp. The Messenger of God (SAAS) picked up the sword and asked him, ‘And who protects you from me?’ ‘Be compassionate!’ ‘Do you testify that there is no god but God?’ he asked. ‘No’, Ghaṭarāt replied, ‘but I will give you my word that I’ll not oppose you nor assist any others who do.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) released him, and when Ghaṭarāt returned to his men, he commented, ‘I come to you from the very best of men!’”

Al-Bayhaqī then went on to tell of the ṣalāt al-khawf and that four rakʿas were performed, two with each group.

Al-Bayhaqī related the methods of performing the ṣalāt al-khawf at Dhāt al-Riqaʿ on lines of transmission from Ṣāliḥ b. Khawwāt b. Juhayr, from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, along with a ḥadīth of al-Zuhri, from Salim, from his father, concerning the ṣalāt al-khawf in Najd. This is given in my Kitāb al-Ahkām. But God knows best.

The Story of the man whose wife was killed on this Expedition.

Muḥammad b. ʿIshaq stated, “My uncle ʿṢadaQA b. Yāsār related to me, from ʿUqayl b. Jābir, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘We went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqaʿ near Nakhl and
one of our men killed the wife of a polytheist. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had left to return home, her husband, who had been away, came back. When told the news, he swore he would never rest till he had taken blood revenge against Muhammad’s men.

“So he followed the tracks of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who when he had made camp had asked, “Who will stand guard for us tonight?” A muhajiri and an ansari each volunteered and he told them to take up position at the entrance to the mouth of the valley. The two men were 'Ammār b. Yāsir and 'Abbād b. Bishr. When they reached the mouth of the valley, the ansari asked the muhajiri, “Which part of the watch do you want me to take care of, the first or the last?” “You take the first watch,” the muhajiri told him and settled down to sleep, while the ansari prayed.

“When the polytheist arrived and saw the watchman’s form, he realized that he was on guard and shot an arrow at him which stuck in him. The ansari pulled out the arrow, laid it down and stood his guard, standing there in prayer. The polytheist then shot again and struck his guard again removed it, laid it down and went on praying. A third time the polytheist struck him, and once more he withdrew it and put it down, continuing his prayer with a bow and a prostration. He then aroused his companion, saying, “Remain seated; I’ve been hit.”

“At this, his companion arose and when the polytheist saw both, he knew that they were on guard against him, and so he fled.

“When the muhajiri saw that the ansari was bleeding, he exclaimed, “For God’s sake, why did you not awaken me when he first struck you?”

“The ansari replied, “I was reciting a sura (of the Qurān) and did not want to break it off before I had completed it. When he continued shooting, I finished the prostration, then awoke you. I swear by God, that unless it meant losing a position the Messenger of God (SAAS) had ordered me to hold, he could have killed me before I would have interrupted a recitation before completing it!””

Ibn Ishāq related it thus in reference to the military expeditions. Abū Da'ud recounted it from Abū Tawba, from 'Abd Allāh b. Mubārak, from Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Waqqātī related the account of the salat al-khawf in full from 'Abd Allāh al-'Umari, from his brother 'Ubayd Allāh, from al-Qāsim b. Mūhammad, from Ṣāliḥ b. al-Khawwāt, from his father, as follows: “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had attacked some women in their (the enemy’s) homes; among the prisoners taken was an attractive woman whose husband loved her. He swore an oath that he would pursue Mūhammad and not return until he had either taken blood revenge for her or had rescued her.”

Al-Waqqātī then proceeds to recount the incident much as had Mūhammad b. Ishāq.

Al-Waqqātī stated, “Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh used to say, ‘I was once with the Messenger of God (SAAS), when one of his Companions brought in a chick. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was looking at it when in came the chick’s
parents (or one of them) and threw themselves down before the man who had taken it. I saw that everyone present was amazed at this. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘So you’re surprised that this bird, whose chick you took, is bowing to offer itself to gain mercy for its chick? I swear by God, your god is more compassionate for you than this bird is for its chick!’”

The Story of Jābir’s camel on this Expedition.

Muhammad b. Ishāq stated, “Wahb b. Kaysān related to me, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said, ‘I went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS), on the expedition to Dhāt al-Riqā‘ at Nakhl, riding a feeble camel. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was returning home, I began falling behind my comrades who went on ahead. Eventually the Messenger of God (SAAS) came up to me and asked, “What’s wrong, Jābir?” I replied, “O Messenger of God, this camel of mine is slowing me down.” “Make it kneel,” he told me. I did so and he also made his camel kneel. He then said, “Give me that stick in your hand, or cut one from a tree.” I did so and he took it and prodded my camel with it several times. He then said, “Mount up!” I did so. And, I swear by Him who sent him with the truth, my weak male camel competed with his female camel!”

“When I was talking with the Messenger of God (SAAS), he asked me, “Would you sell me this camel of yours, Jābir?” “I’ll give it to you,” I told him. “No; just sell it to me.” “Make me an offer,” I asked. “I’ll take it for one dirham,” he suggested. “No way!” I replied. “Then you would be cheating me, Messenger of God!” “Two dirhams then?” he offered. “No,” I refused. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then set about raising the offer until he reached one ounce of gold. I asked him, “Would that be agreeable to you?” “Yes,” he replied. “Then he’s yours!” I told him. And he accepted it.

“He then asked, “Jābir, are you married yet?” “Yes, I am,” I told him. “To a woman previously married, or to a virgin?” “Previously married,” I replied. “Why not a young girl with whom you could have much fun?” he asked. “My father”, I explained to him, “was killed at the battle of Uhud and left seven daughters. So I married a mature woman to look after them and bring them up well.” “You did well, let’s hope to God,” he commented. “And when we get to Sirār we’ll slaughter a camel and stay there the day with her and she’ll hear about us and dust off her cushions for us.” I replied, “I swear, Messenger of God, we don’t have cushions.” “You will have,” he said. “When we get there behave wisely.”

“When we reached Sirār, the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered camels be slaughtered; this was done. We remained there that day and in the evening the Messenger of God (SAAS) went home, as did we all. I reported to my wife what he had said and she advised me to hurry up and do as I was told.

“Next morning I led my camel up to the door of the Messenger of God (SAAS), then sat down close to him in the mosque. Eventually the Messenger of God (SAAS) came outside and, when he saw the camel, he asked to whom it
belonged. He was told that Jābir had brought it, and he asked where I was. Then they called for me to go to him, and he said, “Cousin, lead your camel away; it is yours.” Then he called Bilāl over and told him, “Take Jābir away and give him an ounce of gold.” So I went off with Bilāl and he did give me an ounce, and a little more as well. And, by God, my financial affairs improved constantly thereafter until they suffered recently in what befell us.”

By this he was referring to the *yaum al-harra.* The author of the *sahih* collection derived this story from a *hadith* of Ubayd Allah b. Umar al-‘Umari, from Wahb b. Kaysān, from Jābir, in similar terms.

Al-Suhaylī stated, “There is in this *hadith* reference to the Messenger of God (SAAS) telling Jābir b. ‘Abd Allah that God had given new life to his father, had spoken to him and told him, ‘Ask a request of me!’ That was because he died a martyr. For Almighty God had said, ‘God buys from believers their souls and their property.’ He awarded them more in His statement, ‘To those who do good there shall come good, and more too.’ He then combined for them compensation and indemnity and restored to them their souls that He had purchased from them. He stated, ‘Do not consider dead those who are killed in God’s cause; no, they are alive, with their Lord, and will be provided for’ (sūrat Al-‘Imrān; III, v.169).

“For human beings, the soul has the same role as a riding animal”, as ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz said. He stated, “That is why the Messenger of God (SAAS) purchased from Jābir his camel, his riding beast, that is, first giving him the value of it and then returning it to him, with an additional amount as well.”

He commented, “And in this there is fulfilment of what he related to him about his father.”

Al-Suhaylī’s observation here is a strange and imaginative departure. But God Almighty, praised be He, knows best.

The *hāfiz* al-Bayhaqī gave an explanation relating to this *hadith* in his work *Dalā‘il al-Nubuwwa.* He has a section entitled “Chapter: On the blessings and signs of God evident in this expedition of his relating to the camel of Jābir b. ‘Abd Allah, God be pleased with him.”

This *hadith* has a number of lines of transmission from Jābir and many differences in phraseology. Also there is great variety in the value placed on the camel and the manner in which the sale provisions were made. The recording and interpretation of this is most appropriate in the section on sale in the works on law. But God knows best. This story is given pertaining to this expedition and elsewhere as well, as will follow. That this happened many times is unlikely; but God knows best.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION TO BADR.

This is the Badr engagement of which promise was made at Uhud, as is told above.

32. The reference is to the rebellion in Medina during the reign of Yazīd, the son of Mu‘awiya.
Ibn Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned to Medina from the Dhāt al-Riqāʾ expedition, he remained there for the rest of Jumādā al-Ūlā, Jumādā al-Ākhira and Rajah. In Sha’bān he left for Badr and his appointment with Abū Sufyān.”


Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to Badr and remained there for eight days waiting for Abū Sufyān.

“Abū Sufyān set out with his Meccan force and encamped at Majanna, near al-Zahrān. Some authorities state that he reached ʿUsfān then decided to go back. He announced, ‘Men of Quraysh, it is right for you to make such an expedition only in a fruitful year when you can pasture on trees and drink milk; this year it is barren. I am going back; you do the same.’

“So they all returned. The Meccans referred to them as the sawīq army, saying to them, ‘So you only went forth to drink sawīq then!’

“Makhshī b. ʿAmr al-Ḍamrī, who had made a contract with the Prophet (SAAS) concerning Banū Damrā at the Waddān expedition, now arrived and said, ‘Muḥammad, have you come here to this well to meet with Quraysh?’ He replied, ‘Yes, brother from Banū Damrā; but if you want, we’ll release you from your agreement with us and we’ll battle you until God decides between us.’ ‘No, by God, Muḥammad, there’s no need for that!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then returned to Medina without incident.”

Ibn Ishāq quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa as having delivered the following verses as they waited for Abū Sufyān to arrive on his return that year to Badr. However, Ibn Hishām stated that this poetry was delivered to him by Abū Zayd who attributed it to Kaʿb b. Mālik:

“We agreed on Badr with Abū Sufyān, but found him untruthful and untrustworthy in his appointment.

I swear that had you and we met you would have returned home humiliated and with your supporters gone.

There we previously left limbs of ʿUtba and of his son, along with ʿAmr Abū Jahl whom we left prostrate.

You disobeyed the Messenger of God! How vile your faith and your evil and misguided conduct!

If you were to belabour me, I’d still say, ‘My wealth and family be a ransom for the Messenger of God!’

We obey him, treating none other of us as his equal; he is a flame guiding us in the dark of night!’

Ḥassān b. Thabit spoke the following verses on that occasion:

“Forget the streams of Syria! For intervening are swords (blood-stained) like the mouths of pregnant camels fed on (thorny) arāk trees.

33. A beverage, perhaps alcoholic, made of parched wheat or barley.
In the hands of men who have gone out to their Lord, to His true helpers, and to the hands of angels.

If they pass on to the lowlands from the sandy valleys, tell them that is not the route.

We remained eight days at the shallow well with a fully equipped force and many camels tethered
And round-bellied horses, sleek sided stallions high of withers,
The yearly arfaj plants being uprooted by tall, speeding mounts.

If we should meet Farât b. Ḥayyān in our journeyings, he will be as good as dead.

If, after him, Qays b. Imr al-Qays, the pallor of death will blacken his face even more!

Deliver to Abū Sufyān this message from me; for you are the best of those beggar-like men!”

Ibn Ishaq then quoted Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarīth b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who later accepted Islam, as answering him with the following verses:

“Ḥassān, you son of a woman who eats offal, I swear we devour great deserts like that!
When we go forth, young gazelles can’t escape between us, though seeking defence in full-speed flight.
When we leave after a halt you’d think it had been trashed by crowds at a fair!
You remained at the shallow well, wanting us to come, but leaving us in the date groves near by.
Our horses and mounts trample the vegetation underfoot, levelling all into the sand.
We halted for three days between Sa‘f and Fārūṣ, our horses fine and our camels swift-paced.
You would have thought that attacking people near their homes would be as easy as buying white lead with cash!
Don’t vaunt your fine horses when you talk to them as one who protects them and holds them back.
You express joy in them, but others should, such as the knights with descent from Fīhr b. Mālik.
You are not engaged in a migration, though you speak thereof, nor do you respect the prohibitions of its faith.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “We have omitted from this certain verses since they did not match in rhyme.”

Mūsā b. Uqba recounted from al-Zuhrī and Ibn Lahi’ā, from Abū al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for men to go forth to meet Abū Sufyān, the hypocrites sent agents out to dissuade
them. But God kept His supporters from harm, and the Muslims did proceed in the company of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Badr. They took various goods with them for sale, saying they would fight if they met Abū Sufyān, and that otherwise they would sell these at the Badr fair.

His account then proceeds as did the text of Ibn Ishāq to describe Abū Sufyān’s movement to Majanna, his return from there, the negotiation with al-Ḍamrt, the offer made by the Prophet (SAAS), and the repudiation which he refused.

Al-Wāqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) headed for it (Badr) with a force of 1,500 of his Companions. He placed ‘Abd Allah b. Rawāḥa in command of Medina. His departure for there occurred early in Dhū al-Qa‘dā.” He means of 4 AH.

But Ibn Ishāq’s statement is what is authentic, namely that it took place in Sha‘bān of that year, 4 AH, and it is in agreement with the statement of Mīṣa b. Uqba that it occurred in Sha‘bān, though he gives the year as 3 AH. This date is incorrect. For the agreement to meet at Badr had been made at Uhud, which took place in Shawwāl of 3 AH, as is told above. But God knows best.

Al-Wāqidi stated, “They remained at Badr for the duration of the fair that lasted eight days. Then they returned home, having profited with two dirhams for each one invested.”

Others say that they returned just as God, Almighty and Glorious is He, had said, “And so they returned with favour from God and His grace. No harm came to them. For they followed the pleasure of God, and God is He of mighty grace” (sūrat 21-‘Imrān; III, v.173).

Section: A Review of the events that occurred in 4 AH.

Ibn Jarir stated, “In Jumādā al-Uwlā of that year ʿAbd Allāh, son of Uthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, by Ruqayya, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), died. He was six years of age. The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the funeral prayer over him, and his father, Uthmān b. ʿAffān, God be pleased with him, accompanied him down into the grave.”

I would add that the same year Abī Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm al-Qurashi al-Makhzūmi died; his mother was Barra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, aunt of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was the foster-brother of the Messenger of God (SAAS), since both were suckled by Thuwayba, freed-woman of Abū Lahab.

Abū Salama, Abū Ubayda, Uthmān b. ʿAffān and al-ʿArqam b. Abū al-ʿArqam had accepted Islam long before, on the same day.

Abū Salama and his wife had emigrated to Abyssinia and then returned to Mecca. They had had children in Abyssinia. He then migrated from Mecca to Medina and Umm Salama followed him there, as is related above. He was
present at the battles of Badr and Uhud and died following wounds he suffered at Uhud. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. There is one ḥadīth, on the subject of "istījrāt" that is attributed to him. This will be related shortly in the text dealing with the marriage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Umm Salama.

Ibn Jarir stated, "Some days before the end of Shaʿbān that year, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was born to Fasma, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); may God be pleased with them all.

"In Ramaḍān of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Hilāl b. ʿAmir b. ʿAṣaʿa, a woman of Hilāl."

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Jurjāni as saying that she was the sister of Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith. Then he (Abū ʿUmar) stated that he had not been told this by anyone else.

She was known as Umm al-Masākin, "mother of the poor", for the many donations she made to them and for her kindness and compassion towards them. The Prophet (ṢAAS) gave her a dowry of 12 and a half ounces of gold and consummated his marriage with her in Ramaḍān. She had previously been married to al-Ṭūfayl b. al-Ḥārith who had divorced her.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr quoted ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Jurjāni as saying, "Thereafter his brother Ṭubayda b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf had married her."

Ibn al-ʿAtbir stated, in his work Al-Ghnība, "It is said she was also the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who was killed at Uhud while still married to her."

Abū ʿUmar stated, "There is no dispute over the fact that she died during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It is said that she remained living with him only for two or three months before she died; may God be pleased with her."

Al-Wāqīdī stated, "In Shawwal of that year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya."

I comment that previously she had been the wife of her children's father, Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad. He had been present at Uhud, as is told above. He was wounded at that battle and nursed his wounds for a month until he was restored. He then went forth on a sariya, a raid, at which he earned considerable booty. He then stayed home for seventeen days, but his wounds erupted again and he died, three days before the end of Jumādā al-Uwšt of that year.

When in Shawwal it was permissible for her to remarry, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became engaged to her, sending ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to her several times to arrange this. She told him that she was a very jealous woman and

34. A supplication, derived from the Qurʾān, that one invokes during times of calamity.
that she had children; that is, that she had children who would divert her
attention from him and for whose food and support she had to work. He
responded, “Regarding the children, God and His messenger will care for them;
that is, you won’t be responsible for their expenses. As for the jealousy, I will
pray to God and He will remove it.”

She then gave her consent in the matter, finally telling ʿUmar, “Off you go;
arrange the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS).” By this she meant that she had
agreed and had given her permission.

Some scholars imagine her to have said this to her son ʿUmar b. Abū Salama
who was too young at that time to be involved with contracts. I have combined
all that is correct into one specific account, all praise and trust being in God.
(There is also an account that states) that the person who arranged her marriage
with him was her oldest son Salama b. Abū Salama. This account is widely
known because his father was her cousin and the son is eligible to be the guardian
of his mother because he happens to be her means of subsistence and not because
of filiation.

According to al-Shāfiʿi alone, the mere fact of being a son does not entitle him
to act for his mother in a marriage contract. The three (other chief authorities
on Islamic law) Abū Ḥanifa, Malik (b. Anas) and Aḥmad (b. Ḥanbal), God
have mercy upon them all, disagree with him. This issue will, if God wills it,
be examined further elsewhere in the Kitāb al-Nikāḥ (Chapter on Marriage) in
my work al-Aḥkām al-Kabīr.

me one day from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, “I heard something
from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) that greatly pleased me. He said, ‘Any
Muslim who suffers a loss should repeat, “To God we belong, and to Him
we return,” and then should pray, “O God, compensate me for my loss and
give me better in exchange.”’” She went on, ‘And I learned this from him
by heart.

“When Abū Salama died, I spoke the words, “To God we belong, and to
Him we return”, then said, “O God, compensate me for my loss and give me
better in exchange.” But then I realized what I had said and wondered how I
could ever have better than Abū Salama.

“When my ḍidda, my waiting period, was over, the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS) asked to come to see me while I was tanning a hide I had. I washed my
hands clean of the tanning solution, asked him to come in and set out a leather
cushion stuffed with palm fronds for him to sit upon. He sat down on it and
made me an offer of marriage. When he had finished speaking, I replied, “O
Messenger of God! It’s not fit for me to question your wanting this, but I’m an
extremely jealous woman and I’m afraid you may see in me something for which
God will punish me. And I'm a woman who is getting on in years, and I have children.”

“He replied, "Regarding the jealousy, God will remove it from you. As for your reference to your age, I am afflicted just as you are. Regarding your children, they shall be as my own." So I consented to the Messenger of God (SAAS). And God did give me better than Abū Salama – the Messenger of God (SAAS)!"


Ibn Ishaq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then left from Badr – where the appointment had been – to return to Medina. He remained there until the month of Dhū al-Hijja was over; the polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 4 AH."

Al-Waqidi stated, "That year, 4 AH, the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered Zayd b. Thābit to learn Hebrew script.”

I would comment that it is established in the saḥīḥ collection that he said, “I learned it in 15 days.” But God knows best.

THE YEAR 5 AH. THE EXPEDITION TO DŪMAT AL-JANDAL IN RABĪ‘ AL-AWWAL, 5 AH.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then made an expedition to Dūmat al-Jandal."

Ibn Hishām observed that it took place in Rabi‘ al-Awwal that year and that he appointed Sibat b. Ṣiba‘ al-Ghifārī in charge of Medina.

Ibn Ishaq went on, "He then, however, returned to Medina before reaching it, and without engaging in battle. He remained in Medina for the remainder of that year."

That is the statement made by Ibn Ishaq.

Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Waqidi quoted lines of authority back to various early scholars who stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had wanted to proceed to the closest areas in Syria but was told that this would alarm Caesar. He was also informed that there was a large force at Dūmat al-Jandal who maltreated passers-by and that it also had a substantial market; these people wanted him to approach the town.

He therefore organized his men and left with a force of 1,000 Muslims. They travelled by night, keeping under cover by day. He had a guide with him from Bānū ʿUdhra named Madhkūr, who was a skilled tracker.
When they neared Dumat al-Jandal, his guide directed him to the pasturing cattle belonging to Banu Tamim. He went on and attacked their sheep and goats; some people were killed, while others fled in disarray. When news of this reached people in Dumat al-Jandal, those there dispersed. The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded to encamp on their square, finding no one there. He remained there for several days, sending out raiding parties. They returned, with Muhammad b. Salama having taken one of the enemy prisoner. He was brought to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who asked him about his comrades. The man replied that they had fled the previous day. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then explained Islam to him, and he became a Muslim. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went back to Medina.

Al-Waqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to Dumat al-Jandal in Rabia al-Akhir, 5 AH. And the same year Umm Sa’id b. Ubaada died while her son was away on this expedition with the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Abu Isaa al-Tirmidhi stated in his compendium, “Muhammad b. Bashshar related to us, quoting Yahya b. Sa’id, from Sa’id b. Abu Uruba, from Qatada, from Sa’id b. al-Musayyab, that Umm Sa’id died while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was absent. When he returned he prayed for her, a month having passed.”

This mursal hadith is excellent and requires the Messenger of God (SAAS) to have been absent on this expedition for a month or more, according to what al-Waqidi, God be pleased with him, reported.


It was about this event that the main part of surat al-Ahzab (XXXIII) was revealed. In it the Almighty stated, “O you who believe! Remember God’s favour to you when enemy forces attacked you and We sent a wind against them, along with forces you could not see. God sees well what you are doing. (Remember) when they came at you from above and from below, and when your sight was blinded and hearts arose into your throats and you were confused in your thoughts about God. There believers were put to the test, and they were violently shaken. (Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, ‘It was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!’ And (remember) when one group of them said, ‘O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!’ And a group of them did ask the Prophet, saying, ‘Our homes lie exposed.’ Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee. And if they (the enemy) had gained entry from outside and had asked them to revolt, they would have done so without great hesitation. Whereas they had earlier promised God that they would not retreat; and promises made to God are answerable. Say: ‘It will not avail you to flee, whether from death or from battle; in such case you will be allowed enjoyment only briefly.’ Say:
'Who is it can protect you from God if He wishes to do you harm, or be merciful to you?' They shall not find anyone to help or aid them apart from God. God knows which of you hinder and which of you say to your brethren, 'Come over to us!' Yet they rarely go to battle. They are ungenerous to you; and when fear arrives you see them looking at you with their eyes rolling, like those who faint at death. But when the fear is gone, they pursue you with sharp tongues, greedy for the good (booty). Those people did not believe and so God nullified their action; and this was an easy thing for God. They consider that the clans have not gone; and if the clans should again come, they would wish to be among the bedouin asking for news of you; yet if they were among you, they would only do in battle a little. In the Messenger of God there has been for you an excellent model for those who have hope in God and in the last Day and who make frequent mention of God. When the believers saw the clans, they said, 'This is what God and His messenger promised us. God and His messenger spoke the truth.' And this only increased their faith and submission. The believers include some men who are true to what they promised God. Of them are those who have already fulfilled their vows, while some of them still wait but have not changed at all. God will reward those who are true in their sincerity; and He will punish the hypocrites, if He wishes, or will turn aside from them. God is very forgiving and merciful. God turned back those who disbelieved; by their rage they gained nothing good. Yet God gave satisfaction to the believers in the fighting; and God is strong and powerful. He brought down from their forts those of the People of the Book who allied with them, and cast terror into their hearts; some you killed, others you took captive. He made you heir to their land, properties and belongings, as well as to lands you have not yet trod. And God is capable of all things" (ṣūrat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.9–13).

We have discussed all these noble verses in the Tafsir (Exegesis); and to God belong all praise and credit. Let us refer here to matters relating to the account – if God wills it and in Him we place reliance and trust.

The battle of al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl, 5 AH, according to Ibn Iṣḥāq, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Qatāda and al-Bayhaqī, along with various scholars of the earlier and later periods.

Mūsā b. Uqba quoted al-Zuhrī as stating, "Then the waqīt al-aḥzāb, the 'battle of the clans', took place, in Shawwāl of 4 AH."

Imām Mālik b. Anas stated the same, according to a quotation attributed to him by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, quoting Mūsā b. Dārūd.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "There is in fact no dispute between them in this; this is because their intent was that this occurred after the passage of four years, but before the completion of five."

There is no doubt that when the polytheists left Uhud they made an arrangement to meet the Muslims at Badr in the following year. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) therefore went forth with his force in Sha‘bān of 4 AH, as told
above, while Abū Sufyān returned home with the Quraysh because of the drought that year. They would not have been likely to have gone to Medina two months later. And so it may be concluded that the battle of al-khandaq took place in 5 AH. But God knows best. Al-Zuhri declared that the battle of al-khandaq took place two years following that of Uhud. And there is no dispute over the fact that Uhud occurred in Shawwāl of 3 AH, except in so far as some maintain that the dating system began with Muḥarram of the second year after the hegira, and they do not count the remaining months of that year, from Rabi‘ al-Awwal to its end, as al-Bayhaqi related it. Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān al-Rasā‘wi maintained this, declaring that Badr took place in the first year, Uhud in the second, the “appointment at Badr” in Shawwāl of year 3 AH, and al-khandaq in Shawwāl of year 4 AH.

This view is contrary to that of the majority, for it is widely accepted that the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, established the beginning of the era from Muḥarram of the year of the hegira, though Mālik states it to have been from Rabi‘ al-Awwal of that year. There are therefore the three views. And God knows best.

What seems true is what the majority hold — that Uhud was in Shawwāl of 3 AH, while al-khandaq took place in Shawwāl of 5 AH. But God knows best.

(Also revelant) is the hadith accepted in both sahih collections derived through ‘Ubayd Allāh from Na‘īf, who quoted Ibn ‘Umar as saying, “I was presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the Battle of Uhud when I was 14, but he would not give me permission to fight. I was also presented to him at al-khandaq when I was 15, and he then gave me permission.” Some scholars, including al-Bayhaqi, respond to this by saying that he was presented at Uhud at the beginning of his 14th year, and that al-Ahzāb (al-khandaq) was at the end of his 15th year.

I would comment that it is probable that what he meant was that when he was presented at al-Ahzāb he had already completed 15 years, an age at which youths are permitted to engage in battle; and so nothing more is to be added.

Therefore, when Na‘īf related this hadith to ‘Umar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, he said, “This constitutes the difference between a youth and a man.” He then wrote this to the provinces and the mass of scholars thereafter relied upon it. But God knows best.

The following text of the account is derived from Ibn Isḥāq and others.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The battle of al-khandaq took place, in Shawwāl, 5 AH.

“Yazid b. Rumān related to me, from Urwa and another trustworthy source, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ka‘b b. Mālik and Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Qurazi and al-Zuhri, and ʿĀsim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and other scholars, some of these giving information not included by others, as follows. What happened at al-khandaq was that a group of Jews had divided up the clans

35. Ibn Hishām gives his name as ʿAbd Allah b. Ka‘b.
against the Messenger of God (SAAS). These included Sallam b. Abu al-Huqayq al-Nadri, Huyayy b. Akhtab al-Nadri, Kinana b. al-Rabi' b. Abu al-Huqayq, Hawdha b. Qays al-Waili, and Abu Ammar al-Waili, along with groups from Banu al-Nadir and Banu Wa'il. These went to Quraysh in Mecca and suggested they engage in warfare against the Messenger of God (SAAS). They told them that they would participate until they had completely destroyed him. Quraysh responded as follows, 'O Jews, you are the first people to receive scripture and knowledge in those matters in which we and Muhammad differ. Which religion is better, ours or his?'

'They replied, 'Your religion is definitely better than his; you are closer to the truth than he is.'

'It is of these people that God revealed the words, 'Have you not seen those who were brought a share of the Book? They believe in idols and evil powers, and say to those who disbelieve, “These are more rightly guided than those who believe!” Those are they whom God has cursed; and whomever God curses shall find none to help him' (Surat al-Nisa; IV, v.51-2).

'This pleased Quraysh when they said it to them and they gladly accepted the suggestion of going to war against the Messenger of God (SAAS). They then assembled and made preparations.

'That group of Jews then visited Ghaftan of Qays Ayalan and invited them to battle the Messenger of God (SAAS), telling them that they would themselves participate along with them, and that Quraysh would do so too. They therefore joined up with them.


'When the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard of all this and what they had agreed, he dug the ditch around Medina.'

'Ibn Hisham commented that it is said that it was Salmân who suggested this. Al-Tabari and al-Suyahli stated that the first man to dig ditches was Manushehr b. Ayraj b. Afridin and that that happened in the time of Moses, peace be upon him.

'Ibn Ishaq went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) worked on this himself, inspiring the Muslims to seek reward in heaven, and they worked alongside him. Some hypocrites held back, complaining of their weakness. Some of these left surreptitiously and without his permission or knowledge.

'It was on this subject that Almighty God revealed, ‘Believers are only those who believe in God and in His messenger. And if engaged with him in a joint effort they do not leave without seeking his permission. Those who do seek your permission are those who believe in God and in His messenger. If they do ask
your permission to attend to some affair, then permit it to whichever of them you wish. And ask God to forgive them; God is indeed Forgiving, Merciful. Do not consider the Messenger’s appealing to you while among you the same as you making appeals to one another. God is well aware which of you steal away in hiding. Let those beware who oppose his orders, lest trouble or painful punishment afflict them. No indeed! All in the heavens and all on earth belong to God; He well knows what you do. On the day on which they will be returned to Him, He will inform them what it was they did. God is aware of all things!" (ṣūrat al-Ṭārīq; XXIV, v.62-4).

Ibn ʿIshāq continued, “The Muslims continued working on the trench until they had finished it. They made a rhyme about one of the Muslims, a man named Juʿayl whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) referred to as ‘Amr. They would repeat,

‘To ‘Amr from Juʿayl he changed his name; and soon
the weak are strong’, he’ll proclaim.’

“When they pronounced the name ‘Amr’, so would the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do so along with them. When they said the word ‘proclaim’, so would he.”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Muḥāwiya b. ‘Amr, quoting Abū ʿIshāq, from Ḥumayd, who said, ‘I heard Anas say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the trench and found that the muḥājirin and the ʿanṣār were busy digging. It was a very cold morning and they had no slaves to do that work for them. When he saw what they were suffering from the hard labour and their hunger, he said, ‘O God, their life is, indeed, that of the after-life; forgive the ʿanṣār and the muḥājirin.’ They responded in unison to this by chanting,

‘We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for the jihad, the holy work, forever, for as long as we live.’”

In both sahih collections there is similar wording given, on the authority of Muḥāwiya b. Qurra, from Anas.

Muslim related this from a hadith of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Thābit and Ḥumayd, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Abū Maʾmar related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Anas, who said, ‘The muḥājirin and the ʿanṣār set to work digging the trench around Medina carrying away the dirt on their backs, chanting,

“We are those who gave allegiance to Muḥammad, for Islam, for ever, for as long as we live.’

“In response, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would say, ‘O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter, so bless the ʿanṣār and the muḥājirin.’"
"They would bring a handful of barley and some ill-smelling fat as a meal for them, hungry as they were; it stuck in their throats and smelled bad."

Al-Bukhari also stated, "Qutayba b. Sa‘d related to us, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Aziz b. Abū Ḥazim, from Sahl b. Sa‘d, who said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the trench while men were digging it. We would carry the dirt away on our shoulders. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘O God, there is no life but that of the hereafter; forgive the muhājirin and the ansār.’’’"

Muslim also related this, from al-Qa‘nabī, from ‘Abd al-‘Aziz.

Al-Bukhari also stated, “Muslim b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Shu‘ba, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Bara‘ b. ‘Āzib, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) was carrying away the dirt (before) the battle of al-khandaq till dust covered his stomach’ (or ‘his stomach became dust-covered’), ‘and reciting,

“O God, without God we would not have been well-guided, nor would we have been charitable; nor would we have prayed.
So do send down tranquillity upon us and make us stand firm when we meet the foe.
They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we’ll resist them’’

‘And he raised his voice at the words “resist them.”’

Muslim related this from a ḥadīth of Shu‘ba.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān related to him, quoting Shurayḥ b. Maslama, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Bara‘, who related the following ḥadīth: “At the (time of) the battle of al-‘Aḥzāb, ‘the clans’, and the trench of the Messenger of God (SAAS), I saw him carrying the dirt from the trench so much that it hid the skin of his stomach from me; and he had much body hair. I heard him reciting verses of ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha as he moved the dirt,

‘O God, without you we would not have been well-guided; nor would we have been charitable, nor would we have prayed.
So do send down tranquillity upon us and make us stand firm when we meet the foe.
They have wronged us; if they want trouble, we’ll resist them’’

“He would stretch out the final syllables.”

In God’s name, and through Him we were guided, and if we had worshipped any but Him we would have suffered,
What a fine Lord! What a fine religion!”

This hadith, from this line, is gharib, “unique”.

Imám Abú Ahmad stated, “Sulaymán related to us, quoting Shu'ba, from Muqáwiya b. Qurra, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke the following while they were digging the trench,

‘O God, there is no good except that of the hereafter, so bless the ansār and the muḥājirin.’

Both authors of the sahih collections derived this from a hadith of Ghundar from Shu'ba.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Various anecdotes to which the Muslims were witness, have reached me relating to the digging of the trench that provide example of the truth of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that confirm his Prophethood. One such is that Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh would relate how they had great difficulty digging one patch of hard ground, and so they complained about this to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He called for a pitcher of water, spat in it and spoke over it some prayer that God wished him to say. He then sprinkled the water on the hard ground. Those present swear that it crumbled so much that it could not withstand an axe or a shovel.”

Ibn Ishāq related this thus, without a full chain of authorities, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, God be pleased with him.

Al-Bukhārī, God bless him, stated, “Khallad b. Yahyā related to us, quoting 'Abd al-Wahid b. Ayman, from his father, who said, ‘I once went to Jābir and he told me, “At the Battle of the trench, when we were digging, a patch of extremely hard ground was in our way. The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, when he was told of this, ‘I’ll come on down.’ Then he arose; and there was a stone tied across his stomach – we had not tasted food for three days. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the spade and struck the ground with it and it turned into soft sand.

‘”So I said, ‘Please, Messenger of God, allow me to go home now.’ Then I told my wife, ‘I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) to be in an intolerable state. Do you have something (to eat)?’ She replied that she had some barley and a goat. So I slaughtered the goat, and she ground up the barley. Then we put the meat into a pot. I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after the dough had risen and when the pot was on the stone trivet and almost cooked, and said, ‘I have a little food; do come along, Messenger of God, with one or two of the men.’ ‘How much is there?’ he asked, and I told him. He said, ‘There’s a great deal of good food. Let your wife not take off the pot nor remove the bread from the oven until I arrive.’ Then he told the muḥājirin and the ansār to get up, and they did so.”
"When the man went in to his wife, he told her, "There is a problem! The Prophet is coming with muhajirun, ansār and others." She asked, "Did he question you?" "Yes," I replied.

"Then He told them all to come in, but not to push and shove, and he began to break up the bread and place meat on it. He covered over the pot and the oven when he took from them. He kept on serving the food to his Companions and taking it out. He did not stop breaking the bread and spooning the meat until they were satisfied; and some still remained. He then told her, "Eat yourself, and give to all; people are very hungry.""

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this hadīth.

Imām Abūdār related it from Waki', from 'Abd al-Waḥīd b. Ayman, from his father Ayman the Abyssinian, the freed-man of Banū Makhzūm, from Jābir in an account that combines reference to the hard ground with the stone being bound to the stomach of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Al-Bayhaqī related it in Dalā'īl (The Signs), from al-Ḥākim, from al-Asamm, from Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbar, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from 'Abd al-Waḥīd b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir, in an account combining reference to the hard ground and the food. That narrative is longer and more extensive than that of al-Bukhārī. In it he stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had learned of the quantity of the food, he told all the Muslims, 'Go along and see Jābir.' They began to do so. (Jābir) said, 'God only knows how embarrassed I felt! I told myself that he was coming with (many) people for a measure of barley and a she-kid! So I went in to my wife and told her, 'You're going to be put to shame; the Messenger of God (SAAS) is coming to you with everyone from the trench!' She replied, "Did he ask you how much food you have?" "Yes." I replied. "Well then", she commented, "God and His messenger know best!"

"And so she relieved my great concern. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) came in, he said to her, "You serve, but leave the meat to me." And then he set about serving the stew and dishing out the meat, giving it to everyone in turn. He kept on doing so until all were satisfied, yet the oven and pot were still more full than before!

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, "Now you eat and serve more." And she went on eating and serving all day.'"

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related this similarly, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Muhammad al-Muḥārībī, from 'Abd al-Waḥīd b. Ayman, from his father, from Jābir's account, and also at greater length. Finally, he stated, "He told me they were 800 in number. Or else the figure he stated was 300."

According to the account from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hishām b. Sa'd, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, given only at length about the food, he stated that they were 300 in number.
Al-Bukhārī then stated, “Amr b. ‘Ali related to me, quoting Abū ‘Ašīm, quoting Ḥanḍalā b. Abū Sufyān, from Abū al-Zubayr, as follows, ‘Ibn Minnā related to us that he heard Ėbīr b. ʿAbd Allāh say, “When the trench was dug, I could see that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering severe malnutrition, so I asked my wife what livestock she had, saying, ‘Do you have anything? I have noticed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is suffering serious malnutrition.’ She produced a bag containing a measure of barley, and we also did have a she-kid. I slaughtered it, while she ground the barley; we both finished at the same time. Then I cut it up and put it in the cooking pot and turned to go back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when she said, ‘Don’t disgrace me by having the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) come and bring others who are with him!’ I went up to him and, speaking confidentially, I told him, ‘Messenger of God, I’ve slaughtered a she-kid of ours and ground up a measure of barley we had. Please come, and bring another with you.’

“‘At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, ‘Hey, everyone at the trench! Ėbīr has made a feast for us! Let’s go to it!’ He then told me, ‘Don’t take down the pot or bake the bread before I get there.’

“‘So I went home and eventually the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived, leading his men. I went to my wife and she berated me, but I told her, ‘I did just as you asked.’ She then brought out the dough to us, and he spat on it and blessed it. After that he went over to our cooking pot and spat and blessed again. He told my wife, ‘Call over a bakeress to bake along with you and keep on ladling out from the pot, but don’t take it off the fire.’ A thousand people were present. And, I swear by God, they ate, then stopped and went away and our pot was still bubbling as before, and our dough was still there too, as it had been.”’

Muslim related this from Ḥajjāj b. al-Šāqīr, from Abū ʿAšīm in much the same words.

Muḥammad b. ʿIshāq related this hadith, but his account has some unique aspects to it. He stated, “Ṣaʿīd b. Minā related to me, from Ḫabīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘We worked with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the trench. I had a young goat, not fully fattened. So I said how nice it would be to serve it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I told my wife to grind up some barley for us, and she made some bread with it. I slaughtered the goat and we roasted it for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“When evening came and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to leave the trench (we were working in it during the day, then going home to our families each night) I told him, ‘We’ve cooked a young goat we had and baked some barley bread. I do hope you will accompany me home.’ I had only wanted him to come with me, but when I told him this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted, but then he had someone call out, “Everyone is to go with the
Messenger of God (SAAS), to the home of Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh!" At this I said, "O dear! We belong to God, and to Him do we return!"

"Then along came the Messenger of God (SAAS), accompanied by his men. He sat down and we brought out the food which he blessed, invoking the name of Almighty God over it. He then ate and the others set about it too. When one group was finished another came until all those working at the ditch had done."

It is strange that Imam Ahmad only gave this hadith through Sa‘īd b. Mīnā, from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d, from his father, from Ibn Ḥishāq, from Jābir, in exactly similar form.

Muḥammad b. Ḥishāq stated, "Sa‘īd b. Mīnā related to me that it was related to him that a daughter of Bashīr b. Sa‘d, sister of al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr said, ‘My mother, ‘Amra, daughter of Rawhā, invited me over and gave me a handful of dates, putting it in my dress, saying, “Daughter, take this to your father and your uncle ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawhā for their lunch.” So I passed by the Messenger of God (SAAS), while I was looking for my father and my uncle. He (the Prophet (SAAS)) said to me, “Come over here, girl! What are you carrying?” I replied, “This, Messenger of God, is some dates my mother sent me to deliver for lunch to my father Bashīr b. Sa‘d and my uncle ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawhā.” He told me, “Bring it over here.” So I poured out the dates into his hands and they did not fill them.

“He then asked for a cloth and it was laid out for him. He piled up the dates on it and they towered above it. He then told one of his men there to shout out to those working on the trench to come and have lunch. The men all gathered around and began eating from it. But it grew in quantity and when they went off again, it was spilling over the sides of the cloth.”

Ibn Ḥishāq related it thus; there is a break in the line of transmission. The Ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī related it thus through him and without addition.

Ibn Ḥishāq stated, “It was related to me that Salmān the Persian said, ‘I was digging in the trench and one rock was too tough for me. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was nearby, and when he saw me striking it and how difficult was all the trouble I was having, he came down, took the pickaxe from my hands and struck with it. A flash glowed from beneath the pickaxe. He then struck with it again and again it glowed beneath it. He struck it a third time and again it glowed. I said, “By my father and mother, Messenger of God! What is it I see glowing beneath your pickaxe when you strike with it?” He replied, “Did you see that, Salmān?” “Yes, I did,” I replied. He explained, “The first glow was God opening up the gates to Yemen for me. The second was God opening up the gates of Syria and the maghrib, the west. The third was God opening up by it the gates of the East for me.”’"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This is what Ibn Ḥishāq related that Muṣā b. Uqba recounted in his work on the military expeditions; Abū al-Aswad recounted it from ‘Urwa.”
Al-Bayhaqi went on to relate a hadith through Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Kadimi, a controversial source. However, Ibn Jarir related it in his history from Muḥammad b. Bashshār and from Bandār, both giving a line of authorities from Muḥammad b. Khālid b. ʿAthma, from Kathir b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿAwf al-Muznī, from his father, from his grandfather. He recounts a hadith which tells how the Messenger of God (ṣaas) divided up work on the trench in such a way that every group of ten men were to dig for forty arms' lengths. The account also says that the muḥājirīn and the ansār quarrelled about Salmān and that the Messenger of God (ṣaas) therefore stated, “Salmān is one of us – one of the ahl al-bayt, ‘a member (honorary) of the household of the Prophet (ṣaas).’”

ʿAmr b. ʿAwf stated, “I, Salmān, Ḥudhayfa, al-Nuʿmān b. Muqarrin and six of the ansār were working on forty arms’ lengths of the trench. We dug on until we reached al-Nādā, where we came across a huge, white rock. It broke our metal tools and gave us great difficulty. So Salmān went to the Messenger of God (ṣaas) who was then in a Turkish pavilion, and told him of it. He came and took the pickaxe from Salmān and struck the rock so hard it split. From it there came a flash of light so strong as to illuminate all the way between the two lava fields – (at both ends) of Medina, that is. It was like a great lantern on a very dark night. The Messenger of God (ṣaas) invoked God’s greatness, saying Allāhu Akbar, ‘God is Most Great’, as at a victory, and the Muslims did so as well. He then struck it again and the same thing happened, a third time with the same result. Salmān and the Muslims asked the Messenger of God (ṣaas) what the light meant. He replied, ‘From the first, the castles of al-Ḥira and cities of Chosroe were lit up to be seen like the fangs of dogs. Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the second, the red castles of Byzantium were illuminated, as though they were the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. From the third, the castles of Ṣanʿā were lit up like the fangs of dogs; Gabriel announced to me that my nation would be victorious over them. So be joyful at this news!’ The Muslims were delighted, and said, ‘Praise be to God! A true omen!’

“When the enemy clans appeared for battle, the believers told one another that that was what God and His messenger had promised them and was true, and so their faith and determination were reinforced. The hypocrites said, ‘He tells you he can see from Yathrib to the castles of al-Ḥira and the cities of Chosroe, and that they will be rendered up to you, yet here you are digging the trench and can’t even come out into the open!’

“And so it was that about them God revealed, ‘(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with sickness in their hearts say, “What God and His messenger promise us is mere fancy!”’(ṣūrat al-ʿAzīz; XXXIII, v.12).

This hadith is unilateral.

Allāh b. Yazīd, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) ordered a trench be dug around Medina and the work was underway, some men told the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) that they had come across a rock they could not dig up. He then went there, with us accompanying him, and when he reached the site, he took the pickaxe, struck a hard blow with it and spoke the words, Allāhū Akbar! “God is Most Great!” Then came a crashing sound the like of which I never heard before and he said, “Persia has been conquered!” He then struck again, and again invoked God’s greatness. Again came a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, “Byzantium has been conquered!” He then struck and invoked once more and again I heard a crashing sound the like of which I had never heard, and he said, “God has delivered Ḥimyar as (our) allies and comrades!”’"

This too is unique from this line of transmission. There is weakness in ‘Abd al-Rahlīm b. Ziyād b. Anṭam al-Ifriqi as a source. But God knows best.

Al-Ṭabrānī also stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥanbal related to us, Saʿīd b. Muhammad al-Jurfī related to me, Abū Numayla related to us, quoting Nuʿaym b. Saʿīd al-Gharī, that ‘Ikrimā quoted Ibn ‘Abbās as saying, ‘When the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) dug the trench, his Companions had tied stones to their stomachs they were so hungry. When he saw this, he said, “Can’t you find someone who could give us a meal?” A man replied, “Yes.” The Prophet (Ṣaḥḥā) then said, “Since you didn’t say no, then lead us to him.” So off they went to the man’s house, but he was doing his share of work in the ditch. His wife sent a message to him to come home because the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) had come to visit them. The man hurried home expressing his concern. He did have a goat with a kid, and the man sprang at the goat. But the Prophet (Ṣaḥḥā) said, “No; there’s the kid behind her. Slaughter the kid.” The wife prepared some ground wheat she had and made it into dough and baked it. The pot was prepared and she crumbled the bread into the stew in her wooden bowl that served ten and offered it to the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) and his Companions. The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) placed a finger in it, invoked God’s name and asked Him to bless it, then told them to eat. They did so until they were satisfied. Yet all they had eaten was one-third; two-thirds of it remained. He then told the ten men with him to go and bring back a like number. They left and the next ten arrived and ate till they were satisfied. He then arose and said a prayer for the mistress of the house, invoking God’s name over her and her family. They then returned to the trench. He asked them to accompany him to Salmān who had a rock in his way for which he had insufficient strength. The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥā) said, “Let me be the first to strike it.” He said God’s name over it, struck it and one-third of it split away. He then said, “God is most great! It’s the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the kaʿba!” He hit it again, and another section came away. He said, Allāhū Akbar! “God is most Great! It’s the castles of Syria, by the Lord of the kaʿba!” He then hit it again and another section came away.
He said, \textit{Allāhu Akbar!} "It's the castles of Persia, by the Lord of the ka'ba!" Thereupon the hypocrites commented, "So we dig a trench for ourselves while he promises us the castles of Persia and Byzantium!"

The \textit{ḥāṣīz} al-Bayhaqi stated further, "\textit{Ali b. Ahmad b. 'Abdān informed us, quoting Ahmād b. 'Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, that Muḥammad b. Ghālib b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Hawdhā, that 'Awf related to us, from Maymūn b. Ustādh al-Zuhrī, and al-Barā'ī b. 'Azīb al-Anṣārī related to us, as follows, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered us to dig the ditch, a large, tough rock was in our way but the pickaxes made no impression on it. The problem was brought to the attention of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and when he saw it, he took the pickaxe and spoke God's name. Then he struck it hard and a thud of it broke off. He then exclaimed, 'Allāhu Akbar! I have been given the keys to Syria! I swear by God I can see its red castles, by God's grace!' He then struck it a second blow and cut off another third. Again he exclaimed, 'I have been given the keys to Persia! I swear by God, I can see the castles of the white cities!' He then struck a third time, speaking God's name and broke the rest of the rock. He exclaimed, 'Allāhu Akbar! I have been given the keys to Yemen! I swear by God, I can see the gates of Šanā' from where I am now!'""

This hadīth is also unique, one related only by this Maymūn b. Ustādh. He was of Basra, and related material from al-Barā'ī and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr, and from him Ḥamīd al-Ṭawālī, al-Jurayrī and 'Awf al-Arābī. Abū Ḥāfīm stated, on the authority of 'Ishāq b. Mansūr and Ibn Mu'sīn, that he was a \textit{thīqa}, "a reliable source". 'Ali b. al-Madīnī stated, "Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Qāṭānī would not relate traditions from him."

Al-Nasā'i stated, "'Isā b. Yūnūs related to us, quoting Ḍamrā, from Abū Zar'a al-Saybānī, from Abū Sakīna, a man from Bahrayn, from one of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered the digging of the trench, a large rock got in the way of their work. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went and took the pickaxe and placed his cloak down in the direction of the trench. Then he said the words, ‘The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows’ (ṣūrat al-An'am; VI, v.115). At this a third of the rock split off. Salmān al-Fārisī was standing watching. At the blow struck by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), there had been a flash of light. Then he hit it a second time and repeated, ‘The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows.’ Another third broke off, and a light again flashed that Salmān saw. He then struck a third time, saying, ‘The word of your Lord will be fulfilled in truth and justice. Nothing can alter His words. He it is who hears and knows.’ At that the remaining third split up."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left, picked up his cloak and sat down. Salmān asked him, ‘Messenger of God, I noticed that each blow you struck was accompanied by a flash of light.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded,
“So, Salmān, you saw that?” “Yes, I did, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, Messenger of God.” The Messenger of God (ṣaas) went on, “When I struck the first blow the cities of Chosro and their surroundings, along with many other towns were raised up before me so that I saw them with my own eyes.” One of his Companions present there then asked, “Messenger of God, please pray to God to grant us victory, give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands.” And he did speak that prayer.

“Then I struck the second blow and Caesar’s cities and their surroundings were raised before me so that I saw them with my own eyes.” Those present said, “Please, Messenger of God, pray to God to grant us victory, to give us their progeny as booty and to let us destroy their lands with our own hands.” And he did so pray.

“Then I struck the third blow, the cities of Abyssinia were raised before me, along with the villages there about, so that I saw them with my own eyes.” Then he said, “Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you.”

Al-Nasā’ī related it thus at length, whereas Abū Dā’ūd quoted from it the words, “Allow Abyssinia what they allowed you, and leave the Turks undisturbed for as long as they so leave you.” His line of transmission was from Ḥalim b. Muḥammad al-Ramlī, from ʿAmr b. Ḥuḍra, from Abū Zura ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū ʿAmr al-Saybānī.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “A trustworthy source related to me from Abū Hurayra that when these territories were conquered in the eras of ʿUmar and of ʿUthmān and thereafter, he would say, ‘You should conquer what seems appropriate to you; for, I swear by Him who holds Abū Hurayra’s soul, you have not conquered any town, and you never will right on up to Judgement Day, the keys to which were not given beforehand to Muhammad (ṣaas).’”

This line of transmission for this ḥadīth is broken; but it is given in complete form from another line, thanks be to God. For Imām Ahmad stated, “Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth; that ʿUqayl b. Khalid related to him, from Ibn Shihab, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Hurayra said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (ṣaas) say, ‘I was provided for my mission with words that united and I was made victorious through awe. And while I slept I was brought the keys of all the treasuries on earth and they were placed in my hand.’”

Al-Bukhārī related this in a ḥadīth unique to himself from Yahyā b. Bukayr and Saʿīd b. ʿAfrī, both of them quoting al-Layth. According to him, Abū Hurayra said, “... and the Messenger of God (ṣaas) went on to say, ‘... and you are advancing to them.’”

Imām Ahmad stated, “Yazīd related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṣaas) as saying, ‘I was made victorious through awe and was provided with words that united. The earth was made for me a mosque and a purification; and while I was
asleep, I was brought the keys to the treasuries of the world, and they piled up in my hand."

This chain of transmission is considered strong and excellent according to the criteria of Muslim, (yet) the chief authorities (on the traditions) did not include it. In both sahih collections are the words (of the Prophet (SAAS)), "And when Caesar expires there will be no other Caesar after him; when Chosroe expires there will be no Chosroe after him. And by Him in whose hand is my soul, the treasuries of both these shall be used in God's cause."

In the authentic hadith it is stated, "God gathered up for me the earth, all its parts to the east and to the west; all of that He gathered up for me shall be the domain of my people."

**DIVISION.**

Ibn Ishâq stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had completed the trench, Quraysh advanced at the confluence of the streams from Rûma, between al-Jurf and Zaghaba. They were accompanied by 10,000 of their Abyssinian mercenaries and their allies of Banû Kinâna and people from Tihâma. Ghaťafân advanced as well, along with their allies from Najd. They came to a halt at Dhanab Naqamâ, over by the side of Mt. Uhud.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims, 3,000 strong, came forth until they had Mt. Salâ behind them. There he encamped, with the trench between his forces and the enemy. The women and children were taken above into the forts."

Ibn Hishâm stated, "He placed Ibn Umm Maktûm in command of Medina."

I would comment that this makes reference to the Almighty's words, "(And remember) when they came at you from above you and from below you, and when eyes turned dim and hearts rose into throats, and you were having doubts about God" (sûrat al-Ahzâb; XXXIII, v.10).

Al-Bukhârî stated, "Uthmân b. Abî Shayba related to us, quoting Ubayd, from Hishâm b. Urwa, from his father, from ʿAʾisha, who said, 'The words, "when they came at you from above you and from below you" refer to the battle of al-khandaq.'"

Mûsâ b. Uqba stated, "When al-Ahzâb, the clans, positioned themselves around Medina, Banû Qurayža locked their fortresses against them."

Ibn Ishâq stated, "Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab al-Nadri went to see Kaʾb b. Asad al-Qurazi, who was their designated contractor and trustee. When Kaʾb heard of his coming he locked the gate of his fortress against Ḥuyayy. When the latter asked permission to enter, Kaʾb refused to open up for him. Ḥuyayy called up to him, 'Kaʾb, open up for me, damn you!' 'Damn you, Ḥuyayy,' he replied. 'You're an evil man! I've made a pact with Muḥammad and I'm not going
to break my agreement with him. I’ve never found him to be anything but trustworthy and truthful.’

‘Huyayy insisted, ‘Damn you, open up so I can talk to you!’ ‘I will not,’ Ka‘b replied. Huyayy then said, ‘I swear, the only reason you’re locking me out is that you’re scared at losing your jashisha, your cornbread, of having me eat it with you!’

‘This so embarrassed Ka‘b that he did open up. Then Huyayy told him, ‘Ka‘b, I bring you fame forever, and a huge mass.’ ‘And what is that?’ he asked. ‘I bring you Quraysh with their chieftains and nobles whom I have left encamped at the confluence of the streams at Rûma, along with Ghaṭafān, with their chiefs and nobles whom I have positioned at Dhanb Naqma, near Uhud. They have made a treaty that they will not leave until we completely destroy Muḥammad and those with him.’

‘Ka‘b responded, ‘What you bring me, I swear by God, is shame forever and a cloud that has lost its water; it thunders and there is lightning, but there is nothing in it. Damn you, Huyayy, leave me to maintain my pact with him; I have never found Muḥammad to be anything but trustworthy and honest.’

‘Amr b. Sa‘d al-Quraṭi spoke too, and did so well, according to the account given by Musa b. Uqba. He reminded them of the pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and of the treaty made by Ka‘b and them to aid him. He said, ‘If you won’t actually help him, then just leave him to his enemy.’

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Huyayy continued badgering Ka‘b to the extreme until he gave way in agreeing to break his pact with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and fighting him alongside the ahzab, the clans. This was on the understanding that Huyayy would guarantee him that if Quraysh and Ghaṭafān were to withdraw without destroying Muḥammad that he would join Ka‘b in his fort and they would share the same fate.

“And so Ka‘b b. Asad abrogated and dissolved the pact he had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Musa b. Uqba stated, “Ka‘b b. Asad and Banu Qurayza required of Huyayy b. Akhṭāb that he take from Quraysh and Ghaṭafān hostages who would remain in custody so that no harm would come to themselves if his enemies were forced to retreat after failing to destroy Muḥammad. The hostages were to number 90 of their leading men, and Huyayy agreed to this. Thereupon Ka‘b b. Asad and Qurayza did break their pact and tore up the document on which it was recorded; the tribes Banu Sa‘na, Asad, Usayd and Thaqāba, however, went forth to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims, he sent out Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh, he being at that time the leader of al-Aws, along with Sa‘d b. Ubāda, leader of Khazraj, accompanied by ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha and Khawāt b. Jubayr, telling them, ‘Go to those people and determine whether what we have heard is true, then inform me by
some unintelligible remark I will understand but that will not weaken the resolve of the Muslims. If they are keeping to their pact, then you can report this openly to our men.' The emissaries then left and reached Ka'b and his men."

Mūsā b. Uqba went on, "And so they went with them into their fortress and called upon them to make friends and to renew the pact. However, the Qurayza men replied, 'What now? When he has broken our wing and deported them'—meaning Banū al-Naḍīr. They criticized the Messenger of God (SAAS), and Sa'd b. 'Ubāda began reviling them. This made them angry, so Sa'd b. Mu'ādh told him, 'I swear, we did not come here for this! Our issue with them is too serious to settle with bad language.'

"Sa'd b. Mu'ādh then spoke to them as follows, 'You know of the relationship between us, Banū Qurayza, and I'm afraid you might have happen to you the same as befell Banū al-Naḍīr, or even worse.' But they replied, 'You must have eaten your father's penis!' Sa'd b. Mu'ādh responded, 'It would have been much more appropriate and much better if you had responded differently.'"

Ibn Ishaq went on, "They criticized the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, 'Who is this "Messenger of God"? We have no pact with Muhammad.' At this Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, who was an excitable man, reviled them and they insulted him. Sa'd b. 'Ubāda told him, 'Don't insult them any more; our issue with them is too serious for name-calling.'

"Thereupon both Sa'eds and those with them returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and, after greeting him, said, "Udl and al-Qāraa!" By this they were referring to their treachery towards those who had gone to al-Rajf, Khubayb and his companions.

"At this, the Messenger of God (SAAS) announced, 'Allāhu Akbar! Rejoice, Muslims!'"

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, "Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) covered himself in his cloak, after receiving the news of Banū Qurayza, and went to lie down. He was absent a long time; and his men had become extremely concerned and fearful when they saw him lie down, for they realized no good news had come from Banū Qurayza. But eventually he raised his head and said, 'Rejoice at God's victory and for His help!'

"Next morning the two opposing sides closed and they exchanged fire with arrows and stones. Sa'd b. al-Musayyad said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the words, 'O God, I beseech You to fulfill Your pact and promise! O God, if it pleases You, You will (no longer) be worshipped!'"

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Thereupon the anxiety and fear increased. Their enemy came at them from above and below, so that the Muslims were very confused. Dissension arose, to the point where Mu'attib b. Qushayr, a brother of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf, commented, 'Muhammad used to promise us that we would eat the treasures of Chosroe and Caesar, yet now we don't feel safe going to the
toilet.' Similarly, Aws b. Qayzi said, while in the presence of others of his people, 'O Messenger of God, our homes are open to the enemy. Give us leave to return to our homes; they are outside Medina.'

"It is these persons and those like them who are referred to in the words of the Almighty, '(Remember) when the hypocrites and those with disease in their hearts said, "it was all misleading, what God and His messenger promised us!"' And (remember) when one group of them said, "O people of Yathrib, there is no place for you here, so go back!" And a group of them did ask the Prophet (SAAS), saying, "Our homes are undefended!" Yet they were not exposed; all they wanted was to flee.'" (surat al-Ahzab; XXXIII, v.12, 13).

Ibn Ishaaq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in his forward position with the polytheists besieging him there for some 20 days, almost a month, but there was no actual warfare between them, apart from some discharge of arrows.

"It has been related to me by 'Asim b. Umar b. Qatada, and from another source I do not doubt, from al-Zuhri, that when conditions there became worse, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent to Umayn b. Hiṣn and al-Ḥarith b. 'Awf al-Murri – these men being leaders of Ghaṭafan – offering them a third of the dates of Medina if they were to go home and leave him and his men alone. And so peace talks were held between him and them, to the extent that they did sign a document. However, it was not properly witnessed with true intent for peace, but merely to reduce tension.

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) wished to do this, he sent for Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Sa'd b. Umara, informed them and sought their counsel. They responded, 'Messenger of God, is this something that you wish to do, something God has ordered you to do and which we must put into effect, or is it something you are doing for us?"

"He replied, 'It is something I am doing for you. I swear by God, I am only doing this because I see the Arabs shooting at you as if from one bow, and because they are attacking you from all sides. I want to break up their coalition against you.'

"Sa'd b. Mu'adh then told him, 'Messenger of God, we used to be disbelievers in God, and worshipped idols along with those people, not worshipping nor knowing God. At that time, they would never have dreamed of eating a single date of ours except as our guests or after purchase. Should we give them our property now, after God has honoured us with Islam, led us to Him and given us esteem through you and through Him? We'll have none of this! By God, all we'll give them is the sword, until God decides between us and them!"

"The Prophet (SAAS) responded, 'As you wish.' Thereupon Sa'd b. Mu'adh took the document and erased the writing from it, saying, 'Now let them fight us!'"
of the Quraysh cavalry, consisting of 'Amr b. 'Abd Wudd b. Abū Qays, of Banū Āmir b. Lu'ayy, ʻIkrima b. Abū Jahl, Ḥubayrā b. Abū Wahb, both of Banū Makhzūm, ʻDirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Mīrāḍās, of Banū Muḥārīb b. Fīhr, donned their armour and then went forth on horseback to the positions held by Banū Kināna. There they called out, ‘Banū Kināna, prepare for battle! You’re going to discover who are the true knights today!’

“They charged forward on their mounts, but stopped at the trench saying, when they saw it, ‘By God, this is a trick no Arab used before!’ They then headed for a narrow part of the trench and beat their horses, which charged over it and carried them to swampy ground between the trench and a fissure. Thereupon ʻAli b. Abū ʻṬālib and a group of Muslims came out and blocked the opening through which they had forced their horses. The enemy horsemen then charged at them.

ʻAmr b. ʻAbd Wudd had fought at Badr but been badly wounded and consequently had not been present at Uhud. At al-khandaq he had come out to battle wearing his insignia so that his rank would be evident. Now there on his horse, he cried out, ‘Who will accept my challenge to combat?’ ʻAli b. Abū ʻṬālib, God be pleased with him, came forward and said, ‘Amr, you used to swear by God that if any man of Quraysh offered you two choices, you would accept one of them.’ ‘That is so,’ ʻAmr replied. ‘Ali then said, ‘Well then, I invite you to God and to His messenger and to Islam!’ ‘I don’t need that,’ replied ʻAmr. ‘Then’, ʻAli continued, ‘I invite you to combat!’ ‘Amr responded, ‘Why this, nephew? I swear, I don’t want to kill you.’ ‘Ali replied, ‘But, by God, I want to kill you!’

“This enraged ʻAmr and he leaped off his horse and hobbled it and beat its head. He then advanced at ʻAli and they fought, circling around one another until ʻAli, God be pleased with him, eventually killed him. Their horsemen left in defeat, charging back across the trench in flight.”

According to Ibn Ishaq, ʻAli b. Abū ʻṬālib spoke the following verses on that:

“He sought aid from the stone (idol) in his stupidity, while I rightly sought support from the Lord of Muḥāammad.

I felt proud when I left him prostrate like a tree stump amid the fine sand and rocks.

And refrained from taking his armour, though if I had been defeated he would have had mine.

Do not think that God would abandon His faith and His prophet, you clansmen!”

Ibn Hishām stated that most authorities on poetry doubt that this poetry was by ʻAli.

Ibn Hishām also said that ʻIkrima tossed his spear away that day when he was defeated by ʻAmr, and that Hassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses on that subject:
“He fled and threw his spear to us; perhaps, ʿıkrım, you should not have done this.
You turned and ran like a male ostrich, looking only straight ahead.
You did not turn your back like a man would; the nape of your neck was like that of a furʾal.”

Ibn Hishām explained that the word furʾal means a young hyena.

The ḥāṣẓ al-Bayhaqī recounted in his Dalāʾīl al-Nubuwwa, quoting Ibn Ishaq in another place in the sīra, the life of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as follows, “ʿAmr b. ʿĀbd Wudd went forth in full armour and called out, ‘Who will meet me in combat?’ ʿAlī b. ʿAbū Ṭalib arose and said, ‘I’ll do it, Prophet of God.’ ‘But that is ʿAmr,’ he replied. ‘Sit down!’ ʿAmr called out again, ‘Will no man accept combat?’ He then began teasing them, saying, ‘What about that paradise of yours? Don’t you claim that any of you who are killed will enter there? So will not any man of you accept combat with me?’ ʿAlī again arose and asked, ‘May I, Messenger of God?’ ‘Sit down!’ he replied. Then ʿAmr called out a third time, speaking the verses,

‘I’m hoarse from calling out to them. Won’t someone come forth?
While those thought brave are too cowardly; I’ve stood here like an accomplished champion.
That is why I have always hastened forth before the fighting begins.
In a warrior, it is bravery and generosity that are the best qualities.’

“ʿAlī again arose and went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘May I go, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘But it is ʿAmr.’ ‘Even though it is ʿAmr!’ he insisted. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission and he walked out towards him, reciting the verses,

‘Do not hurry away, for someone who is not weak is responding to your challenge.
He is a man of determination and wisdom, and truth is the resort of all who succeed.
I hope that I will make mourning women stand over you From the thrust of a spear that will always be mentioned in talk of warfare.’

“ʿAmr asked him, ‘Who are you?’ ‘I am ʿAlī,’ he replied.
“You mean ʿAbd Manāf’s son,” ʿAmr enquired. ‘No; I’m ʿAlī son of Abū Ṭalib,’ he responded. ‘Nephew,’ ʿAmr told him, ‘you have uncles who are more mature than you; I am reluctant to shed your blood.’ ʿAlī replied, ‘But, by God, I’m not reluctant to shed your blood.’ This angered ʿAmr and he dismounted and drew his sword like fire flashing. He then advanced furiously towards ʿAlī.
‘Ali met him with his leather shield. ‘Amr struck it and pierced it, his sword remaining stuck in it while it also struck ‘Ali’s head. Then ‘Ali struck him in his neck vein and he fell down. The dust had risen and the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard someone saying, ‘Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great!’ And so we knew that ‘Ali had killed him. ‘Ali then spoke the lines,

‘Is it against me that the horsemen thus charge; my companions held me back from them.
My zeal today and a resolve in my mind, not just in my (mouth) tooth.’

“He then went on to speak the line,

‘He worshipped the stone (idol) in his stupidity, while
I wisely sought aid from Muhammad’s Lord.’

“Then ‘Ali went on towards the Messenger of God (SAAS), his face beaming, and ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked him, ‘Did you strip off his armour? It’s the best armour among the Arabs.’ ‘Ali responded, ‘As I struck him, he shielded his private parts from me, and I felt embarrassed to despoil my own cousin.’

“‘Amr’s cavalry then left in defeat, charging back across the trench.”

Ibn Ishāq further stated, as quoted by al-Bayhaqī, that ‘Ali struck him at the collarbone, his weapon going on down to emerge from his belly, and that ‘Amr died in the trench. The polytheists then sent word to the Messenger of God (SAAS), seeking to purchase his corpse for 10,000 (dirhams). But he responded, “He’s yours. We don’t profit from the dead.”

Imām Ahmad stated, “Naṣr b. Bāb related to us, quoting Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The Muslims killed at the trench a polytheist and were given money for his corpse. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said “Give them back the money for his corpse; his corpse is evil, and so would be the blood-money.” He would not accept anything from them.’”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a hadith of Ḩammād b. Salama, from Ḥajjāj, he being Ibn Arṭāt, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās, whom he quoted as saying that a polytheist was killed at the battle of al-Ḥzhāb and that a message was then sent to the Messenger of God (SAAS) offering payment of 12,000 (dirhams) for his body. He responded, “There’s no good in his body, nor in the price for it.”

Al-Tirmidhī related this from a hadith of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ‘Abbās. He categorized this hadith as gharīb, “unilateral”.

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba recounted that it was actually the body of Nawfāl b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Makhzūmī they requested after he was killed, and that it was for him that they offered blood-money. But he (the Prophet (SAAS)) responded, “He is evil, and so would be the blood-money; God has cursed him and his blood-money. We
have no intent to take blood-money for him. And we will not prevent you from burying him.”

Yunus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishaq as stating, “Nawfal b. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mughira al-Makhzumi came forth and made a challenge for combat. Al-Zubayr accepted and went out to battle him, striking him so hard that he split him in two and badly dented his sword. He then left, reciting the line,

‘I’m a man who protects and defends the Prophet, the chosen one, *al-ummi*”, the untutored.’”

Ibn Jarir stated that when Nawfal became trapped in the trench, the Muslims began hurling rocks at him. So he said, “A death better than this, I pray you, fellow Arabs!” At that ‘Ali went down and killed him. The polytheists then asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) for his body, offering a price for it. But he refused to take anything from them and allowed them to remove it.

This *hadith* is to be categorized as *gharib*, “unilateral”, from two sources.

Al-Bayhaqi narrated through Hammad b. Yazid, from Hisham b. Urwa, from his father, from ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, who said, “At the battle of al-khandaq, I was put in the fortress with the women and children. With me was ‘Umar b. Abū Salama, who would bend over so that I could get on his back and observe. I saw my father charging first here, then there, attacking everything that came before him. That evening he joined us in the fortress, and I commented to him, ‘Father, I watched what you did today!’ He responded, ‘So you saw me, son!’ ‘Yes,’ I affirmed. ‘Well, may my father and mother be your ransom!’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abū Layla, that is ‘Abd Allah b. Sahl b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Sahl al-Ansārī, brother of Banū Ḥarīthah, related to me that ‘A’isha, mother of the faithful, was in the fort of Banū Ḥarīthah, one of the most secure of the Medina forts, during the battle of al-khandaq. Umm Sa’d b. Mu‘adh was with her there. ‘A’isha said, That was before the veil was imposed on us. Sa’d passed by wearing armour so small that his whole arm was exposed. He was carrying a spear and as he brandished it, he would call out,

“Stay awhile and let Hamal watch the fight
There’s no harm in death when the time is right!”

‘His mother called out to him, “Hurry along, son! By God, you’re late already!” I commented to her, “Umm Sa’d, I just wish Sa’d’s armour was larger.” I was afraid he would be struck in those very places; and indeed an arrow was shot at Sa’d b. Mu‘adh that severed the artery of his arm.””

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Āsim b. ‘Umar b. Qatada told me, ‘It was Hibbān b. Qays b. al-Ariqa of Banū Āmir b. Lu‘ayy who shot at him and when the arrow struck,

36. This adjective has been the subject of much study. Some consider it to refer to someone coming from Mecca, known as the Umm al-Qura, “the mother of all cities”. Others interpret it to mean unlettered, untutored and therefore a reference to the miraculous nature of the Qurān and the impossibility of its having been composed by someone who lacked education.
he called out, 'Take that from me; I'm Ibn al-'Ariqa!' Sa'd responded, 'May God make your face sweat' in hell! O God, if You will prolong this battle with Quraysh, preserve me for it! For there is no people I would rather fight than those who have harmed Your messenger, disbelieved in him and expelled him. But if You decree (continued) war between us and them, then make me a witness to it, and do not make me die before letting me engage in battle with Banū Qurayza!''

Ibn Ḩishāq went on, "A reliable source related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Mālik, that the latter would say, 'Actually, it was Abū Usāma al-Jushami, an ally of Banū Makhzūm, who struck Sa'd that day.' And Abū Usāma composed the following verse on the subject that he recited to Ṣakīma b. Abī Jahl:

'Ikrīma, were you not blaming me when you said, "May Khālid be your ransom at the forts of Medina?" Was it not I who struck Sa'd with an arrow in his elbow, causing a wound that would not congeal? It caused Sa'd's death and made old women and well-breasted virgins mourn.

It was you who defended him when ʿUbayda called in his distress to a group of them,

Those times when they avoided his path, while at other times they were too scared to act.'"

Ibn Ḩishāq commented, "God knows which account is correct."

Ibn Ḩishām stated, "It is also said that it was Khāfaja b. ʿĀsim b. Ḥībbān who struck Sa'd."

I would comment that God did respond to the plea of His servant Sa'd b. Muʿādh concerning Banū Qurayza. God did please him, and He thus ruled regarding them with strength and ease; and He made it be they who requested that, as will be explained hereafter. He decreed that their warriors be slain and their children be taken captive. And so the Messenger of God (ṣaas) said to him, "You issued judgement concerning them, by the decision of God above the seven heavens."

Ibn Ḩishāq stated, "Yaḥyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father ʿAbbād as having said, ʿṢaffiyā, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, was in Fārā, the castle of Ḥassān b. Ṭābit and she said, Ḥassān was there with us along with the women and children. A Jew passed by and began circling around the castle. Banū Qurayza had begun fighting and had cut off its relations with the Messenger of God (ṣaas). There was no one there to protect us while the Messenger of God (ṣaas) and the Muslims were so engaged with the enemy that there was no one who could leave them and come to us if someone should attack us. So I said, Ḥassān, as you can see, that Jew is circling the castle"

37. The word 'ariqa in the name of the Quraysh archer means to sweat; hence Sa'd's response.
and I am concerned that he might inform the Jews over behind us of where our weakness lies, now that the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men are so busy. Go down to him and kill him!’ He replied, ‘God forgive you, daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib! You must know I could never do such as thing as that.’”

“She went on, ‘When he said this to me and I saw I could expect nothing from him, I put on a waist-wrapper then took a cudgel and went down from the fort towards him. Then I struck him with the cudgel till I had killed him. When I had finished with him, I returned to the fort and said, ‘Hassān, now you go down and plunder him; the only thing that prevented me doing it was his being a man.’ He replied, I don’t need to plunder him, daughter of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib!’””

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, “The polytheists surrounded the Muslims, so rendering them with their squadrons inside a kind of fortress. They besieged them for some 20 nights, coming at them from every side, so that they never knew whether or not (the attack) was over.”

He went on, “They sent one large detachment towards where the Messenger of God (SAAS) was stationed, and they did battle all day until night came. When it was time for the al-ṣaḥr prayer, the enemy force was still at hand and so neither the Prophet (SAAS) nor any of the men with him could perform the al-ṣaḥr prayer in the manner they wished. When, at night, the enemy force turned away, people claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘They kept us from the ʿṣr prayer; may God fill their bellies and their hearts (and their graves,’ according to one report) with fire!’

“When conditions worsened, so did the attitude of many people and they began saying ugly things. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw the state of his men and their ill mood, he tried to encourage them, saying, ‘By Him who hears my soul in His hand, He will give you relief from the distress you are suffering. I certainly hope to circumambulate in safety around the Ancient House and that God will present me with the keys to the ka’ba, and that God will destroy Caesar and Chosroe and that we will expend their wealth in God’s cause!’”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Ishāq related to us, quoting Rawḥ, quoting Hishām, from Muḥammad, from ʿAbīda, from ʿAlī, who quoted the Prophet (SAAS) as having said at the battle of al-khandaq, ‘May God fill with fire their houses above them and their graves, for them having kept us from the middle prayer until the sun set.’”

The rest of the narrators, except for Ibn Mājah, related it similarly from various lines back to Hishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sirin, from Ubayḍa, from ʿAlī. Muslim and al-Tirmidhī related it through Saʿīd b. Abū Urūba, from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān al-Aʿrađ, from Ubayḍa, from ʿAlī. Al-Tirmidhī categorized the ḥadīth as hasan, saḥīḥ, “good and authentic”.

Then al-Bukhārī stated, “Al-Makki b. Ibrāhīm related to us, quoting Hishām, from Yahyā, from Abū Salama, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb
came along, at the battle of al-khandaq, after the sun had set, and began cursing the Quraysh unbelievers. He said, 'Messenger of God, I could scarcely perform my prayers before the sun had almost set.' The Prophet (SAAS) responded, 'By God, I didn't perform it!' We then went on down with the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Buṭḥān, and he performed the prayer ablutions, as did we too. He then performed the ‘āṣr prayer after the sun had set and thereafter went on to perform the maghrib, after sunset, prayer.”

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, al-Tirmidhī, and al-Nasā’ī, from various lines, back to Yahyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Abd al-Ṣamad related to us, quoting Thābit, quoting Hilal, from Ịkrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) engaged the enemy in battle and had not finished doing so when it became too late to perform the al-‘asr prayer. When he realized this, he said, “O God, may you fill with fire the homes and graves of those who kept us from performing the ṣalāt al-musātā” (“the medial prayer”).’”

Only Aḥmad gives wording like this; it comes to us from an account of Hilal b. Khabbāb al-‘Abdi al-Kūfī, a trustworthy source, vouched for by al-Tirmidhī and others.

Some scholars point to these ahadith as evidence for the prayer ṣalāt al-musātā being that of al-‘asr, as is implied in them. The qādi al-Mawardi\textsuperscript{38} accepted this for the “school” of al-Shāfi‘ī because of the authenticity of this hadith.

I have examined this carefully with quotations and evidences with reference to the words of the Almighty, “Attend well to the prayers, and to the salāt al-mustā‘, and stand up before God, in humility” (surat al-Baqara; II, v.238).

Some authorities make reference to this action to justify delaying the prayer because of battle; this is the view of Makhlūl and al-Awzā‘ī.

Al-Bukhārī devoted a section to this and used this hadith and the statement made by the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he ordered his men into action against Banū Qurayza, as will be shown. He quotes the statement, “None of you should perform the al-‘asr prayer unless it be at where the Banū Qurayza are.” Some of the men actually performed the ‘āṣr prayer on the way, while others of them only did so after reaching there, following the sunset. He (the Prophet (SAAS)) did not deal harshly with either of the two groups. He (al-Bukhārī) also quoted as his authorities the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), and those others present with them at the siege of Tastur in 20 AH, in the time of ‘Umar, where they performed the morning prayer after sunrise. This was due to the fighting and to the approaching defeat of the fortress.

Other scholars, in fact the majority of them, including al-Shāfi‘ī, stated that this procedure at the battle of al-khandaq was abrogated by the legalization of

\textsuperscript{38} Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Ali, known as al-Mawardi (974–1058 AD) of Basra was a scholar of the Shāfi‘ī school. His work \textit{al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīya}, for which he is best known, examines theories and practices of government from the perspectives of Islamic law.
the ṣalāt al-khawf thereafter; at that time this had not been made legal and that was why they postponed it that day. But this is an undecided issue.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “A group of scholars maintain that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the al-khawf prayer at Usfān.”

Ibn Ishāq, who is certainly the authority on the maghāzi, the military engagements, mentions this incident before al-khandaq, as he had with Dhāt al-Riqa’, to which he also referred before al-khandaq. But God knows best.

The statement that the postponement of the prayer at the battle of al-khandaq came about inadvertently, as the commentators on (the sahih collection) of Muslim related from certain others, is problematical; for it is unlikely that this would have occurred for such a large group, bearing in mind their strong determination to observe the prayers. How could this be when it is related that on that day they put off the prayers of the al-zuhr, noon, the al-‘asr, the late afternoon, and the al-maghrib, the sunset, until the whole group prayed at the time of the al-‘isha’, the evening, according to the account of Abū Hurayra and Abū Sa‘īd?

Imām Ahmad stated, “Both Yazīd and Ḥajjāj related to us as follows, ‘Ibn Abū Dhi‘b related to us, from al-Maqbūrī, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Sa‘īd al-Khuḍrī, who quoted his father as saying, “We were pinned down at al-khandaq until part of the night had gone by and eventually we were relieved.” That relates to the statement, “God saved the believers in battle; and God is mighty, powerful”’” (surat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.25). So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for Bilāl, gave him his orders, and set about performing the al-zuhr prayer as he would do at its normal time. Then he performed in turn the prayers for al-‘asr, al-maghrib and al-‘isha’. He did this before he dismounted. Ḥajjāj stated, “This is in keeping with the instruction concerning the ṣalāt al-khawf: ‘If you are afraid, it can be performed on foot or while mounted’” (surat al-Baqara; II, v.239).

Al-Nasā’ī related this from al-Fallās, from Yāḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Ibn Abū Dhi‘b. He said, “At al-khandaq the polytheists kept us from the al-zuhr prayer until the sun had set.” He then related the ḥadīth as above.

Aḥmad stated, “Hushaym related to us, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from Nāfi‘ b. Juba‘yra, from Abū Ubayda b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, from his father, to the effect that at al-khandaq the polytheists kept the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from performing four prayers until such part of the night had passed that God had determined. And so he gave orders to Bilāl, who gave the call to prayer. He then set about praying the al-zuhr, followed by the al-‘asr, al-maghrib and then al-‘isha’.”

he gave orders to Bilal who made the call for prayer, and then he performed the al-zuhr. Thereafter, he ordered Bilal to again make the call and then performed the al-‘asr. Again he ordered Bilal to make the call and then performed the al-maghrib, after which he once more ordered him to make the call and then performed the al-‘ishâ’. He then stated, ‘There is not upon the face of the earth any people but you making mention of God’s name at this hour.’”

Al-Bazzâr was alone in giving this hadîth. And he stated, “We know of this only through this line of authorities; however, some others relate it from ‘Abd al-Karim, from Mujâhid, from Abû ‘Ubâyda, from ‘Abd Allah.”

CONCERNING THE PRAYERS SPOKEN BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) AGAINST THE AHZÂB, THE CLANS.

And how God used His might and power to deal with them in response to His messenger (SAAS), and to guard his noble person. He therefore sent their minds into turmoil and thereafter turned a fierce wind upon them and shook their bodies.

Imâm Ahmad stated, “Abû ‘Amir related to us, quoting al-Zubayr – meaning Ibn ‘Abd Allah – quoting Rabî’î b. Abû Sa‘îd al-Khudari, from his father, who said, ‘At al-khandaq, we asked, “Messenger of God, is there something we should speak? For the hearts have reached the throats!” He replied, “Yes: ‘O God protect our weaknesses and pacify our fears.’” And then God smote with wind the faces of His enemies.’”

Ibn Abû Hatîm related this in his Tafsîr (Exegesis), from his father, from Abû ‘Amir – meaning al-‘Aqâdî – from al-Zubayr b. ‘Abd Allah, freed-man of Úthmân b. ‘Affân, from Rabî’î b. ‘Abd Allah, that Abû Sa‘îd b. ‘Abd Allah, from his father, from Abû Sa‘îd, who related it, and this is the correct (line).

Imâm Ahmad stated, “Husayn related to us, from Ibn Abû Dhibîb, from a man of Banû Salama, from Jâbîr b. ‘Abd Allah, that the Prophet (SAAS) came to the place of prayer at the battle of al-Ahzâb, took off his cloak, and stood with his hands raised and outstretched invoking God against them; and he did not pray.” He (Jâbîr) then said, “After that he again came and invoked God against them, then prayed.”

It is established in both sahih collections, from ahâdith of Ismâ‘îl b. Abû Khâlid, from ‘Abd Allah b. Abû Awfâ, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) invoked God against the clans, saying, ‘O God, Revealer of the Book, Quick to take account, defeat the clans! O God, defeat them, and shake them!’”

In one account the wording is, “O God, defeat them and give us victory over them!”

Al-Bukhârî related from Qutayba, from al-Layth, from Sa‘îd al-Maqburt, from his father, from Abû Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) used to say, “There is no god but God alone; He gave power to His forces, gave victory to His slave and overcame the clans by Himself. There is nothing after Him.”
Ibn Isḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men remained in that state of fear and difficulty as God described at the attacks of their enemy who came at them from above and from below. Eventually Nu‘aym b. Mas‘ūd b. ‘Amir b. Unayf b. Thaqaba b. Qunfudh b. Hilal b. Khalāwa b. Ashja‘ b. Rayth b. Ghaṭafān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Messenger of God, I have accepted Islam, but my people do not know of this. Give me whatever orders you wish.’ He replied, ‘You are only one man; use trickery to relieve us of them, if you can. War is deception.’

“Nu‘aym b. Mas‘ūd then left and went out to Banū Qurayẓa whose close companion he had been before Islam. He reminded them of his friendship and association with them. They accepted this and expressed their confidence in him. He then told them that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān were not in the same situation as themselves. The battle area, he reminded them, was their territory and the site of their property, wives and children. He observed that they had nowhere else to go, whereas Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had come in to do battle against Muḥammad and his men from elsewhere. Banū Qurayẓa, he observed, had joined in battling him even though territory, women and property of the other tribes were elsewhere. This meant that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān would take any opportunity they could, but if they were unsuccessful, they would return home, leaving the lands of Banū Qurayẓa between themselves and their enemy. And then Banū Qurayẓa would have insufficient power to withstand him if they were left alone. He advised them, therefore, not to participate with Quraysh and Ghaṭafān in the fighting without taking some of the leaders of the two tribes as hostages to guarantee that they would fight on against Muḥammad until they defeated him. Banū Qurayẓa agreed to this.

“Nu‘aym then went to Quraysh and reminded Abū Sufyān and those with him of his friendship for them and alienation from Muḥammad. He then told them he had some information he thought he should impart to them and he asked them to keep it confidential. They accepted this, and he then told them what he had told Quraysh and advised them to be cautious.

“When the night of the sabbath of Shawwāl in 5 AH arrived, God so arranged it for His messenger (ṢAAS) that Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and the leaders of Ghaṭafān sent ‘Ikrima b. Abū Jahl and some other Quraysh and Ghaṭafān men
to Banū Qurayṣa and told them that they were not in permanent quarters and that their horses and camels were dying. They asked them to prepare for battle that would destroy and rid them of Muḥammad. Banū Qurayṣa replied that it was a day when they could do nothing; they referred to the fate of some of them who had acted previously on that day (the sabbath). They also refused to participate in fighting Muḥammad until they received hostages who would guarantee continued action until he was defeated. They expressed their fear that if their allies suffered severe losses in the fighting, they would retreat home, leaving themselves alone with the enemy on their territory and that they would not have the power to defeat him.

“When their messengers returned with news of the response made by Banū Qurayṣa, Quraysh and Ghaṭafān believed in what Nuʿaym b. Maṣūd had told them. And so they sent the message back that they would not deliver a single man over to Banū Qurayṣa, and that it was up to them whether or not to come out to engage in battle. When the messengers brought them this response, Banū Qurayṣa believed that what Nuʿaym b. Maṣūd had told them was true. They were sure that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān would seize any opportunities they had, but otherwise would disperse into their own territories, thus leaving them alone to cope with the Muslims. They therefore sent back to Quraysh and Ghaṭafān that they would only do battle along with them if they were to hand over hostages to them.

“Quraysh and Ghaṭafān refused this; God thus created dissension between them and then that night He sent a fierce wind against them, on an extremely cold winter's night that overturned their cooking pots and vessels.”

This account related about Nuʿaym b. Maṣūd by Ibn Ishāq is better than that related by Muṣā b. Uqba.

Al-Bayhaqi gave it in his Dalāʾil (The Signs). The gist of his narration was that what had reached him was that Nuʿaym b. Maṣūd would spread abroad whatever news he learned. And it so happened that one evening the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) beckoned to him to come over as he passed by and asked him what he had heard. Nuʿaym replied that Quraysh and Ghaṭafān had sent to Banū Qurayṣa asking them to come forth in battle to finish off the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Banū Qurayṣa had agreed to this on condition that hostages be given over to them. It had previously been related that they had only abrogated the pact at the hands of Huyayy b. Akhṭab on condition that hostages would be brought to them as security.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Nuʿaym, “I wish to tell you something in confidence; do not repeat it. They sent to me seeking peace if I would restore Banū al-Naḍir to their homes and property.”

Following this, Nuʿaym b. Maṣūd left for Ghaṭafān and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Warfare is deception; perhaps God will act on our behalf.”
Nuwaym went to Quraysh and Ghaṭafān and told them this news and they hastily despatched ʿIkrima and a group of men to Banū Qurayṣa asking them to join in the fighting alongside them. It happened to be a sabbath, however, that the Jews held sacred; moreover, they asked for hostages as security. And so God came between them and they disagreed with one another.

I would comment that it is likely that when Banū Qurayṣa gave up hope of settling their difficulties with Quraysh and Ghaṭafān, they did send to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), requesting peace on condition that he restore Banū al-Naḍīr to Medina. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned of their dispute and how God had broken their unity, he despatched ʿUdhayfa b. al-Ṭamān over to them to see what the enemy was doing that night.”

He went on, “Yazid b. Ziyād related to me, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qurayḥ, who said, ‘A man from Kiifā asked ʿUdhayfa b. al-Ṭamān, ‘Abū ʿAbd Allāh, have you actually seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and were you really a Companion of his?’ ‘Oh yes, nephew,’ he replied. ‘And how did you get by?’ he asked. ʿUdhayfa replied, ‘It was difficult for us, I swear by God.’ ‘I swear,’ commented the Kiifān, ‘if we’d lived at his time, we’d never have let his foot so much as touch the ground; we’d have carried him on our shoulders.’ ʿUdhayfa responded, ‘Nephew, I swear I see us now with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-khandaq, and after he had prayed for part of the night, he turned to us and asked, “Who will volunteer to go and see what the enemy is doing, and then come back?” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stipulated that if the volunteer would come back, he would ask God that the man be his Companion in paradise. But so severe was the fear, cold and hunger, that not one person volunteered. Since no one had risen, he called upon me, and once he had done so, I had no alternative but to do so. He then told me, “ʿUdhayfa, go and infiltrate the enemy. Go and see what they are doing, but don’t cause any trouble; then return to us.”

“So I did so. The gale and God’s soldiers were greatly damaging them, leaving them no fire nor pots, nor tents upright. Ābū Sufyān arose and said, “Quraysh, every man check out the person sitting next to him.”

“At this I took the hand of the man next to me and asked him his name. He told me who he was. Ābū Sufyān then said, “We’re not in a permanent camp, our horses and camels are dying, and Banū Qurayṣa are at odds with us, and we’ve heard things about them that we don’t like. You can see what we’ve lost due to the gale, how our cooking pots won’t stay upright, and we can’t keep fires burning and our tents standing. You should leave, as I am about to do.” He then went to his camel which was hobbled, mounted it, struck it so that it arose on three legs since he only unhobbled it when it was standing. If it had not been for the promise the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made me make not to cause trouble, I could have shot him with an arrow.”
Hudhayfa went on, “So I returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and found him standing in prayer shrouded in a wrap belonging to one of his wives. When he saw me, he asked me to come in (to sit) at his feet and threw an end of the wrap over me. He then bowed and prostrated, while I was under it. When he was finished, I related the news to him. When Ghațafān heard what Quraysh had done, they hurried off home.”

This hadith is munqati’, incomplete in its line, in this version.

Muslim b. Ḥajjaj related this hadith in his saḥth collection, from an account of al-A‘mash, from ʿIbrāhīm b. Yāzīd al-Taymi, from his father, who said, “We were with Hudhayfa when a man told him, ‘If I had been alive with the Messenger of God (SAAS) I would have fought alongside him heroically.’ ‘Would you, indeed?’ Hudhayfa asked him and went on, ‘Once we were there at the battle of al-ʾAhzāb with the Messenger of God (SAAS). It was night time and there was a fierce, cold gale blowing. He asked us, “Is there no man who will bring me news of the enemy and be with me at Judgement Day?” When none of us responded, he asked the same question a second and a third time. Then he said, “Hudhayfa, you go and bring us news of the enemy.” Since he had called upon me by name, I had no alternative but to get up. He then said, “Bring me news of them without giving them any cause for alarm about me.” So I left and made my way to them, feeling as if I was walking through a public bath! I found Abū Sufyān there warming his back to the fire. I placed an arrow in the centre of my bow and was about to release it when I remembered how the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told me not to give them any alarm about him. If I had shot it, I would have hit him. I then left to return to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and again the feeling of walking in a public bath overcame me. When I arrived back, I felt very cold and chilled once again. I told this to him and he put over me part of the cloak he was wearing as he prayed. I slept right on through till morning. When he spoke to me, saying, “Up you get, sleepy-head!”’”

Al-Ḥākim related this hadith, as did the ḥāfuẓ al-Bayhaqī in his Ḍalā‘īl, in an extended form from a hadith of ʾIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Duʿālī, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the nephew of Hudhayfa, who said, “Hudhayfa related the events in which they had participated with the Messenger of God (SAAS). Those sitting listening to him commented how they would have behaved in various ways if they had been present. Hudhayfa then said, ‘You shouldn’t wish for that. There we were, drawn up in battle array, keeping down, while Abū Sufyān and his forces were above us, while the Jews of Bani Qurayza were down below us, making us fear for our families. We never experienced any night so black and violent as that; the winds blew fiercely with great explosions like thunderbolts. It was so dark we couldn’t even see our fingers.

‘The backsliders began asking the Prophet (SAAS) permission to withdraw, saying that their homes were exposed – though they were not exposed. He gave
his permission to leave to each person who asked and so they would slip away. We were some 300 men in number. The Messenger of God (SAAS) received us one by one until eventually my turn came; I had nothing on to protect me from the enemy and the cold except a woollen coat of my wife that came down no further than my knees. When he came to me I was kneeling down. He asked, “And who is this?” “Hudhayfa,” I replied, “Hudhayfa, eh?” “Yes, Messenger of God,” I responded, keeping down close to the ground and unwilling to get up. But I did rise and he said, “There’s activity among the enemy; bring me news of them.” Actually, I was the most terrified of our men and certainly the coldest.

“When I left, the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the words, “O God, protect him from danger from his front and rear, from his left and his right, from above him and from below him.” And, I swear, I felt from then on entirely empty of the fear and cold God had previously created inside me! As I was turning to leave, he called out, “Hudhayfa, don’t cause any disturbance in the enemy before you come back to me.”

“As I approached the enemy camp, I saw the light of a fire they had burning. There I saw a dark-skinned, heavy-set man holding his hands out above the fire and then wiping them on his waist, saying, “Get the mounts ready!” I had not known Abii Sufyân before that; I took out an arrow with white feathered flights from my quiver and positioned it in my bow to shoot it in the light of the fire, but then remembered how the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told me not to cause any disturbance before I returned to him. So I stopped and returned the arrow to my quiver. Then I mustered up my courage and entered their camp. Those men closest to me were of Banî ‘Amir, and they were saying that they should mount up and leave, since they had no permanent quarters there and that the wind was blowing straight through their camp. I could hear the sounds of the stones raised by the wind striking their mounts and their equipment. I left and went on my way back to the Messenger of God (SAAS). Half way or thereabouts, I came across 20 or so horsemen, fully shrouded, who told me, “Tell your master that God has saved him!”

“So I returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and found him wrapped up in a blanket, praying. No sooner was I back than I felt terribly cold again and began shivering. As he prayed, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gestured to me and when I drew near him, he spread his blanket out over me. When something troubled the Messenger of God (SAAS), he would pray. I made my report about the enemy and how they had been moving out when I left the camp. Then Almighty God revealed, “O you who believe, remember God’s favour to you, when troops came to you and We sent down against them a wind and (Our) troops you could not see. God is fully aware of what you do ...” up to and including, “And God was sufficient for the believers in battle. God is Almighty, Powerful”” (ṣūrat al-Ahzâb; XXXIII, v.9–25).

That is, God removed their enemy from them by the wind He sent against them and the troops of angels and others He sent to them. And so, “God saved
the believers from battle.” That is, they did not need to face them in fighting and in combat because the Almighty and All-Powerful drew them away through His power and strength.

This is why it is established in both *sahih* collections from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to say, ‘There is no god but God alone; He was sincere in His promise and aided His servant, gave power to His troops and defeated the Ahzab all by Himself. After Him there is nothing.’”

Regarding His words, “God saved the believers from battle”, this is a reference to the cessation of war between the two sides. That is what occurred; thereafter, Quraysh never again instituted warfare against the Muslims. As Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him, stated, “When the troops at al-khandāq left there, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, so it has been related to me, ‘After this year, Quraysh will not go to war against you, but you will against them.’”

He went on, “And Quraysh did not attack thereafter, whereas they (the Muslims) did attack them, until God gave him victory over Mecca.” This report comes from Ibn Ishāq.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Yahyā related to us, from Sufyān, that Abū Ishāq related to him, ‘I heard Sulaymān b. Ṣurad, God be pleased with him, say, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Now we will attack them, but not they us.’’”

Al-Bukhārī related this thus from a *hadith* of Iṣmā’īl and Sufyān al-Thawrī, both of whom quoted Abū Ishāq al-Sabi‘, from Sulaymān b. Ṣurad.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Three Muslims of Bani ‘Abd al-Ashhal were martyred at the battle of al-khandāq; they were Sa‘d b. Mu‘ādh” — extensive information about his death will follow — “Anas b. Aws b. ʿAtik b. ʿAmr, and ʿAbd Allāh b. SAal. Also killed were al-Ṭufayl b. al-Nu‘mān, Tha‘labā b. Ghanāma, both of Jashm and of Sulaymān, and Ka‘b b. Zayd al-Najārī, who was killed by a stray arrow.

“Three of the polytheists were killed. These were Munabih b. Uthmān b. ʿUbayd b. al-Sabbāq b. ʿAbd al-Dār, who was struck by an arrow and later died from his wound in Mecca, Nawfal b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughīra who charged across the trench on his horse and became bogged down and killed there; the polytheists offered a large sum for his body, as is related above. And there was ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd al-ʿAmrī, who was killed by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “A trustworthy authority related to me that al-Zuhri said, “Alī that day killed ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd, whose son was Ḥasāl b. ʿAmr.”

Ibn Hishām also stated, “He is known both as ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wudd and ʿAmr b. ʿAbd.”

Section: On the Expedition against Banū Qurayza.

On the severe violence God Almighty brought down upon them, along with the painful punishment He had prepared for them in the hereafter.
All that was due to their disbelief, their breaking of the pacts between themselves and the Messenger of God (SAAS) and their allying themselves with the ahzāb, the clans, against him. None of that did them any good and brought the wrath of God and His messenger down upon them, a bad bargain for them in this world and the next.

God Almighty had stated, "And God turned back in their rage those who disbelieved, and they obtained no good advantage. God saved the believers from battle; and God is mighty, powerful. And He brought down those of the people of the Book who supported them from their fortresses, and He cast terror into their hearts; you killed one group (of them) and took prisoner another. And He made you inherit their lands, homes and property, along with a land you had not yet trodden. And God has power over all things" (sūrat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.25–27).

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Muḥammad b. Muqātīl related to us, quoting ‘Abd Allah, quoting Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from Sālim, and Na‘īr, from ‘Abd Allāh, who said that whenever the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned from a military expedition, the pilgrimages of the hajj or the al-‘umra, he would first affirm the greatness of God, and then he would say, ‘There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. All dominion is His. All praise is due to Him. He has power over all things; we (return) repenting, seeking forgiveness, praying, prostrating and praising our Lord. God is true to His promise; He gave aid to His servant and defeated the ahzāb by Himself.’"

Muḥammad b. Ishaq, God be pleased with him, stated, “Next morning the Messenger of God (SAAS) left the trench accompanied by the Muslims and returned to Medina, there laying down their arms.

“At the noon prayer, Gabriel, so al-Zuhri told me, came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), wearing a turban embroidered in silk and gold, riding a mule with a saddle adorned with a brocade cloth, and asked, ‘Have you put down your weapons then, Messenger of God?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘Well,’ Gabriel informed him, ‘the angels have not yet put down theirs; I’ve come to you now from pursuing the enemy. God commands you, Muḥammad, to go against Bani Qurayza. I myself am heading for them and am going to shake them up!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then summoned a muezzin and an announcement was made: ‘All those who hear and obey should perform the al-‘asr prayer only among Banū Qurayza. I myself am heading for them and am going to shake them up!’

Ibn Hishām stated that he placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command over Medina.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “It was related to me by ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Shayba, quoting Ibn Numayr, from Hishām, from his father, who quoted A‘īsha as saying, ‘When the Prophet (SAAS) returned from the trench and he had put down his arms and taken a bath, Gabriel came to him and said, “So you have put down your arms! We’ve not done so, I swear by God! Go forth to them!” “Where to?”
he asked. “Over here.” Gabriel said, gesturing towards Banū Qurayṣa. And so the Prophet (Ṣaḥḥa) did go forth.’”

Al-Ḥākim stated, “Ḥasan related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Ṣalāma, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿAlī, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) had disposed of the ʾahḍāb, he entered the bathhouse to bathe. Then Gabriel came and I could see, across the house, that his head was reddened with dust. He said, “Muḥammad, you’ve laid down your arms then!” “We have laid down our arms,” he replied. Gabriel said, “Well, we’ve not laid down ours yet. Get up after Banū Qurayṣa!”’”

Al-Bukhārī then stated, “Mūsā related to us, quoting Jarir b. Ḥāzim, from Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘It was as though I could see the dust rising in the street of Banū Ghamr (in Medina) due to the marching of Gabriel’s troops when the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) set out against Banū Qurayṣa.’”

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmāʾ related to us, quoting Juwayriyya b. Asmāʾ, from Nāṣir, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) stated at the battle of al-Ahzāb, “Let no one perform the al-ṣaʿr prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayṣa!”’ Time for the al-ṣaʿr prayer came for some, while they were still travelling. And some of these decided not to perform the prayer before arriving, while others decided to pray then and that they had not been required to wait. This was reported to the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa), but he was not severe with any one of them.’”

Muslim related it thus from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Asmāʾ.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated, “Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz and Abū Bakr Alḥām b. al-Ḥasan al-Qaḍī both stated, ‘Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. Khalīd b. ʿAlī, from Bishr b. Ḥarb, from his father, (who said) “Al-Zuhri related to us that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kāb b. Mālik informed him that his uncle ʿUbayd Allāh told him that when the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) returned from fighting the al-Ahzāb, he took off his breast-plate, washed and bathed. then Gabriel, upon whom be peace, appeared before him and said, ‘Some warrior you are! It seems you have taken off your breast-plate! Well, we haven’t done that yet!’”

“At this, the Prophet (Ṣaḥḥa) got up in a fright and insisted that everyone should refrain from performing the al-ṣaʿr prayer unless it be among Banū Qurayṣa.

“And so the Muslims dressed in their armour. However, they arrived at Banū Qurayṣa only after the sun had set. At sunset, disputes arose. Some maintained that since the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) had told them not to pray the al-ṣaʿr unless it be at Banū Qurayṣa, there could be no sin in them complying. One group did pray out of their caution, while others refrained from praying until the sun had set, after which they prayed among Banū Qurayṣa; they too acted out of caution. The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) did not berate either one of the groups.”
Also, al-Bayhaqi related, through `Abd Allah al-Umari, from his brother Ubayd Allah, from al-Qasim b. Muhammad, from `A'isha, (who stated) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was with her, "... and while we were there inside the house, in came a man who greeted us. The Messenger of God (SAAS) got up in a fright, and I arose too; suddenly, there was Dihya al-Kalbi. He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)), said, 'This is Gabriel! He has ordered me to attack Banu Qurayza. He said to me, "You have put down your arms, but we have not.'"

We had pursued the polytheists until we reached Hamra' al-Asad, following the return of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from al-khandaq. So the Messenger of God (SAAS) arose in great concern and said to his Companions, 'I require you not to perform the al-'asr prayer until you arrive at Banu Qurayza.' The sun set before they reached them and one group of the Muslims thought that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had not wanted them to wait to say the prayer and so they prayed. Another group maintained that they were acting in accord with the requirement made by the Messenger of God (SAAS), and that they would not be considered guilty of a sin for not praying. And so one group did pray, in their faith and as a precaution, while another group did not, for the same reasons.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not berate any person from either group. He then went forth and as he passed by any group of people, on his way to Banu Qurayza, he would ask them, 'Did anyone pass by you?' They responded, 'Dihya al-Kalbi passed by on his grey mule, mounted on a piece of brocade cloth.' He responded, 'That was Gabriel; he has been sent to Banu Qurayza to shake them up, and to cast terror into them.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then besieged them, telling his Companions to protect him with their shields so that he could hear their response. He called out to them, 'Hey, you, you brothers of monkeys and pigs!' They replied, 'Abu al-Qasim, you used not to employ bad language!'"

"And so he besieged them until they came down, following the judgement of Sa'd b. Mu'adh, whose allies they were. He decreed for them that their warriors should be killed and that their children and women should become captive."

This hadith has excellent lines of transmission from `A'isha and others.

The scholars differ over which of the two groups was correct that day. In fact the consensus is that each of them was worthy and justified in their actions and not to be severely criticized.

One group of scholars, however, maintains that those who postponed the prayer from its predetermined time until they could perform it among Banu Qurayza were correct, because their order to postpone it that day was specific and special and therefore should have been given precedence over the normal time for which it was determined under the law.

Abu Muhammad b. Hazm al-Zahirî stated in his biography (of the Prophet (SAAS)), "God knows that had we been there we would not have performed the
al-'asr prayer unless it had been among Banū Qurayṣa, even if it would have had to be several days thereafter?"

This statement of his accords with the principle he holds fundamental, to act in accord with what is apparent.

Another group of scholars considered, on the contrary, that those who performed the prayer at its regular time while they were travelling were the ones who were correct because they had understood that the intent was to hasten their journey to Banū Qurayṣa and not to postpone the prayer. They acted in accord with the precepts suggesting the superiority of prayer being performed at its proper time, even though they understood what the legislator had wanted. Because of this, he did not berate them or order them to repeat the prayer at the time to which it had been changed that day, as the others claimed. Those who did postpone it were forgiven, since they acted in accord with their understanding; most things they were ordered to do they did in fact accomplish.

As for those who maintain that it is permissible to postpone prayer because of warfare — as al-Bukhārī understood and justified from the hadith of Ibn ʿUmar referred to previously — (in this case) neither those who performed the prayer earlier nor those who did so later ought to be considered suspect. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq then stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) thereafter sent forward ʿAlī b. Abū ʿṬālib bearing his banner and the men hurried towards it.”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated in his work on the maghāzi, the military expeditions, quoting al-Zuhri, “While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was in his bathroom, so they claim, having combed out one side of his hair, Gabriel came to him riding a horse and dressed in his breast-plate. He halted at the door of the mosque where the funeral biers are placed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to him, whereupon Gabriel said, ‘May God forgive you, have you put down your arms?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. Gabriel commented, ‘Well, we’ve not put ours down ever since your enemy came at you; and I’m continuing to pursue them until God defeats them.’ And they say that there was actually dust present upon Gabriel’s face. He then went on to say, ‘God commanded you to fight Banū Qurayṣa, and I will pursue them along with the angels accompanying me; we will make their fortresses shake around them. Go forth you too, with your men!’

“And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did follow after Gabriel. He passed by a seated group of Banū Ḥānām who were awaiting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he asked them whether a horseman had recently passed them. They replied that Dihya al-Kalbī had passed them on a white horse, seated on a saddle cloth or a piece of velvet brocade, and wearing his breast-plate. They say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘That was Gabriel!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to liken Dihya al-Kalbī to Gabriel. He then said, ‘Join me at where Banū Qurayṣa are, and perform the al-'asr prayer among them.’
“And so they arose, along with those other Muslims God wished, and they set off for Banū Qurayṣa. The time for the al-‘asr prayer came while they were en route, and they remembered the prayer. Some of them asked others, ‘Don’t you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered you to perform the al-‘asr prayer among Banū Qurayṣa?’ Others said, ‘It’s the prayer (time).’ And so some did pray while others postponed it until they could perform it among Banū Qurayṣa, after the sun had set. They informed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) which of them had performed it earlier and those who had postponed it, and people say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not berate either of the two groups.

“When ʿAli saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) approaching, he met him and said to him, ‘Go back, Messenger of God, God will take care of the Jews for you.’ ʿAli had heard from them some ugly talk with reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his wives, may God be pleased with them, and he disliked for him to hear this. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked why he was advising him to go back, but ʿAli concealed from him what he had heard of them. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘I think you have heard them say something harmful about me; I will go on, for if the enemies of God saw me they would not say any of what you heard.’

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) alighted at their fortresses, they being high above him, he addressed a group of their nobles at the top of his voice so that they could hear him saying, ‘Respond, you tribe of Jews, you brothers of apes, for disgrace from God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has come down upon you!’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then besieged them with legions of the Muslims for some ten nights. God had brought back Ḥuyayy b. Akhrab and he had entered the forts of Banū Qurayṣa. God cast terror into them, and the siege was very hard on them. They eventually shouted for Abn Lubaba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir – they had been allied to the ansār – but Abū Lubāba stated, ‘I will not go to them until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gives me permission.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him permission.

“And so Abū Lubāba went to them and they complained to him and asked him what they thought they should do since they did not have the power to engage in warfare. Abū Lubāba gestured at his throat across which he brought his fingers, showing them that it was their execution that was wanted.

“When Abū Lubāba left them, he was suddenly aghast, realizing that some urge had overcome him. He told himself that he could not look the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the face until he did some loyal act as repentance that God would appreciate.

“And so he went back to Medina and tied his hands to one of the tree trunks (supporting the roof) of the mosque. It is said that he remained tied there for some 20 days.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked, when Abū Lubāba absented himself, ‘Hasn’t Abū Lubāba yet finished dealing with his allies?’ When it was related to him what Abū Lubāba had done, he said, ‘After (he left) me some urge overcame
him; if he had come to me, I would have sought forgiveness for him. Since he has now done what he has, I will not move him from where he is until God decrees His will upon him.”

Ibn Lahi’ā related this thus, from Abū al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa. Muḥammad b. Ishāq recounted this in this way in his work on the maghāzi, in the same line of authorities as Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from al-Zuhri, and (it appears) similarly in the account given by Abū al-Aswad from ‘Urwa.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made camp at one of the wells of Banū Qurayṣa; called the Annā well; it was among properties they owned. He besieged them for 25 days, by which time the siege was causing them great hardship and much anxiety.

“Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab had joined them in their fortress when Quraysh and Ḥaṭṭafān had withdrawn, thus fulfilling the pact he had made with Ka‘b b. Asad. When they were sure that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had no intention of departing before he had utterly defeated them, Ka‘b b. Asad addressed Banū Qurayṣa. He told them, ‘You well know the crisis you face. I suggest three alternatives; choose the one you like best.’ ‘What are they?’ they asked. He replied, ‘First, that we follow and believe this man. I swear, it is clear to you now that he is a prophet who has been sent, and that it is he whom you find mentioned in your scripture. You should give him control over your lives, properties, children and women.’ They replied, ‘We will never abandon the law of the Torah, nor exchange it for another’

“He then said, ‘If you refuse me this, let us kill our children and our women and then go forth to Muḥammad and his companions with our swords drawn; that way we will not leave any responsibilities behind us, and God will decide between us and Muḥammad. If we perish, we perish; but we won’t be leaving behind any children to worry about. And if we are victorious, we’ll certainly acquire other women and children.’

“They replied, ‘Shall we kill these unfortunates? What good would there be in living on after them?’

“He continued, ‘If you refuse this, then tonight it is the sabbath. It may well be that Muḥammad and his men feel secure now. Let’s go forth and seek to take Muḥammad and his men by surprise.’

“They replied, ‘Should we desecrate our sabbath; if we do, there will befall that metamorphosis you well know has always befallen those who have done so.’

“He commented, ‘Not one of you men has ever, since the day you were born, acted decisively.’

“They then sent to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking him to dispatch to them for consultations Abū Lubāba b. ‘Abd al-Mundhir, a brother of Banū ‘Amr b. ‘Awf who were allies of al-Aws.

39. An allusion to the references in several places in the Qurʾān to those who profaned the sabbath. See, for example, sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.63.
“He did dispatch Abū Lubāba and when they saw him, the men arose to meet him. The women and children broke into sobs before him. He felt very sorry for them; they asked him whether they should submit to Muḥammad’s judgement. He said that they should. He then gestured with his hand across his neck, indicating that execution was coming.

“Abū Lubāba (later) commented, ‘I swear by God, my feet had not left that place before I knew I had betrayed God and His messenger.

“Abū Lubāba then left hurriedly. He did not, however, return to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but tied himself to one of the supports of the mosque, saying, ‘I will not leave here until God forgives me for what I have done. I swear to God that I will never again go to Banū Qurayza, nor ever be seen again in any place where I have betrayed God and His messenger!’”


Ibn Hishām also stated, “He remained tied there for six days. His wife would come to him at each prayer time and untied him so that he could perform the ablutions and pray. He would then be tied up again. Eventually forgiveness did come down for him, in the Almighty’s words, ‘And others confessed their sins, having mixed good deeds with bad; God may well forgive them. God is indeed forgiving, merciful!’” (ṣūrat al-Tawba or al-Barzā; IX, v.102).

According to Mūsā b. Uqba he remained bound for 20 days. But God knows best.

Ibn ʿIshāq related that God revealed His forgiveness to His messenger at the very end of the night, while he was in the home of Umm Salama. He began to smile and when Umm Salama asked him why, he told her that God had forgiven Abū Lubāba. She asked his permission to leave to inform him. He agreed, and she went and told him the good news. People crowded around him joyfully, wishing to untie him from his bonds. But he said, “No one but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shall untie me.” When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came out to perform the dawn prayer, he did untie him, may God be pleased with him.

Ibn ʿIshāq stated, “Thereafter Thaʿlaba b. Saʿya, Usayd b. Saʿya and Asad b. ʿUbayd, all of Banū Hadal and not from either Qurayṣa or al-Naḍīr, their own pedigree being superior to that, they being Banū ʿAmm al-Qawm, accepted Islam that night during which Qurayṣa had come under the control of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“Also that night ʿAmr b. Suʿdā al-Quraṣi came out and passed by the guard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); Muḥammad b. Maslama was in charge of them that night and when he saw ʿAmr, he called out and asked him his name, which he gave. ʿAmr had refused to participate in Banū Qurayṣa treachery towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having said, ‘I will never betray Muḥammad!’ When
he recognized him, Muhammad b. Maslama said, 'O God, do not forbid me to set aside the minor sins of noble men!' He then let him pass. Amr then hurriedly left and spent that night in the mosque of the Messenger of God (SAAS), in Medina. Thereafter he departed for some still unknown destination. When what had happened to him was mentioned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), he commented, 'That is a man whom God saved because of his trustworthiness.'

He went on, "Some people claim that he was tied up with rope along with others of Banū Qurayza. The rope to which he had been tied was later found thrown away, and it was not known where he had gone. And it was then that the Messenger of God (SAAS) made the above statement about him. But God knows best which of the accounts is correct."

Ibn Ishaq continued, "Next morning they came under the authority of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Banū Aws promptly claimed that Banū Qurayza had been allied with them rather than with Khazraj. They also referred to how the Messenger of God (SAAS) had given control over Banū Qurayza to ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy when he had requested this, as is related above.

"When Aws had spoken to him, the Messenger of God (SAAS) responded to them, 'O Aws, will you be content to have one of your men decide about them?' When they agreed to this, he placed them under the charge of Sa’d b. Mu‘adh. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had placed Sa’d b. Mu‘adh inside his mosque in a tent belonging to an Aslam woman named Rufayda; she was caring for the wounded. When he placed Sa’d in charge of Banū Qurayza, his people approached him and mounted him on a donkey bearing a leather cushion; he was a handsome, large man. They then brought him to the Messenger of God (SAAS), telling him to treat his charges kindly, since it was with that expectation that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had appointed him over them. When they insisted upon this, he responded, 'It is now time for Sa’d to take no account of anyone's criticism for what he does in God's cause!' One of those of his people who was accompanying him returned to Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal and told them of the death of the men of Banū Qurayza even before Sard reached them, because of what he had heard him say.

"When Sa’d arrived at where the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims were, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Arise to greet your master.' The Quraysh muhajirin, said he was referring to the ansār, while the latter thought that his order had been directed towards all the Muslims, and so they stood up. They told him, 'Abū ‘Amr, the Messenger of God (SAAS) has delegated to you the question of deciding what to do with your charges.' Sa’d replied, 'Is it your duty to swear by a pact with God that whatever decision I reach about them will be enforced?' 'Yes,' they agreed. Sa’d then asked, 'And does that apply to him who is over here?' He was referring to the direction where the Messenger of God (SAAS) was, while looking away from him out of his respect for him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) answered, 'Yes.' Sa’d then said, 'I therefore decree that the men among them shall be executed,
while their properties shall be liquidated and their offspring and women shall be taken captive.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "'Āṣim b. Uma r b. Qatāda related to me, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Uma r b. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh, from 'Alqama b. Waqqas al-Laythi, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ŞAAS) said to Sa'd, 'You have judged them with the decision of God, from seven heavens above.'"

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable scholar related to me that 'Ali b. Abū Talib exclaimed as they were besieging Bātīn Qurayṣa, 'O Army of the Faithl! He and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwān then advanced and 'Ali said, 'I will taste what ʿAmza tasted, or I will storm their fortress!' But they replied, 'Muḥammad! We will submit to the judgement of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh.'"

Imām Ahmad stated that Muḥammad b. Ja'far related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Abū Umāma b. Sahl, who said, "I heard Abū Sa'd al-Khudrī say, 'Bānū Qurayṣa agreed to submit to the authority of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh. So the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) sent for Sa'd who came to him on a donkey. When he drew near the mosque, the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) said, "Stand up for your master" (or "your better"). He then said, "These people have submitted to your authority." He (Sa'd) stated, "We shall execute their warriors and take their children prisoner." The Messenger of God (ŞAAS) commented, "You have given judgement with God's decree." He may have said, "You have given judgement with the mālik's ('the ruler's') decree." According to another account, the word used was malak, "angel".'"

In both saḥīḥ collections it is derived by various lines of authority from Shu'ba.

Imām Ahmad stated, "Hujayn and Yūnus related to us, saying, 'Al-Layth b. Sa'd related to us, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, "At the battle of al-Ahzāb an arrow was shot at Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and the medial vein in his arm was severed. The Messenger of God (ŞAAS) cauterized it with fire. Sa'd's hand then swelled up and he bled it. Seeing this, Sa'd said, 'O God, do not extract my soul before you settle Bānū Qurayṣa for me.' At this the flow ceased, with not another drop falling, until Bānū Qurayṣa submitted to Sa'd's authority. A message was sent to him to this effect and he decreed that their men should be executed and that their women and children should be made captive and should serve the Muslims. The Messenger of God (ŞAAS) said, 'You have correctly given God's judgement regarding them.' They were 400 in number. When their execution was over, Sa'd's artery burst and he died.'"

Both al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasa'i related this from Qutayba, back to al-Layth. Al-Tirmidhi categorized it as hasan saḥīḥ, "good and authentic".

Imām Ahmad stated, "Ibn Numayr related to us, from Hishām, saying, 'My father quoted 'A'isha to me as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ŞAAS) came back from the Battle of al-Ahzāb and had put down his arms and bathed, Gabriel, his face dust-covered, came to him and said, 'So, you've put
down your arms! I swear by God, we have not! Go out and battle them!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘Where to?’ ‘Over here,’ Gabriel responded, gesturing towards Banū Qurayṣa. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth against them.”

Hishām stated, ‘My father informed me that they accepted the authority of the Prophet (SAAS) over them and that he then delegated that authority to Saʿd. He then stated, “I judge that the warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up.”’

Hishām went on, “My father stated further, ‘I was told that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “You have judged them by God’s judgement.”’

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Zakariyya b. Yahyā related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr, quoting Hishām, from his father, from ʿAʾishah, who said, ‘At al-khandaq Saʿd was wounded. One of Quraysh, a man named Hishān b. ʿAriqa, shot an arrow at him and hit him in the main vein in his arm. The Prophet (SAAS) set up a tent for him in the mosque so that he could visit him from nearby. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had returned from al-khandaq and had put down his weapons and had bathed, Gabriel, shaking dust off his head, came to him and said, “So, you have put down your weapons? I swear by God, I’ve not done that! Go forth against them!” The Prophet (SAAS) asked, “Where to?” Gabriel then gestured towards Ban Qurayṣa. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then did go out against them and they accepted his authority; he then delegated this authority to Saʿd. The latter decreed, “I judge that their warriors be executed, that their women and offspring be taken captive and that their properties be divided up.”’

Hishām went on, “My father quoted ʿAʾishah as saying that Saʿd stated, ‘O God, You well know that there is no one I would rather fight on your behalf than a people who have called Your messenger a liar and have exiled him. O God, I believe You have put an end to warfare between us and them. Give me life for so long as there is any warfare against Quraysh, so that I may fight against them for You. And if You have brought the war to an end, recommence it and place my death therein.’ Then there was an explosive emission from his upper chest, but this did not alarm anyone. But there was a tent (for the wounded) belonging to Banū Ghifār in the mosque. And, when the blood began streaming down towards them, they shouted, ‘Hey, you in the tent, what is this coming down to us from you?’ It was from Saʿd; his wound was streaming blood and he died of it.’

This was related by Muslim from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr.

I would comment that Saʿd first spoke this prayer before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayṣa. This is why he prayed that his death not occur before he had settled with Banū Qurayṣa. And God did answer his prayer. After issuing his judgement on them, and God had pleased him greatly thereby, he prayed a second time in this way and God then gave him martyrdom, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. Reference to his death will come shortly, if God so wills it.
Imām Aḥmad related it also from another line at great length; in that account there are other interesting aspects. He stated that Yazīd related to him that Muḥammad b. 'Amr narrated to him, from his father, from his father 'Alqāma b. Waqqās, who said, "Aṭīsha stated to me as follows, 'I was leaving on the day of the battle of al-khandaq, following after our forces, when I heard the sound of movement behind me. Then I saw it was Sa'd b. Muṣādh, accompanied by his brother Al-Harith b. Aws, carrying his child. I sat down on the ground and Sa'd passed by, wearing an iron coat of mail from which his arms and legs protruded. I was concerned about injury to these limbs of Sa'd; Sa'd was one of the greatest and tallest of men. As he passed, he was speaking the verse,

"Remain awhile; let Ḥamal see the battle. How fine is death when its time has come!""

She continued, "I got up and ran into a garden. There I found a group of Muslims; among them were Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. One of the men had on a subgha" (by which she meant a mighfar, a "helmet"). "Umar asked, 'Why are you here? I swear, you're bold! What's to protect you if some disaster should happen or you got cut off?' He went on criticizing me until I wished the earth would open to swallow me on the spot! Then the man lifted the helmet off his face and I saw that it was Ṭalḥa b. Ubayd Allāh. He commented, 'Hey, Umar, shame on you! You're overdoing it! From today on, whatever aligning or taking refuge there is will be to God, Almighty and Glorious is He!'

Aṭīsha went on, "Then a Quraysh man named Ibn al-'Ariqa shot at Sa'd, saying, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-ʿAriqa!' It struck and severed the main artery in his arm. Sa'd then prayed, 'O God, do not make me die before you give me satisfaction over Banī Qurayza!' These people had been his allies and colleagues before Islam. Then his wound stopped bleeding and God sent the gale against the polytheists and spared the believers engaging in battle; God is indeed powerful, strong. Abū Sufyān and his force then went to Tihāma, while Uuyayna b. Badr and his force withdrew to Najd.

Banū Qurayza then returned home and sought protection in their fortresses. The Messenger of God (SAAS) returned to Medina where he ordered a leather tent be set up in the mosque for Sa'd. Then Gabriel came, the folds of his clothing covered with dust, and he said, 'Have you put down your weapons, then? By God, the angels haven't put down their weapons yet. Go forth and do battle with Banū Qurayza!'

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then put on his breast-plate and had it announced that the men should prepare to depart for battle. He passed by Banū Ghanam who were his neighbours close by the mosque. He asked them, 'Who was it passed by you?' They replied, 'Dihya al-Kalbi went by.' Now Dihya al-Kalbi was similar in beard, age and face to Gabriel, upon whom be peace.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded on to Banū Qurayza and besieged them for 25 days. When their suffering from the siege grew intense, a message
was sent telling them to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (SAAS). They sought advice from Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir, and he made a sign to them indicating execution. Banū Qurayṣa then said they would accept the authority of Sa'd b. Mu‘ādh. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told them, ‘Then do accept the authority of Sa’d b. Mu‘ādh!’ He was brought to him on a donkey, seated on a saddle stuffed with palm fronds and with his people all around him, who were telling him, ‘Abū ‘Amr, they are your allies and colleagues, your family in times of crisis, people you know well.’ But Sa’d did not respond to them at all, nor did he turn towards them. When he arrived close by the homes of Banū Qurayṣa, he turned to his entourage and said, ‘It’s time for me to disregard any possible criticism in serving God!’”

‘A’isha went on, “Abū Sa‘īd said that when he appeared, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told them, ‘Arise for your master and help him dismount!’ At this ‘Umar commented, ‘Our “master” is God!’ (But) he said, ‘Help him dismount.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘Render your judgement over them.’ Sa’d responded, ‘I decree that their warriors be executed, their offspring be taken captive, and their properties be divided up.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘Your decree accords with the judgement of God and with that of His messenger.’

“Thereupon, Sa’d spoke the following prayer, ‘O God, if you have left for Your prophet any further warfare against Quraysb, then let me remain for it. But if You have now ended the warfare between him and them, then take me to Yourself.’”

‘A’isha went on, “His wound then burst; up to then he had been free of it, nothing being visible except for a small circular spot. He went back to the tent that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had set up for him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) went to him, along with Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. And I swear by Him in whose hands is Muhammad, that I could well differentiate the weeping of ‘Umar from that of Abū Bakr while I was there in my room. They were, as God said, ‘... compassionate among themselves’” (ṣūrat al-Fāṭḥ; XLVIII, v.29).

‘Alqama stated, “I then asked, ‘How did the Messenger of God (SAAS) react?’ ‘A’isha replied, ‘His eyes never wept for anyone. However, if he was deeply moved, he would take hold of his beard.’”

The chain of authorities for this hadith is excellent, and there are testimonials to its veracity from other sources. In it there is the clear statement that Sa’d prayed twice, once before he passed judgement on Banū Qurayṣa, and once thereafter, as we stated earlier. And all praise and credit go to God. We will report, after finishing the narrative, the manner of his death and burial, and the credit to him therefore, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

Ibn Ḳistāḥ stated, “They (Banū Qurayṣa) were then brought down and the Messenger of God (SAAS) imprisoned them in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith, a woman of Banū al-Najjār.”
I comment that the reference is to the daughter of Al-Ḥarith b. Kurz b. Ḥabib b. ʿAbd Shams; she was the wife of Musaylima al-Kadhdhbā, who had by her a son named ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmir b. Kurz.

Ibn Ishaq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) went out into the Medina market and had some trenches dug. Then he sent for Banū Qurayza men to have their heads severed in those trenches. They came out in groups. Among them was that enemy of God Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab, along with Ka'b b. Asad, their leader. They were 600 or 700 in number. Some estimate their number to have been as many as 800 or 900."

I comment that according to al-Layth, quoting Abū al-Zubayr from Jabir, as given above, they numbered 400. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq continued, "As they were being taken in groups to the Messenger of God (SAAS), they asked Ka'b b. Asad, 'Ka'b, what do you think he will do to us?' He replied, 'Will you not understand anywhere? Can't you see that the one calling never stops, and that those of you who go never return? It means, by God, execution!' "This continued until he had finished with them. Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab was brought to him wearing a flowered robe all over which he had made finger-size holes so that it not be taken from him; his hands were drawn up and tied by a rope to his neck. When he looked over at the Messenger of God (SAAS) he said, 'Well, I swear by God, I don't blame myself for being your enemy, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned!' "He then went forward to the men and said, 'O people, there is no harm in the command of God; a decree, fate and a massacre have been written by God against Banī Isrā'īl!' He then sat down and he was struck in the neck. "Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Tha'labi then spoke the verses,

'By your life, I swear that it was not himself that Ibn Akhtab blamed, but whoever abandons God will be abandoned

He strove hard, pushing himself to the limits, exerting himself vigorously to achieve glory.'"

Ibn Ishaq then related the story of al-Zubayr b. Bāṭā, an old man who had become blind. "At the battle of Bu'rath he had been given over to the charge of Thābit b. Qays b. Shamās who had cut off his forelock. On this day Thābit had wanted to repay him," so he went to al-Zubayr and asked, 'Do you know me, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān?' 'Would the like of me not know the like of you?' he responded. Thābit then said, 'I want to pay you back!' 'Well,' replied al-Zubayr, 'an honourable man would repay an honourable man.'

40. Musaylima al-Kadhdhbā, i.e. "the great impostor" of Yamāma and a leader of Banū Ḥanifa, claimed prophethood for himself following the death of the Messenger of God, (SAAS). He was ultimately defeated and killed by the Muslims in 12 AH, supra, p.25n.

41. Ibn Kathir here omits from his narrative the important fact given in Ibn Ishaq's account that al-Zubayr had spared Thābit's life on an earlier occasion, before the coming of Islam.
"Thabit then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked permission to release him, and he did release al-Zubayr b. Baṣa. When he informed him of this, al-Zubayr responded, 'What would an old man who would have no son and no family do with his life?' Thabit then returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked him to restore to the man his wife and his son, and to this he agreed. When he returned to al-Zubayr with this news, the old man now said, 'What's to become of a household in Hijaz that has no property; how could they survive?' Again Thabit went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked that the property of al-Zubayr be released to him, and he did so.

"When he went back and told him this, al-Zubayr asked, 'Thabit, what became of Ka'b b. Asad, whose face was like a Chinese mirror that reflects the faces of the tribe's virgins?' 'He has been killed,' he replied.

"'And what of our vanguard in the attack and our protector in flight, 'Azal b. Shamwâl? 'He has been killed,' Thabit replied.

"'What became of the two counsel' – meaning that of Banu Ka'b b. Qurayza and Banu 'Amr b. Qurayza. 'They have dispersed and been killed,' he replied.

"'I ask you then, Thabit, by your obligation to me, to let me join my own people. There is no good in life for me now that they have gone and I can’t stand postponing joining my loved ones for so long as it would take to fill and empty a bucket being borne along by a camel!' At this Thabit went over to him and cut off his head.

"When al-Zubayr's phrase 'joining my loved ones' reached Abû Bakr, the trusting, he commented, 'He'll meet them, by God, in the fire of hell where he will dwell for ever!'

Ibn Ishaq used the word fayla in his account, to refer to the filling of a bucket; Ibn Hisham said the word should be qabla. Regarding the word used for camel here, nādih, Ibn Hisham said it referred to a camel that bears water used to irrigate date-palms.

Abû Ubayda, however, said that the word refers to the emptying of a bucket.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) had ordered the execution of all of their adults. Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj related to me, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Ťmayr, from 'Atiyya al-Qurayzâ, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that all grown-up Banu Qurayzâ should be executed. I was a youth and since they decided I was not fully grown they let me go.'"

Authorities of all four sunan codices of hadith relate this account from 'Abd al-Malik b. Ťmayr, from 'Atiyya al-Qurayzâ, with similar wording.

Certain scholars make reference to this who maintain that establishing the presence of coarse hair in the genital region proves maturity. Indeed this does constitute maturity in the most authoritative statements on the subject made by al-Shâfi'i.

42. The term used here, ashab al-sunan, refers to the four authoritative codices of hadith from among the šâih collections. Their authors were al-Tirmidhi, Abû Da'ūd, Ibn Majah and al-Nasa'i.
There are some scholars who differentiate Muslim from non-Muslim youths, saying that that can indicate maturity, but only in the case of the latter. This is because a Muslim (youth) may be disadvantaged to some purpose because of that.

Ishāq recounted from Ayyūb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, that Salmā, daughter of Qays, mother of al-Mundhir, had asked the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) to release Rifāʿa b. Shamwāl, who was adult and had taken refuge with her; he had known them before this. He (the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ)), did release him for her. She had said, “Messenger of God, Rifāʿa claims that he will pray and eat camels’ meat.” And so he granted her wish and released him.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, from ʿUrwa, from Aʾisha, who said, “He only executed one of their women. She was talking with me and laughing heartily all the time the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) was executing her menfolk in the market-place. Then a voice called out asking where was so-and-so. She exclaimed, ‘It’s me, by God!’ I asked her, ‘For pity’s sake, what’s wrong?’ She said, ‘I’m to be killed!’ ‘Why?’ I asked. ‘For something I did,’ she told me. Then she was taken away and beheaded.’

The account continues, “Aʾisha used to say, ‘I swear, I’ll never forget how high-spirited she was and how much she laughed when she knew she was to be killed.’”

Imām ʿAbd al-Hamid related this the same way, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāq.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “It was she who had thrown down the millstone on to Khallād b. Suwayd and had killed him.” He is inferring that it was for him that the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) had her executed.

Ibn Isḥāq stated elsewhere, “He named her as Nabāṭa, wife of al-Ḥakam al-Quraṭ.”

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) then divided up among the Muslims the property, wives and children of Banū Qurayṭa, after he had taken out one-fifth. He awarded each horseman three shares, two for the horse and one for its rider. He gave one share to each foot soldier. The horses numbered thirty-six at that battle. This was the first time the booty was divided into division of two shares and the first in which it was divided into five parts.

“The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) dispatched Saʿīd b. Zayd with the captives taken from Banū Qurayṭa to Najd, where he sold them in exchange for horses and weapons. The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) had chosen for himself one of their women, Rayḥāna, daughter of ʿAmr b. Khānafa, of Banū ʿAmr b. Qurayṣa. He stayed intimate with her until he died, she still being at that time in his household. The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) had suggested that she accept Islam, but she had refused. Eventually she did accept Islam and this brought great pleasure to him. He suggested releasing and marrying her, but she chose to
continue in slavery, considering that easier for her. She remained with him until the Messenger of God (SAAS) died."

Ibn Ishāq then commented upon the verses of the Qurʾān that relate to the battle of al-khandaq, from early in surat al-Ahzāb. We have given reference and explanation to that in our Tafsir (Exegesis), and to God be all praise and credit.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Those Muslims martyred in the conflict with Banū Qurayṣa were Khalil b. Suwayd b. Thaʿlabā b. ʿAmr al-Khazrajī, who was crushed when a millstone was cast down on him. They claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘He will receive the reward of two martyrs.’"

I would observe that it was that woman mentioned above, the only woman of Banū Qurayṣa executed, who had thrown the stone down at him. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abū Simān b. Miḥsān b. Hurthān of Banū Asad b. Khuzayma died while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was besieging Banū Qurayṣa; he was buried in their cemetery that (same) day."

THE DEATH OF SAʿD B. MUʿADH, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

It has been related above that Hībbān b. al-ʿAriqa, God damn him, had shot an arrow at him and struck him in the vein of his arm. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then cauterized him with fire and stopped up the wound. Saʿd prayed to God not to make him die before he had been relieved of Banū Qurayṣa. This occurred following their breaking of the pacts and agreements they had made with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and their alignment with the aḥzāb, the enemy clans. When the latter withdrew, dispersing away from Medina, Banū Qurayṣa were totally left to disaster, both on earth and in the after-life. The Messenger of God (SAAS) went to them and besieged them, as told above. When they were in real suffering, beset from all sides, they decided to submit to the authority of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to do with them as ever God wished. He delegated that authority to the chief of Aws, who had been allied with them before the coming of Islam; he was Saʿd b. Muʿadh. Banū Qurayṣa were pleased with this. It is said that they initially gave themselves over to Saʿd’s authority because they had high hopes of his kindness and partiality towards them. They did not know that they were more hateful in his view than the apes and pigs that were their peers! This was because of the intensity of his faith, and his high trust. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent for him; Saʿd was in a tent in the mosque. He was brought on a donkey riding on a soft saddle placed under him because of his injury. When he drew near the tent of the Messenger of God (SAAS), the latter ordered all there to rise for him. It was said that this was so that he would dismount because of the severity of his injury; also it was said

43. The latter part of this paragraph, apparently a paraphrase of Ibn Ishaq’s account, seems to contradict what was stated earlier.
that this was to accord him respect in the presence of those about whom he was to decide, so that he would be more effective in carrying out his judgement. But God knows best.

When he decreed death and captivity for them and God had pleased and satisfied him by relieving him of them, and he had returned to the tent in the mosque accompanied by the Messenger of God (SAAS), he prayed to God the Almighty and Glorious that he have martyrdom. And God had chosen his reward; his wound burst open that night. Blood went on escaping from him until he died. May God be pleased with him.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the Bantū Qurayza affair was concluded, the wound of Sa'd b. Mu'ādh burst open and he died of it, a martyr.

"Mu'ādh b. Rifā'a al-Zurqi related to me as follows, 'It was related to me by whomever you like of my people, that Gabriel, wearing an embroidered turban, came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), when Sa'd b. Mu'ādh was taken late at night. He said, "Muḥammad, who is that dead man for whom the gates of heaven were opened and for whom the throne shook?"

"'The Messenger of God (SAAS) arose hurriedly, dragging his clothing behind him, and went to Sa'd, whom he found to have died; may God be pleased with him.'"

This is how Ibn Ishāq related this.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated in his Dalā'il (The Signs), "Abū 'Abbās Muhammad b. Ya'qūb, from Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allah b. Ḥakam, who said, 'My father and Shu'ayb b. al-Layth related to us as follows, 'Al-Layth b. Sa'd related to us, from Yazid b. al-Hadd, from Mu'ādh b. Rifā'a, from Jābir b. 'Abbās, who said, 'Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked, "Who is that fine worshipper of God who, when he died, had the gates of heaven opened up for him, and for whom the throne moved?"

"He went on, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) went out and found it was Sa'd b. Mu'ādh. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sat down by his grave as he was being buried. While thus seated, he twice recited, subḥāna Allāh, "God be praised". So everyone said the same. He then spoke the words, "Allāhu Akbar! Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great! God is most great!". So everyone spoke the same. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "I was amazed at this fine worshipper who was constrained in his grave until this (time), when he was relieved."'"

Imām Ahmad and al-Nasaʾī related, quoting a line of transmission through Yazid b. 'Abbās, Usāma b. al-Hadd, and Yahyā b. Sa'id, from Mu'ādh b. Rifā'a, from Jābir, who stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to Sa'd the day he died and while he was being buried, 'Praise be to God for this fine man for whom the throne of the All-Merciful moved, and for whom the gates of heaven were opened; he was constrained, and then God released him.'"
Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated, "Muṣṭadh b. Riḍa related to me, from Mahmūd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Amr b. Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘We were there while Saʿd was being buried, in the company of the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ), who spoke the invocation subḥāna Allāh, God be praised, which was repeated by all there. He then said Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great, and everyone joined him in saying this. Then they asked him, ‘Why did you praise God, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘His grave constrained this fine man until God relieved him.’”

Imām Aḥmad related it thus, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhim b. Saʿd, from his father, from Ibn Ishaq.

Ibn Hishām stated, “The figurative meaning of this hadith is shown in Ṭaʿīsha’s words, ‘The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) stated, “The grave constrains; if anyone were to escape from it, it would be Saʿd b. Muṣṭadh.”’

I would comment that this hadith is given by Imām Aḥmad as follows, “Yahyā related to us, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhim, from Nāfi, from Ṭaʿīsha, from the Prophet (ṣaṣṣ), who said, ‘The grave exerts pressure; if anyone were to escape from that, it would be Saʿd b. Muṣṭadh.’”

The line of authorities for this hadith would meet the criteria for the two jāhīh collections, except for the fact that Imām Aḥmad related it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Saʿd b. Ibrāhim, from “a person”, from Ṭaʿīsha.

The ḥāfiz al-Bazzār related it from Nāfi, from Ibn Umar. He said, “ʿAbd al-Alā b. Ḥammād related to us, quoting Dāʾūd, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (who said), “Ubayd Allāh b. Umar related to us, from Nāfi, who quoted Ibn Umar as saying, ‘The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) stated, ‘The day Saʿd b. Muṣṭadh died 70,000 angels descended to earth; they had never before touched the earth came down at the death of Saʿd b. Muṣṭadh.’ And as he was being buried, the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) also said, ‘Praise be to God! if anyone escaped the pressure of the grave, it was Saʿd.’”

Al-Bazzār stated, “Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ related to us, from Muḥammad b. Fudayl, quoting ʿAta b. al-Sāḥib, from Mujahīd, from Ibn Umar, who said, ‘The al-ʿarsh, the throne, shook at the pleasure of God’s meeting Saʿd b. Muṣṭadh.’ It is said that he meant the al-ṣarīr, the couch. (As is the case in the following verse.) ‘And he raised his two parents up on to the al-ʿarsh’ (ṣūrat Yūsuf; XII, v.100). As for the shaking, that referred to its frame. He went on, ‘And the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) went into his grave and stayed there awhile. When he emerged, he was asked, “Messenger of God, what kept you?” He replied, “Saʿd was very
much constrained in the grave; and so I prayed to God, and it was widened for
him.’’’’

Al-Bazzār stated, ‘‘Aṭāʾ b. al-Sāphib was alone in giving this ḥadīth.’’ I would
observe that it was who was being addressed in this matter.

Al-Bayhaqī, may God be pleased with him, following his having told how
constrained Sa’d, God be pleased with him, was by the grave, related a strange
tradition about it. He said, ‘‘Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīẓ related to us, quoting Abū
al-ʿAbbās, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Iṣḥāq,
who said, ‘‘Umayya b. ʿAbd Allāh related to me that he asked some of Sa’d’s
family, ‘What have you heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on this
subject?’ They replied, ‘‘We were told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was
asked about that and said, ‘He’ (Sa’d) ‘would cut short some of the ablutions
for urination.’’’’’

Al-Bukhārī stated, ‘‘Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related to us, quoting al-Fāḍl
b. Musāwir, quoting Abū Muḥāwiya, from al-ʿA’mash, from Abū Sūfyyān, from
Jābir, who said, ‘‘I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) say, ‘The throne shook at the death
of Sa’d b. Muʿādhd.’’’’’

Also from al-ʿA’mash, ‘‘Abū Sāliḥ related to us, from Jābir, from the Prophet
(ṢAAS) the same words. A man asked Jābir, ‘‘How is it that al-ʿAṣārīb b. ʿĀzīz
says (that the statement was) ‘the al-ṣarīr, the couch, shook?’ He (Jābir) replied,
‘‘There was some animosity between these two tribes; I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS)
say, ‘The al-ʿarsh, the throne, of the al-Rahmān, the Merciful One, shook at the
death of Sa’d b. Muʿādhd.’’’’’

Muslim related this, from ʿAmr al-Naqīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs and Ibn
Māja, from ʿAṭī b. Muḥammad, from Abū Muḥāwiya, both of whom quoted
al-ʿA’mash. Their version does not add anything to the account as given by
al-ʿA’mash from Abū Sāliḥ, from Jābir.

Aḥmad stated, ‘‘Abū ʿAbd al-Razzaq related to us, from Ibn Jurayj, ‘‘Abū ʿAbd al-Zubayr
informed me that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, ‘I heard the Messenger of
God (ṢAAS) say, while the bier of Sa’d b. Muʿādhd was there in front of them,
‘The throne of the Merciful One shook for it.’’’’’

Muslim related it from ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd, as did al-Tirmidhī from Maḥmūd
b. Ghaylān, both quoting ʿAbd al-Razzaq.

Imām Aḥmad stated, ‘‘Yaḥyā b. Sa’d related to us, quoting ʿAfīf, quoting Abū Naḍrā (who said) ‘I heard Abū Sa’d quote the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having
said, ‘The throne shook at the death of Sa’d b. Muʿādhd.’’’’’

Al-Nṣāṭ related it from Yaḥyā b. Ibrahīm, from Yaḥyā.

Aḥmad stated, ‘‘Abū al-Wahhāb related to us, from Sa’d, (who quoted) Qatāda
as saying, ‘Anas b. Mālik related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)
said, his bier having been put down, ‘The throne of the Merciful One shook
for it.’’’’’

Muslim related it from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Aẓdī, from ʿAbd
al-Wahhāb.
Al-Bayhaqi narrated from a hadith of al-Mu'tamir b. Sulaymân, from his father, from al-Hasan al-Basri, who said, “The throne of the Merciful One shook with joy for his spirit.”

The hâfiz al-Bazzâr stated, “Zuhayr b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting ‘Abd al-Razzâq, quoting Ma'mar, from Qatâda, from Anas, who said, ‘When Sa'd’s bier was carried, the hypocrites said, “How light his bier is! That’s due to his having passed judgement over Bânû Qurayza.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about this, and he said, “No, but the angels carried him.”’”

(This has) an excellent line of transmission.

Al-Bukhari stated, “Muḥammad b. Bashshâr related to us, quoting Ghandar, quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Ishâq (who said), ‘I heard al-Barâq b. ʿAffâb say, “I was presented with a silk robe for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his Companions began touching it and admiring its softness. He said, ‘Are you admiring the softness of this? The kerchiefs of Sa'd b. Mu'ādth are better than them, or softer.’”’”

He (the source) then said, “Qatâda related this, as did al-Zuhri who reported hearing it from Anas, from the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Aḥmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Wahhāb related to us, from Sa'd, he being the son of Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatâda, from Anas b. Malik, that Uqaydir Dūma made a present of a jubba, a long outer garment, to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); this was before the wearing of silk was prohibited. He put it on and when people admired it, he said, ‘By Him in whose hands is my soul, the kerchiefs of Sa'd in heaven are finer than this!’”

This hadith accords with the criteria of both al-Bukhari and Muslim, but they did not include it. Al-Bukhari, however, quoted it as commentary.

Aḥmad stated that Yazid quoted Muḥammad b. ʿAmr as follows, “Waqqid b. ʿAmr b. Sa'd b. Mu'âdth related to me (and Muḥammad said that Waqqid was one of the finest, best and tallest of men) as follows, ‘I went in to Anas b. Malik and he asked me who I was. I replied that I was Waqqid, son of ʿAmr, the son of Sa'd b. Muâdth. He then said, “You take after Sa'd.” He then wept copiously, saying, “May God grant Sa'd His mercy! He was one of the finest and tallest of men.” He then went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched an army out to fight Uqaydir Dûma, who sent to him a jubba of brocade woven with gold thread. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put it on, went up on to the minbar, the pulpit, and sat down without speaking. He then came down again. People felt and gazed admiringly at the jubba, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, ‘So you admire this then? The kerchiefs of Sa'd b. Mu'âdth in heaven are much finer than what you can now see.’”’”

Al-Tirmidhi related it thus, as did al-Nasa'i, from a hadith of Muḥammad b. ʿAmr. Al-Tirmidhi classified it as hasan saḥîh, “good and authentic”.

After making reference to the throne having shaken after the death of Sa'd b. Mu'âdth, Ibn Ishâq went on to quote a line of verse from one of the anšâr, the Helpers:
“The only person whose death we ever heard caused the throne of God to shake was Sa’d b. Mu’adh.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “His mother – Kubaysha, daughter of Râfi’ b. Mu‘awiya b. ‘Ubayd b. Tha‘lab b. Khudariyya al-Khazrajiiyya, that is – spoke the following elegy when Sa’d was being borne away on his bier,

‘Sa’d’s mother grieves for Sa’d, the fierce and impetuous, 
A man of leadership and glory, an eager knight. 
He would fill every breach, active in cutting off enemy heads.’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘All mourning women exaggerate – except for she who mourned for Sa’d b. Mu’adh!’”

I would comment that Sa’d’s death came some 25 days after the withdrawal of the ahzâb, the enemy clans. They had assembled in Shawwâl of 5 AH, as is told above, and remained there for approximately 1 month. Thereafter, the Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth and besieged Banû Qurayza for some 25 days. They then accepted the authority of Sa’d, who died shortly after he had passed judgement on them. This would have occurred at the end of Dhū al-Qâ’da or early in Dhū al-Hijja of 5 AH. But God knows best.

Similarly, Muhammad b. Ishq stated, “The conquest of Banû Qurayza took place in Dhū al-Qâ’da and the beginning of Dhū al-Hijja. The polytheists took charge of that pilgrimage.”

Ibn Ishaq stated that Hassân b. Thâbit spoke the following verses eulogizing Sa’d b. Mu’adh, may God be pleased with him,

“My tears descended in a stream, and it was right for my eyes that they should weep for Sa’d. 
Lying dead, prostrate on a battlefield. Eyes grieving at his loss flowed copiously, in constant pain. 
A member of the religion of the Merciful, he will inherit paradise along with the (other) martyrs; theirs is the most noble of groups. 
Even though you have said good-bye to us and left us and went into the dust of the dark grave. 
You have, Sa’d, through your noble martyrdom, gone back (to God) clothed in finery and glory. 
By your judgement on both Qurayza tribes with what God had decreed, you did not decide wilfully. 
The decree of God matched your judgement on them; you did not absolve them when you were reminded of a former pact. 
Even though fate has placed you with those others who exchanged this life for heaven’s eternal gardens
IMAM ABU AL-FIDA’ ISMA’IL IBN KATHIR

Happy is the end of the trustworthy who one day are called to God in honour and glory.”

Section: Poetry spoken on the battles of al-khandaq and Banu Qurayza.

Al-Bukhari stated, “Hajjaj b. Minhal related to us, quoting Shu’ba, quoting ‘Adi b. Thabit, as saying that he heard al-Bara’ b. ‘Azib state, “The Prophet (SAAS) told Hassan, “Satirize them; and Gabriel is with you!””

Al-Bukhari also said, “Additional material was given by Ibrahim b. Tahman, from al-Shaybani, from ‘Adi b. Thabit, from al-Bara’ b. ‘Azib, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS), at the battle of Qurayza, told Hassan b. Thabit, “Satirize the polytheists, for Gabriel is with you.””

Al-Bukhari also related this, as did Muslim and al-Nasawi, with lines of transmission from Shu’ba, but without the addition related above by al-Bukhari.

Ibn Ishaq, may God have mercy on him, stated, “Dirar b. al-Khattab b. Mirdas, brother of Banu Mu‘ahrib b. Fihr, spoke the following on the battle of al-khandaq.”

I would add that this was prior to the acceptance by Dirar of Islam.

“Many were the sympathetic women who doubted us, though we commanded a formidable force.

Its size was almost as large as Mt. Uhud when the onlooker saw its dimensions.

You saw their short armour amply fitting their heroes and their tough leather shields.

And their fast horses charging like arrows we aimed at the misguided sinners.

It was as if, when we and they charged, they were shaking hands with us, at the entry to the trenches.

Men among whom you could find not one wise, even though they would ask, ‘Are we not rightly-guided?’

We besieged them for an entire month, standing above them like conquerors.

We attacked them morning and evening every day, fully accoutred in our armour.

With sharp, cutting swords in our hands, we used them to slice their skulls and head-bones.

The gleam of their drawn blades shining in the hands of those who unsheathed them was like the flash of lightning on clouds brightening the night that you would see with full clarity.

Had it not been for the trench where they were, we would have demolished them all.

It, however, protected them; they took refuge with it from us for fear of us.
Even though we withdrew, we left Sa'd laying dead by your tents.

When darkness came, you could hear the women chanting their lamentation for Sa'd.

We will revisit you shortly, assisting one another as we did before,

A group of men of Kināna who will not be unarmed, acting like lions of the forest, defending their dens.”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “He was answered by Ka'b b. Malik, brother of Banū Salama, may God be pleased with him,

‘Many were the questioning women who asked us how we battled, though if they had been witness to it they would have seen us stand firm.

We did stand fast, seeing nothing equal to God against what faced us, relying on Him.

On our side was the Prophet, a trustworthy ally; with him we can overcome all mankind.

We were fighting a people who did wrong and were disrespectful and who were waiting a chance to attack us.

When they arose against us, we fought them hard with blows that destroyed the over-hasty.

The women would have seen us in full, long chain-mail gleaming like streams in the desert,

Bearing light swords in our hands with which to puncture the zeal of the trouble-makers.

At the entrance to the trenches like lions whose thickets protect their dens.

And our cavalry attacking by morning and evening gazed at the enemy in disdain and wore insignia

In support of Ahmad and God, so that we may be sincere in worship of truth.

And the people of Mecca should know when they travel, and the tribes who came in clans,

That God has no partner, and that God is the Lord of those who believe.

Though you may have killed Sa'd impudently, God it is who best determines.

He will enter him in fine gardens which shall be the abode of the righteous,

Just as He repelled you, defeated, in flight, for all your anger, shamed and in failure.

Shamed, you gained no good there, and came close to being destroyed.

By a gale that blew upon you so that you were rendered blind beneath it.”
Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allāh b. al-Zibārā al-Sahmi spoke the following verses on the battle of al-khandaq."

I would add that this poet had not yet accepted Islam.

"Greetings to a home whose features have been obliterated by lengthy neglect and the passage of time. It is as though Jews had written their tracing, except for the corrals and tent pegs.

A wasteland, as though you had not sported there, pleasantly, with girls of your own age.

Think no more of a life now gone and a place in ruins and abandoned.

And remember with thanks the trials of those people who went out together past the stone monuments,"

The monuments at Mecca, heading for Yathrib, multi-voiced, numerous, many in number.

Avoiding the high ground and usual routes in all the heights and passes

Leading along with them their lean steeds, their bellies thin, their flanks trim,

All offspring of long-bodied mares and stallions, (moving stealthily) like a lion attacking an inattentive watchman.

An army with whose banner Uyayna led, while Sākhr commanded the ahzāb, the clans.

Two leaders, splendid like full moons, in them the rescue of the poor, the refuge of those in flight

Until when they arrived in Medina and dressed for death, bearing sharp swords.

For a month and ten days they fought Muḥammad, his Companions in the fighting being the very best.

They announced their withdrawal that morning, and you said, 'This has almost finished us off!'

Had it not been for the trenches, they would have left their forces lying dead, the prey for birds and wolves."

Ibn Ishāq continued, "He was answered by Ḥassān b. Thābit, God be pleased with him,

'Do the effaced remains of a deserted campsite respond to one who addresses them?

A wasteland, its traces wiped away by frequent rain and constant gusts of wind?

There I once saw dwellings made lovely by fresh-faced women of high ancestry.

44. Presumably the stone markers delineating the holy areas of Mecca.
But enough reminiscence of fair maidens, sweet-talking and full-breasted,
And complain to God of your cares and what you think of a people who maltreated the Messenger in anger.
Who attacked him en masse, gathering townsmen and bedouin tribesmen to fight,
An army including Quyayna and Ibn Ḥarb, combining with the cavalry of the clans.
And when they arrived at Medina, they hoped to kill the Messenger and to gain much plunder.
They attacked us in the morning with all their strength but were repelled into retreat for all their rage
By a gale that broke them apart and by the forces of your Lord, the Lord of Lords.
God spared the believers their doing battle and assured them the greatest of rewards
After they had despaired; the sending down of our generous Lord’s assistance broke them apart.
He gave relief to Muḥammad and to his Companions and disgraced all the doubting defamers.
Hard in heart, aggressive, doubt-filled, disbelieving men, impure.
May failure cling to them, for they maintained their disbelief until the end.’’

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Kaḥb b. Mālik also answered him, saying,
‘The battles have given us to keep the finest gift of our bountiful Lord
White forts, well-watered camel pastures, dark green, where milk is plentiful.
(Abundant) as lava fields, their bounty and plenty goes to neighbour, relative and guest
With captured horses as swift as light, raised on barley and cut fodder.
Their feet unshod, firm-fleshed, lean of body and legs
Long-necked, responding eagerly to the call, like hunting dogs obeying their master
Now circling the grazing livestock and then bringing down the enemy and retrieving the kill,
Chasing wild beasts, light-footed, in war, grim in battle, their pedigree evident,
Fed with kindness and so well-bodied and fleshed, but slim bellied.
They (the warriors) arrive wearing double-meshed coats of mail and bearing strong, accurate spears.
And sharp swords, their tarnish removed by the polishers, borne by fine men of high birth.
His right hand gripping a slim spear at the ready, its making entrusted to Khabbab.  
There is a bright blue in the spear and it is like a flaring flame in the dark of night,  
A squadron whose chain-mail repels the arrows and turns aside their blows,  
Dark red, all gathered together, as though their spears in each engagement were a forest on fire,  
Heading for the shade of the banner as though they were an eagle’s shadow, a straight lance of al-Khaṭṭ.  
Their heroism overcame Abū Karib, Tubba’ and the bedouins.  
It was admonitions from our Lord that guided us, through the tongue of one splendid and good.  
They were presented before us and we wanted to remember them after they were set out before the clans,  
Wise words that the criminals thought too severe but men of wisdom understand.  
_Sakhina came to defeat their Lord, but those seeking to overcome the All-Conquering will be overcome!”_

Ibn Hishām stated, “Someone I trust related to me, quoting ‘Abd al-Malik b. Yahyā b. ‘Abbad b. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘When he heard this verse from him, he said, “O Kaḇ, God thanks you for having spoken those lines!”’

I would comment that by the above word _sakhina_ Quraysh were meant. The Arabs would use this word, meaning “hot”, in referring to them because of their liking for eating hot food, unusual for the desert dwellers. But God knows best.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “Kaḇ b. Malik also spoke the following verses,

‘May he who enjoys the clash of battle when its noise resembles that of the crackling of flaming reeds  
Come to a battle site where swords were whetted, between al-Madhād and the trench’s sides.  
They were skilled in striking at the emblazoned knights and entrusted their lives to the Lord of the East  
In a force God employed to aid His prophet, and He was gracious to His servant thereby.  
They all wore suits of armour the full lengths of which rippled like wind on the surface of a pool.  
Of white, finely-wrought steel, its rivets (protruding) like locusts’ eyes in the tight-woven links.  
Held up by the belt of an Indian-crafted sword, its steel pure, sharp and shining.  
That along with our piety, was our dress on the day of the battle, and every hour a trial.
If our swords were unable to reach we would step forward to make them do so.

And you could see skulls with their tops exposed, as well as hands severed as though never created.

We met the foe with a strong, united force that drove off their army as though heading for the heights of Mt. al-Mashriq.

We prepared against the enemy every light-bodied, white-footed piebald horse,

Swiftly bearing riders whose steeds seemed in the fray as (speedy) as lions on a damp hillside.

Trusted steeds which bring death to the brave from deadly spears amidst the dust.

God ordered that the horses be tied to his enemy in the warfare; God is indeed the best to bring success.

That they should harass the enemy and protect the homes if the evil-doers’ cavalry approached.

God the Almighty aided us with His power and reliable endurance at the time we met them.

We obey the order of our Prophet and respond to him; if He calls us to an unpleasant task, we are not to be outpassed.

When there is a summons to engage in dangerous acts, we attend them, and when we see fighting rage, we take part.

Those following the Prophet’s words (are right), for among us his orders are obeyed, and He is fully believed.

By that He will give us aid and show our glory and ensure thereby that we achieve a pleasant life.

Those who deny Muhammud are disbelievers and have strayed from the path of the God-fearing.’”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “Kab b. Malik also spoke the following,

“The clans well knew, when they joined against us and attacked our faith, that we would not give up

Joint forces of Qays b. Aylan and Khindif united, but they did not know what was going to happen.

They seek to turn us from our religion, while we seek to turn them from disbelief; and the All-Merciful sees and hears.

When they stormed against us in battle, broad help from God helped us against their rage;

That was God’s grace and protection for us; and whomever God does not protect is lost.

He led us to the religion of the truth, and chose it for us; and God has deeds above those of all others.”’"
Ibn Hisham commented, “These verses are in a qaṣīda of his” – by which he meant a long ode.

Ibn Ishaq continued, “Ḥassān b. Thabit spoke the following lines on the execution of Banū Qurayṣa,

‘Qurayṣa encountered what harmed them and found no aid against disgrace. 
Disaster hit them equal to that which struck Banū al-Naḍīr
That day when the Messenger of God came down at them like the light-giving moon.
He had eager horses bearing riders like eagles.
We left them having gained nothing, their blood smeared on them like perfume,
Prostrate, vultures circling above them; thus are the evil and obstinate paid back.
So warn Quraysh of the like from the All-Merciful, if they will take my advice.’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Ḥassān b. Thabit also spoke the following verses about Banū Qurayṣa,

‘A people who helped Quraysh had made a pact, and they shall find no aid in their land.
The Book was brought them, but they neglected it; they are blind to the Torah, ruined.
You disbelieved in the Qurʾān, though you had been brought proof of what the Warner spoke
But the leaders of Banū Luʿayy ignored the great conflagration at al-Buwayra.’

“Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarith b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib answered him as follows,

‘May God eternalize such a deed as that! And may the fire blaze on in its parts!
You shall learn which of us is sin-free, and the lands of which of us it will harm.
If the palm trees there had been riders, they would have told you, “There’s no place for you here, so leave!”’”

I comment that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarith spoke this verse before he accepted Islam. Some of these lines are also given by al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishaq recorded also the response of Ḥassān on this subject addressed to Jabal b. Jawwāl al-Thaʿlabi; that we have purposely omitted.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Ḥassān b. Thabit also spoke the following eulogizing Saʿd and those men who achieved martyrdom fighting Banū Qurayṣa,
'My people, is there defence against matters ordained? And will good times now gone ever return? I remembered a time now gone, my emotions were disturbed and my tears flowed down. The pain of sorrow reminded me of brethren and of dead now gone, including Tūfayl and Rāfī. And Sa'd; they are in paradise, while their homes are empty and the earth a waste-land without them. At the battle of Badr they were loyal to the Messenger, while above them were the shades of death and flashing swords. He called, and they responded properly, all of them responsive and obedient to every command. They did not withdraw until all were gone; and it is only battles that shorten a life-span. For they hope for intercession from him, at a time when only prophets will intercede. And so that, O best of worshippers, was our brave action, our response to God while death awaited. We made the first step towards You, while behind us in God's religion others will follow our first. We know that dominion is God's alone, and that God's decree will surely prevail.'

ON THE EXECUTION OF ABŪ RĀFI' SALLĀM B. ABŪ AL-ḤUQAYQ THE JEW, GOD DAMN HIM, IN A FORTRESS OF HIS AT KHAYBAR. HE WAS A WELL-KNOWN MERCHANT OF HIJĀZ.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “When the battle of al-khandaq and the Banū Qurayṣa affair were over, the matter of Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, he being known as Abū Rāfī', arose. He was one of those who had gathered the clans against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Prior to the Battle of Uḥud, Aws had killed Ka'b b. al-Ashraf and so the Khazraj asked permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to kill Sallām b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar, and he agreed. “Muḥammad b. Musallam al-Zuhri related to me as follows, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Ka'b b. Malik as having said, ‘God had so ordered it for His messenger (ṢAAS) that Aws and Khazraj used to compete with one another like two stallions. If Aws ever accomplished something for him, then Khazraj would not want this to give them any advantageous position with him over themselves. So they would strive hard to achieve something similar. And when Khazraj accomplished something, Aws would say the same. “When Aws struck down Ka'b b. al-Ashraf for his enmity to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Khazraj determined that Aws would have no advantage with him over themselves thereby. And so they asked themselves who had expressed...
an enmity similar to that of Ibn al-Ashraf; they thought of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who was at Khaybar. They therefore asked permission of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to kill him, and he agreed.

"Five men of Khazraj, of Banū Salama, then set out to do this. They were 'Abd Allah b. 'Atik, Mas'ūd b. Sinān, 'Abd Allah b. Unays, Abī Qatāda al-Ḥarīth b. Rib'i, and Khuza'a b. Aswād, an ally of theirs from Banū Aslām. The Messenger of God (SAAS) placed 'Abd Allah b. 'Atik in command of them and told them to refrain from killing any woman or children.

"It was night when they arrived at the compound of Ibn Abī al-Ḥuqayq. They took care to close all the doors upon those who lived there. He himself was in an upper chamber reached by a ladder. They climbed it, reached his door and asked to come in. His wife came out to them and asked who they were. They replied that they were bedouin seeking supplies. She told them they had come to the right man and let them in."

The account proceeds, "When we went in, we shut him and ourselves inside the room, fearing someone might interfere between us. His wife screamed and gave him warning about us, but we set upon him with our swords while he was still in bed. I swear it was only his whiteness – like that of a Coptic dress lying there – that showed us where he was in the black of the night. As his wife screamed, we raised our swords to her, but remembered what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had forbidden and lowered them again. We would otherwise have killed her too that night. As we struck him with our swords, 'Abd Allah b. Unays plunged his into his stomach and pierced him through, as he said the words, "Qatī! Qatī!" "That's enough! That's enough!"

"Then we left. 'Abd Allah b. 'Atik had poor sight and he fell off the ladder and severely sprained his arm. We carried him off into a water channel at one of their wells. They (Ṣallām's people) lit torches and chased all around looking for us, but gave up and assembled around him as he expired.

"We wondered how we could ascertain that he had died, so one of us suggested that he would go back to see. He mingled with those there and reported how he had seen her – Sallām's wife – holding a torch and telling people as she looked into his face, "I swear, I heard the voice of Ibn 'Atik. But then I told myself I must be wrong, because there was no way he could be in these parts!" She then went close and, looking into his face, said, "He's dead, by the God of the Jews!" And I swear, I never heard words sweeter to me than those!

"When he returned and told us this, we carried our companion away and reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS) the death of God's enemy. When with him, we argued over which of us had actually killed him, each of us claiming it. He then said, "Hand me your swords." When we did so, he examined them and said of the sword of 'Abd Allāh b. Anis, "This one killed him; I can see food traces on it."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Hassān b. Ṭhabīt spoke the following verses on this,
'God has credit for that band you met, Ibn al-Ḥuqayq, and you too, Ibn al-Ashraf. They attacked you bearing light swords, as lively as lions in thick brush. They reached you in your own town and made you taste death with swift swords. Seeking victory for their prophet's religion, belittling every difficulty.'

This, then, is the account as given by Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq, may God have mercy on him.

Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhārī stated, "Ishāq b. Naṣr related to us, quoting Yahya b. Adam, quoting Ibn Abū Zaʿida, from his father, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ b. ʿAzib, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent a group of men to attack Abū Rāfīʾ. Abū Allāh b. ʿAtik entered his house at night while he slept and killed him."

Al-Bukhārī also narrated, "Yūsuf b. Mūsā related to us, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out some men of the ansār to attack Abū Rāfīʾ, the Jew. He appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtik in charge of them. Abū Rāfīʾ had been doing harm to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and assisting his enemies. He was inside a fort he owned in Hijāz. When they drew near him, by which time the sun had set and the people were taking their livestock inside, ʿAbd Allāh told his companions, "Sit down here, and I'll go off and play a trick on the gatekeeper to get inside." He then went on, close to the gate, where he shielded himself with his clothing as though relieving himself, the other residents already having gone inside. The gatekeeper called out to him to come on inside since he wanted to close the gate."

(ʿAbd Allāh's account went on), "So I went in and hid. When everyone was inside, he locked the gate and hung the keys on a peg. I then took them and opened the gate. Abū Rāfīʾ was entertaining in an upstairs room of his. When his guests left, I went on up to him, closing each door behind me from the inside, determined that if they spotted me they would not reach me before I killed him. "When I reached his chambers, he was inside a ḥāgh, a dark apartment, but I did not precisely know his whereabouts. So I called out, "Abū Rāfīʾ?" "Who's there?" he asked. I then hurried towards the voice and struck out at him with my sword. But I was confused and accomplished nothing, while he shouted out. So I left the chamber and went a little off, then came back in again, asking, "What was that sound, Abū Rāfīʾ?" He replied, "Woe on your mother, I swear, there's a man in the house who just hit me with a sword!" At that I hit him hard once more but still did not kill him. Then I put the tip of my sword into his stomach until it reached his back. I then knew I had killed him. After that I opened the doors again, one by one, and reached a stairway. When I put my foot down,
thinking I had finished (climbing down) I fell. It was a moon-lit night. I broke my leg but tied it up with a turban and went on as far as the gate, where I sat, telling myself I should not leave until I knew I had killed him. At the cock’s crow the death-announcer got up on a wall and shouted, “I lament the death of Abū Raḍī, saviour of the people of Hijāz.” I then left to join my companions, telling them, “Let’s go! God has killed Abū Raḍī!” When I reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, he said, “Stretch out your leg!” I did so and he touched it. And it was as if it had never caused me pain!”

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “Aḥmad b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥaṭḥim al-Awdī related to us, quoting Shurayḥ, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf, from his father, from Aḥmad b. ʿIshāq, who said he heard al-Barāʾ say, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent out ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAtīk, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Uṭba, along with others, against Abū Raḍī. When they drew near the fortress, ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿAtīk told them to wait while he went on ahead.’” (He recounted), “I played a trick to get inside the fortress. They could not find a donkey of theirs and went out with a lantern to find it. I was afraid I would be discovered, so I concealed my head and crouched as though relieving myself. He (the gatekeeper) called out, “Whoever wants to go in should do so before I lock the gate.” So I went inside then hid in a donkey stall at the fortress gate. There were people dining with Abū Raḍī and they kept on conversing with him until it was night. Then they went home.

“When the voices died down and I could hear no movement, I came out. I saw where the gatekeeper had placed the key to the fortress, in a niche, and I took it. So I used it to open the door, telling myself I would quietly sneak out if people detected me. I then barred the doors of all their dwellings from the outside.

“After that I climbed a ladder up to Abū Raḍī and found his apartment dark, the lantern having been extinguished. I did not know where the man was, so I called out his name. When he responded, I made for the voice and struck him. He cried out, but my blow did no injury. Later I came back to him as though to help him and, disguising my voice, asked him, “What’s wrong, Abū Raḍī?” He replied, “Woe on your mother! A man came in to me and struck me with a sword!” I then made for him and struck him again, but once more to no avail. He shouted out and aroused his family. After that I again returned, changing my voice as though coming to help. He was lying on his back. So I placed my sword on his stomach and leaned on it until I heard the sound of (it striking) bone. I then left, in some confusion, found my way to the ladder I wanted to descend, but I fell off it and dislocated my leg. I bandaged it and went on to my companions, limping. I told them, “Get going! Tell the Messenger of God, the good news! I’ll not leave until I hear the announcement of his death.” When dawn broke, the announcer climbed up and lamented the death of Abū Raḍī. So I got up and left, feeling no pain, and rejoined my companions before they reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and I told him the good news.””
Al-Bukhārī, alone of the authors of the six canonical books of tradition, related this text. He then went on, “Al-Zuhri stated, Ubayy b. Ka'b said, ‘So they went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was on the minbār, the pulpit, at the time. He asked, ‘Are faces happy?’ They replied, ‘May yours be, Messenger of God!’ ‘Did you slay him?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. ‘Hand me the sword,’” he asked. He unsheathed it and then said, “Yes, that’s his food on the tip of the sword.’”

I would comment that it is likely that when ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atik fell from the ladder that he dislocated his shank and sprained his foot and his leg. When he bound it up, it had the immediate effect of calming the pain. And when he wanted to walk, he was aided (by unseen forces) for he was engaged in a beneficial exercise. When he reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and came to a rest, the pain in his leg again flared up. When he stretched it out and the Messenger of God (SAAS) touched it, that took away the pain there had been, as well as what he might have expected there would be thereafter. This would reconcile the former and latter accounts. But God knows best.

In this regard, Mūsā b. Uqba related in his maghāzi, his work on the military engagements, an account similar to that of Muhammad b. Ishaq. He named the group of men who took part therein as those stated by Ibn Ishaq, Ibrāhim and Abū Ubayd.

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THE EXECUTION OF KHĀLID B. SUFYĀN B. NUBAYH AL-HUDHALI.

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqī gave this account in Dalā’il (The Signs) following that of Abū Raﬁ'.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya‘qūb related to him that his father quoted Ibn Ishaq as saying, “Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from Ibn ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays, from his father, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) called for me and said, ‘I have been informed that Khalid b. Sufyān b. Nubayh al-Hudhali is gathering a force of men to attack me. He is at Urāna. Go to him and kill him.’” I replied, “Messenger of God, please describe him to me so that I can recognize him.” “When you see him”, he replied, “you’ll tremble.”

“So I left, bearing my sword; I came upon him at Urāna where he had litter-borne women for whom he had sought a campsite. When it was time for the al-ṣaṣr prayer – and I had experienced that shivering that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had described for me when I should see him – I went towards him. As I did so, I was worried that some conflict might develop between us that would preoccupy me from performing the prayer. So I prayed as I walked towards him, nodding my head for the prayer bows and prostrations. When I reached him, he said, “And who might you be?” I replied, “I’m a bedouin Arab who has heard of you and of your gathering a force against that fellow, and I’ve therefore come to you.” He replied, “Yes, I am engaged in that.” I then accompanied him a while until, when I could, I attacked him with my
sword and killed him. I then departed, leaving his women all crouched over him.

“When I reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he saw me, he asked, “Happy, I hope?” I replied, “I’ve killed him, Messenger of God!” “You spoke true,” he said. He then arose with me, entered his house and presented me with a stick, saying, “Keep this with you, ‘Abd Allah b. Unays.”

“So I took it and went outside where people asked me what it was. I replied that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had given it to me and had told me to keep it. They then suggested I return to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and ask him to explain about that. So I did go back and asked him why he had given me the stick. He replied, “It is a sign between yourself and me for Judgement Day. There will be very few that day with something to lean upon.””

The account continues, “‘And so ‘Abd Allah attached it to his sword and it was always with him until, upon his death, it was included in his winding sheet and he and it were buried together.’”


Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Mūsā b. Uqba relate this story without a full line of transmission in their works on the maghāzī. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishām stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Unays spoke the following verses on his execution of Khālid b. Sufyān,

‘I left Ibn Thawr like a camel foal still connected to its mother, while around him hired weepers rent their clothes to shreds.

I engaged him, while the camel litter was at my back and his, with a sword formed from fine, molten steel,

Well-tested by the heads of armoured men, as though a flame in a dark night from a flaring fire.

I told him, as my sword bit into his head, “I am Ibn Unays, a knight, no coward I.

I am the son of him whose like fate never produced, a man who welcomed all, a generous host.”

I told him, “Take that, the blow of a noble, gracious man who follows the religion of the Prophet Muḥammad;

If the Prophet is concerned about a disbeliever, I race towards him, raising voice and hand.”’”
I comment that his full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays b. Ḥarām, Abū Yaḥyā al-Juhānī; he was a famous and highly-regarded saḥābi, “Companion”. He was present at the al-ʿAqaba pledge, and participated in the battles of Uhud, al-khandaq and later ones. His death occurred late in life, while he was in Syria, at age 80, as is well known. It is also said that he died in the year 54 AH. But God knows best. ʿAli b. al-Zubayr and Khalīfa b. Khayyāt differentiated him from ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays Abū ʿIsā, the anṣārī; it was he who related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed at Uhud over a vessel containing water and its spout opened and he drank from it. This was what Abū Dāʿūd and al-Tirmidhī related through ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmārī, from ʿIsā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays, from his father. Al-Tirmidhī then stated, “But its chain of authorities is not reliable; and ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUmārī is a weak source with regard to his memory.”

The Story of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and the Negus, after the battle of al-khandaq, and how ʿAmr accepted Islam.

Ibn Ishāq related the following after his account of the killing of Abū Raftā. ʿYazid b. Abū Ḥabīb related to me, from Rashīd, freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafī, from Ḥabīb b. Aws, as follows, “ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ related to me directly, saying, “When we left with the aḥzāb, the clans, after the battle of al-khandaq, I gathered some Quraysh who thought as I did and respected my opinion and told them, ‘You know how I think that the Muḥammad affair is escalating badly. You know my opinion; what is yours?’”’ “How do you mean?’ they asked. “‘Well,’ I went on, ‘I think we should join the Negus and stay with him. If Muḥammad defeats our people, we’ll be there with the Negus, and we’d prefer to be under his authority than that of Muḥammad. If our people prevail, they already know us, and we’ll experience nothing but good from them.’ “‘They responded, ‘That’s a (good) opinion.’ “‘I then said, ‘Let’s gather something to present to him.’ The gift he liked most from our country was leather, so we collected a large quantity of it for him. “‘After that we left and joined him. While we were there with him, ʿAmr b. Umayya al-ʿĀmārī arrived; the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him to the Negus concerning Jaʿfar and his companions. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my friends, ‘That’s ʿAmr b. Umayya; if I were to go in to the Negus and asked him to give him over to me, he would do so and I could kill him. And if I did that Quraysh would know that I was acting for them in killing Muḥammad’s envoy.’” “He went on, “So I went in and bowed as was my custom. He greeted me, saying, ‘Welcome to my friend! Did you bring me a gift from your country?’ I replied, ‘Yes, O king. I’ve brought you a lot of leather.’ I then gave it to him and
he was delighted. After that I asked him, '0 king, I saw a man who just left your
presence; he is the envoy of a man who is our enemy. Give him over to me, so
that I may kill him. He has killed some of our leaders and nobles.'

""But he became enraged; he put out his hand and struck his nose with it so
hard I thought he broke it. If the earth had opened up, I would have willingly
gone inside!

""Then I said, '0 king, if I had known this would displease you, I would
never have asked it of you.'

""He responded, 'Do you ask me to hand over to you the envoy of a man to
whom the nāmūs al-akbar, "the archangel Gabriel" comes, the one who used to
come to Moses, so you could kill him?'

""I asked, 'Is that how he is, 0 king?' 'Woe on you, 'Amr,' he replied; 'obey
me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right. He will certainly overcome
all those who oppose him just as Moses son of 'Imrān defeated Pharoah and
his troops.'

""I asked, 'Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?'

""Yes,' he replied, stretching out his hand. I then declared to him my
allegiance to Islam.

""After that I went out to my companions, my attitude towards Islam
now completely different from what it had been. I concealed from them my
having accepted Islam and then left, heading for the Messenger of God (SAAS),
to become a Muslim. I met Khalid b. al-Walid – that being before the conquest
of Mecca – while he was coming from Mecca. I asked him, 'Where are you
headed, Abū Sulaymān?' He replied, 'I swear by God, the way has become clear.
The man really is a prophet. I am going to accept Islam; until when (should
I delay)?' I then told him, 'I swear by God, I myself have only come to accept
Islam!'

""So we went to Medina to see the Prophet (SAAS). Khalid arrived first,
accepted Islam and declared his allegiance. I went up to him and said, 'Messenger
of God, I pledge allegiance to you on condition that you forgive me all my past
sins, without reference to what is yet to come.'

""The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'Amr, do pledge, for Islam
erases all before it, just as the Hijra erased all that preceded it.'

""I then made my pledge to him and left.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "A reliable source related to me that Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b.
Abū Ṭalḥa was with them both and accepted Islam at the same time. 'Abd Allāh
b. Abū al-Zibārā? al-Sahmī then spoke the verses,

'I refer Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa (to what is behind us) (or to
our pact) and to the place at al-Muqabbal where people
cast their sandals.

And to all the pacts our forefathers made, and Khalid
is not absolved of the like as well.
Is it the key to a house you do not possess that you desire;" yet what could you more desire than a house of ancient glory?

Do not trust Khalid hereafter, not ʿUthmān; they have caused a calamity."

I observe that their acceptance of Islam came after the Ḥudaybiyya truce. This is evident because on that occasion Khalid b. al-Walid was in the polytheist cavalry, as will be related. It would have been more appropriate to refer thereafter to his acceptance of Islam. But I have related it here since Imām Muḥammad b. Ishāq, God be pleased with him, did so. This is because the first departure of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ to the Negus did occur after the battle at al-khandaq; it is clear that he went there for the remainder of the year 5 AH. But God knows best.

Chapter: The Marriage of the Prophet (SAAS) to Umm Ḥabiba, daughter of Abū Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqi related following the battle of al-khandaq, quoting al-Kalbī from Abū Šāliḥ from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said with relation to the words of the Almighty, “Perhaps God will bring about friendship between you and those of them you consider enemies” (ṣūrat al-Mumtaḥana; LX, v.7). “This relates to the marriage of the Prophet (SAAS) to Umm Ḥabiba, daughter of Abū Sufyān; she thus became the ʿumm al-muʾminin, the ‘mother of the believers,’” while Muʿāwiya (son of Abū Sufyān), became the khal al-muʾminin, the ‘uncle of the believers.’"

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, “Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥafīz recounted to us, quoting Ahmad b. Najda, quoting Yahyā b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, quoting Ibn al-Mubārak, from Maʾmār, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, who said that Umm Ḥabiba was with ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh who had gone to the Negus and had died. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had then arranged marriage with Umm Ḥabiba while she was there in Abyssinia, and the Negus had arranged this, giving her a dowry of 4,000 dirhams which he had taken to her by Shurāḥbīl b. Ḥasana; it was he who provided her trousseau, the Messenger of God (SAAS) not sending her anything. He said, “The dowry provided for the wives of the Prophet (SAAS) used to be 400 (dirhams).”

I would comment that in fact the dowries of the Prophet (SAAS) were 12 awqiyya and 1 nash (of gold); and the wuqya was worth 40 dirhams, while the nash was worth one-half (a wuqya). That totals 500 dirhams.

Al-Bayhaqi then recounted through Ibn Lahī’a, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa, that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh died a Christian in Abyssinia. The next to marry Umm Ḥabiba was the Messenger of God (SAAS); it was ʿUthmān b. Ṭallāḥ, God be pleased with him, who arranged her marriage to him.

45. ʿUthmān b. Ṭallāḥ was in charge of the keys of the kaʿba.
46. The honorific title given to the wives of the Prophet (SAAS).
I comment that the conversion to Christianity of 'Ubayd Allah b. Jahsh has been described above. That occurred after he had migrated to Abyssinia with the Muslims. There Satan subverted him and made Christianity seem attractive to him, and he therefore embraced it until he died. May God curse him! He used to mock the Muslims by telling them, "We see clearly; your eyes are still half closed!" Reference to this is made above relating to the migration to Abyssinia."

Urwā's statement above, "It was Uthmān who arranged the marriage for him," is strange. This is because Uthmān had returned to Mecca before this, and then migrated to Medina, accompanied by his wife Ruqayya, as is related above. But God knows best.

What is authentic is the account of Yūnus, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, "I was informed that the man who arranged her marriage was her cousin Khalīd b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ."

I comment that the agent of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in accepting this contract was Ṭḥumma, the Negus, the king of Abyssinia. This is what Yūnus reported, on the authority of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, whom he quotes as saying, "Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn related to me, stating, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamri to the Negus and he arranged his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abī Sufyān, conveying from him 400 dinars.'"

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan related to me, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. Zuhayr, from Ismāʿil b. ʿAmr, that Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān said, 'While I was in Abyssinia, I was surprised by a visit from an envoy of the Negus, a slave-girl called Abraha who used to care for his clothes and anoint him. She asked to come in and I agreed. Then she said, "The king says to you, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) has written to me asking me to arrange your marriage to him.'" I replied, "God has sent you with good news." Abraha then continued, "The king says to you, 'Appoint an agent to arrange your marriage.'"

"'So I sent for Khalīd b. Saʿīd b. al-Āṣ and appointed him my agent. Then I gave to Abraha two silver bracelets and two silver camel decorations I was wearing and silver rings from each of my toes, I was so pleased with the good news she had brought me.

"'That evening the Negus ordered Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalib and the Muslims there to attend him and he made an address in which he said, "Praise be to God, the King, the All-Holy, the Faithful, the Powerful, the Almighty! I testify that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger, and that it is He whose coming Ḥisā (Jesus), son of Mary predicted. Further, the Messenger of God (SAAS) has requested that I marry him to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. I have responded to the request made by the Messenger."

47. See Vol. II.
of God (SAAS), who has given 400 dinars as her dowry.” He then poured out the coins before everyone.

“Khālid b. Sa‘īd spoke, saying, “Praise be to God! I give Him praise and ask His forgiveness. I testify that there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth to show its superiority to all religions, however much the polytheists may dislike this. Moreover, I have responded to what the Messenger of God (SAAS) has requested, and I have contracted his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān. May God bless the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

“The Negus then paid the dinars over to Khālid b. Sa‘īd who took them. Then everyone was about to rise, but he (the Negus) then said, “Take your seats, for it is the practice of prophets to have a feast when they marry.” He then called for food and they ate and dispersed thereafter.”

I comment that it may well be that ‘Amr b. Umayya, when seen by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ emerging from the presence of the Negus, following the battle of al-khandaq, had been active in the matter of Umm Ḥabība. But God knows best.

However, the ḥāfīz al-Bayḥāqi stated, “Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Māndāḥ related that the marriage of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Umm Ḥabība was in the year 6 AH, while his marriage to Umm Salama was in the year 4 AH.”

I comment that Khalīfa, Abū Ubayd Allāh Ma‘ṣmar b. al-Muthannā and Ibn al-Baraqi said the same, and that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība was in 6 AH. Some people said that it was 7 AH. Al-Bayḥāqi said, “That is more likely.”

I also note that, as has been related heretofore, his marriage to Umm Salama was late in the year 4 AH. It is likely that the marriage to Umm Ḥabība occurred before that, though it could also have been thereafter. It is most probable that it was following the battle of al-khandaq, because of what we have related above regarding ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, and how he saw ‘Amr b. Umayya with the Negus, engaged in that matter. But God knows best.

The ḥāfīz Ibn al-Athir recounted in al-Ghābā, quoting Qatāda, that when Umm Ḥabība migrated from Abyssinia to Medina, the Messenger of God (SAAS) became engaged to her and married her.

Some scholars maintain that he married her after her father had accepted Islam, following the conquest of Mecca. But that contradicts what was related by Muslim, through ʻAbīkrima b. ʻAmr al-Yamani, from ʻAbī Zubayr Simāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʻAbbās, that Abū Sufyān said, “O Messenger of God, grant me three wishes!” “Yes,” he replied. “That you give me authority to battle the unbelievers just as I used to battle the Muslims.” “Yes,” he replied. “And that you appoint Miḥāwiya as a clerk of yours.” “Yes,” he replied. “And I have at home the best and most lovely of all the Arab women, Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān; let me marry you to her.”

That is the hadith in its entirety.

Ibn al-Athir stated, “This hadith is one for which Muslim is criticized. This is because when Abū Sufyān came to renew the pact before the conquest, he went
in to see his daughter Umm Habiba and she rolled up the rug of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He then asked, “By God, I don’t know whether you consider the carpet too good for me or me too good for it!” She replied, “This rug belongs to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and you are a polytheist.” He replied, “I swear by God, you've changed for the worse since you left me, daughter!”

Ibn Hazm stated, “This hadith was invented by 'Ikrima b. 'Ammar. This statement from him should not be considered dependable.”

Others stated that he wanted to renew the pact because of the disadvantages in it (that had been included) without his permission. Others say it was because he believed that his daughter’s marriage would be dissolved because of his acceptance of Islam.

But all this is unconvincing. What is most likely is that he wanted to marry him (the Prophet (SAAS)) to his other daughter 'Amra, since he thought that would bring honour to himself. And he therefore sought help from his daughter Umm Habiba, as is stated in both sahih collections. The narrator was merely in error in his using the name Umm Habiba. That is why we have given (only) one report.

Abū Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām stated, “Umm Ḥabiba died in the year 44 AH.” Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama said, “She died one year before Mu'āwiya.” The death of Mu'āwiya occurred in Rajab of 60 AH.

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**THE MARRIAGE OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) TO ZAYNAB, DAUGHTER OF JAHSH B. RYAB B. YA'AMUR B. ŠABRA B. MURRA B. KABIR B. GHANAM B. DUDAN B. ASAD B. KHUZAYMA, AL-ASADIYYA, UMM AL-MŪMININ, 'MOTHER OF THE BELIEVERS'.**

Her mother was Umayya, daughter of 'Abd al-Mu'tālib, aunt of the Messenger of God (SAAS). She was previously the wife of his freed-man Zayd b. Ḥarītha, God be pleased with him.

Qatada, al-Wāqidi and some of the people of Medina said that he married her in the year 5 AH; some added the month, Dhū al-Qa‘da. The Ḥāfez al-Bayhaqi stated, “He married her after the attack on Banū Qurayza.” Khalifa b. Khayyāt, Abū Ubayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthanna and Ibn Mandah said that he married her in the year 3 AH. The first possibility is better known and it is the one accepted by Ibn Jarir and several historians.

Various commentators, theologians and historians give as the reason for his marrying her reference to a hadith related by Ahmad b. Ḥanbal in his collection that we have deliberately refrained from including so that those lacking understanding would not place it in the wrong context.18

48. Zaynab had originally been presented, when a virgin, by the Prophet (SAAS) to his freed-man and adopted son Zayd d. Ḥarītha. Her later divorce and this marriage inspired much commentary and is the subject of the following passage in the Qurʾān quoted here by Ibn Kathīr.
In His Glorious Qur'an, Almighty God stated, “And (consider) when you say to him whom God had favoured and whom you had favoured, ‘Keep your wife for yourself, and fear God,’ and you hide within yourself what God makes evident, and you fear men. Yet God has greater right that you fear Him. And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage so that there should be no distress for believers regarding the wives of their adopted sons when the latter have divorced them. God’s command must be fulfilled. And there should be no distress for the Prophet in accomplishing what God has imposed upon him. Such has been God’s course with those who went before. God’s decree is determined’” (sūrat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.37, 38).

We have discussed this at sufficient length in our Tafsir (Exegesis).

The person referred to as having received God’s favour is Zayd b. Haritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS). God favoured him with Islam, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) also favoured him by setting him free and by marrying him to Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, the daughter of his own maternal aunt. Muqatil b. Habba stated that the dowry he provided for her was ten dinars and sixty dirhams, a veil for her head and face, a wrap, a coat of armour, fifty mudd (a dry measure) and ten mudd of dates. She (Zaynab) remained with him (Zayd) close to a year, or longer, but then they quarrelled. Her husband complained about her to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he would say to him, “Keep your wife for yourself and fear God.”

God stated, “You hide within yourself what God makes evident.” Regarding this, ‘Ali b. al-Husayn Zayn b. al-‘Abidin and al-Suddi said, “He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) knew that she was to be one of his wives and it is he who hid (this) within himself.”

Many early authorities discussed this matter in various strange ways. Some of these are controversial and so we are omitting them.

God Almighty stated, “And since Zayd has now finished with her, We give her to you in marriage ...” This refers to Zayd having divorced her. And when her ‘idda period was over, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent to her so that she would become engaged to himself, and he then married her. And it was the Lord of the universe, Blessed and Almighty is He, who married him to her, as is established in the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī, from Anas b. Mālik. The latter related that Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, used to claim superiority over the other wives of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and say, “It was your families who arranged your marriage, whereas it was Almighty God, from above the seven heavens, who arranged mine!”

There is a report through ʿIsā b. Tahmān, from Anas, which says, “Zaynab would claim superiority over the wives of the Prophet (SAAS) and say, ‘It was God who arranged my marriage from heaven.’ And it was regarding her that the verse requiring use of the hikāb, the veil, was revealed, namely, ‘O you
who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited
to eat, without waiting while it be cooked?” (ṣūrat al-ʾAhzāb; XXXIII, v.53).

Al-Bayhaqi related, from a ḥadīth of Ḥammād, from Zayd b. Ḥarīth, from
Anas, who said, “Zayd came to complain about Zaynab and the Messenger of
God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘Fear God, and keep your wife for yourself.’

Anas went on, “And if the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had been concealing
something, it would have been this. She used to claim superiority over
the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and say, ‘It was your families that arranged your
marriages, while God from above the seven heavens arranged mine.’ He then
said, ‘Al-Bukhārī related this from Ahmad, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr
al-Muqaddamī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.’

Al-Bayhaqi then related, through ʿAffān, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from
Thābit, from Anas, who said, “Zayd came to complain to the Messenger of God
(ṢAAS) about Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh. The Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, ‘Keep
your family for yourself.’ And there was revealed the verse, ‘and you hide with-
in yourself what God makes evident.’

He went on, “Al-Bukhārī related it, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, from
Muṭṭāb b. Manṣūr, from Muḥammad, in an abbreviated form.” Ibn Jarir stated,
“Ibn Ḥamīd related to us, saying, ‘Jarir related to us from Mughira, from
al-Shaʿbī, as follows, “Zaynab used to say to the Prophet (ṢAAS), ‘I, alone of
your wives, was led to you by three factors: my grandfather and yours was
one person.’ (She was referring to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was the father of the
father of the Prophet (ṢAAS) and the father of her own mother, Umayya.) And
I was married to you by God Almighty from heaven. And the envoy was Gabriel,
upon whom be peace.’”

Imām Ahmad stated, “Hāshim (meaning Ibn al-Qāsim) related to us, quoting
al-Nadr, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughira, from Thābit, from Anas, who said,
‘When Zaynab’s ʿidda period was over, the Prophet (ṢAAS) said to Zayd, “Go
and make mention of me to her.” He went to her—she was leavening her dough
at the time—and (later said), “When I saw her, I felt so emotional I could not
look at her, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made mention of her. So
I turned my back to her and withdrew, saying, ‘Zaynab, rejoice! The Messenger
of God (ṢAAS) makes reference to you (for marriage).’ She exclaimed, ‘But I
have not done anything to cause my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, to so
honour me!’ Then she went to her place of prayer.” Thereafter the (passage in
the) Qurʾān was revealed, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came and went in
to her without (seeking) permission.’”

Anas went on, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his
marriage with her, we made a feast of meat and bread for her sake. Some people
left while some men stayed in the house talking following the food. The Messenger
of God (ṢAAS) then left, and I followed him as he went to each of the chambers
of his wives to greet them. They called out to him, ‘O Messenger of God, how
He went on, "Then he left and entered his chamber and I went to enter it with him. But he threw down the screen between myself and him. (Then it was) revealed about the *hijāb*, the screen and the people were admonished by the words, 'Do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited.'"

Muslim and al-Nasā'ī related it thus, through Sulaymān b. al-Mughṭra.

*An Account of the institution of the hijāb, the screen, on the morning of Zaynab’s wedding arranged by God.*

It was appropriate for the screen to be instituted during this wedding, as a protection for her and for her sisters, also known as the *umahāt al-mu'minin*, the "mothers of the faithful". This was in accord with the previously held view of ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Raqqāŷī related to him, quoting Muʿtamīr b. Sulaymān, who said, "I heard my father say, 'Abī Mījlāz quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, 'When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Zaynab, daughter of Jāḥsh, he invited people in and they ate and sat there conversing. When he was ready to arise, they did not do so. When he saw that, he himself arose. When he did so, others also arose, though three men remained seated. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) came (back) to go inside, the people were still sitting, but they then got up and left. I went and told the Prophet (ṢAAS) that they had left and he returned and went inside. I went as if to go inside too, but he let down the screen between myself and him. Then God Almighty revealed, ‘O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet.’’"

Al-Bukhārī related this in other passages; and Muslim and al-Nasā'ī did so with other lines of transmission from Muʿtamīr. Al-Bukhārī then related it – he alone doing so – from a *ḥadīth* of Ayyūb from Abū Qullābā, from Anas in similar form.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Muʿāmmar related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suhayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "A feast of bread and meat was given for the marriage of the Prophet (ṢAAS) to Zaynab, daughter of Jāḥsh. I was dispatched to invite people to come for the food, and they would come and eat then leave; others would come and do the same. I continued inviting until I could not find anyone left to invite. I then said, ‘O Prophet of God, I don’t find anyone to invite.’ He responded, ‘Take the food away.’ But there were three men who stayed in the house conversing. So the Prophet (ṢAAS) left and went to the chamber of ʿAʾishah and said, ‘Peace be upon you, people of the house, along with the mercy and blessings of God.’ She replied, ‘Peace be upon you, along with the mercy and blessings of God. How
did you find your family, may God bless you!' He then went and visited the chambers of each of his wives, spoke to them as he had to 'A'isha and they responded to him as she had done. He then came back and the three men were still in the house conversing. The Prophet (SAAS) was exceedingly modest and he then left again, heading for 'A'isha's chamber. And I don't know whether I told him or whether he was (otherwise) informed that the people had left, but he came out, and, placing one foot over the threshold of the door and leaving the other outside it, he let down the screen between myself and him. Then the verse relating to the *hijab* was revealed.”

Al-Bukhari was alone in giving this from this line. He then related it, also uniquely, from Ishâq, he being Ibn Naṣr, from 'Abd Allâh b. Bukyâr al-Sâhid, from Humâyd b. Anas in similar form. That account refers to two men, instead of three. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhari also gave the chain of a similar *hadith* from Ibrâhîm b. Tahâmân, from al-Jâ'd Abû Uthmân, from Anas.

Ibn Abî Hâtim said, “My father related to us, quoting Abû al-Muqaffâ, quoting Ja'far b. Sulaymân, from al-Jâ'd Abû Uthmân al-Yâshkuri, from Anas b. Mâlik, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) and some of his wives gave a wedding feast. Umm Salim made some *hays*, a dish of date, butter and curds, and placed it in a bowl, saying, ‘Go to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and tell him that this is a little something for him from us.’”

“Anas went on, ‘People at that time were under strain. I took it to him, saying, ‘Messenger of God, Umm Salim has sent you this, with her greetings, and says, ‘This is a little something for you from us.’’ He looked at it and said, ‘Place it over near the house.’ He then said, ‘Go and invite for me so-and-so’ and he named a large number of men. He added, ‘And any other Muslims you may meet.’ So I invited those he had told me, along with the other Muslims I met. When I returned, I found the house, the stone benches and the courtyard filled with people. I (Ja'far b. Sulaymân?) asked, ‘Abû 'Uthmân, how many must there have been?’ ‘Some 300’ he replied.’

“Anas went on, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told me to accompany him and I took it (the bowl of food) to him. He placed his hand over it and prayed, saying, *mâ sha'â Allâh!* ‘Whatever God wills!’ He then said, ‘Have them form groups of ten and invoke the name of God; every person should eat what he finds.’ They began invoking God’s name and to eat until all had done so. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told me, ‘Pick it up.’ I then went and took the bowl and looked inside. And I don’t know whether there was more when I had put it down or when I picked it up!

“Some men stayed behind conversing in the house of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Meanwhile, his wife, whom he had brought in with them, was there turning her face to the wall. The men stayed so long chatting that they annoyed the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was the most modest of men; if they had realized it, they would have felt badly. Eventually he went off into his chambers
to his wives. When they (the men there) saw him do so, they thought they had annoyed him, and so they moved to the door and left. Then he returned, let down the screen and went inside while I was there in the (outer) room. The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed inside his house for a while and God made a revelation of the Qur'an. He came out reciting this verse, “O you who believe, do not enter the chambers of the Prophet unless you are invited to eat, without waiting while it be cooked. If you are invited, then do enter and when you have eaten, disperse. Do not linger on for conversation. That would annoy the Prophet, though he would be too shy (to tell you so); but God is not shy of the truth. And if you should ask something of them (his wives), do so from behind a screen. That is more pure for both you and them. And you should not annoy the Messenger of God, nor should you ever marry his wives after him. That would indeed be offensive to God. And whether you divulge something or keep it concealed, God has knowledge of all.”” (surat al-Ahzab; XXXIII, v.53, 54).

Anas went on, “He recited these to me before the others. And so I have known them longer than them.”

Muslim, al-Tirmidhî and al-Nasîî all related this tradition from Qutayba, from Ja'far b. Sulaymân, from al-Ja'ḍ Abî Uthmân. Al-Tirmidhî categorized it as hasan sahib, “good and authentic”. Muslim also related it, from Muhammad b. Râfî’, from ‘Abd al-Razzâq, from Ma’mar, from al-Ja’ḍ Abî Uthmân.

Al-Bukhârî related this hadith, as did al-Tirmidhî and al-Nasîî, from several lines, from Abû Bishr al-Ahmâsî al-Kûfi, from Anas, in similar form. Ibn Abî Ḥâtim related it from a hadith of Abû Nadra al-‘Abdi, from Anas in similar form; they did not explicate it. Ibn Jarîr related it from a hadith of ‘Amr b. Sa’d and from a hadith of al-Zuhri, from Anas, in similar form.

I note that Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, may God be pleased with her, was one of the first women who migrated. She was a woman of great goodness and charity. At first her name was Tarra, then the Messenger of God (SAAS) renamed her Zaynab. She was known as Umm al-Hakam, “al-Hakam’s mother”.

‘A’isha, may God be pleased with her, said, “I never knew a woman more religious, more God-fearing, more truthful in her speech, more protective of family ties, more trustworthy or more charitable than Zaynab.”

It is established in both sahib collections, as will be seen in the hadith al-ifk, “the calumnious account”, that ‘A’isha stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, about me. She was the (only) wife of the Prophet who could compete with me for his favour. God encompassed her with goodness, and she said, ‘O Messenger of God, in all truth and obedience, I say I never knew of her (‘A’isha) anything but good.’”


49. See above, pp.217 et seq.
Talha, from 'A'isha 'mother of the believers', who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, 'The women who will be the earliest to join me (in the Hereafter) are the ones who are the most generous.' We used to vie with one another over which of us was the most generous. In fact it was Zaynab, because she made things herself and gave to charity.”

Muslim is alone in giving this.

Al-Waqidi and other authorities on the biography of the Prophet (SAAS), on the early military campaigns and on history, state that she died in 80 AH. The Commander of the Believers 'Umar b. al-Khattab, may God be pleased with him, prayed over her. She was buried at al-Baqi; and she was the first woman for whom a bier was made.

THE YEAR 6 AH.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “People used to say that it was in Muḥarram of that year that there was the expedition of Muhammad b. Maslama to Najd. It was during this that they captured Thumāma b. Ṭāhil al-Yamāni.”

I note, however, that in the text of Ibn Ishāq from Sa'd al-Maqburi, from Abū Hurayra, that he (Abū Hurayra) was present then and it was after the expedition against Khaybar that he (Abū Hurayra) emigrated. It (the expedition to Najd) would therefore have to be dated thereafter. But God knows best.

It was during the early part of this year, for certain, that the expedition was mounted against Banū Liḥyān.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The conquest of Banū Qurayza took place in Dhū al-Qa‘da and the start of Dhū al-Ḥijja. The polytheists had charge of the pilgrimage that year, 5 AH that is.” As is related above.

He went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Medina thereafter for the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja, Muḥarram, Safar and both Rabī‘ al-Awwal and Rabī‘ al-Thānī. In Jumāda al-Uwlā, at the start of six months following the conquest of Banū Qurayza, he went forth against Banū Liḥyān seeking revenge for Khubayb and his companions who were killed at al-Rajī. In order to surprise the enemy, he made it appear that he was heading for Syria.”

According to Ibn Hishām, he left Ibn Umm Makmtm in command of Medina.

What Ibn Ishāq is referring to here is as follows. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had reached their homes (in his attack on Banū Liḥyān) they retreated before him and sought refuge in the mountain heights. He therefore turned off to Usfān, where he encountered a force of polytheists. It was there that he performed the ṣalāt al-khawf, the “fear prayer”.

This expedition has been described above as having occurred in 4 AH. Al-Bayhaqi related it there.

But what Ibn Ishāq relates is most probable, namely that it took place after the battle of al-khandaq. It is established that he did perform the ṣalāt al-khawf at Usfān on the expedition against Banū Liḥyān. It should best, therefore, be
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included here and removed from there, in accord with the Imam, the prime authority, on the military expeditions in his own era and thereafter. As al-Shafi‘i, may God be pleased with him, stated, “Whoever wants information of the military expeditions is dependent upon Muḥammad b. Ishāq.”

Ka‘b b. Malik spoke the following verses on the expedition against Banū Libyān:

“If Banū Libyān had stayed they would have met at their dwellings a band of brave fighting men

Mounted on fast horses; their hearts would have filled with terror at the great force of their host, vast as heaven’s gate.

But they were mere weasels, keeping to the high and inaccessible Hijāz passes.”

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST DHU QARAD.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then proceeded to Medina. He had been there only a few nights when ʿUyayna b. Ḥisn b. Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī and some horsemen of Ghaṭafān attacked milch-camels belonging to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at al-Ghāba. A man of Banū Ḥifār and his wife had been guarding the camels; the raiders killed him and abducted his wife along with the camels.

ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related the following to me, as did ʿAbd Allah b. Abī Bakr, along with another man I trust, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ka‘b b. Malik; each of these sources gave part of this account. The first to become aware what they had done was Salama b. Ḥam b. al-Akwāq al-ʿAslāmi who was heading for al-Ghāba armed with his bow and arrows and accompanied by a slave belonging to Ṭalḥa b. Ṣayd Allāh leading his horse. When he had climbed up to the al-Wadār pass, he saw some of their horsemen. Then he looked down towards Salī and cried out (in alarm), ‘Wā sabahāti!’ He hurried off in pursuit of the raiders, like a lion. When he caught up with them, he began shooting his arrows at them, exclaiming, ‘Take that! I’m Ibn al-Akwa! Today the wicked will die!’

“Whenever their horsemen headed for him he would flee, then return and shoot again at them whenever he could, repeating the same battle cry. One of them exclaimed (using a pun on his name, Ibn al-Akwa) ‘Is he trying to yuqawwru, “to divert us”, so early in the day!’

“News of Ibn al-Akwa’s battle cry reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina, and he called out there: ‘Alarm! Alarm!’ At that the cavalry hurried to the Messenger of God (SAAS). The first to reach him was al-Miqdād b. al-Aswād, followed by ʿAbdād b. Bishr, Saʿd b. Zayd, Ṣayd b. Zuhayr (though there is some doubt about this man), Ṣuḫāṣa b. Miḥṣān, Muḥriz b. Naḍla, brother of

50. A cry for help.

“When they were gathered around the Messenger of God (SAAS), he appointed Saʿd b. Zayd as their leader. He then told them, ‘Get out and pursue them, and wait till I join you with our men.’

“I have been told by some men of Banū Zurayq that the Prophet (SAAS) said the following to Abū ʿAyyāsh: ‘What if I were to give this horse over to a better rider than yourself so that he can catch up the enemy?’ Abū ʿAyyāsh says, ‘I responded, “Messenger of God (SAAS), I’m the best of all horsemen!” Then I slapped my horse and I swear by God, he’d not carried me 50 arms-lengths before he tossed me! I was amazed.’

“Some men of (Banū) Zurayq say that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave over Abū ʿAyyāsh’s horse to Muḥādh b. Māṣis, or to ʿAṣidh b. Māṣis b. Qays b. Khalda, the eighth (of the horsemen there). Some count Salama b. al-Akwaʿ as the eighth and drop Usayd b. Ẓuhayr. But God knows best. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ was not a rider that day; he was the first to catch up with the raiders on foot.”

The account continues, “The horsemen left and caught up with the enemy. ʿAsim b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda related to me that the first rider to catch up with them was Muḥriz b. Naḍla, known as al-Akhram, and also as Qumayr. The horse he rode belonged to Maḥmūd b. Maslama. The name of the horse was Dhī al-Lamma. When he reached the enemy, he said, ‘Stop, you tribe of no-goods, and let the anṣār and the muḥājirin pursuing you catch up with you!’ One of the raiders then attacked and killed him. His horse wheeled and could not be caught; it raced off without stopping until it reached a stable of Banī ʿAbd al-Asḩān; that is, it went back to the stall in Medina where it had been.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “No other Muslim than him was killed that day.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Some other scholars refer to Waqqāṣ b. Mujjaziz al-Mudlijī as having been killed along with him.”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “A source I trust related to me, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Malik, that Muḥriz was riding a horse named al-Janāh, belonging to ʿUkāsha b. Miḥṣan. Muḥriz was killed and Janāḥ was captured. But God knows best.51

“When the cavalry engaged, Abū Qatāda killed Ḥabīb b. ʿUyayna, covered him with his cloak, then caught up with the rest. Soon the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived there with the other Muslim warriors.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He placed Ibn Umm Maktūm in command of Medina.

“When the Muslim force found Ḥabīb (b. ʿUyayna) covered with Abū Qatāda’s cloak, they were shocked, believing the latter had been killed. But the Messenger of God (SAAS) told them, ‘It’s not Abū Qatāda; it’s someone he has killed, then covered with his cloak to let you know that he did it.’”

51. There seems to be some confusion in Ibn Ishaq’s account as to the name of the father of Waqqāṣ and whether or not he was killed in this engagement.
Ibn Ishāq continued, "Ukāsha b. Miḥṣan then caught up with Awbār and his son 'Amr who were riding the same camel. He pierced both with his lance, killing them both together. They then retrieved some of the milch-camels. The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded on and encamped at Mt. Dhū Qarad; he was joined by his force and they remained there for a day and a night. Salama b. al-Akwa‘ told him, 'Messenger of God, if you were to send me on with 100 men, I could recover the rest of the herd and kill the enemy.' But the Messenger of God (SAAS), so I have been told, replied, 'By now they are being served their evening drinks among Ghaṭafān.' He then provided a slaughtered camel for each 100 men and they remained there. After that he returned to Medina.

"The wife (who had been abducted) of the Ghifārī guard then arrived in Medina on one of the camels of the Prophet (SAAS), to whom she reported. When she had finished her account, she told him, 'Messenger of God, I promised God I would slaughter this camel if God allowed me to escape on it.' He smiled and responded, 'But you would be rewarding the camel badly, since God bore you away and let you escape on it, if you slaughtered her. No vow in disobedience of God is valid, nor is one relating to something you do not own. She is one of my camels. Go back to your family, with God's blessings.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The hadith on this subject was transmitted from Abū al-Zubayr al-Makki from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī."

This, then, is this story with its text and line of transmission as given by Ibn Ishāq.

Al-Bukhārī, God be pleased with him, states following his materials relating to the al-Ḥudaybiyya incident and before his account of the expedition to Khaybar, "The expedition to Dhū Qarad; this incident relates to the enemy's raid on the milch-camels of the Prophet (SAAS), three days before the Battle of Khaybar. Qutayba b. Sa‘īd related to us, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazid b. Abū 'Ubayd, who said, 'I heard Salama b. al-Akwa‘ say, "Once I left (town) before the call had been made for the al-fajr, dawn, prayer. The milch-camels belonging to the Prophet (SAAS) used to graze at Dhū Qarad. (On the way) I was met by a slave belonging to 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, who said, "The milch-camels of the Prophet (SAAS) have been stolen!" Who took them? I asked. 'It was Banū Ghaṭafān,' he replied. I called out three times, 'Wā sabāhā? I (shouted so loudly I) made all between Medina's two mountains hear me. I then rushed on ahead until I caught them up as they were watering their camels. I began shooting my arrows at them; I was an archer. (As I did so) I called out, in rajaz, doggerel verse, 'I'm Ibn al-Akwa‘, and today the wicked will die!' I (continued shooting until) I had retrieved the milch-camels and I also seized from them thirty cloaks."

"When the Prophet (SAAS) and his men arrived, I told him, 'Messenger of God, I have prevented the enemy getting water. They will be thirsty. Send a force after them now.' He replied, 'Ibn al-Akwa‘, you mastered them; now be charitable!'"
"We then went back; the Messenger of God (SAAS) seated me on his camel along with himself for the journey back to Medina."

Muslim related it thus from Qutayba. Al-Bukhari related it from Abū ʿAṣim al-Sahli, from Yazid b. Abū ʿUbayda, from his freed-man Salama in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Hāshim b. al-Qāsim related to him, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, quoting ʿIyās b. Salama b. al-Akwa', who reported that his father had said to him, "At the time of the Hudaybiyya expedition, we came to Medina with the Messenger of God (SAAS). Then I and Rabah, a slave of his, left, without his prior knowledge. I went with a horse belonging to ʿAlī b. ʿAbdullāh; I wanted to graze it with the camels. But when it was dark 'Abd al-Rahmān b. ʿUwayna raided the camels of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He killed their herdsman and drove them away, he and the horsemen he had accompanying him. I told Rabah to ride the horse back to ʿAlī and to inform the Messenger of God (SAAS) that his herd had been raided.

"I then climbed a hill, turned towards Medina and shouted three times, 'Ya sabahā!' I then pursued the enemy, bearing my sword and arrows. I began shooting at them and wounding them; this was when there were plenty of trees about. When one of the horsemen would come back at me, I'd sit at the base of a tree and shoot. And every rider who came near I shot. As I shot at them, I would call out, 'I'm Ibn al-Akwa! Today the wicked will die!' When I would attack one of their men on his mount, my arrows would fall on him until I pierced him in the shoulder, then I'd cry out, 'Take that! I'm Ibn al-Akwa', and today the wicked will die!'

"While I was in the trees, I plastered them with my arrows; when the mountain trails were narrow, I would climb up the mountain side and hurl down rocks on them. My engagement with them continued, with me following them and calling out my battle cry, until God so arranged it that I retrieved and left behind me all of the property of the Messenger of God (SAAS), having saved it from their control. I went on shooting at them until I had got over 30 of their spears and over 30 cloaks they were bearing. All of this they cast away I placed beneath stones, gathering everything into position in the path the Messenger of God (SAAS) would take. Later in the morning ʿUwayna b. Badr al-Fazārī came to reinforce them; at that point they were in a narrow defile. I climbed the mountain so that I was above them. ʿUwayna asked them, 'What's this I see?' They replied, 'We've had too much trouble from this fellow. He's been with us from dawn till now. He's seized everything we had and placed it all behind himself.' ʿUwayna commented, 'Well, if this fellow saw that he was being hunted, he'd have left you alone. Some of you should attack him.' A group of four of them did so, climbing up the mountain.

"Having made them hear my call, I asked them, 'Well, do you know me?' 'Who are you?' they asked. 'I'm Ibn al-Akwa,' I told them. 'By Him who
honoured Muhammad, none of you who pursue me will catch me, whereas no one I hunt will escape me!' One of them commented, 'I agree!'

"So I had not left that position of mine when I saw the cavalry of the Messenger of God (SAAS), coming through the trees. Leading them was al-Akhram al-Asadi, followed by Abū Qatāda, the horse-master of the Messenger of God (SAAS). After him came al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindi. The polytheists then withdrew and I came down from the mountain and took hold of the reins of al-Akhram’s horse. I told him, ‘Take care of the enemy'—meaning ‘watch out for them'; ‘I’m worried they might cut you off. Take it slowly until the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men catch up with you.’ But he replied, ‘Salama, if you truly had faith in God and the last day and knew that heaven and hell are real, then you would not try to block my way to martyrdom!'

"So I released the reins of his horse and he charged at 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Uyayna who turned to face him. They exchanged a few thrusts. Al-Akhram wounded 'Abd al-Rahmān who then thrust back at him and killed him. 'Abd al-Rahmān mounted al-Akhram’s horse, but Abū Qatāda closed with him and they exchanged a couple of thrusts. Abū Qatāda was wounded, but he killed 'Abd al-Rahmān and mounted al-Akhram’s horse.

"I then ran out in pursuit of the enemy, continuing until I saw some dust rising from the advance of the warriors of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Before sunset they turned off into a defile where there was water, a place called Dhī Qarad, where they wanted to drink. When they saw me running ahead after the enemy, they turned away from there and halted in the mountain pass where there was a well. The sun set. I caught up with one of the enemy and shot at him, yelling, ‘Take that! I’m Ibn al-Akwa! And today the wicked will die!' He responded, ‘Bukra,' ‘tomorrow', al-Akwa’s mother will be bereaved!’ ‘Right you are, you’re your own enemy,’ I replied. The man I had shot at was named Bukra. I shot a second arrow at him and both stuck in him. The enemy abandoned two horses, and I brought these back to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was at the water-hole from which I had diverted them, at Dhī Qarad. He was there with a force of 500 men. Bilāl had slaughtered a camel I had retrieved; he was busy cooking its liver and its hump for the Prophet (SAAS).

"I went over to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, ‘Please let me choose 100 of your men to attack the enemy in the dark. I’ve killed all their guards.’ He replied, ‘Would you really do that, Salama?’ ‘I certainly would, by Him who honoured you!’ I replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) laughed so heartily I could see his molars in the firelight. He then said, ‘They are being served drinks now in Ghatafān territory.’ A man of Ghatafān then arrived and said, ‘The enemy force passed by so-and-so the Ghatafāni and he slaughtered a camel for them. But when they began removing its skin, they discovered an ulcerous wound. So they abandoned it and fled.’

"Next day the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Abū Qatāda is the finest of our horsemen, while the best of our foot-warriors is Salama.’ And he awarded
me both the share for a horseman and that for a foot-warrior. He then set me to ride behind himself on (his camel) al-‘Adba’ on our way back to Medina.

“When we were about half a day’s travel from the town, one of our warriors, an ansārī, who had never been beaten in a race, began calling out, ‘Will someone race me? Won’t someone race me into the town?’ He repeated this several times while I was there riding behind the Messenger of God (SAAS). I asked the man, ‘Don’t you respect the noble or fear the powerful?’ ‘No, I don’t’, he replied, ‘except for the Messenger of God (SAAS)!’ I then asked, ‘Messenger of God, do please, for the sake of my mother and my father, let me race with the fellow!’ ‘If you like,’ he replied. ‘I’ll come to you,’ I told the man. At that he jumped off his mount and I bent my leg and jumped down from the camel. I then let him get well ahead, holding myself back, then I ran hard, caught up with him and slapped him on the shoulder, saying, ‘I beat you, by God!’ — or I made some such comment. The man laughed and said, ‘I agree.’ So we went on into Medina.”

Muslim related this hadith in this way with lines from ‘Ikrima b. ‘Ammxr in similar form. His version ends, “... so I beat him into Medina and we remained there only three days before we left for Khaybar.” Ahmad also has this text.

Al-Bukhārī and al-Bayhaqi relate this engagement after al-Ḥudaybiyya and before Khaybar, similar to Ibn Ishāq. But God knows best. Thus it should be placed later, to early in 7 AH, for Khaybar took place in Safar of that year.

Regarding the woman who escaped on the camel of the Prophet (SAAS), having sworn to slaughter it for its having allowed her to get away, this story is related by Ibn Ishāq from Abī al-Zubayr, with an incomplete chain of authorities back to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. It is also given with a complete line through other sources.

Imām Ahmad stated, “‘Afnān related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Abū al-Halab, from Umrān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, ‘(The camel named) al-‘Adba’ had belonged to a man of Banū ‘Uqayl and had been one of the mounts racing at the hajj fair; the Messenger of God, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, had taken it when he had captured him. When the Messenger of God (SAAS), riding a donkey with a velvet saddle cloth, had later passed by the man, who was in fetters, the latter had called out to him, “Hey, Muḥammad, why did you take me and the hajj racing camel?” The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, “We’ve seized you on account of your allies Thaqīf.”’”

(The narrator continued) “Thaqīf had taken captive two of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS). The prisoner then said, along with other things, ‘But I’m a Muslim!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, ‘If you were to have said that when you had your freedom, you would have been very successful.’ As the Messenger of God (SAAS) went on his way, the man called out, ‘Muḥammad, I’m hungry and I’m thirsty! Give me some food and drink!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, ‘Yes, that’s what you’re after!’ Then the two men were ransomed, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) retained al-‘Adba’ for his own journeys.
"After that the polytheists raided the Medina milk-camels and made off with them, including al-'Adba', and they also took captive a Muslim woman. When they made camp, they set his camels free in their enclosures. One night after they were asleep, she went out to the camels. Each one grunted until she reached al-'Adba'. She had come upon a female riding camel that was well used to being ridden. She mounted it and directed it towards Medina. She then vowed that if God were to allow her to escape on it, she would slaughter it. When she reached Medina, the camel was recognized as belonging to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was told of her vow (or she came to him and told him of it) and he stated, 'It was a bad vow she' (or 'you') 'made to slaughter it if God allowed her to escape on it.' He went on, 'No vow in disobedience to God is valid, nor is one relating to what one does not own.'"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Among the verses spoken relating to the Dhū Qarad incident were the following by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

'Had the frogs of their hooves not suffered while being led, south of Sāya, (our horses)
Would have met you bearing fully armed warriors
carrying the banner, men of fine ancestry.
And those offspring of sin would have rejoiced that we were at peace that morning when al-Miqdād's horsemen came.

There were eight of us, while they were numerous and loud-mouthed, but they were pierced by our lances and they fled.

We belonged to that people who were pursuing them and who gave free rein to each horse.

Indeed, by the lord of the camels that race to Minā,
(we will) cross by the passes over the mountains

Until we make our mounts urinate amidst your horses and make off with your women and children,

Moving quickly, our garments tucked up, our horses swift and moving proudly, in valley or battlefield,
Having worn down their quarters and made their backs bare on days being led and on others at the chase.

Our steeds, moreover, get milk to drink and warfare is fanned by the breeze.

And the steel blades of our swords slice through shields of iron and recalcitrant heads.

God places barriers in their way on account of what is sacrosanct, and for the dignity of the All-Merciful.

They once were contented at home, but on the day of Dhū Qarad their faces were like slaves.'"
Ibn Ishāq stated, “Sa‘d b. Zayd, leader of the riders moving in advance of the Messenger of God (SAAS), was enraged at Hassān and swore he would never speak to him. He said, ‘He raves away about my horses and riders and then credits al-Miqdād’. Hassān then apologized to him, claiming that al-Miqdād’s name matched the rhyme. He then spoke verses praising Sa‘d b. Zayd,

‘If you need the fiercest and most determined, or a man of real ability, then seek out
Sa‘d b. Zayd, who never gives in.’

“But the verses did him no good.

“Hassān b. Thābit also spoke the following about the incident at Dhī Qarad.

‘Did ‘Uyayna imagine when he visited it that he would demolish the castles there?
You were proved to lie in what you claimed as true;
you said, “We will seize much booty!”’
You hated Medina when you visited it, and became used to the roar of lions there.
Quickly they retreated, like speeding ostriches, and they uncovered no camels’ hideout.
The messenger of the lord was the leader over us; how beloved a leader we find him!
A messenger who proves true his mission and who recites a book that illuminates and enlightens.’

“Ka‘b b. Mālik spoke the following verses on the Dhī Qarad incident in praise of the Muslim horsemen that day,

‘Do those offspring of sin consider that we on horseback are not the match for their knights?
We are men who see no disgrace in death and we do not bend before the rigid lance.
We serve our guests the choicest of meats, and we strike off the heads of happy braggards!
We turn back bemedalled warriors when they charge with blows that dispel the courage of the brave,
With heroes who protect the banner, men of glory, fierce as wolves of the jungle.
They protect their reputation and their lands with swords that slice off the tops of helmets wearing heads.
Ask of Banū Badr, if you meet them, what our brothers did on the day of battle.
When you go forth tell the truth to those you meet; do not hide your news in your meetings.
Say we escaped the claws of a lion in his lair, whose deep anger remains unalleviated.’”
THE EXPEDITION AGAINST BANU AL-MUSTALIQ OF KHUZA'A.

Al-Bukhari stated, "This was the expedition to al-Muraysi." Muhammad b. Ishäq stated, "That took place in 6 AH." Musä b. Uqba, however, set it in 4 AH.

Al-Nû'mân b. Rashid stated, quoting al-Zuhri, "The ḥadith al-ifk, the 'calumnious report', occurred during the expedition to al-Muraysi." Similarly al-Bukhari related it from the military chronicle of Musä b. Uqba, to the effect that it took place in 4 AH. However, it was related from both him and from Urwa that it occurred in Sha'bân, 5 AH. Al-Waqidi stated, "It took place when two nights remained of Sha'bân in 5 AH, and he (the Prophet (SAAS)) was accompanied by 700 men."

Muhammad b. Ishäq b. Yasär stated, following his account of the Dhü Qarad incident, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Medina for part of Jumäda al-Ākhira and Rajab, whereafter he made an expedition against Banû al-Mustaliq of Khuza'a, in Sha'bân, 6 AH."

Ibn Hishäm stated, "He appointed Abû Dharr al-Ghifäri in command of Medina; Numayla b. 'Abd Allâh al-Laythi, however, is also named."

Ibn Ishäq went on, "'Asim b. Umar b. Qatada, 'Abd Allâh b. Abû Bakr and Muhammad b. Yahâyä b. 'Abbâs related to me, each narrating part of the account relating to the expedition against Banû al-Mustaliq, as follows, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) was informed that Banû al-Mustaliq were assembling to attack him, under the leadership of al-Ḥârith b. Abû Dirä, the father of Juwayriyya, whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) later married. When he heard of their activity, he went forth against them, engaging them at one of their water sources at a place called al-Muraysi', near Qudayd, towards the coast. The forces met and did battle; God defeated Banû al-Mustaliq, a number of them being killed, and the Prophet (SAAS) took over as booty their women, children and possessions.'"

Al-Waqidi stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth with two nights having passed of Sha'bân in 5 AH, with a force of 700 of his Companions against Banû al-Mustaliq. They were allied to Banû Mudlij. When he reached them, he entrusted the banner of the muhâjirûn to Abû Bakr, the Trusting — though some say to Ammâr b. Yâsîr — and that of the ansâr to Sa'd b. 'Ubâd. He then ordered Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb to tell the enemy, 'Cry out the words, 'La Ilâha illâ Allâh!', 'There is no god but God'. By this you will protect yourselves and your property.' But they refused and cast arrows instead.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then ordered the Muslims to attack. They did so as one. And not one man escaped them; they killed ten and captured the rest. Only one of the Muslims was killed."

It is related in both sahîh collections, from a hadith of 'Abd Allâh b. 'Awn, who said, "I wrote to Nâfi' asking him about the battle-cry prior to the fighting. He replied, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) attacked Banû al-Mustaliq while
they were engrossed in their pleasures, taking water at the well. He killed their warriors and took captives. It was that day he acquired – I think that is what he said – Juwayriyya, daughter of al-‘Hārith. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar narrated this to me, and he was with that army.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “One of the Muslims, Hishām b. ‘Utbah, was struck down that day. He was killed in error by one of the ansār who thought him to be an enemy.”

Ibn Ishaq related that Hishām b. ‘Utbah’s brother, Miqyas b. ‘Utbah, arrived from Mecca professing Islam and requested blood-money from the Messenger of God (SAAS), since his brother had been killed in error. He did pay blood-wit and Miqyas stayed on a short while but then attacked and murdered his brother’s killer. He then returned, an apostate, to Mecca and spoke the following verses,

“It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his clothing stained with the blood of his jugular.

My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries kept me from enjoying my bed.

By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge; and I was prompt to return to the idols.

Through him I avenged Fihr and charged his blood-wit to the chiefs of Banū al-Najjar, the lords of Fārīṣ castle.”

I note that this is why this Miqyas was one of the four persons whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) had executed on the day of the conquest of Mecca, (having said) “... even if they be wrapped in the drapes of the ka‘ba!”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “While the warriors were there at the well, a group of men arrived to get water. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had with him a hired man of Banū Ghifār named Jahjah b. Mas‘ūd who led his horse. Jahjah and Sinān b. Wabr al-Juhani, an ally of Banū ‘Awf b. al-Khaẓraj, got in one another’s way at the water-hole and began fighting. Al-Juhani called out, ‘Help, ansār friends!’ Jahjah shouted, ‘Help, muḥājirī friends!’ At this ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salīl became angry; he had with him a number of his people, including Zayd b. Arqam, a boy.

‘Did they really cause this?’ he asked. ‘They challenge us and outnumber us in our own lands! I swear by God, the old maxim well applies to us and these Quraysh ruffians: “fatten your dog and you it will eat!” I swear, when we return to Medina the stronger will drive out the weaker!’ He then approached some of his people and told them, ‘See what you have done to yourselves! You let them settle among you and shared your property with them. I swear, if you had kept what you owned from them, they would have gone some place else!’

‘Zayd b. Arqam overheard this and so informed the Messenger of God (SAAS), who had ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb with him at the time. ‘Umar advised him,
‘Order ‘Abbad b. Bishr to kill him!’ But the Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘How would it be, ‘Umar, to have people say that Muḥammad kills his own Companions. No, give orders to leave instead.’ This was at a time of day when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was not accustomed to begin a journey. So everyone then set off.

‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salīl went to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he was told that Zayd b. Arqam had reported what he had been heard to say. He swore by God that he had not said any such thing and had not spoken to Zayd. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy was a great chief of his people, and those ansār of his men present with the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Messenger of God, perhaps the lad mistook what was said, or did not memorize it correctly.’ They said this to give support and protection for ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy.

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had set forth and travelled some distance, he was met by Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr who addressed him as a prophet and greeted him in peace. He said, ‘Messenger of God, aren’t you out travelling at an unpleasant time when you don’t usually do so?’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded to him, ‘Have you heard what your friend said?’ ‘What friend was that then?’ Usayd asked. ‘Aḥd Allāh b. Ḥuayy,’ he replied. ‘Well, what did he say?’ he asked. ‘He claimed that when he gets back to Medina, the stronger will drive out the weaker.’ Usayd responded, ‘Well, I swear by God, Messenger of God, you’ll drive him out if you wish. He’s certainly the weak one, and you the strong.’ He went on, ‘Be kind, Messenger of God! I swear, God brought you to us while his people were stringing pearls with which to make a crown for him. And so he considers that you have robbed him of his kingdom.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded on throughout that day and that night and the following morning until they suffered greatly from the sun. He then had them make a halt and they all fell asleep as soon as they dismounted. He had only behaved in this way to keep the minds of his men off discussion of what ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy had said the previous day. After that, the Messenger of God (SAAS) took his men off into Hijaz and encamped at a water-hole there, a little above al-Naqi, at a place called Baq‘a. When he left there a gale arose that much discomforted and frightened the men. He told them, ‘Don’t be afraid at it; it is blowing this way due to the death of one of the unbelievers’ chiefs.’ When they reached Medina, they discovered that Ritaca b. Zayd b. Thbit, of Banī Qaynuqā, a leader of the Jews and a supporter of the hypocrites, had died that day.”

Mūsā b. Ḫubayl and al-Waqidi related this similarly.

Muslim related, through al-A‘mash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, much the same story, although he did not name the hypocrite who had died. He stated, “A gale blew up while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was on one of his travels, and he said, ‘This is because of the death of a hypocrite.’ And when we reached Medina, we found that one of the chief hypocrites had died.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Then the sūra was revealed in which God made mention of the hypocrites, with reference to Ibn Ubayy and those like him. The Messenger
of God (SAAS) took hold of the ear of Zayd b. Arqam and said, ‘This is he who devoted his ear to God!’"

I comment that I have written on this in my Tafsir (Exegesis) at sufficient length to obviate need to repeat it here. We have listed the various lines of transmission of this hadith from Zayd b. Arqam; to God belong all praise and credit. Should anyone wish to include this material here, he is at liberty to do so. And to God all credit is due.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Āṣim b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, ‘Messenger of God, I have heard that you want to kill 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy because of what you were informed about him. If that is so, then order me to do it and I will bring you his head. I swear that Khazraj well know that there is no man more loyal to his father than me. I fear that if you order someone other than myself to do it and he does kill him, then my spirit will not allow me to look upon the killer of 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy walking freely among people and so I will then kill a believer in exchange for an unbeliever, and so enter hell!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘On the contrary, we will treat him kindly and enjoy his company so long as he stays with us.’ Thereafter, if anything bad had happened, 'Abd Allāh’s people would blame and reproach him. So the Messenger of God (SAAS), having been informed that they were treating him that way, asked 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ‘Well, what do you think now, 'Umar? I swear, if I had killed him the day you suggested it, there would have been much resentment. But if I were to order his death today, they would all kill him!’ 'Umar responded, ‘Well, I've certainly learned that orders you give are more blessed than mine would be!”

'Ikrima, Ibn Zayd and others relate that this son, 'Abd Allāh, stood in the way of his father 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl at the narrow entry into Medina and told him, “Stop! By God, you'll not enter until the Messenger of God (SAAS) gives you permission to do so!” When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived, 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy did indeed ask his permission to enter and he sent to him allowing him to do so.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “A number of the Banū al-Muṣtaḍīq were killed that day. 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib killed two of them – Mālik and his son.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “The battle-cry of the Muslims was, 'Ya Manṣūr! Amit! Amit! O conqueror! Kill! Kill!’”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) took many captives that day and he distributed them among the Muslims.”

(ṢAAS) on the expedition to Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. We took many of the bedouin captive and we lusted after the women; celibacy was very hard on us. We liked to practise al-'azl, but wondered whether we should do this without asking the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), since he was there with us. So we did ask him about it, and he replied, ‘You might well not do that; for any soul that is going to exist till Judgement Day will so exist.’”

He (Muslim) also related this hadith.

Ibn Ishaq continued, “One of those taken captive that day was Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Ḍirār. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to me, from Urwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) distributed the captives taken from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was awarded to Thabit b. Qays b. Shammas, or to a cousin of his and she wrote a muqābala5 deed giving herself to him. She was a very sweet and attractive woman; every man who saw her fell for her. She came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ask his help in preparing the document. And, I swear, as soon as I saw her at the door of my room, I disliked her and recognized that he would see in her what I did. When she went in to him, she said, “Messenger of God, I am Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār, the leader of his people. You can see what my plight is now; I have fallen to the lot of Thabit b. Qays b. Shammas” – or to his cousin – “and I’ve prepared a deed awarding myself to him. I’ve come to ask your help in writing it.”


“The news spread that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had married Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith. And so people said, “Then they (i.e. our captives) are relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!” And so they released their captives.

“And so by his marriage to her, he released 100 of her relatives from Banū al-Muṣṭaliq. I know no woman who brought greater blessings to her people than she.”

Thereafter Ibn Ishaq reported the incident of al-ifk in its entirety as part of his narration of this expedition. Al-Bukhārī and several other scholars did the same. I have laid out the various lines of transmission in my Tafsir (Exegesis) of sūrat al-Nūr (XXIV) and this could be joined to what was mentioned here. And God is the source of help.

Al-Waqidi stated, “Ḥārām related to us, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who said, ‘Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, stated, “For three nights before the arrival of the Prophet (ṢAAS), I seemed to see the moon travel from Yathrib and fall into my lap. I did not like to tell anyone of this prior to the

54 A contract between slave and master wherein the former agrees to pay the latter a certain sum for emancipation.
arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS). But when we were taken captive, I felt good about the visions. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) freed me and married me. I swear, I never spoke to him on behalf of my people; it was the Muslims themselves who sent messages to them. The first I knew of it was when a slave girl belonging to one of my female cousins told me the news. And I gave thanks to God Almighty.”’”

Al-Waqqāṣī stated, “It is said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave as dowry for her the freeing of 40 of Banū al-Muṣṭaliq.”

Mūsā b. Uqba related, quoting Banū al-Muṣṭaliq, that her father sought her out and paid ransom for her and that then the Messenger of God (SAAS) sought her in marriage and he (her father) then married him to her.

THESIṢSAT AL-İF, THE ‘CALUMNIOUS REPORT’.

This is the text of Muḥammad b. Ishāq’s account of the calumny.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-Zuhri related to me the following from ʿAlqama b. Waqqāṣ, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, Urwa b. al-Zubayr, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba. He, al-Zuhri, said that some of these sources had given more information than others, and that he had consolidated all into the account that follows.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “(Also) Yahyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me the following, from his father, from ʿAṣīṣa, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr from ʿAmra, daughter of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAṣīṣa who was narrating about herself when people spread the calumny about her. Each one of these contributed to this account of hers, some giving information not reported by others. Each is regarded as a reliable source for information from her, and all reported what they had heard her say.

ʿAṣīṣa said, ‘When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was about to go on a journey he would draw lots among his wives to decide who would accompany him. He did so, as usual, for the expedition against Banū al-Muṣṭaliq; my name was drawn and so he took me with him. The women on such occasions would eat light filling foods rather than meat which would increase their weight. I would sit in my howdah while my camel was being saddled. The men responsible for mounting it would then grasp the howdah from below it and lift and place it upon the camel’s back, tying it there with ropes. They would then lead the camel away by the head.

‘When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had completed that journey, he directed the party to return home and when close to Medina he made a halt for part of the night. A crier then called out to everyone to depart again, and people prepared to do so. I went out to relieve myself. I was wearing a necklace of onyx beads from Zafār. When I had finished, it slipped from my neck without my

55. A town in Yemen.
knowledge. Having returned to my mount, I felt for it around my neck but did not find it there. People were beginning to leave, but I returned to where I had been to search for the necklace and eventually I found it. The men who had now finished saddling my camel came back for me and raised up the howdah, thinking I was inside as usual, and fastened it on the camel; they had no doubts about my being inside. Then they took the camel by the head and led it away.

"When I returned to the campsite, there was absolutely no one there; everyone had left. So I wrapped myself in my cloak and lay down; I was sure that they would return for me when they missed me.

"I swear, I was lying there when Șafwān b. al-Mu’atient al-Sulami came by. He had for some reason of his own been lagging behind the other warriors and had not spent the night with the others. When he saw my form he approached and stood above me; he had seen me before the veil was required for us. When he saw me, he exclaimed, "To God we belong, and to Him we return! Isn't it the za’ina6 of the Messenger of God (SAAS)?" I was all wrapped up in my cloak. He then asked, "What made you stay behind, yarhamuki Allah! 'May God have mercy on you!'" I did not speak to him. He then brought up the camel and said, "You ride." He kept away from me.

"So I mounted and he led the camel away by the head, moving quickly to catch up with the rest. I swear by God, we neither caught them up nor did they miss me before morning. By the time the force had halted and made secure, the man appeared leading me. And so those who spread the calumny began talking and the men were greatly purturbed. However, I swear I knew nothing of this.

"We then went on into Medina. There I soon fell seriously sick and heard nothing of what was going on. All the talk soon reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) and my parents, but they told me absolutely nothing of this. All I noticed was that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was not as kind as usual towards me; whenever I had been sick he had been very kind and comforting to me, but not on this occasion. I pretended not to notice. When he came in to see me, my mother being present nursing me, he would just say, formally, "Kayfa fikum?" (‘How are you?’). He would add nothing more.

"Eventually this coldness of his bothered me and so I asked him, "Messenger of God, if you will allow it, I'd like to go and stay with my mother to have her care for me." "No problem," he replied. And so I moved in with my mother. I still had no knowledge what was going on until I recovered from my illness some three weeks later.

"We were an Arab people and did not have in our homes those toilets that foreigners use; we find them disgusting. We would go out and use the open areas of Medina. Each night the women would go outside to relieve themselves. I went out to do so one night accompanied by Umm Mistah, daughter of Abū Ruḥm

56. A term denoting a woman borne in a howdah.
b. al-Muṭṭalib. She was walking with me when she tripped over her gown and swore taʿis Misṭaḥ! “perish that Misṭaḥ!” Misṭaḥ was her son’s nickname, his real name being ʿAwf. I commented, “That’s a terrible thing to say about a muḥājirī, and a man who fought at Badr!” “Has the news not reached you, daughter of Abū Bakr?” she asked me. “What news?” I asked. She then told me what those spreading the calumny were saying. I exclaimed, “This is really so?” “Yes”, she said, “it really is so.”

“I swear, I was so upset I could not do my business and went home. I wept so much I thought my crying would burst my liver! I told my mother, “May God forgive you for not telling me anything about what people have been saying about me!” She replied, “Don’t take it too seriously, daughter; rarely does a beautiful woman with a husband who loves her not have her co-wives, and others too, speak badly about her.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had stood and addressed people on this subject, but I knew nothing of that. He had praised and thanked God, then said, “Why is it that people are giving me concern about my family and speaking untruths against them? I swear by God, I know nothing but good of them! And they are also saying the same against a man of whom I have never known anything but good. He has never entered any of my dwellings without me being in his company.”

“The greatest blame for this lay with ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl, some of the Khazraj and Misṭaḥ, and Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥṣ. Ḥamna spoke thus because she was the sister of Zaynab, daughter of Jaḥṣ, who also lived with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And Zaynab was the only one of his wives who would rival my status with him. Zaynab herself was given God’s protection through her religion, for she spoke only good of me. Ḥamna spread her rumours about me to do harm for her sister’s sake, and I suffered for that.

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made this address, Usayd b. Ḥudayr stated, “Messenger of God, if they were from al- Aws, we would deal with them for you; if from our Khazraj brethren, then give us your order and I swear by God, they deserve to have their heads cut off!”

“Then Saʿd b. Ubāda arose; he had previously been considered a fine man. He said, “You lie, I swear by God’s life! You’d certainly not cut off their heads! And you only made that statement because you knew that they were of Khazraj; if they had been from your tribe, you’d never have said that!”

“Usayd b. Ḥudayr then responded with, “It’s you who lie, I swear by God’s life! You’re a hypocrite arguing on behalf of hypocrites!”

“People became so angry that there was almost fighting between these two tribes of Aws and Khazraj.

“Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood down and came in to see me. He called for ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib and Usāma b. Ṣayd and consulted with them. Usāma spoke well of me and then said, “Messenger of God, this is about your family about whom we know nothing but good. It’s all foolish lies.”“ʿAlī
said, "Messenger of God, there are plenty of women; you can exchange them. Ask the slave girl; she will speak the truth to you."

"So the Messenger of God (SAAS) called for Burayra to ask her. 'Ali went up to her and struck her violently, saying, "Speak the truth to the Messenger of God (SAAS)!" Burayra replied, "I swear by God, I know nothing but good! I never found fault with 'A'isha at all, except that, when I knead dough and ask her to watch over it she may fall asleep, and the pet lamb comes and eats it!"

"'A'isha continued, 'Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) came in to me; I had with me both my parents and an ansârî woman. I was weeping, and so was she. He sat down, gave praise and thanks to God, and said, "'A'isha, you have been informed what people have been saying about you. Fear God. If you have indeed done wrong, as they say, then repent to God. God accepts repentance from his servants." As soon as he said this my tears dried up so that I could feel nothing of them. I waited for my parents to respond on my behalf to the Messenger of God (SAAS), but they did not speak.

"I swear to God, I thought myself too humble and unimportant for God to send down a verse of the Qur'an about me, one that would be recited and used for the prayer. But I had hoped that the Prophet (SAAS) would have some vision in his sleep by which God would prove my veracity from His knowledge of my innocence and would give some information. But as for a verse of the Qur'an being revealed about me, I swear I thought myself too insignificant for that. When I saw that my parents were not going to respond on my behalf, I asked them, "Will you not reply to the Messenger of God?" They replied, "By God, we don't know what to reply."

"I swear, I don't know any household that ever suffered so much as did that of Abû Bakr through those days. When they were unable to respond for me, I burst out crying again. Then I said, "By God, I'll never repent to God for what you refer to. I swear, I well know that if I were to affirm what people say while God knew me to be innocent of it, I would be affirming what had not happened. And if I were to deny what they say, you would not believe me!" Then I tried to remember the name of Jacob, but I could not remember it, so I said, "But I will speak as did the father of Yûsuf, 'Patience is fine, and God's help is to be sought against what you describe'" (sûrat Yûsuf; XII, v.18).

"I swear, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had not left his seat before God sent down upon him what he used to send; he was wrapped up in his cloak and a pillow of leather was placed beneath his head. As for myself, when I witnessed this, I swear I felt no alarm or concern. I knew that I was innocent and that God would not harm me. However, I swear by Him who bears 'A'isha's soul in His hands, that as soon as the Messenger of God (SAAS) recovered, I thought my parents would expire for fear that confirmation of what people had been saying would come from God.

"Having recovered, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sat up, his face streamed with droplets like a winter's day. He began wiping the sweat from his face and
saying, "Rejoice, 'A'isha! God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has sent down (confirmation of) your innocence!" "Praise be to God!" I exclaimed.

"He then went out to the people, addressed them and recited to them what God, the Almighty and Glorious, had revealed from the Qur'an on the subject. He then gave orders about Mistäh b. Uthaθha, Ḥassän b. Thäbit and Ḥamna, daughter of Jaḥsh — these having been the most outspoken in their calumny — and they received the flogging prescribed by law.'"

This hadith is cited in both sahih collections from al-Zuhri. Its text has many virtues. It refers to the punishment for false accusation of fornication having been applied to Ḥassän and those with him. Abū Dāṣūd related it in his Sunan.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "A Muslim spoke the following verses on the flogging of Ḥassän and his associates,

'Ḥassän, along with Ḥamna and Mistäh, tasted what they deserved for speaking a foul calumny.

They engaged in slanders against the wife of their Prophet, incurred the wrath of Him on the noble throne, and were cast down.

They harmed the Messenger of God through her and were exposed to lasting and public disgrace and censure.

Whips lashed them with the force of sudden rain showers from storm clouds.'"

Ibn Ishāq related that Ḥassän b. Thäbit spoke verses in which he criticized Ṣafwān b. al-Muḍṭtal and a group of Quraysh who fought at the well, associates of Jahjāh, as mentioned above. These verses commence,

"These strangers have become powerful and numerous and Ibn al-Furay'a has become top man in the land!

A man's mother is as bereaved, or it is as if he is in a lion's claws, if you fight him;

For the man I come upon and kill, I'll take no blood-wit, nor compensation.

The sea, riding high when the wind blows north and it casts foam on the shore, is not more violent than me when you see me strike like a sudden hail-cloud.

As for Quraysh, I will not make peace with them until they leave error for the right
And abandon al-Lat and al-Uzzā and all of them bow down before the One and Everlasting
And bear witness that what the Messenger of God said to them is true, and they are faithful to God's truth and to the pacts made."

57. "Ibn al-Furay'a" is a reference to Ḥassän himself.
Safwān b. al-Mu‘aṭṭal confronted him and struck him with his sword, saying,

"Receive from me my sword’s blade, for I’m a man who speaks no poetry when attacked!"

He (Ibn Ishāq) related that Thābit b. Qays b. Shamās seized and bound Safwān after he had attacked Hassān. When ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha found him thus, he asked, “What’s all this?” Thābit replied, “He struck Hassān with his sword.” ‘Abd Allāh then asked, “Does the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) know anything of this?” “No,” he replied, and released Safwān. They all then went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and Ibn al-Mu‘aṭṭal told him, “Messenger of God, he did me harm and ridiculed me, and my anger so overcame me that I struck him.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, “Hassān, would you scorn my people once God gave them guidance?” He added, “Be nice about your injury.” “As ever you say, Messenger of God,” he replied. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) compensated him by awarding him Bīr Há castle that Abī Talḥa had given over as alms, and a Coptic slave-girl named Sirīn; she bore him his son ʿAbd al-Rahmān.

‘A’isha used to say, “Enquiries were made about Ibn al-Mu‘aṭṭal and he was found to be impotent; he did not approach women. Thereafter he was martyred. May God be pleased with him.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “After that, Hassān spoke the following verses in apology for what he had said about ‘A’isha,

‘Chaste and sensible, untouched by suspicion, because of my error she became food for scandal-mongers.

A noble woman of Lu‘ayy b. Ghalib, people of honour, their glory unending.

What was said of you could never apply to you; they were the words of a slanderer.

If I did speak what you claim, then may my hands never raise my whip again!

How could this be, in light of my friendship and support for the illustrious family of the Messenger of God.

Their dignity is such that all others are beneath them, falling far short; may their glory last very long.”

There should be written down here the verses of sūrat al-Nūr, namely from God’s words, “Those who related the calumny are a faction among you. Do not consider it an evil for you; in fact it is good for you. Let each man of them suffer the punishment he has earned” to the words, “Forgiveness and a fine reward” (sūrat al-Nūr; XXIV, v.11–26). Also here should be inserted the traditions, chains of transmission and other relevant matters that have come down from the earliest and later authorities. And success comes through God.
THE HUDAYBIYYA EXPEDITION.

This indisputably took place in Dhū al-Qa‘da, 6 AH. Those who state this include al-Zuhri, Nafi‘, freed-man of Ibn Umar, Qatāda, Mūsā b. Uqba and Muḥammad b. Ishaq b. Yaṣār, along with others too. This is also what was related by Ibn Lahi‘a, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwā – namely, that it occurred in Dhū al-Qa‘da of 6 AH.

Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān stated, “Ismā‘īl b. al-Khalil related to me, from ‘Ali b. Mushir (who said), ‘Hishām b. Urwā narrated to me, quoting his father as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) set out for al-Hudaybiyya in Ramadān; (the agreement at) al-Hudaybiyya was made in Shawwāl.”’”

This is very strange to have come from Urwā.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim relate from Hudba, quoting Ḥammām, from Qatāda, that Anas b. Malik narrated to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the ‘umra four times (sic) in Dhū al-Qa‘da, apart from the ‘umra performed along with his pilgrimage. The Ḥudaybiyya ‘umra took place in Dhū al-Qa‘da, that of the following year was in Dhū al-Qa‘da, that of al-Jīrāna was in Dhū al-Qa‘da, when he divided up the booty from the Battle of Ḥunayn, and there was the ‘umra that took place along with his pilgrimage.”

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Thereafter the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Medina for Ramadān and Shawwāl; then, in Dhū al-Qa‘da, he left to perform the ‘umra, not to engage in warfare.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He appointed Numayla b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “He invited the local Arabs and the bedouin in neighbouring areas to accompany him, fearing that Quraysh would attack him or block his way to the ka‘ba. But many of the bedouin refrained from joining him.

“Eventually the Messenger of God (SAAS) set forth accompanied by men of the muhājirīn and the anṣār and those bedouin who had joined him. He took with him the animals for sacrifice and dressed in pilgrim garb so that people would feel secure from attack by him and would recognize that he was only leaving to visit this House that he wished to venerate.

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhri related to me, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, as follows, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) left in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya intending to visit the ka‘ba and not wanting to engage in battle. With him he took 70 camels for sacrifice and was accompanied by 700 men. Each sacrifice was for 10 persons. Jabir b. ‘Abd Allāh used to say, so I have been told, ‘Those of us present at al-Ḥudaybiyya totalled 1,400.'”

Al-Zuhri stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) travelled as far as Ḫusāf, where he met Bishr b. Sufyān al-Ka‘bi, who told him, ‘Messenger of God, these
Quraysh have heard of your travelling and have gone forth accompanied by milk-giving camels accompanied by their young. They have dressed in tiger skins and encamped at Dhū Tuwān, swearing to God that you will not ever enter it (the city) by going past them. And Khalid b. al-Walid is in charge of their cavalry and they have advanced to Kūra‘ al-Ghamīm.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'Woe upon Quraysh! They are consumed by the warfare! What harm would it do them to leave my way clear to the other Arabs? If they (the Arabs) should defeat me, that would be what they themselves wanted. And if God gave me victory over them, they (the Arabs) would enter into Islam in droves. Otherwise, they (the Arabs) will fight on for as long as they have strength. What is Quraysh thinking of? I swear by God, I'll keep on striving to accomplish that for which God sent me my mission until He brings it to pass or I myself perish!"

"He then asked, 'What man will direct us by some path other than the one where they are?"

Ibn Ishaq went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that a man of Aslam replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' He then led them along a rough, stony trail between mountain passes. When they emerged from it, the Muslims, who had suffered greatly from this trail, emerged on to easy terrain at the end of the valley. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called out, 'Say: we ask God's forgiveness and turn to him in repentance!' They did repeat this and he then said, 'I swear by God, that was the hitṭa98 put before the Israelites, but they did not say it.'"

Ibn Shihāb stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave orders to his men as follows, saying, 'Keep to the right, passing between the two sides of al-Ḥamad on a road traversing the pass of al-Murar, on to the slope of al-Ḥudaybiyya, below Mecca.'"

Ibn Shihāb went on, "The army did follow that route, and when the Quraysh cavalry saw by the dust raised by the army that they had diverted from their own path, they raced back to Quraysh.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) went on until having crossed the al-Mīrār pass, his camel knelt. People then said, 'It's turned refractory!' He replied, 'It has not turned refractory; that's not her nature. The One who restrained the elephant from Mecca stopped her. Quraysh shall not today call upon me to respect any ties of kinship that I will not agree to.'"

"He then addressed the men as follows, 'Dismount.' They told him, 'Messenger of God, there's no well in this wādi where we can make camp.' He then took out an arrow from his quiver and gave it to one of his Companions who took it down to one of the water-holes there and stuck it in its centre. It then produced water and they had their mounts lie down there after they had been watered."

58. A word implying a plea for forgiveness of sins.
Ibn Ishq went on, “A scholar related to me, from some men of Banu Aslam, that the man who took the arrow of the Messenger of God (SAAS) down into the water-hole was Najjyya b. Jundab, the driver of his sacrificial camels.”

Ibn Ishq also said, however, “A(nother) scholar maintained that al-Bara’ b. Azib used to say, ‘It is I who went down with the arrow of the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ God knows best what in fact happened.”

Ibn Ishq then gave evidence for the first person named by reporting that an anšari slave-girl came to the well while Najjyya was down filling a bucket.

“She spoke the following verses,

‘Hey, you drawing water, my bucket is before you.
I saw our people praising you
Wishing you well and congratulating you.’

The man then responded to her with the following verses,

‘A Yemeni slave-girl has learned that it is I who draw the water, and that my name is Najjyya.
Many a deep, gushing wound I’ve made, piercing the chests of the enemy.’”

Al-Zuhri stated in his hadith, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had rested, Budayl b. Warqa’, along with some men of Khuzâ‘a, came to talk with him and to ask him why he had come. He told them that he had not come intending to do battle, but to visit the ka‘ba and to venerate its sanctity. He then said to them much the same as he had to Bishr b. Sufyân. The men then returned to Quraysh and told them that they were treating Muhammad too hastily, and that he had only come to visit the ka‘ba. Quraysh responded by making accusations against the men and by calling them cowards, saying, ‘Even if he has come not wanting to fight, he’ll never enter it by compulsion! The Arabs will never say that of us!”

Al-Zuhri stated, “Khuzâ‘a, both their Muslims and their polytheists, were advisers to the Messenger of God (SAAS), hiding from him nothing that happened in Mecca.

“They then sent to him Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf, a brother of Banu ‘Amir b. Lu‘ayy. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw him approaching, he said, ‘This man is untrustworthy!’ When Mikraz reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and addressed him, the latter replied to him much as he had to Budayl and his companions. Mikraz then returned to Quraysh and reported what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told him. They then dispatched Hulays b. ‘Alqama, or Ibn Zabbân, who at that time was the leader of the Abyssinian fighters, he being a member of Banu al-Ḥārith b. ‘Abd Manât b. Kinâna. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw him, he commented, ‘This man is from people who are devout; drive out the animals for sacrifice in front of him so he
will see them.’ When he saw them going past from the valley side, wearing their neck decorations and having eaten their own hair from having been long confined, he went back to Quraysh without actually having gone to the Messenger of God (SAAS), since they were so impressed with what he had seen. He reported this to them (Quraysh). They told him, ‘Just sit down! You’re only a bedouin, without any sense!’"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr related to me that al-Hulays was angry at this and retorted, ‘Quraysh, it wasn’t for this that we allied with you and made a pact with you! Shall someone who has come to venerate God’s house be barred from it? By Him who holds the soul of al-Hulays, either you allow Muhammad to do what he has come for, or I’ll take away the Abyssinians to the last man of them!’ They responded, ‘Keep silent and leave us alone until we get for ourselves what we want!’"

Al-Zuhri stated in his hadith, “Then they (decided to send) to the Messenger of God (SAAS) Urwa b. Mas‘ūd al-Thaqafi and he told them, ‘Tribe of Quraysh, I saw the violence and bad language you directed at those who came back to you after you dispatched them to Muhammad. You well know that you are as my father and myself the son’ (Urwa was in fact the son of Sabī‘a, daughter of ‘Abd al-Shams). ‘Having heard what has occurred to you, I gathered some of my people who obey me and so have come to you to help you myself.’

“They replied, ‘You speak the truth; you have our trust.’

“So he went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, ‘Muhammad, so have you gathered together a whole mix of people, then brought them to your own home to destroy it with them? Quraysh have come forth with their milch-camels, accompanied by their young and dressed in tiger skins, having sworn to God that you will never enter contrary to their wish. By God, I’ll wager these people will abandon you tomorrow!’

“Abū Bakr, the Trusting, God be pleased with him, was behind the Messenger of God (SAAS) and commented, ‘Go suck al-Lat’s tits! Us abandon him, indeed!’ Urwa then asked, ‘So who is this, Muhammad?’ He replied, ‘This is Ibn Abī Quhāfa.’ Umar then said, ‘If I wasn’t obligated to you, I’d punish you for that. But now we are even.’

“Urwa then began fondling the beard of the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was speaking to him. Al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba, who was standing close by, dressed in armour, began tapping at Urwa’s hand as it touched the beard of the Messenger of God (SAAS), saying, ‘Remove your hand from the face of the Messenger of God, or you’ll never get it back!’ Urwa commented, ‘Damn you, how churlish and rude you are!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) smiled at this, so Urwa asked him, ‘Who is this, then, Muhammad?’ ‘This’, he replied, ‘is your nephew al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba!’ At this Urwa commented, ‘You wretch, wasn’t it only yesterday you learned how to wash your own private parts!’”
Al-Zuhri went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to ‘Urwa approximately what he had to the others, telling him that he had not come seeking battle. ‘Urwa then left, having observed how the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) treated him. When he washed, they rushed to the water he had used. If he spat, they hurried to retrieve it, and if a hair fell from his head, they would take it. Consequently, when ‘Urwa returned to Quraysh, he told them, ‘Men of Quraysh, I’ve been to Chosroe in his kingdom, Caesar in his and the Negus in his; but I swear, I never saw a king amidst his people like Muḥammad amidst his Companions. I have seen people who would never abandon him for any reason. So draw your own conclusions.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) called for Khirāsh b. Umayya al-Khuṣai’ and sent him to Quraysh in Mecca, mounting him on one of his camels called al-Thaʿlab, to tell their leaders on his behalf why he had come. But they hamstrung the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and wanted to kill him. The Abyssinian troops, however, prevented this and they released him, so he made his way back to the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Ibn Ishāq also stated, “A reliable source related to me, from Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that Quraysh had sent 40 or 50 of their men with orders to encircle the camp of the Messenger of God (SAAS), to capture one of his Companions. But they were taken prisoner and brought to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He forgave them and released them. They had hurled stones and shot arrows at the camp of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“He then summoned ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to send him to Mecca to inform the Quraysh leaders for him why he had come. ‘Umar responded, ‘Messenger of God, I fear for myself from Quraysh. There is no one in Mecca of Bana ‘Adi who could protect me. Quraysh are well aware of my enmity towards them and of the roughness with which I have treated them. But I will suggest to you a man they respect more than myself, ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then summoned ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān and did send him to Abū Sufyān and the Quraysh leaders to tell them that he had not come to wage war, but to visit the ḱaʿba in veneration of its sanctity. ‘Uthmān set out for Mecca, where he was met by Abān b. Sa‘d b. al-‘Āṣ, either before or after he had entered the city. Abān mounted ‘Uthmān before himself and gave him protection until he delivered the message of the Messenger of God (SAAS). ‘Uthmān went on to meet Abū Sufyān and the other Quraysh leaders. He gave them the message entrusted to him by the Messenger of God (SAAS). When he had done so, they told ‘Uthmān, ‘If what you want is to circumambulate the ḱaʿba, then do so.’ He replied, ‘I could never circumambulate it before the Messenger of God (SAAS) did so.’

“Quraysh then kept ‘Uthmān as their prisoner. The Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims were informed that ‘Uthmān had been killed. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, when
he was informed that 'Uthmān had been killed, 'We'll not leave before engaging the enemy in battle!'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called upon the men to pledge allegiance to him. This pledge, the bay'at al-ridwān, the 'willing pledge', was made beneath a tree. People would say that the Messenger of God (SAAS) received a pledge of allegiance unto death. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, however, used to say, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not have us pledge allegiance unto death, but had us swear that we would not flee.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) received their pledge and the only Muslim present who abstained from it was al-Jadd b. Qays, brother of Banū Salama. Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh used to say, 'I swear, I can almost see him now, standing glued to the side of his camel, trying to hide from everyone.'

"Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) received the news that the report about 'Uthmān was false."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Wakī recounted, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khālid, from al-Sha'bī, that the first man to make the bay'at al-ridwān to the Messenger of God (SAAS) was Abū Sinān al-Asadi.

"And a reliable source related to me a tradition from Ibn Abī Mulayka, from Ibn 'Umar, that the Messenger of God himself (SAAS) made the pledge for 'Uthmān, clapping one of his hands to the other."

This tradition mentioned by Ibn Hishām with this line of authority is weak; however, it is confirmed in both sahih collections.

Ibn Ishāq went on, "Al-Zuhri stated, 'Quraysh then sent Suhayl b. 'Amr, brother of Banū 'Amir b. Lu'ayy, to the Messenger of God (SAAS), telling him, 'Go to Muhammad and make peace with him. The only condition for peace with him is that he withdraw from us this year. By God, the Arabs shall never say that he entered it by compulsion!'"

"Suhayl b. 'Amr went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said, seeing him approach, 'The enemy wanted peace when they dispatched this man.'

"When Suhayl reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) he spoke with him at length; they reconciled and made peace. The matter having been concluded, with nothing but a document remaining to be drawn up, 'Umar jumped up and went over to Abū Bakr. He asked him, 'Abū Bakr, is he not God's messenger?' 'Indeed yes,' he replied. 'And are we not Muslims?' he asked. 'Indeed yes,' Abū Bakr replied. 'And are they not polytheists?' 'Indeed yes,' he agreed. 'So why should we agree to something that demeans our religion?' 'Umar asked. Abū Bakr replied, 'Obey whatever he says; for I testify that he is the Messenger of God.' 'Umar added, 'I too testify that he is the Messenger of God.'

"He ('Umar) then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked him, 'Are you not the Messenger of God?' 'Yes, indeed.' 'And are we not Muslims?' 'Indeed yes.' 'And are they not polytheists?' 'Indeed yes.' 'So why then should we
demean our religion?’ ‘I’, he replied, ‘am the servant of God and His messenger. I shall not oppose His order and He will not let me fail.’

‘Umar, God be pleased with him, used to say, ‘I have gone on fasting, giving alms, praying and freeing slaves because of what I did that day and out of fear for what I said that day, until I felt that I had made up.’”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then summoned ‘Ali b. Abī Talib, God be pleased with him and told him, ‘Write: “In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Beneficent”.’ Suhayl objected, ‘I don’t know that (phrase).’ ‘Write instead, “In Your name, O God.”’ And ‘Ali wrote it.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘Write down: “This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, and Suhayl b. ‘Amr.”’ Suhayl then said, ‘If I were to testify that you are the Messenger of God, I would not oppose you. Write down your name and that of your father.’

“So the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Write down, “This is the peace agreement made by Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh, with Suhayl b. ‘Amr. They have made peace by agreeing to put aside warfare from the people for ten years. During this period, people will be safe and leave one another alone. Provided that if anyone from Quraysh comes to Muhammad without permission of his guardian, then he must send him back to them. If, however, anyone goes to Quraysh from Muhammad, they are not to send him back to him. There are to be no secret agreements, bad faith or antagonism between us. Anyone wishing to enter into a pact or agreement with Muḥammad may do so. Anyone wishing to enter into an agreement or pact with Quraysh may do so.”’

“At this Khuzā’ah promptly announced, ‘We have made a pact and agreement with Muḥammad!’ And Banū Bakr responded at once, ‘We have made a pact and agreement with Quraysh!’

“The agreement went on, ‘You shall retire from us this year and not enter Mecca against our will. Next year we will make way for you, and you and your people may enter and stay for three nights, each rider bearing his own weapons — swords in sheaths, that is, and bringing in no other weapons.’

“While the Messenger of God (SAAS) was writing the document, up came Abū Jandal, Suhayl’s son, dragging fetters, having escaped to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“When those with the Messenger of God (SAAS) had gone forth, they had not doubted that there would be victory, because of visions he had seen. Witnessing now the peace being made and their withdrawal being arranged and what the Messenger of God (SAAS) was agreeing to on his own behalf, they were all very disappointed and deathly depressed.

“When Suhayl saw (his son) Abū Jandal, he got up, went to him and struck him in the face, grabbing him by the collar and saying, ‘The matter was agreed to between us before this fellow came to you!’ ‘You are right,’ he agreed. And so
Suhayl began dragging his son away to return him to Quraysh custody, while Abī Jandal screamed at the top of his voice, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists who will subvert my faith?'

"This increased their sense of depression.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Be patient and control yourself, Abū Jandal! God is preparing relief and succour for you and the others with you who are powerless. We have made a peace pact with the enemy and we and they have sworn to this in God's name; we cannot act falsely with them.'

"'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb jumped up and walked along beside Abū Jandal, saying, 'Be patient! They're only polytheists, their blood worth no more than that of dogs!' He was keeping the hilt of his sword close to Abū Jandal. 'Umar used to say, 'I was hoping he would take the sword and strike his father with it! But the man spared his father, and the matter was settled.'

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had finished the document, he called upon some of the Muslims and some of the polytheists to witness the peace. These men were Abū Bakr, 'the Trusting', 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, 'Abd Allāh b. Suhayl b. Amr, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās, Mahmūd b. Maslama, Mikraz b. Ḥafs (he having been a polytheist at that time), 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib. It was he, 'Ali, who wrote out the agreement.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) had set up his tent in unhallowed territory and he would say his prayers on sacred ground. When he had concluded the peace, he set about sacrificing his animals. He then sat and had his head shaved; the man who shaved it that day was Khirāsh b. Umayya b. al-Fadl al-Khuza'i. When the Muslims saw that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had made sacrifice and shaved, they hurried to do the same.'

Ibn Ishaq went on, "'Abd Allāh b. Aba Najīḥ related to me, from Mujāhid, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'Some men shaved their heads at al-Ḥudaybiyya, while others cut their hair short. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, "May God have mercy on those who shaved!" They asked, "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" "May God have mercy on those who shaved," he repeated. "And on those who cut it short, Messenger of God?" they again asked. He said, "And on those who cut it short."

"'They then asked him, "Messenger of God, why did you emphasize God's mercy for those who shaved and not for those who cut their hair short?" He replied, "They did not doubt."'"

'Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ stated, "Mujāhid related to me, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sacrificed one camel among the rest that had belonged to Abū Jahl and had a silver ring on its head; he did this to anger the polytheists."

This is the text given by Muḥammad b. Ishaq; may God be pleased with him for this account. In the text of al-Bukhārī that will follow there are differences in some places with this text, as you will see, if God so wills it and in Him is all
trust. We will give it complete, making reference to traditions considered both authentic and good for the benefit in them. If God Almighty wills it; our reliance is upon Him, for He is the one from whom to seek help.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Khalid b. Makhlid related to us, quoting Sulaymān b. Bilāl, who quoted Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Zayd b. Khalid, who said, ‘We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and at night it rained hard. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed the al-ṣubh prayer with us. Later he turned to us and said, “Do you know what your Lord said?” We replied, “God and His messenger know best!” He said, ‘God Almighty said, ‘Of my servants, some have awakened to belief in me, others to disbelief. Those who said, “Our rain comes by God’s mercy and bounty” are believers in me and disbelievers in the stars. Those who said, “Our rain comes by this or that star” is a believer in the stars and a disbeliever in me.’”

Al-Bukhārī related this in several places in his sahih collection. Muslim gave the tradition in various lines back to al-Zuhrī. From al-Zuhrī the line of transmission went back to ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh from Abū Hurayra.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to us, from Isrā’īl, from Abū Ḥishāq, from al-Bara’, who said, ‘You use the word al-fath, “the victory”, to apply to the farh of Mecca. That was certainly a victory. We consider al-fath (also) to have been the bay‘at al-ridwān, the “willing pledge”, that occurred at al-Ḥudaybiyya. There were 1,400 of us with the Prophet (ṢAAS). At al-Ḥudaybiyya there is a well; we went down to it and drained it to the last drop. When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard of this, he came there and sat on its edge and called for a vessel of water, with which he performed the ablution. Then he rinsed out his mouth, prayed, and poured it in the well. We then went a little way off, and later it produced for us (the water that) we and our mounts needed.’”

Ibn Ḥishām stated, regarding the words of God Almighty, “but He made apart from that a near victory” (ṣūrat al-Fath; XLVIII, v.27), (referring to) “the Ḥudaybiyya peace”. “Al-Zuhrī stated, ‘No victory occurred previously in Islam than was greater than it. (Previously) wherever men had met, there had been fighting; when the truce was made, warfare came to an end and all made peace with one another. When they met they would negotiate with one another when they talked. And no one of any intelligence had Islam explained to him without accepting it. In those two years the same number of men entered as before, or even more.’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “The proof of what al-Zuhrī said is in the fact that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya with 1,400 men, as Jabir states, and then two years later attended the ‘conquest of Mecca’ with 10,000.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUṣūf b. Ḥusayn from Sālim, from Jabir, who said, “At al-Ḥudaybiyya the men were thirsty while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had before him a waterskin
he would use for ablutions. Eventually the men went over to him and he asked what they wanted. They told him that they had no water for ablutions or for drinking and that all that remained was in his waterskin. The Prophet (SAAS) then placed his hand in the waterskin and the water began spurting out from between his fingers as if it were a spring.” Jābir continued, “So we drank and performed the ablutions.” We asked Jābir, “How many were you there that day?” He replied, “Even if we had been 100,000, there would have been enough for us. We were 1,500 men.”

Al-Bukhārī also related this hadith, as did Muslim, from different lines of transmission, from Ḥusayn, from Sālim b. Abū al-Ja‘d, from Jābir.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ṣalt b. Muḥammad, quoting Yazīd b. Zūrayr, from Sa‘īd, from Qatāda (who said), “I said to Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, ‘I have heard that Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh used to say that they were 1,400 strong.’ Sa‘īd replied, ‘Jābir told me that they were 1,500 in number who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya.’”

Abū Da‘ūd traced this tradition back with a line including Qurra, from Qatāda. Al-Bukhārī is alone in thus giving this hadith.

Thereafter al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, that ‘Amr said, “I heard Jābir say, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to us at al-Ḥudaybiyya, ‘You are the best people on earth!’ We were 1,400; and were I able today to see, I would show you the place where the tree stood.’”

Al-Bukhārī also related this tradition, as did Muslim, from several lines of transmission, from Sufyān b. ‘Uuyayn. Al-Ṭayy b. Sa‘īd related it similarly, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, “A slave belonging to Ḥāṭib came to make a complaint about him. He said, ‘Messenger of God, Ḥāṭib will surely enter hell-fire!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘You have lied; he will not enter hell; he was present at Badr and al-Ḥudaybiyya.’”

Muslim related this.

Muslim also gave, from several lines of transmission, the following from Ibn Jurayj, “Abū al-Zubayr narrated to me that he heard Jābir say, ‘Umm Maysar told me that she heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, when he was with Ḥafṣa, “None, if God wills it, will enter hell of those who made the pledge beneath the tree.” Ḥafṣa commented, “On the contrary, Messenger of God.” He berated her and she then quoted, “All of you are headed there” (ṣūrat Maryam; XIX, v.71). The Messenger of God (SAAS) then responded, “Almighty God stated, ‘... and then We will deliver those who are pious, and We will leave there the evil-doers, prostrate’”’ (ṣūrat Maryam; XIX, v.72).

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mu‘āṣah said, “My father related to us, quoting Shu‘ba, from ‘Amr b. Murra, who stated, “Abd Allāh b. Abū Awfā said, “The men at the tree were 1,300 in number; Aslām were one-eighth of the muhājirīn (there).’”’

Muḥammad b. Bašār included in the chain of authorities Abū Dā‘ūd and Shu‘ba.
Al-Bukhārī narrated it with 'Abd Allāh as one of the authorities in the chain. Muslim narrated it from Ubayd Allāh b. Muṭādh, from his father, from Shu‘ba. Also from Muḥammad b. al-Muthanna, from Abū Daʿūd, from Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, from al-NAḍr b. Shumayl, both of them quoting Shu‘ba.

Thereafter, al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, from Marwān and al-Miswar b. Makhrama, who both said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya with some hundreds of his Companions. While he was at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put ceremonial necklaces on the sacrificial camels, marked them and entered into the ihram, the state of ritual consecration.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this tradition. This text will follow complete hereafter.

What is implied here is that all these accounts contradict what Ibn Ishaq maintained, namely that those at al-Ḥudaybiyya were 700 in number.

He only said this – though God knows best – because he was using his independent scholastic judgement; since there were 70 sacrificial camels, each one of which would have been for ten men, then those making the sacrifice would have been 700 in number.

But there is no need for all of them to have been participating in the offering, nor that all of them were making the pilgrimage. It is established that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out one group of them, who included Abū Qatāda. And Abū Qatāda did not adopt the ihram state until after he had killed that wild donkey which he and his companions ate. They carried some of it to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while on the journey, and he asked (those in a state of ihram), “Did any of you order that he bring the meat or make any gesture towards it?” “No,” they said. “Then eat what remains of the donkey,” he told them.

Al-Bukhārī had stated, “Shu‘ba b. al-Rabi‘ related to us, quoting ‘Alī b. al-Mubārak, from Yahyā, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Qatāda, that his father (Abū Qatāda) related to him, as follows, ‘We set off with the Prophet (ṢAAS), the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya, and my companions went in the ihram state, but I did not.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ related to him, quoting Shabāba b. Suwār al-Fazārī, quoting Shu‘ba, from Qatāda, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, who said, “I saw the tree; then I came to it later but did not recognize it.”

(Al-Bukhārī went on) “Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū ‘Awāna, quoting Ṭāriq, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, that he was among those who made the pledge beneath the tree. So we returned to it the following year; but it was obscure to us.”

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Mahmūd related to him, quoting Ubayd Allāh, from Iṣrā‘il, from Ṭāriq b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who said, “I set off as a pilgrim, and
passed by some people praying. ‘What masjid, place for prayer, is this then?’ They replied, ‘This is the tree where the Messenger of God (SAAS) called for the bay'at al-ridwān, the “willing pledge”.’ I then went over to Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab and related this to him. Sa'īd then said, ‘My father related to me that he was among those who made the pledge to the Messenger of God (SAAS) beneath the tree. He told me, “The following year we had forgotten it and could not find it.”’

“Sa'īd then said, ‘The Companions of Muḥammad did not know it but you people do! You know best, then!’”

Al-Bukhārī related this tradition, as did al-Thawrī, Abū 'Awāna and Shabābā, from Tāriq.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sa'īd related to him, quoting his brother, from Sulaymān, from 'Amr b. Yahyā, from 'Abbād b. Tamīm, who said, “At the battle of al-Ḥarraq, people were making a pledge to 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanṭala. Ibn Zayd asked, ‘What is the pledge the people are making to Ibn Ḥanṭala?’ He was told, ‘To the death’. He then said, ‘I will not pledge that to anyone following the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ He had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya with him.”

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from various lines, from 'Amr b. Yahyā.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba b. Sa'īd related to him, quoting Ḥātim, from Yazīd b. Abū Ubayd (who said), “I said to Salama b. al-Akwāf, ‘What pledge was it you made to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya?’ ‘To the death,’ he replied.”

Muslim related this from a hadith of Yazīd b. Abū Ubayd.

In the saḥīḥ collection of Muslim, it states that he sought the pledge three times – from a first group, from a middle group and from a final group.

In the saḥīḥ there is a hadith from Ma'qīl b. Yāsār that he held the tree branches away from the face of the Messenger of God (SAAS) while he was receiving their pledge. (It also states there) that the first man to give his pledge that day was Abū Sinān, he being Wāḥib b. Miḥṣan, brother of Ḥūṣayn b. Miḥṣan. The name of Sinān b. Abū Sinān is also given.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Shujaʿ b. al-Walīd that he heard al-Nadr b. Muḥammad (say), that Ẓakhrī b. al-Rabīʿ quoted Nāfiʿ as having said, ‘People relate that ʿUmar’s son accepted Islam before ʿUmar, yet it was not so. The day of al-Ḥudaybiyya ʿUmar sent (his son) Ābād Allāh to bring him a mare of his that was with one of the anṣār; this was so that he could ride it to battle. At the time, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was receiving the pledge beneath the tree, though ʿUmar did not know this. Ābād Allāh pledged his allegiance, then left. ʿUmar then went with him and made his pledge to the Messenger of God (SAAS). This is why people say that ʿUmar’s son accepted Islam before ʿUmar did.”

that the people who were with the Prophet (SAAS) at al-Ḥudaybiyya were dispersed in the shade of the tree. Then they all began looking directly at the Prophet (SAAS). He (ʿUmar) then said (to his son), ‘ʿAbd Allāh, go and find out why everyone is looking directly at the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ He (ʿAbd Allāh) found them to be making their pledge, and he did so himself. He then returned to ʿUmar, who went and pledged allegiance.’’" Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this hadith from both these lines of authorities.

An Account of the texts given by al-Bukhārī relating to the pilgrimage of al-Ḥudaybiyya.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his military chronicle as follows, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Sufyān, who said, ‘I heard al-Zuhri when he related this hadith. I learned part of it by heart and Maʿmar corroborated me. (The hadith quotes) from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of these adding to the account of the other. They both stated, “The Prophet (SAAS) went forth to al-Ḥudaybiyya accompanied by some 1,000 men. When he arrived at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he put neck decorations and badges on the sacrificial camels, and went out from there as a pilgrim, sending on ahead a scout of his from the Khuzāʿa.

“The Prophet (SAAS) travelled on till he arrived at the stream at al-Ashtāt, where his scout came to him and said, ‘Quraysh have gathered a force against you. They have assembled the Abyssinian warriors to fight you. They intend to do battle with you and to keep you away from the kaʿba.’ He then asked, ‘Men, give me your advice. Do you think that I should give way for the children and families of those who wish to keep us from the kaʿba? (Better) if they do come and join us, (so) God will have cut out one eye of the polytheists; alternatively, we will leave them defeated.’ Abū Bakr replied, ‘Messenger of God, you have come forth to visit the kaʿba, not intending to do battle or to make war against anyone. Proceed to it, and we will fight anyone who blocks our way.’ He responded, ‘Then proceed onwards, in God’s name.’”"

This is how al-Bukhārī related this tradition here, stopping at this point and adding nothing more.

In his work, Kitāb al-Shahādat, al-Bukhārī stated, that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, quoting al-Zuhri, quoting Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, each of them corroborating the other’s account. They both stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) left at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya and proceeded on for part of the way. At that point the Prophet (SAAS) said, ‘Khālid b. al-Walid is at al-Ghamīm with cavalry as Quraysh’s vanguard. Take a route to the right.’ And, by God, Khālid had no awareness of them until he saw their army’s dust. He then raced off to inform Quraysh.
"The Prophet (SAAS) proceeded on until he reached the pass from which the way led down to them. There his camel kneeled down; people said, 'Hal! Hal! Get up! Get up!' but it persisted (in kneeling). People said, 'Al-Qaswa (the camel's name) has become refractory!' The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded to them, 'No, al-Qaswa has not; that's not in her nature. She has been held back by Him who held back the elephant.' He then said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, I'll accept any request that they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified!' He then scolded his camel and it got up.

"He then veered away from Quraysh and halted beyond al-Ḥudaybiyya at a well there that had little water. His men kept taking the water from it, little by little, and soon they had bailed it out completely. Complaint of thirst was made to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he drew an arrow from his quiver and told them to put it into the water-hole. And, by God, it continued providing them plenty of water until they left.

"While this was going on, Budayl b. Warqā al-Khuzā'ī arrived, accompanied by others of Khuzā'ī. They were the trusted confidants of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from the people of Tihāma. Budayl said, 'I have just left Ka'b b. Lu'ayy and ʿAmir b. Lu'ayy who have encamped at the Ḥudaybiyya wells; they have with them their milch-camels with their young. They are going to do battle with you and prevent you from reaching the kūba.'

"The Prophet (SAAS) responded, 'We have not come to fight anyone. We have come to make a pilgrimage. Quraysh have been consumed by the warfare! It has ruined them. If they want, I will give them respite for a period. They should then give me access to the people. If it (Islam) prevails, and they wish to join into what the people have entered, they could do so. Otherwise, they will have gained in numbers. If they refuse this, then I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, I will battle them in this cause of mine until I perish! Let God's will be done!'

"Budayl said, 'I will inform them what you say.' He then went off to Quraysh and told them, 'We come to you from that man. We have heard him make certain statements which, if you wish, we will relate to you.' Fools among them said, 'We have no need for you to tell us anything of him.' Those of them who were sensible, said, 'Tell us what you heard him say.' He responded by relating to them what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said.

"Urwa b. Masūd then arose and said, 'People, am I not as your father?' 'Yes, you are,' they told him. 'And are you not as my children?' 'Yes, indeed,' they replied. 'Do you mistrust me?' he then asked. 'No,' they answered. 'Do you not know that I called to the people of 'Ukāz to come forth to war alongside me and that when they put me off I came to you with my family and my son, and all who obeyed me?' 'Yes indeed,' they replied. 'This man', he went on, 'has made an appropriate offer. Accept it, and let me go to see him.' 'Go to him,' they told him.
"When he went to him, he began talking to the Prophet (SAAS), who said to him approximately what he had told Budayl. Urwa at that point said, 'Hey now, Muhammad, haven’t you considered that you are ruining your people? Have you ever heard of any Arab who ruined his people before yourself? And if that doesn’t happen, I swear I don’t see faces here; I just see a hodge-podge of people who are quite capable of fleeing and abandoning you.'

"Abū Bakr said to him, 'Go suck al-Lat’s tits! Would we flee and abandon him!'

"Urwa asked, 'Who is that?' 'Abū Bakr,' people told him. Urwa commented, 'Well, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I weren’t obligated to you, I’d give you a reply all right!'

"He then went on speaking to the Prophet (SAAS) and while doing so would take hold of the latter’s beard. Al-Mughira b. Shu’ba, who was standing at the head of the Messenger of God (SAAS), wearing a sword and a helmet, would tap his hand with the hilt of his sword each time Urwa stretched it out to touch the beard of the Messenger of God (SAAS) saying, 'Keep your hands off the beard of the Messenger of God!' Urwa raised his head and asked, 'And who is that?' 'That is al-Mughira b. Shu’ba,' they replied. Urwa then said, 'You wretch! I couldn’t match your treachery!'

"Before Islam, al-Mughira b. Shu’ba had stayed with a family and had murdered them and taken their property. Thereafter, he came and accepted Islam, whereupon the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, 'As for Islam, do accept it. As for money, I’ve nothing to do with that.'

"Then Urwa began watching closely the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He said (later), 'I swear that if the Messenger of God (SAAS) spat, the phlegm would fall into the hand of one of them and that person would rub it on to his face or skin. If he gave them a command, they would carry it out immediately. If he performed the ablutions, they would almost kill one another trying to get to the water he had used. If he spoke, they lowered their voices. And they never looked directly at him, out of their reverence for him.'

"Urwa returned to his companions and told them, 'Well, I’ve gone in to kings, had audiences with Caesar, Chosroe and the Negus and I swear by God I’ve never seen the subjects of any king venerate him the way Muhammad’s people venerate him! I swear, if he spits, the phlegm always falls into the palm of one of them and he will then rub it on to his face or skin. If he gives them a command, they hurry to carry it out. If he performs the ablutions, they almost kill one another for the water he used. If he speaks, they lower their voices in his presence. And they never look directly at him, out of their veneration for him. He has made you an appropriate offer; accept it.'"

"A man of Banū Kināna then asked to be allowed to go to see him and Quraysh agreed. As he was approaching, the Messenger of God (SAAS) commented,
'This is so-and-so; he is from a tribe who much venerate sacrificial camels. Send them out to him.' They were put out for him and people greeted him chanting *labhayk,* 59 ‘at Your service’, ('O Lord'). When he saw this, he said, ‘All praise be to God! It is not right for these people to be kept from the *ka'ba.*’ When he returned to his companions, he told them, ‘I have seen the sacrificial camels necklaced and decorated with badges, and I don’t think they should be kept from the *ka'ba.*’

“One of their men, named Mikraz b. Ḥafs, then arose, and said, ‘Let me go to him.’ ‘Do so,’ they told him. When he approached, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘This is Mikraz; he is an immoral man.’ As Mikraz began to speak to the Messenger of God (SAAS), Suhayl b. ‘Amr arrived.”

Ma’mar stated, “Ayyūb narrated to me, from ‘Ikrima, that when Suhayl b. ‘Amr arrived, the Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘Your problem has suhhila, “been eased”!’

Ma’mar went on, “Al-Zuhri stated in his *ḥadith,* ‘Suhayl then came and said, “Come on now, write an agreement between us.” The Prophet (SAAS) asked for a document to be brought and said, “Write down: *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* (in the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent)”. But Suhayl objected, “As for that term al-raḥmān, I swear I don’t know what that is. Instead, put down *Bismik Allāhumma* (In your name, O God), like you used to write.” The Muslims insisted, “By God, we’ll write it only *Bismi Allāhi al-raḥmān al-raḥīm!*” But the Prophet (SAAS) said, “Write down *Bismik Allāhumma.*”

“He then said, ‘This is what Muhammad, the Messenger of God, has determined.’ Suhayl objected, ‘By God, if we knew you to be the Messenger of God, we’d not have blocked your access to the *ka'ba,* nor would we have battled you. However, write down “Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh.” The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘By God, I certainly am the Messenger of God, even though you call me a liar! Write down “Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh.”’”

Al-Zuhri stated, “This relates to his having said, ‘I’ll accept any request they make of me by which the sanctuaries of God are dignified.’

“The Prophet (SAAS) then said, ‘on condition that you allow us access to the *ka'ba* so that we may circumambulate it.’

“Suhayl objected, ‘By God, we’ll not have the Arabs say that we accepted pressure; however, that can happen next year.’

“So he wrote it. Suhayl then said, ‘A condition is that any of our men who come over to you, even if in your religion, you will return to us.’

“The Muslims said, ‘Goodness gracious, how could someone be returned to the polytheists if he came as a Muslim?’

“While this discussion was in progress Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. ‘Amr came along, dragging his chains, having escaped from below Mecca, and threw himself

59. A liturgy addressed to God by a pilgrim in the *iḥrām* state.
60. The comment makes a pun on the name Suhayl, from a root meaning to make easy, or facilitate.
down among the Muslims. Suhayl said, 'This fellow, Muḥammad, is the first whom I charge you to return to me.' The Prophet (SAAS) said, 'But we've not completed the agreement yet.' 'In that case,' Suhayl insisted, 'I'll never make a pact with you over anything.' The Prophet (SAAS) then said, 'Release him to my custody.' 'I'll not release him to you,' Suhayl said. 'I insist that you release him!' 'That I'll not do,' he replied. Mikraz then said, 'Very well, we'll release him to you.'

"Abū Jandal then exclaimed, 'Muslims, shall I be returned to the polytheists? I have come to you as a Muslim. Can't you see how I've been treated?' He had been brutally tortured in God's cause.

"Umar, may God be pleased with him, said, 'So I went to the Messenger of God, God's peace and blessings be upon him, and asked, "Are you not truly the Messenger of God?" 'Yes, indeed," he replied. "And are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Why, then, are we so demeaning our religion?" I asked. He replied, "I am the Messenger of God, and I will not disobey Him; He is my helper."

"'Well," I asked, 'didn't you tell us how we would come to the ka'ba and circumambulate it?' "Indeed yes," he replied. "But did I tell you we would do that this year?" "No," I replied. "Well," he said, you will go to it and circumambulate it."

"Umar went on, 'I then went down to Abū Bakr and asked, 'Abū Bakr, is this man not in truth God's prophet?' "Yes, indeed," he replied. "But are we not in the right and our enemy in error?" "Yes, indeed," he agreed. "Well?, I asked him, 'then why are we demeaning our religion?' He replied, 'Look, man, he is indeed the Messenger of God and he will not disobey Him; He is his helper. Trust him; he is right.'

"'But', I continued, 'didn't he tell us we would go to the ka'ba and circumambulate it?' "Yes indeed," he agreed. "But did he say you would get there this year?" "No," I said. "You will get there and circumambulate it," he said."

Al-Zuhrī stated, "Umar went on, 'So I therefore did certain things.'

"He went on, 'And when he had completed the document, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told his Companions, 'Make your sacrifices and shave.'

"'And, I swear, not a man of them did so until he repeated this three times. When none of them arose, he went in to Umm Salama and told her how the men were acting. Umm Salama said, 'Prophet of God, do you like that? Go on out without speaking a word to anyone and sacrifice your camel. Then call for your barber and have him shave your head.'

"He went out and spoke to no one until he had done this. He made his sacrifice and called for his barber who shaved his head. When the men saw this, they arose and made sacrifice. Then some so hurriedly shaved the heads of others that it appeared that they were killing each other in their grief.

"Then some believing women went to see him. And so God Almighty revealed the words, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to
you as emigrants, then test them ...” and so on to the words, “... the marriage ties of unbelieving women” (ṣūrat al-Mumtaḥana; LX, v.10).

“That day ‘Umar divorced two women who had been his while he was a polytheist. Mu‘awiya b. Abū Sufyān married one of these, while Sa‘wān b. Umayya the other.

“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned to Medina. There Abū Başir, a Quraysh man, came to him, he being a Muslim. They (Quraysh) sent two men to retrieve him, referring to the pact that had been made. He gave Abū Başir over to them and they left with him and went to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, where they halted to eat the dates they had. Abū Başir said to one of the two men, ‘By God, I can see that that sword of yours is a very fine one.’ The other man unsheathed it and said, ‘Yes, it is; I swear it is fine. And I’ve put it to the test often.’ Abū Başir asked, ‘Do let me look at it.’ He then took it from him and struck him until he was dead. The other man fled back to Medina where he ran into a mosque. When he saw him, the Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘That man has seen something dreadful.’

“When the man reached the Prophet (SAAS), the man exclaimed, ‘I swear by God, my companion has been killed! And I’m as good as dead!’ Then Abū Başir arrived and said, ‘Prophet of God, God has fulfilled your obligation! You returned me to them, and then God saved me from them.’ The Prophet (SAAS) then commented, ‘Woe on his mother! What an inciter to war he would have been if he had had supporters!’

“When Abū Başir heard this, he knew that he would return him to Quraysh, and so he left for the coast.”

He went on, “Abū Jandal b. Suhayl b. ‘Amr escaped from Quraysh and joined Abu Başir. Thereafter, every man who left Quraysh to accept Islam went and joined Abū Başir. Eventually a group of them were formed. Whenever they heard of a Quraysh caravan heading for Syria, they would attack it, killing the men and taking the goods.

“And so Quraysh sent to the Prophet (SAAS) invoking God and family ties (and saying) that if he were to send for those men they would be safe. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) did send for them. Thereafter, God Almighty revealed, ‘And His it was who kept their hands away from you and yours away from them in the valley of Mecca, after He had given you control over them ...’ as far as the words, ‘... their zeal, the zeal of al-jāhiliyya’” (ṣūrat al-Fath; XLVIII v. 24).

Their “zeal” referred to is the fact that they did not agree that he was the Prophet of God, and that they would not accept the words, “in the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate”. And the fact that they denied them access to the ka‘ba.

This text has additions and advantages that are absent from the narration of Ibn Ishāq from al-Zuhri. His account quoted al-Zuhri from a group of others, including Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, Ma‘mar and Muhammad b. Ishāq. All of these quoted al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, from Marwān and Miswar, in relating the narrative.

This is the best chain of authority. For Marwan and al-Miswar were young at the time of al-Hudaybiyya. It is obvious that they acquired it from the Companions, may God be pleased with them, in relating the narrative.

Al-Bukhari stated, "Al-Hasan b. Ishq related to us, quoting Muhammad b. Sabiq, quoting Malik b. Mighwal, who said, 'I heard Abu Husayn state, 'Abu Wa'il said, 'When Suhayl b. Hunayf arrived from Siffin, we went to him asking for news. He replied, 'Be sceptical. At the battle of Abu Jandal, if I could have reversed the orders of the Messenger of God (SAAS) I would have done so. And God and His messenger know best. And we never took down our swords from our shoulders for any problem that troubled us without them providing us some solution we could appreciate. Before this affair, that is. Now, we no sooner deal with one contender than another arises before us that we don't know how to deal with them.'""

Al-Bukhari also stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allah b. Yusuf, quoting Malik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was travelling one night in the company of Umar b. al-Khattab. Umar asked him a question on some matter, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) made him no reply. Umar asked him again and yet again, receiving no reply from him. Umar b. al-Khattab then exclaimed, "Umar, your mother is as good as bereaved of you! You persisted three times in asking the Messenger of God (SAAS), and despite that he would not respond to you."

Umar related, "So I moved my mount away and advanced to the front of the Muslims, fearing that there was going to be a revelation about me. But immediately I heard someone shouting at me. I responded, 'I was afraid there was about to be a revelation about me.'"

"Then I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and greeted him. He said, 'Tonight a sūra has been revealed to me that is more pleasing to me than anything over which the sun rises.' He then recited, 'We have made for you a clear victory!'" (*sūrat al-Fath*; XLVIII, v.1).

I note that I wrote about the *sūrat al-Fath* fully and sufficiently in my *Tafsir* (Exegesis), to God being due all praise and credit. Those wishing to insert that material here should do so.

Chapter: On the Expedition and missions that took place in 6 AH.

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi, quoting al-Waqidi, gives a summary of these.

61. The footnote of the Arabic printed text reminds us that the statement comes in the context of the conflict between 'Ali and Mu'awiya over succession to the Caliphate.
In Rabī' al-Awwal (or Rabī' al-akhir) of that year, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Uqāsha b. Mihšan with a force of 40 men to Ghawr Marzūq. They fled from him and he encamped at their wells. He sent some men in pursuit of them and took 200 of their camels which he led into Medina.

Also that year was the dispatch of Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhu al-Qiṣṣa, also with 40 men. He made for them on foot, reaching them in the morning while it was still dark. They fled from him into the mountain heights. He captured one of their men and brought him to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

And there was his dispatch of Muhammad b. Maslama with a force of 10 men. The enemy hid from them until night; all the companions of Muḥammad b. Maslama were killed and he escaped, wounded.

That year too there was the mission of Zayd b. Ḥarátha to al-Jumādā al-Uwāli, to Banū Tha'labā with a company of 15 men. The bedouin fled from him; he captured 20 of their camels, then returned, having been absent for 4 nights.

Zayd b. Ḥarátha also left in Jumādā al-Uwāli that year for al-Ṭis. He (al-Waqidi) also said, "That year the property that had been with Abī al-Likhs b. al-Ramid was taken; he sought refuge with Zaynah, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and she took him in."

Ibn Ishaq related this man’s story, about when the camels that were with him were taken, his companions were killed and he fled from them and went to Medina. His wife, Zaynah, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), had emigrated after Badr. When he arrived in Medina, he sought refuge with her, and she took him in following the al-ṣubh prayer. The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave him over to her custody and told his men to return the camels taken from him. They did return to him everything taken from him, so that he lost nothing. When he returned with his property to Mecca and gave over to those he owed what was due them from their deposits, he accepted Islam. He then left Mecca and returned to Medina. The Messenger of God (SAAS) returned his wife to him by the first marriage, not by remarriage or contract, as was related heretofore. The period between his accepting Islam and her having emigrated was six years; it is also said to have been two years.

We have explained that there is no discrepancy between the two accounts, and that his acceptance of Islam came two years after the time when believing women were prohibited to unbelievers. His acceptance of Islam came in 8 AH, in the year of the conquest (of Mecca), not as is told above in the account of al-Waqidi that it took place in 6 AH. But God knows best.

Al-Waqidi stated that in that year Dhiyya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbi came back from Caesar, who had awarded him money and robes of honour. When he was at
al-Ḥusmā he was waylaid by some men of Judhām. They robbed him and left him with nothing. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent out Zayd b. Ḥāritha, may God be pleased with him, against them.

Al-Waqidi stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfār related to me, from Yaʿqūb b. Ṭuba, who said, ʿAlt, may God be pleased with him, went forth with 100 men to a village of Bānū Asad b. Bakr. This was because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had learned that a group of their men wanted to extend help to the Jews of Khaybar. He approached them at night, keeping hidden by day. He (ʿAlī) captured a scout of theirs who confirmed that he had been sent to Khaybar to suggest to them that they hand over to them their dates.”

Al-Waqidi, may God be pleased with him, said, “In Shaʿbān of 6 AH there was the expedition of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to Dūmat al-Jandal. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘If they obey, then marry the daughter of their king.’ They did accept Islam and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān married their king’s daughter, Tamāḏur, daughter of al-Isbaʿ al-Kalbiya; she was the mother of Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.”

Al-Waqidi stated, “In Shawwāl of 6 AH the expedition of Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri against the people of Uraynī took place; they had killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and had stolen his cattle. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Kurz b. Jābir with 20 horsemen to muck them down and they retrieved them.”

According to texts given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, quoting Saʿd b. Abū ʿUrūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, what happened was that a group from ʿUkl and Urayna (from ʿUkl or Urayna, according to one version) went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They told him, “Messenger of God, we’re really herdsmen, not farmers and we find Medina unhealthy.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to leave with a small herd, in the charge of a shepherd, and told them to live by drinking the milk and urine of the animals. They left and when in the vicinity of al-Ḥarra, they killed the herdsman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), drove off the herd and denied Islam after having accepted it earlier. The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them and had their hands and feet cut off and their eyes gouged out; they were left there at al-Ḥarra in that state until they died.

Qatāda stated, “We have heard that thereafter, whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address he would speak in favour of compassion and against exemplary punishment.”

This hadith is related by one group of scholars from Qatāda, while another group relates it from Anas b. Mālik.

In the account of Muslim, from Muʿāwiyah b. Qurra, from Anas, it is stated that a group of Uraynī went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and announced their acceptance of Islam and their allegiance. Then smallpox broke out in Medina, and they told him, “Since this smallpox has broken out, we’d like to go
back to the camels.” He replied, “Yes; go and be with them.” They did then leave, but they killed the herdsman and left with the camels.

According to that account, he sent some 20 of the ānṣār in pursuit of them, along with an expert tracker. When they were found, their hands and feet were severed and their eyes were gouged out.

In the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī, on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from Abū Qalāba, from Anas, who is quoted as saying, “A group from ‘Ukāl arrived and accepted Islam. They loathed Medina and went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him so. He then said to them, “Then go and join the camels; drink their milk and urine.” They then left and lived among them for a time; but eventually they killed the herdsman and stole the camels. News of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and before the sun next arose they had been brought to him. He had iron rods brought and these were heated and used to cauterize them. He then had their hands and feet cut off and they were dumped out in the heat, where they sought water. But they were given none until they died, without protection.

In an account from Anas, he is quoted as saying, “I saw one of them biting the ground in his thirst.”

Abū Qalāba stated, “That gang murdered, stole and apostatized after having declared their faith. They fought against God and His messenger (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bayhaqī related, through ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān, from Muhammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent men in pursuit of them, he said, “O God, make them lose their way and make it narrower than a camel’s ankle.” He went on, “They did lose their way and were captured and brought back. He had their hands and feet severed and their eyes gouged out.”

In the sahih collection of Muslim, it states, “The reason he had their eyes gouged was that they had done this to the herdsman.”

Section: Relating to happenings that year, 6 AH.

During that year the obligation of making the pilgrimage was revealed; al-Shāfi‘ī asserts that this came at al-Ḥudaybiyya in the words of the Almighty, “and complete the pilgrimage and the ‘umra for God” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.196).

This is why he (al-Shāfi‘ī) held the view that the pilgrimage could be deferred and need not be performed as an urgent matter, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not himself make the pilgrimage until 10 AH.

His view is opposed by the other three authorities, Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa and Ḥāmid (Ibn Ḥanbal). According to them, the pilgrimage is to be considered a matter of urgency for all who can make it. They deny that its muḥāb, “necessity” is deduced from the Almighty’s words, “and complete the pilgrimage and the ‘umra for God” but maintain that in this verse the requirement is only to finish it once it has been commenced. They prove this through various citations, to
many of which we referred in our explanation of this verse in our Tafsir (Exegesis). And to God is due all praise and credit.

It was during this year that Muslim women were forbidden to polytheists. This was an exception to the general rule established by the truce agreed upon at al- Hudaybiyya that year, namely that members of Quraysh were to be returned to them even if wishing to accept Islam. And so the words of the Almighty were revealed, "O you who believe! If believing women should come to you as emigrants, then test them. God knows best about their faith. If you ascertain them to be believers, then do not return them to the unbelievers. These women are not permitted for marriage to those men, nor are those men permitted for marriage to those women" (sūrat al-Mumtahana; LX, v.10).

That year also there was the expedition to al-Muraysi, during which the gīṣat al-ifk, the calumnious report, arose which ultimately resulted in the Revelation telling of the innocence of the ʿumm al-muʾminin, the mother of the believers, ʿĀʾisha, as was related above.

The ʿumra to al- Hudaybiyya occurred that year too, along with the blockade made by the polytheists against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Ultimately there resulted peace between them lasting ten years, during which time people lived in security with one another on the understanding that there should be neither fetters used nor swords drawn. Reference is made at length in the appropriate places heretofore; and to God belong all praise and credit. That year the polytheists had control of the pilgrimage.

Al-Waqqīḍī stated, "In Dhū al-Ḥijja of that year, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent forth six men in the company of Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balṭa to al-Muqawqis, the governor of Alexandria. He also dispatched Shujā b. Wahb b. Asad b. Judhayma, who was present at Badr, to al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shammar al-Ghassānī, the king of the Christian Arabs, that is. Also he sent Dihya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar, he being Heraclius, emperor of Rome. And he dispatched ʿAbd Allāh b. Hudhāfa al-Sahmi to Chosroes, king of the Persians. Also he sent Sallī b. ʿAmr al-Āmīrī to Hawdha b. ʿĀlī al-Ḥanāfī, and ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to the Negus, king of the Christians of Abyssinia, his name being Asḥama b. al-Ḥurr."

THE YEAR 7 AH. THE EXPEDITION AGAINST KHAYBAR, EARLY THAT YEAR.

Shuʿba stated, from al-Ḥakim, who quoted ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā as having said that the words, "and He rewarded them with a near victory" (sūrat al-Fath; XLVIII, v.18), referred to Khaybar.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) from al- Hudaybiyya, he remained for some 20 days and then went forth to Khaybar; this was what God had promised to him."

Mūsā narrated, from al-Zuhri, that the conquest of Khaybar was in 6 AH; what is correct is that this occurred early in 7 AH, as stated above.
Ibn Isḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then remained in Medina after his return from al-Hudaybiyya for Dhū al-Hijja and for part of al-Muḥarram. He then went to Khaybar for the remainder of al-Muḥarram.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, that Marwān and al-Miswar stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth in the year of al-Ḥudaybiyya and surat al-Fātih (XLVIII) was revealed to him, while he was between Mecca and Medina. In Dhū al-Ḥijja, he came back and stayed until he went forth to Khaybar, making camp at al-Rajīṭ. That is a valley between Khaybar and Ghaṭafān. He was concerned that Ghaṭafān might give them assistance. Next morning he attacked them.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Al-‘Uqīdī related similarly on the authority of his sheikhs that he went forth (to Khaybar) early in 7 AH.”

‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs stated that Iṣḥāq said to him, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me as follows, ‘Since the conquest of Khaybar took place following al-Muḥarram, the Prophet (SAAS) arrived (back) at the end of Ṣafar.’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He appointed Numayla b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Laythī in command of Medina.”

Imām Ahmad stated, “Affw related to us, quoting Wahib, quoting Khuthaym – Ibn ‘Arak, that is – who quoted his father (as saying) that Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina with a group of his people while the Prophet (SAAS) was at Khaybar, having left Sibā‘ b. ‘Urfitā – of Banū Ghaṭafān, that is – in command of Medina. He, Abū Hurayra stated, ‘When I went to him he was saying the al-subh prayer, at the first rak‘a reciting “kāf hā yā ‘ayn sād” (surat Maryam; XIX), and at the second, the verse, “Woe to those who default” (surat Mūtafijīna (or al-Tātīf); LXXXIII, v.1). I told myself, “Woe to so-and-so who receives full measure but gives short change!”’”

He went on, “When he had prayed, we went back some distance, as far as Khaybar; the Prophet (SAAS) had by then conquered Khaybar. He addressed the Muslims and gave us shares of the booty along with them.”

Al-Bayhaqi related this from a hadith of Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Wahib, from Khuthaym b. ‘Arak, from his father, from men of Banū Ghifār, who said, “Abū Hurayra arrived in Medina and related this.”

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) left Medina for Khaybar, he went by way of Mt. Ḥṣr, where a mosque was built for him. He then passed by al-Saḥba‘, advancing with his army and eventually making camp at a wādi by the name of al-Rajīṭ. He made his camp between Khaybar and Ghaṭafān to prevent the latter from giving assistance to the people of Khaybar. They, Ghaṭafān, had declared their support for the Messenger of God (SAAS). I have heard that when Ghaṭafān heard about all this, they met together then went forth to give aid to the Jews against the Messenger of God (SAAS). When they had travelled for a day, however, they heard from home a rumour regarding their property and families. They thought that their enemy had surprised them and
so they retraced their steps and stayed with their property and families, leaving the way clear between the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Khaybar."

Al-Bukhari stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama, from Mālik, from Yahyā b. Sa‘īd, from Bashīr, that Suwayd b. al-Nu‘mān related to him that he went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the year of the attack on Khaybar, eventually reaching al-Šahbā', a place below Khaybar. There the Messenger of God (SAAS) led the al-‘asr prayer, then called for provisions to be brought. All that was produced was al-sawīq, barley gruel. He ordered it to be diluted and he ate, as did we. He then arose to perform the al-maghrib prayer, rinsed out his mouth and prayed, without performing the ablutions.

Al-Bukhari stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Ismā’īl, from Yazid b. Abū Ubayd, from Salama b. al-Akwa', who said, "We went forth for Khaybar with the Messenger of God (SAAS). We travelled by night, and one of our men said to Āmir, 'Āmir, would you recite us a little something you have composed?' Āmir was a poet. So he dismounted to recite for our men, saying,

‘Allāhumma! O God! Without You we would not have been rightly guided,
Nor would we have given alms nor prayed.
We beseech You to forgive what we have done (wrong) – may we be sacrificed for You!
We beseech you to send down Your serenity upon us To make our feet secure when we meet our enemies.
And if they cry out trying to subvert us, we will refuse.
Already have they loudly sought others' help against us.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'Who is this camel driver?' 'That's Āmir b. al-Akwa', they replied. 'Yarhamuḥu Allāh! God have mercy on him!' he exclaimed. One of the men then commented, 'Have you then made his martyrdom inevitable, Prophet of God? I wish you had let us enjoy his (company) longer!'

"When we reached Khaybar, we besieged them and were afflicted by great hunger. God then helped us conquer them and that evening – the evening of the conquest – the men lit many fires. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'Why all these fires? What do you plan to cook?' 'Meat,' they replied. 'What kind of meat?' he asked. 'The meat of domestic donkeys.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'Cast away the meat and break the pots!' One man asked, 'Should we not throw away the meat but wash the pots?' 'Either way,' he replied.

"When the opposing forces were lined up for battle, Āmir's sword was short, and when he aimed it at a Jew's leg, the sharp blade swung back and injured his own knee, causing his death.'"
Salama went on, “When they returned from battle, the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw me (looking sad) and took me by the hand, asking, ‘What is wrong?’ I replied, ‘May my father and my mother be your ransom, they say that ‘Amir failed.’” The Prophet (SAAS) replied, ‘Whoever said that lied; he will receive a double reward.’ He raised two fingers, adding, ‘He was a warrior whose valour few Arabs have ever matched.’”

Muslim related this similarly from a hadith of Ḥātim b. Isma’īl and others, from Yazīd b. Abū Ubayd.

Ibn Ishaq related the story of ‘Amir b. al-Akwa’ from a different chain of authorities. He stated, “Muḥammad b. Ibrāhim b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī related to me, from Abū al-Haytham b. Naṣr b. Dahr al-Aslami, that his father related to him that he heard the Messenger of God (SAAS), while on his way to Khaybar, say to ‘Amir b. al-Akwa’, he being the uncle of Salama b. ‘Amr b. al-Akwa’, ‘Dismount, Ibn al-Akwa’, and let’s hear one of your compositions.’ So he did and recited the following,

‘Wallāh! By God! Without God we would not have been rightly guided, nor given alms, nor prayed.
We are a people who, if badly treated or subverted, resist strongly.
So send down serenity upon us and steady our feet when we clash with the enemy.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘May your Lord have mercy on you!’ Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then said, ‘You’ve made it (his martyrdom) inevitable, Messenger of God! I wish you had let us enjoy him longer!’ And he was martyred at Khaybar.”

He went on to related the manner of his death much as al-Bukhārī had done.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “A source I do not doubt related to me, from ‘Aṭā’ b. Abū Marwān al-Aslami, from his father, from Abū Muṭṭib b. ‘Amr, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached a point overlooking Khaybar, he said, ‘Stop!’ Then he spoke as follows before his Companions, of whom I was one, ‘O God, Lord of the heavens and all they shade, Lord of the earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deceptions, Lord of the winds and what they winnow, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from its evil, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in God’s name!’”

This is a very anomalous hadith indeed, from this line of transmission.

62. Since he had accidentally caused his own death rather than earned martyrdom at the hand of the enemy.
63. Ibn Kathir here comments on a grammatical point relating to the Arabic text; his explanation has been judged of too little interest for inclusion here.
The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi related it from al-Ḥākim, from al-ʿAṣamm, from al-Uṯārīdī, from Yūnūs b. Bukayr, from Ibrahīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Mūṣīm, from Šālīḥ b. Kaysān, from Abū Marwān al-ʿAslāmi, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Khaybar. When we were near it and overlooking it, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told the men to stop and when they had done so, he said, ‘O God, Lord of the seven heavens and what they shade, Lord of the seven earths and what they produce, Lord of the devils and their deception, we implore of You the good of this village and the good of its people and the good of what it contains. And we seek refuge in You from the evil of this village, from the evil of its people, and the evil of what it contains! Go forward, in the name of God the most-Merciful and Compassionate!’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “A source I do not doubt related to me, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was about to attack an enemy, he refrained from doing so until it was morning. If then he heard a call to prayer, he would stop. If he did not, he would attack. We made camp at Khaybar overnight and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rested until morning came, at which time he did not hear a call to prayer. And so he mounted up and we all did so along with him. I rode behind Abū Talḥa, with my foot touching that of God (ṢA). On the way, we met the Khaybar labourers leaving the village with their hoes and baskets. When they saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they exclaimed, “It’s Muḥammad and his army!” They then turned away in flight. At that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It’s a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!”’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Hārūn related this to us similarly from Ḥumayd, from Anas.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Malik, from Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said), “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Khaybar at night. Whenever he reached an enemy at night, he would not attack them until morning. When it was morning, the Jews came out bearing their hoes and baskets and, seeing what they did, they exclaimed, ‘It’s Muḥammad, by God! Muḥammad and his army!’ At this the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘Khaybar is ruined! It’s a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their open square!’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this account; Muslim did not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Ṣaddāqa b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Abū ʿUyyāna, quoting Ayyūb, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “We arrived at Khaybar early in the morning as its people were coming out bearing their hoes. When they saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) they called out, ‘By God, it’s Muḥammad and his army!’ At that the Messenger of God, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, commented, ‘Khaybar is ruined!!
It’s a bad day for an enemy we have warned when we can dismount in their square!”

(Anas went on) “We captured some donkey meat. Then the crier of the Prophet (SAAS) called out, ‘God and His prophet forbid you to eat the meat of donkeys; it is unclean!’”

Al-Bukhārī is unique in giving this; Muslim did not.

Imām Ahmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, “When the Prophet (SAAS) came to Khaybar, he found them carrying their hoes as they went out to their fields. When they saw him and the army with him, they fled back into their forts. The Prophet (SAAS) then said, ‘Allāhu Akbar! Khaybar is ruined! It’s a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!’”

Ahmad is alone in giving this hadith; it conforms to the criteria for both sahih collections.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the pre-dawn prayer close to Khaybar and then he said, ‘Allāhu Akbar! Khaybar is ruined! It’s a bad day for those already warned if we can dismount in their open square!’

“They (the people of Khaybar) took various paths in flight. And the Prophet (SAAS) killed their warriors and took their families prisoner. Among the prisoners was Safiyya. She went to the lot of Dihya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (SAAS), who set her free as her dowry.

“ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣuhayb said to Thābit, ‘Abī Muḥammad, was it you who asked Anas, “What was it he gave as her dowry?”’ Thābit nodded in affirmation to him.”

He was alone in relating this hadith; Muslim did not. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim reported the prohibition of eating the meat of domestic donkeys through various chains of transmission in the work Kutāb al-Aḥkām.

The hāfiẓ al-Bayḥaqī stated, “Abū Ṭahir, the jurist informed us, quoting Ḥaṭṭāb b. Aḥmad al-Tūsī; Muḥammad b. Ḥanīd al-Abyūrīdī related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from Muḥammad al-ʿAwar al-Malāʾī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to visit the sick, follow behind funeral processions and respond to the pleas from slaves, and rode on donkeys. At the expeditions to Banū Qurayṣa and to al-Nādīr, he rode a donkey. At the battle of Khaybar he rode a donkey with a halter made of palm fibre, and his saddle was also made of palm fibre.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related this hadith in its entirety from ʿAlī b. Ḥajr, from ʿAlī b. Mushir, and Ibn Māja, from Muḥammad b. al-Sabāḥ, from Suṭyān, and from ʿUmar b. Rāfīʾ from Jarīr, all of them quoting Muḥammad b. al-Mulḥān al-ʿAwar al-Kūfī, from Anas. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “We know of this only from his hadith; and he is a somewhat weak source.”
I comment that what is well established, in the *sahih* collection of al-Bukhari from Anas, is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) rode along with a Companion at Khaybar and that in consequence his pants became pulled up to his thigh. It is obvious that he was riding a horse that day, not a donkey.

It may be that this *hadith*, if true, makes it likely that he did ride donkeys on some days, while he was besieging the enemy. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhari stated that Muhammad b. Sa'īd al-Khuzā‘ī related to him, quoting Ziyād b. al-Rabī‘, from Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnti, who said, “Anas looked out at the people on Friday and saw some *taylasam*64, some shawls. He commented, ‘They look like the Jews of Khaybar!’”

Al-Bukhari stated that ʿAbd Allah b. Maslama related to him, quoting ʿHaṭim, from Yazīd b. Abū ʿUbayd; from Salama b. al-Akwa’, who said, “ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib was lagging behind the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Khaybar, suffering from sore eyes. ʿAlī commented, ‘How should I lag behind the Prophet (SAAS)?’ And he joined him.

“And on the night (before) when Khaybar was conquered, he said, ‘I will certainly give the banner tomorrow to someone (or the words were: ‘may someone tomorrow take the banner’) whom God and His messenger love, and it will be conquered by him.’ We had hoped for that, but it was said that this referred to ʿAlī. So it was given to him, and Khaybar was conquered.”

Al-Bukhari related (this) also, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from ʿHaṭim.

Al-Bukhari then stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, from Abū Ḥazīm, who said, “Sahl b. Saʿd narrated to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said at Khaybar, ‘I will certainly give this banner tomorrow to a man at whose hand God will grant victory, someone who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love.’”

The account continued, “The men spent that night wondering to which of them it would be given. When morning came, they all went to the Prophet (SAAS), each hoping that it would be given to him. He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) then asked, ‘Where is ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib?’ ‘Messenger of God,’ they told him, ‘his eyes are bothering him.’ ‘Send for him,’ he said. They sent to fetch him and he came. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spat in his eyes and said a prayer for him. And he was cured, there being pain no longer. He then gave him the banner. ʿAlī asked, ‘Messenger of God, shall I battle them until they become as we are?’ He replied, ‘Continue riding until you reach their main square and dismount there. Then invite them to Islam and inform them of their duties to the Almighty therein. And by God, if God gives guidance through you to just one man among them, that will be better for you than for you to have the *humr al-na‘īm*, the choice part of the herd!’”

Muslim and al-Nasa’ī both related this from Qutayba.

In the *sahih* collection of Muslim, and in al-Bayhaqī, there is given a *hadith* of Suḥayl b. Abū Ṣalih, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The

64. A garment worn over the head and shoulders, not unlike a shawl.
Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Tomorrow I shall give the banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. God will grant victory at his hands.’

“Umar commented, ‘It was only that day that I loved leadership!’”

“He called for ‘Ali and gave him his mission. He then said, ‘Go and fight on till God gives you victory; do not turn aside.’ ‘Ali asked, ‘How long should I battle the enemy?’ He replied, ‘Fight them until they bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is His servant and His messenger. If they do that they will have saved their blood from us, along with their possessions, except for what is otherwise justified, their accounting being with God.’”

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhari.

Imām Ahmad stated that Muṣṭāfā b. al-Miqdām and Jaḥsh b. al-Muthannā said that Ḫīrāt related to them, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḫisam al-Qāṭī, (who said), “I heard Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudari, may God be pleased with him, say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took the banner and waved it. Then he asked, “Who will take it properly?” Someone came and said, “I will.” He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), told him to leave. He did so, and another man came up. He told him too to leave. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, “By Him who honoured the face of Muhammad, I shall certainly give it to a man who will not retreat.” He then said, “Come here, ‘Ali.”

“He then left and eventually God conquered Khaybar and Fadak at his hands, and he brought in its dates and dried meat.”

Ahmad is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is fair, though somewhat strange.

This man ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḫisam is also known as “Ibn Aṣam” and similarly by the honorific Abū ‘Alwān al-Qāṭī. Originally from al-Yamāma, he lived in Kufa. Ibn Mu‘īn classified him as a reliable source. Abū Zur‘a said, “He’s a fairly good source.” Abū Ḥātim said, “A sheikh”. Ibn Hibbān included him among reliable sources, saying, “He makes many errors.” He also included him among weak sources. He commented, “He relates about well-established matters in ways dissimilar to those of the fully reliable authorities, so that one suspects that his reports may be imaginary or invented.”

Yūnūs b. Bukayar quoted Muhammad b. Ishāq as saying, “Burayda b. Sufyān b. Farwa al-Aslāmī related to me, from his father, from Salama b. ‘Amr b. al-Akwa’, may God be pleased with him, who said, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to several of the forts at Khaybar. He engaged in battle, but then returned, there having been no conquest despite his efforts.

“He then sent Umar, may God be pleased with him, and he battled and returned without conquest. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Tomorrow I shall certainly give the banner to a man whom God and His messenger love and who loves God and His messenger. God will grant victory at his hands; and he is not someone who retreats.”’”
Salama stated, "And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) called for ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib, may God be pleased with him, whose eyes were bothering him that day. The Messenger of God (SAAS) spat in his eyes, then said, ‘Take the banner and carry on with it until God grants you victory.’

“He went forth with it, travelling fast and with confidence, and we followed directly after him. Eventually he planted the banner in a pile of rocks beneath a fort. A Jew looked down from the fort and asked, ‘And who are you?’ He replied, ‘I am ‘Ali, son of Abū Ṭalib!’ The Jew then said, ‘I swear by what was revealed to Moses, you are victorious!’ And he did not return until God granted victory at his hands!’

Al-Bayhaqi stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-Asāmm, quoting al-Ūṣārī, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, who quoted ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda, as having said, “My father narrated to me as follows, ‘At the battle of Khaybar, Abū Bakr took the banner but returned without having been given victory. Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed, and the army came back.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘Tomorrow I will certainly award my banner to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will not return until God grants him victory.” We slept well that night, confident that the next day there would be victory. The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the morning prayer and led for the banner. He arose and then not one among us with good standing with the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not hope that he would be that man. I myself was presumptuous enough to hold my own head high in expectation, because of my standing with him. He called for ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib, whose eyes were bothering him. He (the Messenger of God (SAAS) wiped them and then gave him the banner. And victory was granted him.”

(The narrator went on) “I heard ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda say, ‘My father related to me that he was a friend of Marḥab.’”

Yūnus stated that Ibn Ishaq said, “The first of the forts at Khaybar to be defeated was that of Nāṣīm. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was dropped from it upon him and it killed him.”

Al-Bayhaqi narrated, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from al-Musayyab b. Maslama al-Azdi, (who said) that ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda related to him, from his father who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) might well be affected by a bad headache and spend a day or two without going outside to the people. When he made camp at Khaybar he suffered a severe headache and did not come out to the men. Abū Bakr took up the banner of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and then set out to battle where he fought fiercely. He then returned. ‘Umar next took it, fought a battle even more fierce than the first and then he returned. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was informed of this and he said, ‘Tomorrow I shall

65. The reference is to a Jew who was champion of a fort at Khaybar. See the hadith reported hereafter, pp.254 et seq.
certainly give it to a man who loves God and His messenger and whom God and His messenger love. He will take it (Khaybar) by force.

"Ali was not present. The men of Quraysh there had aspirations for it, each one hoping to receive it. Next morning 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalib came riding a camel of his. He made it kneel nearby. He was suffering from an eye ailment and had bound his eye with a piece of striped cloth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, 'What's wrong?' He replied, 'My eyes became sore after you left.' He told him, 'Come close to me.' He then spat in 'Ali's eye and he suffered no pain from it till he left.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then gave him the banner and he took it and left. He was wearing a purple and red outer garment, the nap of which had worn off. When he reached Khaybar, Marḥab, the commander of the fort, came out, wearing on his head a Yemeni helmet with a stone with a hole in it the size of an egg. He was reciting the following,

'Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero, well tested.
When lions advance and rage, their prey retreats from the victors' attack.'

"Ali, may God be pleased with him, responded with the verse,

'I am he whom my mother named "Ḥaydar", "lion", like those of the forests, extremely fierce
I'll give you full measure for measure.'"

He went on, "They exchanged two blows and 'Ali then surprised him with a blow that split the stone, and his helmet and his head, right down to the molars. He then conquered the city."

The ḥāfiz al-Bazzār related from ʿAbbād b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Bakr, from Hakim b. Jubayr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, the story of the dispatch first of Abū Bakr, then of ʿUmar at Khaybar, and then the mission of 'Ali at whose hands victory came. In his text there are unsatisfactory and strange elements. His chain of transmission includes persons accused of Shiʿi sympathies. But God knows best.

Muslim and al-Bayhaqi, the following being the wording of the latter, related through ʿIkrīma b. ʿAmmār, from Iyās b. Salama b. al-Akwa', from his father who narrated a long account in which he told of their return from the expedition against Banū Fazāra. He said, "We remained there only three days before going forth to Khaybar. ʿAmir went out and began to recite,

'By God, had it not been for you, we would not have been rightly guided, nor given alms nor prayed.
By your grace, we have not failed; so send down Your serenity upon us
And make our feet firm when we meet the enemy.'
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked who it was speaking. ‘That is ‘Āmir,’ they said. ‘May your Lord forgive you!’ he then said. And the Messenger of God (SAAS) never made such special mention of any person without him being martyred. ‘Umar, mounted on a camel, commented, ‘I wish you had let us go on enjoying ‘Āmir!’

“When we approached Khaybar, Marḥab came out, brandishing his sword and reciting,

‘Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.’

‘Āmir, may God be pleased with him, went out to challenge him, reciting,

‘Khaybar knows that I am ‘Āmir, fully armed, a hero brave.’

“They exchanged two blows, then Marḥab’s sword struck into ‘Āmir’s shield. He charged vigorously at him, and he, ‘Āmir, retreated and struck his own ankle, causing a fatal wound.”

Salama stated, “I then left and came across a group of the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), saying, ‘‘Āmir’s work was all in vain; he killed himself!’

“When I approached the Messenger of God (SAAS) I was weeping and he asked, ‘What’s wrong with you?’ I replied, ‘They say that ‘Āmir’s work was in vain.’ ‘And who said that?’ he asked. ‘Some of your Companions,’ I replied. ‘They lied,’ he said, ‘he shall have a double reward.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked that ‘Ali, who was suffering from sore eyes, be sent for and said, ‘I shall certainly give the banner today to a man who loves God and His messenger.’ I returned with ‘Ali, leading him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spat into his eye and he was cured. He gave him the banner. Marḥab came forth, reciting,

‘Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero,
well-tested,
Like lions charging in fury.’

“‘Ali went out to challenge him, saying,

‘I am he whom my mother named “Haydar”, “lion”; like those of the forests, fearsome in aspect.
I’ll give you full measure for measure.’

“He then struck Marḥab and split open his head, killing him. Then the conquest came.”

Thus according to this text it was ‘Ali who killed Marḥab, the Jew, God damn him!

Abād stated that Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Ashqar related to him that Qābūs b. Abū Zubyān related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ‘Ali,
who said, “When I had killed Marḥab, I brought his head to the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ).”

Muṣā b. ʿUqba narrated from al-Zuhri that the man who killed Marḥab was Muḥammad b. Maslama. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated the same, as follows, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Sahl, of Banū Ḥarīthah, quoted from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh as having said, ‘Marḥab the Jew came forth from the fortress at Khaybar reciting the following,

“Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab, fully armed, a hero, well tested,
Sometimes I thrust and at others I strike, like lions charging in fury.
Those I defend are indeed under protection and shall not be approached.”

“ʿKaʾb b. Mālik responded to him as follows,

“Khaybar knows that I am ʿKaʾb, the problem-solver, brave and determined.
When warfare arises and the battle rages, I wield a sharp sword that pierces like lightning.
He will tread you underfoot until the brave are humbled, by the hand of a faultless warrior.”’

“As Marḥab recited (other) verses, he asked, ‘Will anyone engage me in combat?’ The Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) asked, ‘Who will do this?’ Muḥammad b. Maslama responded, ‘I will, Messenger of God! It is up to me to seek revenge, for they killed my brother yesterday.’ He told him, ‘Go at him! O God, give him aid against him!’

“When they drew near one another a brittle old tree was there between them and each of them began using it to avoid his adversary. Whenever one of them took refuge behind it, the other would cut the wood with his sword to get at the other. Eventually the tree stood branchless, like a man. Marḥab then attacked Muḥammad b. Maslama and struck him. He met the blow with his shield and Marḥab’s sword cut into it and remained wedged there. He then withdrew it, and Muḥammad struck at him until he had killed him.”

Imām Ahmad related this from Yaʿqūb b. ʿIbrāhīm, from his father, from Ibn Isḥaq, in similar terms. Ibn Isḥāq went on to state, “Some people say that Muḥammad b. Maslama recited the following verses as he struck him,

‘Khaybar knows that I am a warrior; sweet if I wish, or a deadly poison!’”

Al-Wāqīdī related it thus from Jābir and other early authorities, to the effect that it was Muḥammad b. Maslama who killed Marḥab.

Al-Wāqīdī went on to recount that Muḥammad b. Maslama cut off both of Marḥab’s legs and that Marḥab asked him, “Finish me off!” He replied, “Taste death as did Maḥmūd b. Maslama!” Then ʿAlī passed by and cut off his head.
The two men later disputed over his possessions before the Messenger of God (SAAS), who gave to Muhammad b. Maslama his sword, his spear and his helmet along with its inner lining. Inscribed on his sword were the words, “This is the sword of Marḥab; he who tastes it dies.”

Ibn Ishaq then recounted that Marḥab’s brother Yāsir next came out, asking, “Who will do combat with me?”

Hishām b. Urwa claimed that al-Zubayr went out to fight him and Umm Ṣafīyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muttalib, asked, “Messenger of God, will he kill my son?” He replied, “On the contrary, your son will kill him, if God so wills it.” The two men then fought and al-Zubayr killed him.

If anyone thereafter commented to al-Zubayr, “By God, your sword was really sharp that day!” he would reply, “I swear by God, it wasn’t sharp. I just hit him really hard.”

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishaq, from one of his people, from Abū Ralī, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said, “We went forth with ‘Āli to Khaybar; the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent him out with his banner. As he approached the fort, its people came out to him and he battled them. One of them, a Jew, struck him and knocked his shield from his hand. ‘Āli picked up the gate of the fort and used it to defend himself. It stayed in his hand as he fought, until God (SAAS) granted him victory. He then threw it aside. And I, with seven others, myself being the eighth, tried hard to turn that door over, but we could not do it!”

There seems some vagueness about this report, as well as an obvious gap in its chain of transmission.

However, the hāfīz al-Bayhaqi and al-Hakim gave an account through Muṭṭalib b. Ziyād, from Layth b. Abū Salīm, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Baqir, from Jābir, that ‘Āli carried the gate at Khaybar so that the Muslims could climb over it and conquer the town. The account states that afterwards 40 men tried but could not carry it!

There is weakness in this hadith. There is a further weak account, from Jābir, that states, “Then 70 men joined together and it was all they could do to replace the gate.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Makki b. Ibrāhim related to him, quoting Yazid b. Abū Ubayy, who said, “I saw a scar from a blow on Salama’s leg. I asked him, ‘Abū Muslim, what blow caused this?’ ‘This is a wound I got at Khaybar. People told one another, “Salama was wounded!” Then I went to the Prophet (SAAS), and he blew on it three times. And I’ve never suffered from it right up till now.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ḥazīm, from his father, from Sahl, who said, “On one of his expeditions, the Prophet (SAAS) met and battled the polytheists. Then each side returned to their camp. Among the Muslims there was one man who tirelessly chased after
all and sundry of the polytheists, striking at them with his sword. Someone said to him, ‘None of us has accomplished so much as so-and-so has.’ He replied, ‘He will go to hell.’ They asked him, ‘Well, if he’s going to hell, which of us will go to heaven?’ One of the men said, ‘I’m going to follow him. Whether he hurries or slows down, I’ll be with him.’ Eventually the man was wounded and wanted to die. So he placed the hilt of his sword in the ground and its tip between his nipples and bore down on it, thus killing himself.

“So the men (who had followed him) came to the Prophet (SAAS) and exclaimed, ‘I do bear witness that you are the Messenger of God!’ ‘What’s up with you?’ he asked him and the man told him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘A man may perform actions like those who belong in paradise and seem to people to belong in paradise, yet be headed for hell, or he may perform actions such as those of the inhabitants of hell and be headed for paradise.’”

He related this also from Qutayba, from Ya’qūb, from Abū Ḥāzim, from Sahl. That account is the same, or almost so.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu'ayb, from al-Zuhri (who said), “Sa’d b. al-Musayyab informed me that Abū Hurayra said, ‘We took part at Khaybar, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, referring to a man among his force who was pretending allegiance to Islam, “This man belongs in hell.” When the fighting commenced, that man fought very fiercely and received many wounds, so that some people began to have their doubts. The man suffered much pain from his wounds and put his hand into his quiver, took out an arrow and cut his throat with it. Some of the Muslims hurried off and said, “Messenger of God, God has fulfilled what you said! So-and-so has committed suicide!” He then said, “Get up, so-and-so and so-and-so and announce, ‘No one but a believer will enter paradise; and God aids the faith even through an evil man!’”’

Mūsā b. Uqba narrated from al-Zuhri the story of the black slave upon whom God bestowed faith and martyrdom within the same hour. Ibn Lahi’a narrated it similarly from Abū al-Aswad, and from Urwa. Both stated, “There was a black Abyssinian slave who lived in Khaybar who cared for a herd belonging to his master. When he saw that the people of Khaybar were taking up their weapons, he asked them, ‘What are you going to do?’ ‘We are going to do battle with that man who claims to be a prophet.’

“This reference to a prophet had an impact upon him and he took his herd and approached the Messenger of God (SAAS), asking him, ‘To what do you invite?’ He replied, ‘I invite you to Islam, to bear witness that there is no god but God, that I am the Messenger of God, and that you will not worship any other than God.’ The slave then asked, ‘What will I get if I bear witness to that and believe in God?’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘Paradise, if you die believing that.’

“The slave accepted Islam and said, ‘Prophet of God, this herd I have is my security.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Drive it out of our camp and
throw stones at it. God will discharge your security from you Himself.’ He did so, and the herd returned to its Jewish master, who realized that his slave had accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose and addressed his men.”

He went on to relate the hadith of him having given the banner to ‘Ali, the approach of the latter to the fort of the Jews, and his killing of Marḥab. (The account states) “Also killed (while) with ‘Ali was that black slave, who was borne by the Muslims to their camp and brought into the main tent. They claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) looked inside the tent, then turned to his Companions and commented, ‘God has honoured this slave and led him to good. Islam was truly within his heart. At his head I saw two of the houris of paradise.’”

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ibn Wahb, from Ḥaywa b. Shurayh, from Ibn al-Ḥadd, from Shurahbil b. Sa‘d, from Jabir b. ‘Abd Allah, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the expedition to Khaybar. A raiding party went out and they captured a man who was shepherding a herd.”

He went on to relate roughly the same story of the black slave and said of him, “He died a martyr and had not made a single prayer prostration to God!”

Al-Bayhaqī then stated that Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Faqīh related to him, quoting Abū Bakr al-Qaṭṭān, quoting Abū al-Azhar, quoting Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Thābit, from Anas, that a man came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, “Messenger of God, I’m a man who is black in colour, ugly of face and who owns nothing. If I fight those people until I’m killed, will I enter paradise?” “Yes,” he replied.

(Anas’s account continues that) “the man then went forth and battled until he was killed. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was brought to his body, he said, ‘God has made your face handsome, sweetened your smell and increased your wealth.’ Then he said, ‘I saw his two wives, houris, competing to take off his gown; they were entering the space between his skin and his gown.”’

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated through Ibn Jurayj as follows, “Ikrima b. Khālid informed me, from Ibn Abī ‘Amma, from Shaddād b. al-Ḥadd, that a bedouin came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), expressed his belief in him and followed him, saying, ‘I will go forth with you.’ The Prophet (SAAS) gave him into the charge of one of his Companions. At Khaybar the Messenger of God (SAAS) received booty and divided it up, including a portion for this man which he gave to the Companions of this man for he had been guarding their rear. When he came to them they gave it to him. He asked, ‘What is this?’ They replied, ‘The portion assigned to you by the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ He responded, ‘It was not for this that I followed you! I followed you so that I might be shot right here.’ And he pointed with an arrow at his throat. ‘So I would die and enter heaven!’ He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) then said, ‘If you keep trust with God, he will keep trust with you.’

“They then arose to battle the enemy. Later he was carried in to the Messenger of God (SAAS); he had been struck with an arrow where he had pointed! The
Prophet (SAAS) then asked, ‘That is really him?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. He then said, ‘He kept trust with God, so God kept trust with him.’

“The Prophet (SAAS) then gave his own gown for him to be wrapped in, laid out his body in front and prayed over him. Part of his prayer that is known includes, ‘O God, this is your servant; he went forth in your cause and was killed a martyr. I bear witness for him’”

Al-Nasa'i related this from Suwayd b. Naṣr, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ibn Jurayj, in similar words.

**DIVISION.**

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then took possession of the properties one by one as he conquered one fort after the next. The first of their forts conquered was Nā'im. There Maḥmūd b. Maslama was killed; a millstone was tossed down on him and it killed him. The next fort was al-Qamūṣ, that of Banū Abū al-Ḥaqiq.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) acquired captives from them. These captives included Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akḥtab. She had been the wife of Kināna b. al-Rabi‘ b. Abū al-Ḥaqiq. Also captured were two of her female cousins. The Messenger of God (SAAS) chose Ṣafiyya for himself; Dihya b. Khalīfa had asked him for her; when the Messenger of God (SAAS) chose her for himself, he gave to Dihya her two cousins.

The captives taken at Khaybar were distributed among the Muslims. The men were eating the flesh of donkeys, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) issued a proclamation against their doing this.

Al-Bukhārī devoted his attention to this and reported the prohibition from excellent sources.

Its prohibition has been accepted by most scholars both early and later; all four of the “orthodox Imāms” prohibited its consumption.

However, some early authorities, including Ibn ‘Abbās, maintained that eating it was permissible. These scholars offered varying reasons for discounting the *ahādīth* that have come down prohibiting it. For example, it was suggested that the prohibition came because they were using the donkeys for transport. Another reason given was that the prohibition related to the fact that the donkeys were booty that had not yet been divided up into the (required) fifths. It is also suggested that it related to the donkeys eating excrement, dung that is.

The truth is that it was prohibited because of its nature. Authentic evidences relate that the crier of the Messenger of God (SAAS) called out, “God and His prophet prohibit your eating the meat of donkeys; it is unclean.”

Affirmation of this is to be found in the work *Kitāb al-Ahkām*.

when the Messenger of God (SAAS) prohibited people from consuming donkey meat, he also allowed them to eat horsemeat."

The provenance of this is secure in both sahih collections, from a hadith of Hammâd b. Zayd, from ʿAmr b. Dinâr, from Muḥammad b. ʿAlî, from Jâbir, may God be pleased with him. He said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (SAAS) prohibited eating the meat of donkeys and gave permission for horses (to be eaten)."

This is the phraseology given by al-Bukhârî.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "ʿAbd Allah b. Abû Najîh related to us, from Makhûl, that the Prophet (SAAS) prohibited four things that day: intercourse with pregnant women, eating domestic donkeys, eating carnivorous animals, and selling the spoils of war before their (official) allotment."

This hadith is mursal, lacking proper transmission back to the Prophet (SAAS).

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Yazid b. Abû Ḥâbib related to me, from Abû Marzûq, Najîb's freed-man, from Ḥanash al-Ṣan'âni, who stated, ‘We were on an expedition with Ruwayfi’ b. Thâbit, the ansâri, to al-Maghrib, North Africa. One of the towns there, named Jirba, was conquered and a crier stood among us and announced, ‘I am telling you only what I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) tell us at Khaybar. He stood up among us and said, “It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to mingle his sperm with that of others” – referring to intercourse with pregnant captive women. “It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to have intercourse with a captive woman before determining that she is without child. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to sell any spoils of war before its allotment. It is not permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to ride any mount from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is exhausted. Nor is it permissible for a man who believes in God and the last day to wear any clothing from the captured stock of the Muslims and then to return it when it is worn out.”’"

Abû Dâʿûd narrated this similarly through Muḥammad b. Ishaq. Al-Tirmidhî narrated it from Ḥâfîṣ b. ʿAmr al-Shaybâni, from Ibn Wahh, from Yahyâ b. Ayyûb, from Rabîʿa b. Salîm, from Bishr b. Ubayd Allâh, from Ruwayfi’ b. Thâbit in abbreviated form. He characterized the hadith as hasan, “good.”

In the sahih of al-Bukhârî, from Nâfî, from Ibn ʿUmar, it is stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Khaybar prohibited the meat of domestic donkeys, and also the eating of garlic.

Ibn Ḥazm narrated, from ʿAlî and Shurayk b. al-Ḥunbal, that they accepted the prohibition of onions and raw garlic. What al-Tirmidhî transmitted from them was that (use of them) constituted al-baraha, a practice considered repugnant. But God knows best.

66. That is, something for which there was disapproval but not prohibition.
People speak of the hadith given in both sahih collections through al-Zuhri, from ‘Abd Allâh and al-Hasan, sons of Mu̇ammad b. al-Hanafiyya, from their father, from his father ‘Ali b. Abû Ṭalib, may God be pleased with him, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) prohibited at Khaybar nikâh al-mut’â, “temporary marriage”, and (eating) the meat of domestic donkeys.

This wording in both sahih collections comes down through Mâlik and others, from al-Zuhri. This hadith requires that the prohibition of nikâh al-mut’â applied only to the battle at Khaybar. This is problematic, from two viewpoints. One is that at the battle of Khaybar there were no women to be so married, and their having captive women obviated temporary marriage.

The second problem is that it is established in the sahih of Muslim, related from al-Rabi’ b. Sabra, from Ma‘bad, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave permission to engage in al-mut’a at the time of the conquest (of Mecca), but then prohibited it before he had left Mecca, saying, “God has prohibited it until Judgement Day.”

According to this, then he would have prohibited it, then permitted it and then for it to have been again prohibited. This would have required there to have been abrogation twice. And that is unlikely.

Al-Shâfi‘i, moreover, stated that he knew of nothing that had ever been permitted then prohibited, then permitted and again prohibited, apart from nikâh al-mut’â. And the only reason he made the exception for this was because he was relying upon both these traditions referred to above.

Al-Suhayli and others quote scholars who claim that it was permitted three times and prohibited three times. Others state that this happened four times. This is most unlikely. But God knows best.

The authorities differ as to when was the first time it was prohibited. Some say at Khaybar, others at the ‘umrat al-qadî’, others in the year of the conquest (of Mecca); this latter seems the most likely. Others say it was first prohibited at Awtâs (a time close to that of the alternative preceding it); others say at Tabûk, others at the hijjat al-madâ‘, the “farewell pilgrimage”.

Abû Dâ‘ûd related this.

Some scholars refute the hadith related from ‘Ali, may God be pleased with him, by saying that it contains taqdim wa ta’khir, “an inaccurate sequencing of time”.

The best alternative seems to be what the Imam Ahmad related, as follows, “Sufyân related to us, from al-Zuhri, from al-Hasan and ‘Abd Allâh, the two sons of Mu̇ammad (b. al-Hanafiyya) from their father. Hasan was the more convinced of the two that ‘Ali had said to Ibn ‘Abbâs, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) prohibited nikâh al-mut’â and eating the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.’”

They said, “The narrator believed that the mention of Khaybar was the time and place for the prohibition of both; that was not so, however, since it was one only for the prohibition of donkey meat. There is no time and place mentioned
in fact for nikāh al-muṭʿa. He included this only because ‘Ali, may God be pleased with him, learned that Ibn ‘Abbās had permitted the nikāh al-muṭʿa and the meat of donkeys, as is well known. And the Commander of the Believers, (‘Ali) therefore told him, ‘You are misguided. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prohibited nikāh al-muṭʿa and the meat of domestic donkeys at Khaybar.’”

He joined both together in this prohibition for him so that he would retract what he had considered permissible.

Our teacher, the ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Hajjāj al-Mizzi, may God encompass him in his mercy, tended to accept this explanation.

Nevertheless, Ibn ‘Abbās did not retract the permission he had given regarding donkey meat and temporary marriage. He attributed the prohibition against eating donkeys to the fact that they were their baggage animals. As for temporary marriage, he only rendered this permissible in case of need while travelling. As for the prohibition, that referred to when the circumstances involved indulgence of wealth or lust. Various of his associates and followers have adopted his position. This was well known to be the view of the scholars of Hijāz up to the time of Ibn Jurayj and beyond.

There is an account relating that Imam Ahmad b. Ḥanbal took the same position as Ibn ‘Abbās; however, this account is weak.

Certain persons who adhere to the view of permissibility try to relate an account from the Imam (Ahmad) to the same effect. This also is inauthentic, but God knows best. The text relating to this is in the Kitaḥ al-Aḥkām. And help is sought through God.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then began advancing slowly upon their forts and properties. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him by someone of Aslam that Bānū Sahm of Aslam came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Messenger of God, we have fought hard and yet we have nothing.’ They had not found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) able to give them anything. He then said, ‘O God, You well know their state and that they have no strength and that I have nothing to give them. Open up before them the wealthiest of their fortresses and give them sufficiency mainly in fats and food.’ Next morning the fort of al-Saʿb b. Muʿādh was conquered for them. And no fort in Khaybar was wealthier or had richer food than it.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Various fortresses having been conquered and certain properties acquired, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived finally at their forts called al-Watīḥ and al-Sulālīm; those were the last of the Khaybar castles to be conquered. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) besieged the enemy there for some ten days.”

Ibn Ḥishām stated, “Their rallying cry at Khaybar was, Yā Manṣūr! Amit! Amit! ‘O Victor! Kill! Kill!’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Burdayda b. Sufyān al-Azdī al-Aslāmī related to me, from some men of Bānū Salama, from Abū al-Yusr Kaʿb b. ‘Amr, who said, ‘I was
with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Khaybar one evening when a herd of sheep belonging to a Jew passed by, heading for their forts which we were besieging. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘Which man will feed us from these sheep?’ I replied, ‘I will, Messenger of God!’ 'Then do so,' he told me.

“So I went out, racing as hard as I could, like an ostrich. When he saw me do this, and was about to head back, he exclaimed, ‘O God, let us enjoy him long!’ When I had reached the sheep, the first ones had already entered their fort. But I caught two ewes from their rear, tucked them under my arms and sped back, carrying them as if I bore nothing. I threw them down before the Messenger of God (SAAS), and they slaughtered and ate them both.”

Abū al-Yusr was one of the last of the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to die. He would weep when telling this hadith, and then say, “And they were given my whole life to enjoy; I was the last of them.”

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi stated in Dala‘īl (The Signs) as follows, “Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf al-Īsbaḥānî informed us, quoting Abū Saʿīd b. al-ʿAṭrābī, quoting Saʿdān b. Naṣr, quoting Abū Muʿāwiyah, from ʿĀṣim al-ʿAlwāl, from Abū Uṯmān al-Nahdī (or from Abū Qalābā) who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (SAAS) advanced on Khaybar, the fruit was unripe. But the men raced for it, became feverish and complained to him of this. He told them to cool water in pots and then to have this poured over them when dawn came and to repeat the name of God. They did this and it was as though they had been hobbled and then had their cords removed.’”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “We related this hadith from ʿAbd al-Rāhḥām b. ʿRāfī’ with an uninterrupted line of transmission. According to it the phrase ‘between the al-maghrib and the al-ʿāshā times for prayer’ was used.”

Imām ʿĀḥmad stated that Yahyā and Bahz both related to him as follows, “Sulaymān b. al-Mūghīrah related to us, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hīlāl, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūghaffāl, who said, ‘My share of the booty at Khaybar was a leather bag of lard. I gripped it tight and said, “I’ll not give any of this to any one!” Then I turned and saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) smiling.’”

ʿĀḥmad said, “ʿAffān related to us, quoting Shuʿba, from Ḥāmid b. Hīlāl, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūghaffāl, who said, ‘While we were besieging the fortress at Khaybar, someone threw down at us a leather bag containing lard. So I went and took it. Then I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I felt ashamed.’”

Both compilers of the saḥīḥ collections gave it from a hadith of Shuʿba. Muslim also related it, from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from Uṯmān b. al-Mūghīrah.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “Someone whose word I do not doubt related to me from ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūghaffāl al-Mazānī as follows, ‘At Khaybar, I captured a leather bag of lard. I carried it around my neck and went off to my mount and my companions. The man placed in charge of the booty then came up to me and grabbed the side of it, saying, “Come on! Not till it’s divided up among the Muslims.” I replied, “No, by God, I’ll not give it to you!” He then began pulling
the bag away from me. Then the Messenger of God (SAA) saw us while we were behaving this way, and he smiled and laughed. He then told the booty-master, "Let him have it." So he released it and I went off with it to my mount and to my companions and we ate it."

Most scholars refer to this hadith in relation to Imam Malik's prohibition of the use of the fat from animals sacrificed by Jews and captured by Muslims. This is because God Almighty stated, "and the food of those to whom the Book came is permissible for you" (sūrat al- Mudā'ida; V, v.5). He (Imam Malik) said, "This is not food for them (the Jews)." (His opponents, however,) cite this hadith against him. Nevertheless, there are doubts about this hadith. This lard could well have been permitted to them. But God knows best. This hadith was also cited to show that food is not subject to the division into fifths. This is supported by what Imam Da'ud related, as follows, "Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalā related to us, quoting Abū Muṭawiya, quoting Isḥāq al-Shaybānī, from Muhammad b. Abū Mujaḍil, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, 'I asked, " Didn't you divide up (captured) food into the fifths during the time of the Messenger of God (SAA)?"' He (sic) replied, "We did capture food at Khaybar. People would come and take of it what they needed, then leave.'"

Abū Da'ud is alone in giving this; the hadith is hasan, "good".

An Account of the Story of Ṣafiyyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhtūb al-Nadriyya, may God be pleased with her.

When the Messenger of God (SAA) forced the Jews of Banū al-Nadīr to vacate Medina, as was related above, most of them went to Khaybar. Their number included Ḥuyayy b. Akhtūb and Banū Abū al-Ḥuqayq, who were persons of wealth and prestige among their people. Ṣafiyyya at that time was a child, not yet having reached maturity. Thereafter, when she was ready for marriage, it was arranged to her cousin. When she was conducted to him after the wedding, he consummated the marriage. Their married life continued for some time. Then in her sleep she saw the moon descend from the sky in her lap. She related this vision to her cousin, who slapped her face and said, "So you yearn to have the 'king of Yathrib' as your husband, do you?"

Soon thereafter the arrival and siege of them by the Messenger of God (SAA) occurred and Ṣafiyyya was among those captured, while her husband was killed.

Then the Messenger of God (SAA) chose her and she became part of his household, to which she now belonged, as will be related. After ascertaining that she was not pregnant and not menstruating he consummated marriage with her and discovered the mark made on her cheek by her husband's blow. He asked her about this, and she related to him what she had seen in those wonderful visions. May God be pleased with her and grant her pleasure.
Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Thābit, from Anas b. Malik, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the al-ṣubh, morning prayer, while it was still dark, near Khaybar. He then said, ‘Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great! Khaybar is ruined! It’s a bad day for an enemy who has been warned when we can dismount in their open square!’

“Then the enemy hurried to escape along the alleyways and the Prophet (ṢAAS) killed their warriors and took their children captive. Among the prisoners was Ṣafiyya. She went to Dihya al-Kalbī, and then to the Prophet (ṢAAS), who gave her her freedom as her dowry.”

Muslim also related this from a ḥadīth of Ḥammād b. Zayd which has several lines of transmission from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ādam related to him, from Shu‘ba, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ṣuhayyab, who said, “I heard Anas b. Malik say, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) took Ṣafiyya captive and then gave her her freedom and married her.’ Thābit asked Anas, ‘Did he not give her a dowry?’ He replied, ‘He gave her herself as dowry, rewarding her her freedom.’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd al-Ghaffār b. Dā‘ūd related to him, quoting Yaṣūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Rahmān, as did ʿĀhmād b. ʿIsā, quoting Wahb (who said), “Yaṣūb b. ‘Abd al-‘Rahmān al-Zuhri informed me, from ‘Arm, the freed-man of al-Muṭṭalib, from Anas b. Malik, who said, ‘We came to Khaybar. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered the fortress, mention was made to him of the beauty of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhtūb. Her husband had been killed, she still being a bride. The Prophet (ṢAAS) then chose her for himself. He left with her, travelling in her company until he reached Sudd al-Ṣahbā’ī. She was then free of her menses and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, he made some kays, dates with butter, on a small leather mat. Then he told me, “Make an invitation to those around you.” And this was the wedding banquet given for Ṣafiyya. We then left for Medina. I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) make a cushion behind himself for her with his cloak and would then sit upon his mount. He would bend his knee and she would put her foot on it, then mount up.’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sa‘īd b. Abī Maryām related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Abū Kathīr (who said), “Ḥumayd narrated to me that he heard Anas say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed between Khaybar and al-Madd for three nights, Ṣafiyya being brought to him for consummation of their marriage. I invited the Muslims to his wedding banquet. There was no bread or meat; all he did was order Bīlāl to get some leather dishes in which he threw some dates, sour milk cheese and butter. The Muslims asked, “Is she to be considered one of the ummahāt al-muʾminīn, ‘mothers of the believers’, or someone taken captive?” They replied, “If he keeps her veiled, then she is
one of the former; if not, then of the latter.” When he rode on, he placed her behind himself and put a veil over her.”

Al-Bukhari is alone in relating this.

Abū Dā'ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Hammād b. Zayd, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Suhayb, from Anas b. Malik, who said, “Ṣafīyya went to Dihyā al-Kalbī, and then to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Abū Dā'ūd also stated, “Ya'qūb b. _IBN AL-FIDA'_  _ISMAIL IBN KATHIR_ 267

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Abū Dā'ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Hammād b. Zayd, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Suhayb, from Anas b. Malik, who said, “Ṣafīyya went to Dihyā al-Kalbī, and then to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

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Abū Dā'ūd also stated, “Ya'qūb b.  _IBN AL-FIDA'_  _ISMAIL IBN KATHIR_ 267

Al-Bukhari is alone in relating this.
Ibn Ishaq went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had Kināna b. al-Rabi‘ brought to him; he was in charge of the Banū al-Naḍir treasury. When asked about it, Kināna denied knowledge of its whereabouts. Then there was brought to the Messenger of God (SAAS) a Jew who said, ‘I saw Kināna circle around the treasure early every morning.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said to Kināna, ‘Do you realize that I’ll kill you if we find it with you?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that their treasure be dug up and some of it was brought out. He then asked Kināna the whereabouts of the rest, but he refused to hand it over. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awām to go to him, saying, ‘Torture him until you root out what he has.’ Al-Zubayr then repeatedly struck fire on his chest until he was close to death. Finally, the Messenger of God (SAAS) pushed him over to Muhammad b. Maslama, who cut off his head in revenge for the loss of his brother, Maḥmūd b. Maslama.”

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) besieged the people of Khaybar in their two forts al-Waṭṭāḥ and al-Suḷālim. When they were sure that all was lost, they asked him to let them leave, and to spare their blood. He did so. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had seized all the wealth of al-Shiqq, al-Nīṭāt and al-Katiba, and all their forts, except for those two. When the people at Fadak heard what had happened to the others, they wanted the same. So they sent to the Messenger of God (SAAS), asking him to let them leave and to spare their blood on the understanding that they would leave their possessions for him. He agreed. One of the intermediaries between the Messenger of God (SAAS) and them in this matter was Muḥayyīsa b. Masūd, brother of Banū Ḥāritha.

“When the people of Khaybar surrendered on this agreement, they asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) to grant them a half share in the properties, saying, ‘We know more about it than you do, and we’ll make it produce more.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) made peace with them on this basis of half shares, provided that, ‘If we wish to expel you, we will do so.’ He made a similar arrangement with the people of Fadak.”

Section: On the Conquest of their Forts and the Division of their Land.

Al-Waḍqīḍ stated, “When the Jews from the forts of Nāṣim and of that of al-Saḥb b. Muṣādī went to that of al-Zubayr, the Messenger of God (SAAS) besieged them for three days. Then one of the Jews, a man named ʿAzāl, came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, ‘Abū al-Qāsim, will you give me protection if I direct you to what refreshes the people of al-Naṭāt and then proceed against those of al-Shiqq? Those at al-Shiqq are deathly afraid of you.’”
He went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) did give this man protection for his family and possessions, and the Jew then told him, ‘If you were to stay a whole month besieging them, they would not care. They have underground springs to which they can go out at night and drink from and then return to their fortress.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then gave orders that their springs be cut off and the Jews came out and fought most fiercely. A number of the Muslims were killed that day, as were ten of the Jews. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then conquered it. The last of these forts (to fall) was al-Naṭṭāt. He then turned his attention to al-Shiqq, which consisted of several forts. The first one he attacked was Ubayy. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then attacked a castle named Samwān and he fought for it most vigorously. One of the enemy there, a man named Azul, came forth and made a challenge for single combat. Al-Ḥabāb b. al-Mundhir went out to fight him and cut off half his arm, the man’s sword dropping from his hand. The Jew fled, but al-Ḥabāb followed him and severed his tendon. Another of them then emerged for single combat and one of the Muslims went forth to meet him. The Jew killed him. Abū Dujāna then went out against him, killing him and seizing his weapons. After that they offered no more challenges for single combat and the Muslims shouted ‘Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great!’ They then mounted an attack on the fortress and entered it, led by Abū Dujāna. Inside they found furniture, furnishings, cattle and food. The fighting men who had been inside fled in great haste, like lizards, until they reached the forts al-Bazāt, at al-Shiqq. There they put up a strong defence; but the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men moved slowly towards them and they exchanged arrows. The Messenger of God (SAAS) actually shot at them in person until their arrows wounded his fingertips. He then picked up a handful of stones which he cast at their fort which shook under their impact and collapsed to the ground. The Muslims then defeated them in hand-to-hand combat.”

Al-Waqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then turned his attention to the inhabitants of al-Akhbiyya, and of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim, two forts of Abū al-Ḥuqayq. These they defended strenuously, having been joined by all those who had been defeated from al-Naṭṭāt to al-Shiqq. These joined with the rest in defending al-Qamūs and al-Katībā – a very strong fortress – and in al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim. Ultimately they stopped looking down and the Messenger of God (SAAS) erected a catapult to use against them.

“When they were sure their defeat was certain, the Messenger of God (SAAS), having by then besieged them for 14 days, Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq came down to him and made peace. The conditions were that he would spare their lives and allow them to withdraw, while they would give him free access to their lands, properties, gold, silver, horses, armour and weapons, while they could keep only what was ʿala zahrī insān, ‘on their backs’, their clothing, that is. The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘But the protection of God and of His messenger is lost to you if you conceal anything.’ They made peace on that basis.”
I note that when they did hide things and told lies, concealing that leather bag in which they had much wealth, it became clear that they were not keeping to their pact. And so he killed both sons of Abū al-Huqayq and part of his family because they had broken their pacts and agreements.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥasan ᄤAli b. Muḥammad al-Muqrī al-Asfarāyīnī stated to him, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ishaq, quoting Yūsuf b. Ya‘qūb, quoting ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Ghiyāth, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar—according to Abū Salām from Nāfī’—from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) battled against the people of Khaybar until he forced them to take refuge in their fortress. He thus gained control of their land, their produce and their date-palms. They then made peace with him. The conditions were that they would leave their fortress keeping what their mounts would carry. To the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would go their gold, and silver. They would move away and not hide or fail to disclose anything; if they did so, they would have no valid pact of agreement.

“They then concealed a leather bag containing money and jewels belonging to Ḥuyayy b. Akhtāb; he had carried it with him to Khaybar when Banū al-Naḍīr was expelled. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked at this time, ‘What happened to the leather bag of Ḥuyayy that he brought from al-Naḍīr?’ He replied, ‘Various expenses and the warfare have exhausted it.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘Only a little time has passed and there was more money than that.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then pushed him over to al-Zuhayr who tortured him. Before this, Ḥuyayy had gone inside a ruin and he reported seeing Ḥuyayy circling it. They then went and searched, ultimately finding the bag in the ruin.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then killed the two sons of Abū al-Huqayq, one of whom was the husband of Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. al-Akhtāb. He took their women and children captive and divided up their possessions since they had broken their agreement.

“He wanted to expel them, but they said, ‘Muḥammad, let us stay on this land to care for and improve it.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions had no revenues from farming to live on and they themselves were too occupied otherwise to work on the land. And so he gave Khaybar over to them on condition that they would have an equal part of all the produce, dates and other returns, for so long as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wished.

“ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa would come to them every year to receive payment for it from them, paying them their half. But they complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the zeal with which he performed this task. They had tried to bribe him. He told them, ‘You enemies of God! Would you pay me with

67. Presumably Kināna b. al-Rabī’ b. Abū al-Huqayq, as related in the other accounts given above.

68. It is unclear who is implied. Presumably a third party, as recounted heretofore.
ill-gotten gains! By God, I come to you on behalf of the person most dear to me of all. You are more hateful in my view than the monkeys and pigs that are your like! But my hatred for you and my love for him will not lead me to fail to treat you fairly."

"They replied, 'By this, heaven and earth are set.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) noticed some blackness around Ṣafiyya’s eye and he asked her, ‘Ṣafiyya, what is this blackness?’ She replied, ‘My head was in the lap of Ibn Abū al-Ḥuqayq while I slept. I seemed to see a moon drop into my lap. When I told him of this, he slapped me, saying, “You yearn for the ‘king of Yathrib!’’"

"She went on, ‘I thought of the Messenger of God (SAAS) as the most hateful of men. He killed my husband and my father. But he kept on explaining to me, saying, “Your father incited the Arabs against me and did so on and so forth.” Eventually all that left my mind.’"

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to give each of his wives 80 bags of dates and 20 of barley annually. During the Caliphate of 'Umar, they cheated the Muslims, and threw 'Umar’s son down from atop a house, breaking his wrists. 'Umar then said, ‘Those owning a share of Khaybar should come for us to divide it up.’ He did divide it up and their (the Jews’) leader said, ‘Don’t expel us; allow us to remain in it as did the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr too.’ 'Umar responded, ‘Do you consider that what the Messenger of God (SAAS) said does not apply to me! But how would you feel if your mount raced off towards Syria, day after day after day!’"

"'Umar then divided it up between those who were at al-Ḥudaybiyya and then at Khaybar.”

Abū Da‘ūd related this in abbreviated form from a hadith of Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Al-Bukhārī appended the following in the margin of his book, ‘Ḥammād b. Salama narrated it.'” I note, however, that I did not see this. But God knows best.

Abū Da‘ūd stated that Sulaymān b. Da‘ūd al-Mahri related to him, quoting Ibn Walb, who said that Usāma b. Zayd al-Laythi informed him, from Naṭī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who said, ‘When Khaybar was conquered, the Jews asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) to allow them to remain on condition that they would work for one-half of what it produced. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told them, ‘I will allow you to stay in it on that condition for as long as we wish.’"

69. In a footnote to his translation of Ibn Iṣḥaq’s work, (op. cit. p.523) Guillaume points out that this is an authentically Jewish expression and that its inclusion here attests to the accuracy of the narrator here.

70. This is a reference to the charges against the Jews of Khaybar for having broken promises and failed to fulfil contracts.
"And so they did. The dates, of one-half of Khaybar, were divided into shares and the Messenger of God (SAAS) would take a portion of one-fifth. From that fifth, he would provide 100 bags of dates and 20 of barley for each of his wives, annually.

"When 'Umar wished to evict the Jews, he sent to the wives of the Prophet (SAAS) and told them, 'Whichever of you wishes me to set aside for her (land that would produce) 100 bags, she may have the roots, land and water therefor, along with the plants to produce 20 bags of barley. This I will arrange. Those who prefer us to set aside what she owns of the fifth share as it has been, this too we will do.'"

Abū Dā'ūd narrated from a hadith of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said, "'Nafi' related to me, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, that 'Umar stated, 'O people, the Messenger of God (SAAS) made a pact with the Jews of Khaybar on the understanding that he could expel them if he wished. Those with property there should go to it; I am expelling the Jews.' And he did expel them.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yahyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, (who said) that Jubayr b. Mu'tām informed him as follows, "I and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān walked over to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, 'You gave to Banū al-Muṭṭalib a part of the fifth share of Khaybar but left us out, even though we and they have the same status with you.' He replied, 'Well, Banū Ḥashim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib are one.'" Jubayr b. Mu'tām stated, 'The Prophet (SAAS) gave no share to Banū 'Abd Shams, nor to Banū Nawfal.'"

He is alone in giving this hadith; Muslim did not.

There is one version that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Banū Ḥashim and Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib are one; they were not separate from us before Islam or thereafter."

Al-Shāfiʿī stated, "They went into the defile with them and gave them help after their having accepted Islam just as they had before Islam.

"Abū Ṭalīb expressed displeasure with Banū 'Abd Shams and Nawfal, saying, 'May God punish badly 'Abd Shams and Nawfal for us, and the sooner the better!'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Ḥasan b. Ishāq related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ṭhābit, quoting Za'ida, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar, from 'Nafi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "At Khaybar, the Messenger of God (SAAS) awarded a double share to each horse and a single share to each man on foot.

"This pleased 'Nafi', who said, 'So if a man had a horse, he received three shares: two for the horse, one for himself.'"

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Sa'īd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting Muhammad b. Ja'far (who said), "Zayd informed me, from his father, that he heard 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say, 'By Him who bears my soul in His hands, were I not afraid that the other Muslims might be left in poverty, I would divide up (among the warriors) each village conquered for me, just as the Prophet (SAAS)
divided up Khaybar. However, I will leave it all to them as a (source of) treasury for them to distribute among themselves."

Al-Bukhārī also related this from a hadith of Mālik; Abū Dā‘ūd did so from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ibn Mahdi, from Mālik, from Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, from Umar.

This text requires that Khaybar was divided up in its entirely among those who had earned the booty.

Abū Dā‘ūd stated, "Ibn al-Sarh related to us, (who said), ‘Ibn Wahb informed us, saying, ‘Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, ‘I learned that the Messenger of God (SAAS) took Khaybar by force, after fighting, and left some of its inhabitants still there after the battles.’’"

Al-Zuhri stated on this, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) divided Khaybar into fifths, allotting it all to those who fought there."

However, there is some disagreement over al-Zuhri’s statement. What is true is that all of Khaybar was not divided up; in fact, only one-half of it was divided between the men, as will be shown.

Mālik and his followers use this argument, stating that the Imam may choose what is best to do with conquered territories. He may divide them up (between those capturing them), or he may set them aside for the benefit of all Muslims. Alternatively, he may, if he wishes, divide up part of them and set aside part to care for whatever circumstances and needs may arise.

Abī Dā‘ūd stated, "Al-Rabi‘ b. Sulaymān, the muezzin, related to us, quoting Asad b. Mūsā, quoting Yahyā b. Zakariyyā (who said) ‘Sufyān related to me, from Yahyā b. Sa‘d, from Bashīr b. Yāsār, from Sahl b. Abū Ḥathma, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) divided Khaybar into two halves; one-half was for his own responsibilities, and one-half went to the Muslims; he divided it up among them on the basis of 18 parts.”’"

Abū Dā‘ūd is alone in giving this hadith. He then related, from a hadith of Bashīr b. Yāsār that is mursal, incomplete in its line of transmission, “he assigned to the half allotted for his needs (responsibilities) al-Watīh, al-Katiba, al-Sulalim and their adjoining properties, and gave to the Muslims the half consisting of al-Shiqq and al-Nāṭāt and their adjoining properties; the portions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was what adjoined both of these.”

He also stated that Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fudayl, from Yahyā b. Sa‘d, from Bashīr b. Yāsār, the freed-man of the ansār, from men among the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS). (These men stated) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gained victory over Khaybar and divided it into 36 shares, each of which combined 100 shares. To the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims went one-half of this. The second half he put aside for those from the delegations who came to stay with him, and for other matters, along with some portions set aside for those who suffered special misfortune.

Abū Dā‘ūd is alone in giving this.
He also stated that Muhammad b. Isâ related to him, quoting Mujmî b. Ya‘qûb b. Mujmî b. Yazîd al-Ansârî (who said), “I heard Abu Ya‘qûb b. Mujmî say, on the authority of his uncle ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Yazîd al-Ansârî, from his uncle Mujiî b. Ḥârîthah al-Ansârî – he being one of the reciters of the Qur‘ân – say, ‘Khaybar was apportioned to those who had (also) been present at al-Hudaybiyya. He divided it up into 18 parts. The army consisted of 1,500 men, including 300 cavalry. He allotted two shares to each man with a horse, and one share to each man on foot.’”

Abû Dâ‘ûd is alone in giving this hadîth.

Mâlik stated, from al-Zuhârî, that Sa‘îd b. al-Musâyab informed him that the Prophet (SAAS) conquered part of Khaybar by force.

Abû Dâ‘ûd also related this. He then stated, “The following was recited to al-Ḥârîthah b. Mîskîn while I was present, ‘Ibn Wahb informed you all (as follows), “Mâlik b. Anas related to me, from Ibn Shihab, that part of Khaybar was taken by force and part by peace treaty. Most of al-Kâtibah was taken by force, and there was also a peace agreement about it. I asked Mâlik, ‘What is al-Kâtibah?’ He replied, ‘It is land at Khaybar; it consists of 40,000 ‘adhq.”’” Abû Dâ‘ûd stated, “al-‘adhq” means ‘date-palms’; it can also mean date fronds.”

Al-Bukhârî, moreover, stated that Muhammad b. Bashshâr related to him, quoting Ḥaramî, quoting Shu‘bâ, quoting ʿAmâra, from Ḥârîma, from Ṣâ‘îsah, who said, “When Khaybar was conquered, we said, ‘Well, now we’ll have our fill of dates!’ (Al-Bukhari went on) “Al-Ḥâsân related to us, quoting Qurra b. Ḥâbîb, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmân b. ʿAbd Allâh b. Dinâr, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘We never had our fill’ – meaning of dates – ‘until we conquered Khaybar.’”

Muḥammad b. Ṣâ‘îq stated, “Al-Shiqq and al-Naṭât were part of the share of the Muslims. Al-Shiqq consisted of 13 shares, al-Naṭât of 5. The total was divided into 1,800 shares. This was paid to those who were present at al-Hudaybiyya, both those present at Khaybar and those absent from it. And of those who were present at al-Hudaybiyya only Jâbir b. ʿAbd Allâh was absent from Khaybar; he was awarded his share.

“Those present at al-Hudaybiyya consisted of 1,400 men. With them were 200 horses; 2 shares went to each horse. To each 100 men went a portion consisting of 18 shares. Four hundred shares went to the 200 horsemen; this was for their horses.”

Al-Bayhaqî related similarly through Sufyân b. Ḥuyayna, from Yaḥyâ b. Sa‘îd, from Ṣâ‘îlî b. Kaysân – namely that they consisted of 1,400 men, with whom there were 200 horses.

I note: the Messenger of God (SAAS) used an arrow to select the order of the award of shares. The first share of the allotment of al-Shiqq went to Ṣâ‘îm b. Ḍâd. Ibn Ishâq stated, “Kâtibah was a fifth portion assigned to God Almighty; of it a portion went to the Prophet (SAAS), another to (impoverished) relations,
orphans, the destitute and wayfarers, another to feed the wives of the Prophet (SAAS), another to feed the families of those who went out to arrange the peace treaty with the people of Fadak. These included Muhayyisa b. Mas'ud, to whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) allotted 30 bags of dates and 30 bags of barley. Its (Fadak's) two valleys that were set aside for him were named Wādi al-Surīr, and Wādi Khāṣ.

Ibn Ishaq went on to give the details of all the allotments made at Khaybar; he did so fully and very well, may God have mercy on him.

The men placed in charge of the division and the accounting were Jabbar b. Ṣakhār b. Umayya b. Khansa', brother of Banū Salama, and Zayd b. Thābit, may God be pleased with them both.

The commander who had authority over valuation of the date-palms of Khaybar was 'Abd Allah b. Rawāha. He did this for two years. Following his death, may God be pleased with him, at the battle of Mu'ta, Jabbar b. Ṣakhār, may God be pleased with him, took over his work.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā'il related to him, quoting Mālik, from ʻAbd al-Majīd b. Suhayl, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Sa'id al-Khudari and Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed a man in command of Khaybar who brought him some dates that were janīb, "of very high quality". The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, "Are all the dates of Khaybar like this?" He replied, "No, I swear by God, Messenger of God! We take a sa' weight of this (dates of high quality) for two sa' or three sa' (of lesser quality)." He told him, "No, don't do that. Sell the lesser quality dates for cash and then with that cash buy the janīb dates."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Al-Darāwardī said, quoting ʻAbd al-Majīd, from Sa'id b. al-Musayyab, that Abū Sa'id and Abū Hurayra both related that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent a brother of Banū 'Adi of the āsur to Khaybar and appointed him in charge of it. And the same is related on a different line of transmission from ʻAbd al-Majīd, from Abū Salīḥ al-Samān, from Abū Sa'id and Abū Hurayra.

I note as follows. The properties of Khaybar gained by the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims and all of Fadak, constituted a large part of the territory of Khaybar. They (the Jewish inhabitants) had emerged and made peace with the Messenger of God (SAAS) because of their great fear of him. To all this were added the acquisitions mentioned above from Banū al-Nādīr where the Muslims similarly had no need to use force.

These were the personal property of the Messenger of God (SAAS). From them he would subtract the yearly expenses of his family and then treat the remainder as belonging to God. He would use it to pay for the mounts, weapons

71. According to Ibn Ishaq, when the inhabitants of Fadak heard of the conquest of Khaybar, they sent emissaries to the Prophet (SAAS), offering a treaty of peace under which they would remain there and keep half their produce.
and other needs of the Muslims. When he died, Fatima and his wives—or most
of them—believed that these properties would be inherited from him. They had
not been informed of a statement that has been established to have been made
by the Messenger of God (SAAS) as follows, “We prophets do not leave
inheritance; what we leave becomes sadaqa, a public charity.”

When Fatima and the wives of the Prophet (SAAS), along with al-‘Abbâs,
sought their share of this and asked (Abû Bakr), the Trusting, to pay it to them,
he related to them what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said, namely, “We
do not leave inheritance; what we leave becomes a sadaqa.” He told them, “I will
provide for those whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) cared for; I swear by
God, the relatives of the Messenger of God (SAAS) are dearer to me than
my own.”

He spoke the truth, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure!
In that he was faithful, well-guided and adhering to the truth.

Al-‘Abbâs requested, as did ‘Ali on behalf of Fatima, since they had failed
to receive an inheritance, that they should have access to that charitable fund and
use it for those expenses that the Prophet (SAAS) used to meet. But Abû Bakr
refused that, considering it his duty to proceed as the Messenger of God (SAAS)
had done, and not to deviate from his path and practices.

Fatima, may God be pleased with her, died six months thereafter. ‘Ali then
renewed his oath of allegiance. During the Caliphate of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb,
they asked him to give control of this sadaqa to ‘Ali and al-‘Abbâs. They
pressured him through a group of the Companions. And ‘Umar, may God be
pleased with him, agreed to this. He did so because of the multiplicity of his
duties, the extensiveness of his domain and the great spread of his subjects.

‘Ali gained advantage over his uncle al-‘Abbâs in this matter. Then they
accompanied each other and quarrelled in front of ‘Umar. And they brought
along a group of the Companions to him and asked him to divide up the
assets between them in such a way that each would be independent of the other.
But ‘Umar resisted this strongly, fearing that such a division would be similar
to the division through inheritance. He said, “Look after it together. And if
you can’t, then turn it over to me. By Him at whose command the heavens
and earth stand, I’ll never reach any other decision about this!” The property
continued to be managed in this way, by their descendants, into the ‘Abbâsîde
era, the expenditures continuing to be made as they had been by the Messenger
of God (SAAS). (This is what became of) the assets of Banû al-Nadir, from
Fadak and the share of the Messenger of God (SAAS), from Khaybar.
The slaves and the women who were there at Khaybar were awarded portions of the booty, but no actual shares in the assets gained.

Abū Da'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to him, quoting Bishr b. al-Mufaddal, from Muḥammad b. Zayd, (who said), "'Umayr, freed-man of Abū al-Laḥm, said, 'I was present at Khaybar with my masters. They talked about me to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he ordered that I be awarded a sword. I was just about to draw it when he was informed that I was a mamlūk, a slave. He then ordered I be given something (suitable) I would enjoy.'"


Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, "There were women who were present at Khaybar with the Messenger of God (SAAS). He awarded them part of the booty, but he did not allot them shares.

"Sulaymān b. Suḥaym related to me, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from a woman of Banū Ghifār, whose name was given me. She said, 'I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), along with some women of Banū Ghifār. We asked him, 'Messenger of God, we would like to go forth with you,' - he was then on his way to Khaybar - "to take care of the wounded and give whatever help we can to the Muslims." He replied, "May God bless you.'"

"She went on, 'So we left with him. I was a young girl then and the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed me on his mount behind himself, on a bag of provisions. When he dismounted to perform the al-subh prayer, I got down from the bag. On it I saw blood of mine; this was my first period. I hurried back to the camel, feeling embarrassed. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw I was upset and noticed the blood, he asked, "What is wrong? You probably menstruated." "Yes," I answered. He then said, "Cleanse yourself and then take a vessel of water, put some salt in it and use it to wash the blood off the bag. Then go back to your seat.'"

"She went on, 'When God conquered Khaybar, he awarded us some of the booty. He took this necklace you see around my neck and gave it to me, himself putting it on me. By God, I will never be parted from it.' It was around her neck until she died and she left instructions that it be buried with her.

"She never cleansed herself after her menstruation without putting salt in the water. And she left instructions that it be put in the water to be used to wash her when she died.'"

Imām Aḥmad and Abū Da'ūd related this similarly, from the hadith of Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

'Ali, daughter of Abū al-Ḥakam, from Umayya, daughter of Abū al-Ṣalt, from the Prophet (SAAS).”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan b. Mūsā related to us, quoting Rāfīʾ b. Salama al-Ashjaʿi (who said), “Ḥashraj b. Ziyād related to me, from his grandmother, his father’s mother, who said, ‘We went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the expedition to Khaybar, I being the youngest of six women. When news reached the Prophet (SAAS) that there were women accompanying him, he summoned us. We could see from his face that he was angry. He asked us, “Why have you come, and who gave you permission?” We replied, “We have come to hand out the arrows and to pour the sawīq, we have with us medication for wounds and we can spin hair and use it for God’s cause.” “You may proceed,” he told us.’

“She went on, ‘When God conquered Khaybar for him, he drew arrows (to determine shares) for us, just as he did for the men.’ I then asked her, ‘Grandmother, what was allotted to you then?’ ‘Dates,’ she replied.”

I comment that all he gave them was the produce. He certainly did not give to them shares in the land, as he did to the men. But God knows best.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated, “In my book, (it states) from the ḥāfiz Abū ʿAbd Allāh, that ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣbahānī informed him, as follows, ‘Al-Ḥusayn b. al-Jahm related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faraj, quoting al-Wāqidi, (who said) “ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mūsā b. Jubayr, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ants, who said, ‘I went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Khaybar, and my wife, who was pregnant, accompanied me. On the way she had a discharge of blood. I reported this to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he told me, “Soak some dates for her and when it all turns liquid, tell her to drink it.” She did so and saw nothing to alarm her. When we had conquered Khaybar, he gave to the women, but did not allot them shares. He gave both to my wife and to my child who was born.’” ʿAbd al-Salām added, “I don’t know whether it was a boy or a girl.”

An Account of the arrival to the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was encamped at Khaybar, of Jaʿfar b. Abū Talib, may God be pleased with him, and those who had remained in Abyssinia.

These were Muslims who had emigrated there, along with those from the people of Yemen who had joined them.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Burda, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, “We learned of the departure of the Prophet (SAAS) while we were in Yemen and so we left as muḥājirin to join him. I was accompanied by my brothers, myself being the youngest. One was called Abū.
Burda, the other Abū Ruhm. We were among a number” (or the narrator may have given the figure 53, or 52) “of men of my people.

“We rode aboard a boat that took us to the Negus in Abyssinia. There we met up with Ja'far b. Abū Tālib, with whom we stayed before all coming on together. We arrived at the Prophet (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar. Some people there said to us – meaning those who had travelled by boat – ‘We joined in the hijra before you did!’

“Well, we emigrated before you did. And so we have now more right to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than you do!’ She became angry and replied, ‘That’s not so, by God! All the time you were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he was feeding your hungry and instructing your ignorant, while we were in the ḍār, the domain, of the bu'addā and the bughaḍā in Abyssinia! And we were there serving God and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I swear by God, I’ll not eat nor drink again before I tell the Prophet (ṢAAS) what you said, and I’ll ask him. And I’ll not lie or distort or add anything to it!’”

“When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, she said to him, ‘Prophet of God, Abū Burda narrated, ‘Asmā’ commented, “When I saw Abū Mūsā, he asked me to repeat this hadith.’”

“Abū Burda said, quoting Abū Mūsā, ‘The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “I well know the voices of the ‘ash‘ārī people’, the reciters of the Qur’ān, when they go home at night. And I know their houses from their voices merely reciting the Qur’ān at night, even without seeing their dwellings during the day. One of them is Hakim b. Ḥizām, who, when he meets the enemy” – or he could have said, “cavalry” – “would say to them (the enemy), ‘My companions order you to wait for them.’”’

Muslim related this similarly from Abū Kurayb and ‘Abd Allāh b. Barrād, from Abū Usāma.

Then al-Bukhārī stated that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Ḥafs b. Ghiyāth, quoting Burayd (b. ‘Abd Allāh) from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, “We came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) after Khaybar had been conquered.

73. That is, “those who are far away” and “those who are hateful”. Obviously, the Arabic words have similar patterns and sound almost similar.
He did give us a share (of the booty), though he gave none to anyone who had not been present at the victory except for us."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not. Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī did relate it, authenticating it from a hadith of Burayd.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Āmīr b. Umayya al-Ḍāmri to the Negus to request him for those of his Companions who had remained in Abyssinia. They arrived in the company of Ja'far, after the Prophet (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar.

He went on, "Sufyān b. ʿUyayna related, from al-ʿAjlah, from al-Shaʿbi, that Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalib came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day when he conquered Khaybar. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him between his eyes and hugged him, saying, 'I don't know which makes me happier - the conquest of Khaybar, or the arrival of Jaʿfar!'"

Sufyān al-Thawrī related it thus from al-ʿAjlah, from al-Shaʿbi, only as mursal, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bayhaqī recorded a line of transmission through Ḥasan b. ʿUsayn al-ʿArzami, from al-ʿAjlah, from al-Shaʿbi, from Jābir, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back from Khaybar, Jaʿfar arrived from Abyssinia. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kissed him on the forehead when he met him, saying, 'By God, I don't know what makes me happier - the conquest of Khaybar or the arrival of Jaʿfar!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then stated, "The Ḥāfīz Abū ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Abū Ismāʿīl al-ʿAlawi, quoting ʿĀhmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAydrūtī, quoting Muḥammad b. Abī Daʿūd b. Abū Ṭayba (who said), 'Mākkī b. ʿĪrāhīm al-ʿRāyānī related to me, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, 'When Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalib arrived from Abyssinia, he was met by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When Jaʿfar saw him, he ḥajalā, he hopped on one leg, to show his respect for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then kissed him between his eyes.!'"

Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "In the chain of authorities back to al-Thawrī there are persons not known."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Those Meccans who remained behind with Jaʿfar until they joined him at Khaybar were 16 men."

Ibn Ishāq then listed their names and those of their wives. They were: "Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalib al-Hashimi and his wife Asmāʿ, daughter of ʿUmays, and his son ʿAbd Allāh, who was born in Abyssinia, Khalīd b. ʿAṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams and his wife Amina, daughter of Khalaf b. ʿAsad, and his children, ʿAṣ b. ʿĀmā, both born in Abyssinia, his brother ʿAmr b. Saʿd b. al-ʿĀṣ and Muʿayqīb b. Abū Ṭāfirah, a member of the Saʿd b. al-ʿĀṣ family.

"Then there were Abū Māsāḥ al-ʾAshʿārī ʿAbd Allāh b. Qays, ally of ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, Aswad b. Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. Asad al-Asadī, Jahm b. Qays b. ʿAbd Shurahbil al-ʾAbdārī, whose wife, Umm Ḥarmala, daughter of ʿAbd al-Aswad,
had died in Abyssinia; his son 'Amr and daughter Khuzayma died along with her, may God have mercy on them all. Then there were 'Amir b. Abn Waqqas al-Zuhri, 'Utba b. Ma'sūd, an ally of theirs from Hudhayl, al-Ḥārith b. Khalid b. Ṣakhir al-Taymi, whose wife Rayṭa, daughter of al-Ḥārith, had died there, may God have mercy upon her, 'Utthān b. Rabī'a b. Ahbān al-Jumaḥt, Muḥṣimiyya b. Juz' al-Zabidī, ally of Banū Sahm, Maʾṣmār b. Ṣabd Allāh b. Naḍla al-Ṣadawi, Abū Ḥatib b. 'Amr b. 'Abd Shams, Mālik b. Rabī'a b. Qays b. 'Abd Shams, both from Banū 'Āmir. Along with this Mālik was his wife 'Amra, daughter of al-Saḍī. Then there was al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd Shams b. Laqīt al-Fihri.”

Ibn Isḥāq did not mention those others of Banū Ashūr who were with Aba Masa and his two brothers Abū Burda and Abū Ruḥm, and his paternal uncle Abū Āmir; in fact of the Ashūr he referred only to Abū Mas, not even venturing to mention his two brothers, who were older than him, as is stated in the sahih of al-Bukhārī. It is as though Ibn Isḥāq, may God have mercy upon him, had not seen the hadith of Aba Mas regarding this. But God knows best.

He went on, “In the two boats with them there were also women who had been the wives of the Muslims who had died in Abyssinia. What he did record here was substantial and good.

Al-Bukhārī stated that 'Ali b. Ṣabd Allāh related to him, quoting Suṭyān (who said), “I heard al-Zuhri say, when Ismā'īl b. Umayya asked him a question, ‘Anbasa b. Sa'id informed me that Abū Hurayra came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and made a request of him – that is, he asked him for a share in the booty. At this a man from Banū Sa'id b. al-Ṣās said, “No, don’t give it to him.” Abū Hurayra commented (to the Prophet ṢAAS), “This is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal.” The man replied: “That’s a strange comment to come from a weasel who has come down from Qadām al-Ḍa'n!””

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this hadith; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related from al-Zubaydī that al-Zuhri said, “‘Anbasa b. Sa'id informed me that he heard Abū Hurayra informing Sa'id b. al-Ṣās as follows: ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abān (b. Sa'id) on an expedition from Medina towards Najd.’

“Abū Hurayra stated, ‘And Abān and his companions came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) at Khaybar after he had conquered it; the girdles of their horses were made of palm-fibre rope.’

“Abū Hurayra said, ‘So I said to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “Messenger of God, don’t give them a share!” Abān exclaimed, “You’re just a weasel that’s come down from atop a ḍa'īl, a lotus tree!” At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “Abān, sit down!” And he did not give them a share.’”

74. Qadām al-Ḍa'n is the name of a mountain in the territory of Banū Daws, Abū Hurayra’s tribe.

75. It will be noticed that in this hadith the word for the name of the mountain has been changed to a word meaning a lotus tree.
Abū Dā'ūd gave a line of transmission for this hadith from Sa'īd b. Ma'nūsīr, from Ismā'īl b. ʿAyyāsh, from Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Zubaydī with similar wording.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Ismā'īl related to him, quoting ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd (who said), “My grandfather, Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ informed me that Ābān b. Saʿīd came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and greeted him. Abū Hurayra then said, ‘Messenger of God, this is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!’ Abān retorted to Abū Hurayra, ‘How strange! For you, a weasel coming down from Qadūm Daʿān to complain about me for the death of a man whom God honoured with martyrdom at my hand, a man whom God prevented from overcoming me!’”

He is alone in giving this hadith in this position. In his section on al-jihād, warfare, after the hadith of al-Humaydī, from Sufyān, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAnbasa b. Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra, he said, “I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at Khaybar, after having conquered it. I said to him, ‘Messenger of God, grant me a share!’ Some of the family of Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ said, ‘Don’t give him a share!’ I then said, ‘Messenger of God, this fellow is the murderer of Ibn Qawqal!’” From this point, the hadith is the same as above.

Sufyān stated, “Al-Saʿīdī (by whom he meant ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd) related it to me, from his grandfather, from Abū Hurayra.”

In this hadith there is the statement of Abū Hurayra that he was not present at Khaybar, as was asserted in the prior accounts of this engagement. Imām Aḥmad related this through ʿArak b. Mālik, from Abū Hurayra and that he arrived to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) after he had conquered Khaybar and stated, “He addressed the Muslims and they gave us a part of their shares.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Ṭammār b. Abū Ṭammār, who said, ‘I was never present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at any distribution of booty without him giving me a share, except at Khaybar; it was specifically for those who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya.’”

I note that Abū Hurayra and Abū Mūsā both arrived between al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to us, quoting Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr, quoting Abū Ishāq, from Mālik b. Anas (who said), ‘Thawr related to me, quoting Saлим, the freed-man of Abū Allāh b. Muṭṭiʿ, who said that he heard Abū Hurayra say, ‘When we conquered Khaybar, we did not gain any booty of gold or silver. We did take camels, cattle, personal possessions and properties. We then departed with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for Wādī al-Qurā. With him was a slave of his called Midʿām, who had been presented to him by some of Banū al-Ḍabīb. While he was mounting the saddle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a stray arrow came in and struck him. People then said, ‘Lucky for him; paradise!’ But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Definitely not; by Him in Whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at
Khaybar that the divider of the booty never received will light the fires (of hell) for him!

"'A man then approached, after having heard that from the Messenger of God (SAAS), carrying one or two sandal straps and said, 'This is something I captured.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, 'A sandal strap or two of hellfire!'""

An Account of the poisoned sheep and the clear proof and evidence therein.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Urwa narrated this from ʿĀʾisha, from the Prophet (SAAS). He then stated, "ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting al-Layth (who said), Saʿīd related to me, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'When Khaybar was conquered for the Messenger of God (SAAS), a poisoned sheep was presented to him.'"

Thus he gave it here in abbreviated form.

Imām Ahmad stated, "Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Layth, from Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'When Khaybar was conquered, a poisoned sheep was presented to the Prophet (SAAS). The latter then ordered, 'Gather for me the Jews who were here.' They were brought and the Prophet (SAAS) asked them, 'I am about to ask you something. Will you respond truthfully about it?' 'Yes, we will, Abū Qāsim,' they replied.

'He then asked them, 'Who is your father?' They replied, 'Our father is so-and-so.' He then said, 'You lie; your father is so-and-so!' They responded, 'You correctly speak the truth.' He then asked, 'Are you truthful about something if you are asked about it?' They replied, 'Yes, Abū Qāsim! If we were to lie, you would know of it just as you did about our father.' He then asked, 'Who are those in hell?' They replied, 'We will be there for a short while, then you will remain there after us.' He responded, 'By God, we'll never be there after you.' He then asked them, 'Will you be truthful about something if I ask you?' 'Yes indeed, Abū al-Qāsim,' they replied. He went on, 'Did you put poison in this sheep?' 'Yes,' they replied. 'What made you do that?' he asked. 'We wanted to be rid of you if you were a liar; and if you were a prophet, it would not have harmed you.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in his section on al-ṣiyya, the poll-tax on non-Muslims, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf. He also gave it in the section on al-maghāzi, the military expeditions, from Qutayba, both of these quoting al-Layth. Al-Bayhaqī stated, "The hāfiz Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAṣamm, quoting Saʿīd b. Sulaymān, quoting ʿAbbād b. al-ʿAwwām, from Sufyān b. Ḥusayn, from al-Zuhri, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, and Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān, from Abū Hurayra, that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He told his Companions,
Stop! It is poisoned!’ He then asked her, ‘What made you do this?’ She replied, ‘I wanted to find out if you are a prophet. Because if so, God would make you aware of it. And if you were an impostor, I’d be ridding people of you.’” The narrator concluded, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not detain her.”

Abū Dā’ūd related this from Hārūn b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Sa’īd b. Sulaymān.

Al-Bayhaqī related it similarly through ‘Abd Al-Malik b. Aba Nadra, from his father, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Shurayh related to us, quoting ‘Abbād, from Hīlāl – he being Ibn Khabbāb – from Ḥkritima, from Ibn ‘Abbās (who said) that a Jewish woman presented a poisoned sheep to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He sent for her and asked, ‘What made you do that?’ ‘Ahbabtu, I wished’ – ‘or araḍtū, I wanted’ – ‘(to establish) that if you were a prophet, then God would make you aware of it. And if you were not a prophet, people would be rid of you.’”

The narrator continued, “Whenever he experienced pain because of that (poison) he would have blood drawn. He went on, ‘He made a trip on one occasion and when he had performed the pilgrimage, he experienced pain and had blood drawn.’”

Ahmad alone gives this hadith and its chain of transmission is good.

In both sahih collections, from a hadith of Shu‘ba, from Ḥishām b. Zayd, from Anas b. Mālik (it states) that a Jewish woman brought to the Messenger of God (SAAS) a poisoned sheep and that he ate from it. She was then taken to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who asked her about this, and she replied, “I wanted to kill you!” He then commented, “God would never have given you power over me.” (Or he may have said, “power over that”.) People asked him, “Aren’t you going to kill her?” “No,” he replied.

Anas stated, “I continued thereafter to recognize its effects on the palate of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Abū Dā’ūd stated that Sulaymān b. Dā’ūd al-Mahri related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), “Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, ‘Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh used to relate that a Jewish woman of Khayhar poisoned a roasted sheep then presented it to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who took a shoulder and ate from it. A number of his Companions ate along with him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told them, ‘Take your hands away!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then sent for the woman and asked her, ‘Did you poison this sheep?’ The Jewess replied, ‘Who told you?’ ‘This in my hand told me,’ he answered, referring to the shoulder of meat. She then said, ‘Yes, I did.’ He asked, ‘What did you intend by that?’ She replied, ‘I told myself that if you were a prophet, it would not harm you. And if you were not a prophet, we would be rid of you.’”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then forgave her and did not punish her. Some of his Companions who had eaten of the sheep did die. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back because of his having eaten...
from the sheep. Abū Hind, an anṣāri of Banū Bayḍā', drew the blood with the point and blade of a sword.”

Abū Dā'ūd then stated that Wahb b. Baqiyya related to him, quoting Khalid, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was presented by a Jewess at Khaybar with a roast lamb. The ḥadīth proceeds as did the above from Jābīr. It goes on, “Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr died and so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent for the Jewess and asked her, ‘What made you do this?’” The ḥadīth goes on to recount much the same as did that of Jābīr, but states that he then ordered her execution. This account does not refer to the matter of drawing blood.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “We related this from a ḥadīth of Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra.”

He went on, “It is probable that he did not execute her initially, but did so when Bishr b. al-Barāʾ died.”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, that a Jewess presented a roast sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Khaybar. He asked her, “What’s this?” “A gift,” she replied. She was careful not to say a sadaqa, a charitable donation, for he would not then have eaten it. (The account went on) “He ate from it, as did his Companions. But then he told them, ‘Stop!’ He asked the woman, ‘Did you put poison in it?’ ‘Who told you that?’ she asked. ‘This bone did,’ he replied, referring to a leg of it he had in his hand. ‘Yes, I did,’ she told him. ‘Why?’ he asked. ‘What I wanted was that if you were an impostor, we would be rid of you. And if you were a prophet, it would not harm you.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had blood drawn from his upper back and ordered his Companions to do the same. Some of them died.”

Al-Zuhri stated, “She then accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left her alone.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This ḥadīth is mursal. Perhaps ʿAbd al-Raḥmān conveyed it from Jābīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with him.”

Ibn Iḥlāṣ reported from Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, as did Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from al-Zuhri, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, killing some of its inhabitants, the Jewess Zaynab, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who was the niece of Marḥab, presented to Ṣafīyya some roast mutton that she had poisoned. She included plenty of shoulder and leg because she had learned that these were the parts of a sheep most liked by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to Ṣafīyya accompanied by Bishr b. al-Barāʾ b. Maʿrūr, of Banū Salama. She offered him the roast mutton and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took some shoulder and bit from it. Bishr took a bone and bit from it. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) swallowed his morsel, Bishr b. al-Barāʾ swallowed what was in his mouth. The Messenger of
God (SAAS) then said, ‘Take away your hands! The shoulder of this sheep tells me that my death will be announced because of it!’ Bishr b. al-Bara‘ then said, ‘By Him who honoured you, I found that too in the piece I ate! The only thing that prevented me from voicing it was that I respected you too much to want to make you dislike your food! And when you swallowed what you had in your mouth, I could not allow myself to protect my life to the exclusion of you. I had hoped you would not have swallowed it, for in it is my death too.’ And before Bishr could get up, his colour turned ashen and his pains were such that he could not move before he died.”

Al-Zuhri quoted Jabir as saying, “That day the Messenger of God (SAAS) had blood drawn. It was a freed-man of Banū Bayyāda who drew it using a sword point and blade. The Messenger of God (SAAS) lived on for three more years until he suffered the pain from which he died. He said, ‘I have continued to have pains often because of that piece of mutton I ate at Khaybar right on up to now, when my aorta is splitting.’”

“And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) died a martyr.”

Muhammad b. Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) felt secure, Zaynab, daughter of al-Hārith, wife of Sallām b. Mishkam, presented him with a roasted sheep. She had enquired what part of that meat the Messenger of God (SAAS) preferred, and had been told that it was the shoulder. She put a great deal of poison in the shoulder, as well as in the rest of the sheep, and brought it to him. When she placed it before him, he took the shoulder section and bit from it but did not swallow it. With him was Bishr b. al-Bara‘ b. Ma‘ārūr. He had taken some of it just as had the Messenger of God (SAAS) had done, but Bishr had swallowed his. The Messenger of God (SAAS) spat it out and said, ‘This bone tells me it is poisoned!’

“He then summoned her and she confessed. He asked her, ‘What brought you to do this?’ She replied, ‘You well know what you did to my people! So I told myself, “If he is an impostor, I’ll rid of him. And if he is a prophet, he will be told of it.”’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) let her go, but Bishr died of the piece he had eaten.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Marwān b. Uthmān b. Abū Sa‘īd b. al-Mu‘allī related to me as follows, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) said during that illness from which he died, when the sister of Bishr b. al-Bara‘ b. Ma‘ārūr went in to see him, “Umm Bishr, now is the time when my ḥur, my aorta, is severing from that piece of food I ate in the company of your brother, at Khaybar.’”

Ibn Hishām stated, “The ḥur is the artery attached to the heart.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Muslims consider that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died a martyr as well as having been honoured by God with prophethood.”

76. That is, “when my death is imminent”
The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, “Hilāl b. Bishr and Sulaymān b. Yūsuf al-Harrānī related to us as follows: ‘Abū Ghiyāth b. Ḥamad related to us, quoting ‘Abd al-Malīk b. Aba Ṣadra, from his father, from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudari, that a Jewess presented a roasted sheep to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When people put out their hands (to eat it) he called out, “Stop! One of its limbs is telling me that it is poisoned!” He summoned the woman and asked her, “Did you poison your food?” “Yes,” she replied. “Why did you do that?” he asked her. She replied, “If you were an impostor, I would be ridding the people of you; and if you were truthful, then God would tell you of it.” “He then stretched forth his hand, saying, “Eat, bismi Allāhi, ‘in the name of God’.””

The narrator continued, “So we did eat, invoking God’s name, and it did not harm any one of us.”

The ḥāfīz al-Bazzār then added, “This is only related from ‘Abd al-Malīk b. Aba Ṣadra, on this one line of transmission.”

I note that there are very strange and offensive aspects to this hadith. But God knows best.

Al-Waqīdī stated that ‘Uyaynā b. Hisn, before he accepted Islam, saw visions in his sleep while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was besieging Khaybar. These visions inspired in him a desire to battle against the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and to conquer him. When he did go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Khaybar, he found he had already taken it. So ‘Uyaynā said, “Muḥammad, give me some of the booty you have taken from my allies” — meaning the people of Khaybar. But the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), told him, “Your visions lied!” And he then told ‘Uyaynā what he had seen in his dream.

(The account went on) “‘Uyaynā then went home and was met by al-Ḥārīth b. ‘Awf, who said, ‘Did I not say you were putting your loyalty in the wrong place? By God, Muḥammad will triumph over all between East and West! Jews used to inform me of this. I swear, I heard Abū Raḥf Sallām b. Abū Huqayq say, “We envy Muḥammad for the prophethood, since it has now left Aaron’s people. He has been sent, though Jews will not obey me in this. We will suffer two massacres from him — one at Yathrib, the other at Khaybar.”’”

Al-Ḥārīth went on, “So I asked Sallām, ‘Will he govern the earth?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘he will, by the Torah that was revealed to Moses, but I don’t want Jews to be told of what I said of him.’”

DIVISION.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When he had finished with Khaybar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for Wādī al-Qurā. He besieged its inhabitants for some days and then returned to Medina.”

He then went on to relate the story of Mid‘am and how he was struck and killed by a stray arrow. (He told) how people then said, “Lucky for him: paradise!” The
Messenger of God (SAAS) had responded, “Definitely not; by Him in whose hands is my soul, the cloak he took at Khaybar that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!”

It has been earlier related in similar form as in the account of Ibn Ishaq from the sahih collection of al-Bukhari. But God knows best.

An account of his battle at Wadi al-Qura will follow.

Imam Ahmad stated that Yahya b. Sa'id related to him, from Muhammad b. Yahya b. Habban, from Abu Umra, from Zayd b. Khalid al-Juhani, that one of the bravest of the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) died at Khaybar. When this was related to the Prophet (SAAS) he said, “Pray for your comrade!” The faces of those present showed their surprise at his saying this and he went on, “Your comrade strayed from God’s path.” (The account states) “So we searched his belongings and discovered one of those Jewish shell necklaces not worth more than a couple of dirhams!”

Abu Da’ud and al-Nasa’i related this similarly from a hadith of Yahya b. Sa’id al-Qatian. Abu Da’ud, Bishr b. al-Mufaddal and Ibn Maja also related it from a hadith of al-Layth b. Sa’d, all three attributing it to Yahya b. Sa’id al-Ansari.

Al-Bayhaqi related that Banu Fazara wanted to do battle against the Messenger of God (SAAS) on his way back from Khaybar and assembled for this purpose. He then sent a messenger to them suggesting a specific site for the battle. Having ascertained this, they fled as fast as they could, moving far outside his path.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded further and when Safiyya was free of her period he consummated his marriage with her at a place called Sudd al-Sahba, on his route to Medina. He served hayts for a wedding feast and stayed there with her for three nights. She accepted Islam and he freed her and married her. He gave her freedom as her dowry. She was one of the ummahat al-mdminin, ‘mothers of the believers’ as his Companions understood when he placed a veil over her when she rode behind him on the same mount. May God be pleased with her.

Muhammad b. Ishaq related in his biography of the Prophet (SAAS) as follows, “When he married Safiyya at Khaybar – on the way back – the woman who combed her hair and prepared her for him was Umm Sulaym, daughter of Millhan, the mother of Anas b. Malik. The Messenger of God (SAAS) spent the night with her in a pavilion of his, while Abu Ayyub kept watch over him, wearing his sword, patrolling around the tent until morning. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw him there, he asked him, ‘What is wrong, Abu Ayyub?’ He replied, ‘I was afraid for you from this woman. She is a woman whose father, husband and people you have killed. And until recently she was a disbeliever. So I feared for you from her.’ They say that the Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘O God, preserve Abu Ayyub, just as he spent the night watching over me.’”

He went on, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from Sa’id b. al-Musayyab, how they had overslept past the morning prayer on their way back from Khaybar. He told how the Messenger of God (SAAS) was the first of them to wake up and that he then asked, ‘What have you done to us, Bilal!’ He replied, ‘Messenger of God,
He who took my soul was He who took yours too! 'You speak the truth,' he agreed. He then rode his camel a little way off and dismounted, performed the ablution and the prayer as he had done previously."

Mālik related it similarly from al-Zuhri, from Saʿid, but mursal, incomplete in its line of transmission. And this too is mursal, from this line as given.

Abū Dārūd stated that Ahmad b. Sāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said), "Yūnus informed me, from Ibn Shihāb, from Saʿid b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra (who said), the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished with Khaybar, travelled on by night until we reached al-Kari, and there he had his wedding. He told Bilāl, 'Keep awake for us tonight.' But Bilāl's eyes closed in sleep as he rested against his baggage and neither the Prophet (ṢAAS) nor he, nor any of the others woke up before the sun struck them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the first to wake up. In alarm he called out Bilāl's name. Bilāl replied, 'By my father and mother, Messenger of God, He who took my soul away also took yours!"

"They rode their camels off a little way and then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ablution. He gave orders to Bilāl who announced the prayer, and then he led the morning prayer for them. When he had finished it, he said, 'One who forgets a prayer should perform it when he remembers. For God Almighty says, "Perform the prayer for remembrance (of Me)"'" (ṣurat Ta Ḥa, XX, v.14).

Yūnus stated, "Ibn Shihāb used to recite it (the hadith) like that."

Muslim related it the same from Ḥarmala b. Yahya, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb. Therein is stated that this was on their return from Khaybar.

In the hadith of Shuʿba, from Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū ʿAlqama, from Ibn Masʿūd, it is stated that occurred on their return from al-Ḥudaybiyya. In one report from him (it states) that it was Bilāl who kept awake for them. And there is a report from him (Bilāl) that it was he who used to keep awake for them.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi stated, "It is likely that this happened twice."

He went on, "And in a hadith of ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn and Abū Qatāda (there is reference to) their sleeping through the prayer. Also in it is the reference to the water vessel. It is likely that this makes reference to one of the two occasions in question, or it might be a third."

He went on, "Al-Wāqidi related in a hadith of Abū Qatāda that that happened on their way back from the expedition against Ṭabūk. He stated, 'Zāfir b. Sulaymān narrated, from Shuʿba, from Jāmiʿ b. Shaddād, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Ibn Masʿūd, that that occurred on their way back from Ṭabūk. But God knows best.'"

Al-Bayhaqi then proceeded to relate what the author of the sahih collection reported concerning the anecdote of ʿAwf al-ʿArābī, from Abū Raja, from ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn. It tells of their having slept through the prayer and that there was a woman who owned two water skins from which sufficient water was drawn to quench the entire army without diminishing the water in them.
He then recounted what Muslim related from the hadith of Thābit al-Bunānī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ribāh, from Abū Qatāda. It is a long hadith and tells of their sleeping through the prayer and of the great quantity of water taken from that water vessel. 'Abd al-Razzāq related this from Ma‘mar, from Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā b. Isma‘īl related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wāhid, from ʿĀṣim, from Abū ʿUthmān, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, about the expedition of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) against Khaybar. Abū Mūsā stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved out towards Khaybar and when his men looked down into a valley, they raised their voices in a shout of ‘ʿAllāhu Akbar! Lā Ilāha illā Allāh! God is most Great! There is no god but God!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, ‘Restrain yourselves! You are not calling out to someone deaf or far away; you are addressing One who is All-Hearing and near at hand; He is with you!’

“I was directly behind the mount of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he heard me as I said, ‘Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh, ‘There is no strength nor power except with God’.’ He said, ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays. I responded, ‘At your service, Messenger of God.’ He then said, ‘Should I not direct you to a phrase from the treasures of paradise?’ ‘Yes, please do, Messenger of God, may my father and mother be your ransom!’ He went on, ‘Lā ḥawla wa lā quwwata illā bi Allāh.’”

The other authorities relate this too, along various lines of transmission, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mūll, father of ʿUthmān al-Nahdi, from Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī.

What is correct is that this incident refers to their return from Khaybar. Abū Mūsā only arrived after the conquest of Khaybar, as is related above.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), so I have been informed, after he had conquered Khaybar, gave to Ibn Luqaym al-ʿAbsī its chickens and livestock. On the conquest of Khaybar, Ibn Luqaym spoke the following verses,

‘Naṭāt was attacked by the Prophet with a well-armed and very powerful squadron;
It was certain for shame when it was divided up and the warriors of Aslam and Ghifār were there in its midst.
They attacked Banū ʿAmr b. Zurʿa early in the morning, and al-Shiqq’s inhabitants had a grim day.
They made its cocks run in its open spaces, and left only chickens squawking in the trees.
Each fort had someone from Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal or Banū al-Najjār working with their horses.
And there were muhijīrs, their badges showing above their helmets, not considering flight.
I knew that Muḥammad would triumph and would certainly stay there for many months of Ṣafar.
Jews there opened their eyelids in the warfare that day beneath the dust.”

DIVISION.

An Account of those of the Companions who were martyred at Khaybar, may God be pleased with them, according to what Ibn Isḥāq b. Yasār, may God have mercy on him, and other authorities on the military engagements reported.

Of the best of the muḥājirūn were Rabi'a b. Aktham b. Sakhbara al-Asadi, freed-man of Banū Umayya, and Thaqif b. 'Amr and Rifa'a b. Masrūh, allies of Banū Umayya, 'Abd Allāh b. al-Hubayy b. Uhayb b. Suhaym b. Ghiṣra of Banū Sa'd b. Layth, ally of Banū Asad, and their nephew. Of the ansār, there were Bishr b. al-Bara' b. Ma'rūr, who ate from the poisoned sheep in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as is told above, and Fuḍayl b. al-Nu'mān, both these men being of Banū Salam. Then there were Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Qays b. Khalid b. 'Amir b. Zurayq al-Zarqī, Mahmūd b. Maslama al-Ashhali, Abū Dayyāḥ Hāritha b. Thābit b. al-Nu'mān al-‘Amri, al-Hārith b. Ḥāṭib, Urwa b. Murra b. Surāqa, Aws b. al-Fā'id, Unayf b. Ḥābit, Thābit b. Athīla, Ṭālḥa, Umāra b. Uqba, killed by an arrow, ‘Āmir b. al-Akwa', and then Salama b. ‘Amr b. al-Akwa'; he was struck in his knee by the edge of his sword and it killed him, as is told above; may God be pleased with him. Then there was al-Aswad, the shepherd. Ibn Isḥāq is alone in telling here the story of the last-mentioned. We already related it early on in the account of the expedition. And to God belong all praise and credit.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “According to Ibn Shihab, those of Banū Zahra who were martyred were Mas'ūd b. Rabi'a, an ally of theirs from al-Qāra. And of the ansār of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awwf there was Aws b. Qatāda, may God be pleased with them all.”

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING AL-HAJJĀJ B. 'ILĀT AL-BAHZĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “When Khaybar had been conquered, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) talked with al-Hājjāj b. 'Ilaḍ al-Sulami, of the sub-tribe of Bahz, who asked him, ‘Messenger of God, in Mecca I own money in the possession of my wife Umm Shayba, daughter of Abū Ṭalḥa (she had earlier borne him his son Muṣ'īd b. al-Hājjāj) and I also have other funds held by various merchants there. Please allow me to go there.’ He did so. Al-Hājjāj then said, ‘Messenger of God, I'll be forced to speak lies.’ ‘Do so,’ he told him.
"Al-Ḥajjāj stated, 'I travelled to Mecca and at the pass al-Bayḍā' there were men of Quraysh listening for news and asking about the activities of the Messenger of God (ṣaas). They had heard that he had gone to Khaybar, which they knew to be the chief village of Ḥijāz, productive, well-fortified and well populated. They were seeking information from travellers.

"When they saw me, they said, "It's al-Ḥajjāj b. Ḥāṭṭ." (They did not know of my acceptance of Islam.) "He'll have news, by God. Tell us, Abū Muḥammad. We have learned that al-Qāṭī, 'the breaker of family ties', has gone off to Khaybar, a town of Jews and the 'farm of the Hijāz'." I replied, "I heard that too; and I have news that will please you." They crowded at both sides of my camel asking, "Well, what is it, Ḥajjāj!" I replied, "He has been badly defeated, such as you could never imagine. Very many of his men have been killed and Muḥammad has been taken captive. And they (the Jews) have said, 'We'll not kill him; instead, we'll send him in to Mecca where they can kill him among themselves in revenge for those of their men he killed.'" (Hearing this) the Quraysh men went off into Mecca shouting, "News has arrived! You need only wait and Mohammed will be brought in to be killed among you!"

"Al-Ḥajjāj went on, 'I asked them, "Please help me collect the money I own and is owed me in Mecca; I want to go to Khaybar and acquire the spoils from Muḥammad and his men before some other merchants precede me there." And they did, gathering my assets faster than I had ever heard before. I then went to my wife and said, "I want my money," (I had left money there with her), "for I want to go to Khaybar to seize opportunities to buy before other merchants precede me there."

"When al-ʿAḥbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib heard the news and about myself, he came and stood beside me in the tent of a merchant. He asked, "Ḥajjāj, what news is this you bring?" I replied, "Could you keep safe what I might entrust with you?" "Yes," he answered. "Then wait", I told him, "till I can meet you alone; I'm collecting my funds, as you can see; please leave me until I finish." When I had finished getting together everything I had in Mecca and was ready to leave, I met al-ʿAḥbās and said, "Abū al-ʿPaḍl, keep private what I tell you for three days, because I fear pursuit. After that, say whatever you like." "I agree," he said. I then told him, "I left your nephew the bridegroom of their king's daughter" - meaning Ṣafiyya, daughter of Huyayy - "after he had conquered Khaybar and had taken away all it contained for himself and his men." "What are you saying, Ḥajjāj?" he asked. "It's true, by God," I assured him, "but keep it confidential about me. I have accepted Islam and only came for my money fearing it might be seized. When three days have elapsed, you can tell what you know as ever you want."

"On the third day, al-ʿAḥbās dressed in a fine robe, put on perfume, took his walking stick and went out to the kaʿba, which he perambulated. When people

77. An uncle of the Prophet (ṣaas); he had remained in Mecca throughout the conflict between the Muslims and Quraysh.
saw him, they said, “Abū al-Fadl, this must imply, by God, that you are remaining steadfast in the face of some great misfortune!” “Not at all, by God, by Whom you swear oaths. Muḥammad has conquered Khaybar and has married their king’s daughter after seizing all their possessions, which now belong to him and his men.” “Who brought you this news?” they asked. “The same man who brought news to you! He came to you as a Muslim, took his money and has gone off to join Muḥammad and his men!” “O servants of God,” they exclaimed, “God’s enemy has escaped! If we had known this he would have had trouble with us!” Soon after, news came to them confirming this.”

It is thus that Ibn Ishāq related this story, without a full chain of transmission. Imam Aḥmad substantiated it by saying, “Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Maʿmar (who said), ‘I heard Thabit relating from Anas, as follows, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) conquered Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāt asked him, ‘Messenger of God, I have funds and family in Mecca. I would like to bring them. Would I be excused if I maligned you or told lies?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to say whatever he liked. So he went to his wife after his arrival there and said, ‘Gather up for me what you have; I want to purchase the booty from Muḥammad and his men. They have been captured and their possessions seized.’”

“This news spread throughout Mecca. The Muslims were defeated and the polytheists expressed their jubilation. When the news reached al-ʿAbbās, he was devastated; he could scarcely stand up.”

“Maʿmar stated, ‘Uṭmān al-Khazrajī informed me, from Miqsam, who said, ‘He (al-ʿAbbās) picked up a son of his named Qutham stretched out on the ground and placed him on his chest, reciting the following verse,

‘My darling Qutham, who has such a nice little nose,
A child of affluence, despite what is claimed.’”

“Thabit stated, from Anas, ‘He then sent a young slave of his to Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāt with the message, “Woe on you for what you brought! What is it you are saying? What God promised is better than what you brought!” Ḥajjāj b. ʿIlāt responded, “Give my greetings to Abū al-Fadl and ask him to let me come to him in one of his houses. I have news that will please him.” The slave went back home and when he got there called out, “Rejoice, Abū al-Fadl!” Al-ʿAbbās jumped with joy and kissed him on the forehead. When the slave told him what Ḥajjāj had said, al-ʿAbbās gave him his freedom.

“Then al-Ḥajjāj came to him and told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had conquered Khaybar and had captured their possessions, which had been apportioned. He recounted how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had chosen Ṣafīyya, daughter of Huyayy, for himself and offered her a choice between having her freedom and marrying him, or joining her family; she had chosen for him to free her and to be his wife. Al-Ḥajjāj went on, “But I’ve just come for my
funds that are here and I want to take it. I asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) for permission to come and he gave it to me, telling me to say whatever I liked. So keep this private for three days then tell whatever you want.”

“‘So his wife gathered all his funds, jewellery and others of his possessions she had with her, gave them to him and he moved on with it. Three days later al-‘Abbās came to al-Ḥajjāj’s wife and said, ‘What happened to your husband?’ She related to him that he had left on such-and-such a day. She told him, ‘May God not sadden you, Abū al-Faḍl. The news you received did upset us.’ He replied, ‘Indeed not; God does not sadden me and, praise be to God, nothing has happened to displease me. God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger and its properties have been allotted already. The Messenger of God (SAAS) has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. If you care for your husband, you should join him.’ “By God, am I to think you’re telling me the truth?” she asked. “Indeed I am and the situation is as I have told you,” he assured her.

“‘Al-‘Abbās then went to an assembly of Quraysh. As he went by them, they called out, ‘May nothing but good befall you, Abī al-Faḍl.’ He replied, ‘Nothing but good has, praise be to God! Al-Ḥajjāj b. Ilāt related to me that God has conquered Khaybar for His messenger. Its properties have been allotted, and he has chosen Ṣafiyya for himself. He asked me to keep this confidential for three days. He came back only to collect his money and possessions here, and then he left.’”

“God now reverted to the polytheists that depression that had been upon the Muslims. Having previously taken sadly to their homes, the Muslims now came forth and went to al-‘Abbās and he told them all he knew. They were delighted, their depression, anger and sadness now transferring to the polytheists.”

The chain of authorities for this hadith meets the criteria of both the great authorities. Yet only al-Nasṣāḥ of all six authors of the great collections of ahadith included it. He quoted Ḥishāq b. Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, and his hadith is similar.

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi related it through Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq. He also related it through Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from Zayd b. al-Mubārak, from Muḥammad b. Thawr, from Maʿmar in similar form.

Mūsā b. Uqba similarly stated in his work on the military engagements that much betting and wagering now arose among Quraysh. Some people said, “Muhammad and his men will prevail.” Others said, “The two allies and the Jews of Khaybar will prevail.” Al-Ḥajjāj b. Ilāt al-Sulamī, from the sub-tribe of al-Bahz had accepted Islam and witnessed, along with the Messenger of God (SAAS), the conquest of Khaybar. His wife was Umm Shayba, sister of ʿAbd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. Al-Ḥajjāj had much money; he owned mines in Banū Salīm territory. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) prevailed over Khaybar, al-Ḥajjāj asked permission from the Messenger of God (SAAS) to go to Mecca to gather together his funds. He gave permission; the hadith proceeds hereafter as above. But God knows best.
Al-Suhayli, may God be pleased with him, stated, “On the reason for al-Ḥajjāj accepting Islam we narrated a strange story concerning the jinn, ‘the spirits’. He was the father of Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj, who was banished by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, from Medina because he had seduced some of the city’s young women. Al-Fārīʿa, daughter of Ḥammām, mother of al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafi, spoke the following line about him,

‘Indeed not; no way to wine for me to drink, and no way to Naṣr b. Ḥajjāj.’

“When he went to Syria, he fell in love with the wife of Abū al-ʿAswad d-Sulami, and wasted away for love of her. He was known as al-Ḍinni, ‘he who wasted away’. He died from this.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Among the poetry composed about the expedition to Khaybar are the verses by Ḥassān b. Thābit,

‘Those of Khaybar fought only badly for the farms and date-palms they had accumulated.
They disliked death and so their possessions became booty; they acted like blameworthy cowards.
Would they flee death? The death of those who starve is not pretty.’”

Kaʿb b. Malik said, according to what Ibn Hishām related from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī,

“We descended on Khaybar and its wells, the veins of our heroes’ hands standing out,
Men brave in fierce battle, not lacking strength, daring in every encounter.
Many are the ashes beneath their pots each winter, men who strike with Yemeni swords made of Indian steel,
Considering death a reward from God if they achieve martyrdom; they hope for it, considering it a success for ʿĀhmād.
Protecting and guarding Muḥammad’s honour, protecting him with tongue and hand,
· Helping him in every matter that concerns him, generously offering their lives for that of Muḥammad,
Believing sincerely in news of the unknown world, seeking honour and success in the future thereby.”

Section: On the passage of the Messenger of God (ṣaṣaṣ) past Wādī al-Qurā and his besieging the fews and how they made peace with him, as related by al-ʿWaṣqīdī.

Al-ʿWaṣqīdī stated, “ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related to me, from al-Zuhārī,
from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, ‘We went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS) from Khaybar to Wādī al-Qurā. Rifa‘a b. Zayd b. Wahb al-Judhami had presented a black slave named Mid‘am to the Messenger of God (SAAS). It was he who would set the saddle upon the mount of the Messenger of God (SAAS). When we made a halt at Wādī al-Qurā we came up against some Jews, and some bedouin also approached it. While Mid‘am was setting the saddle of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in position – some Jews having already greeted us with arrow shots when we dismounted and we were therefore not ready packed and loaded, they being above us in their fortresses shouting – a stray arrow came in and struck and killed Mid‘am. People said, “Lucky for him: paradise!” But the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Definitely not, by Him in whose hands is my soul. The cloak he took at Khaybar from the spoils that the distributor of the booty did not receive will light fires (of hell) for him!” When people heard this, a man came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) with one or two sandal straps. The Prophet (SAAS) then said, “A sandal strap or two of hell-fire!”’

This story is in both sahih collections from the hadith of Makharij, from Thawr b. Yazid, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (SAAS), in similar form.

Al-Waqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) equipped his men for battle and arranged them in lines. He gave his banner to Sa‘d b. ‘Ubada, a flag to al-Ḥabab b. al-Mundhir, another to Sahl b. Ḥanif and another flag to ‘Ikāb b. Bishr. He then called the enemy to Islam and told them that if they did they would win their possessions and spare their blood and that God would reward them.

“One of the enemy then came out to challenge for single combat and al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām went out against him and killed him. Then another made the challenge and ‘Ali went out against him and killed him. This went on till 11 of them had been killed; each time one of them was killed, the rest were invited to accept Islam.

“When prayer times came that day, he would pray with his Companions then return and call upon them to accept Islam and to come to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and His messenger. He went on fighting them till evening. Early next morning he attacked them again and the sun had not risen more than the length of a spear before they surrendered. He conquered it by force and so God gave them their possessions as booty; they won large quantities of furnishings and various goods.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained at Wādī al-Qurā for four days. He divided up what he had taken among his men, leaving the land and palm trees in the hands of the Jews, putting them in charge of it. When news reached the Jews of Taymā‘ how the Messenger of God (SAAS) had defeated Khaybar, Fadak and Wādī al-Qurā, they made peace with him, agreeing to pay the jizya, the poll-tax. They kept their possessions.
“Although Umar had later evicted the Jews from Khaybar and Fadak, he did not force out the people of Taymâ‘ and Wādī al-Qūrâ, because the latter extended into the land of Syria; he considered that what was between Wādī al-Qūrâ and Medina to be part of Hijâz, areas beyond any part of Syria.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then left to return to Medina, having now finished with Khaybar and Wādī al-Qūrâ and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, having given him much booty.”

Al-Waqidi went on, “Ya‘qūb b. Mu‘āmmad related to me, from ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān b. ʿAbd Allâh b. Abî Ša‘ṣa‘a, from al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Allâh b. Ka‘b, from Umm Ṭimâra, who said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) at al-Jurf saying, “Do not make your way to the women after the ṣalāt al-ʿāshâ’, the late evening prayer.” One man from the quarter did make his way to his family, but found what he did not like. But he left her free and did not himself leave her. He was reluctant to give up his wife by separating from her. He had children by her and loved her. So by disobeying the Messenger of God (SAAS) he had seen what he did not like.’”

DIVISION.

It is established in both sahih collections that when Khaybar was conquered, the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed the Jews in charge of it in return for a half of its dates and other produce.

In some phrases of this hadith it is implied that he was removing it from their ownership, while in others it is stated, “The Prophet (SAAS) stated to them, ‘We will keep you in them for as long as we wish.’”

In the Sunan works it is stated that he would send ʿAbd Allâh b. Rawâḥa to appraise it for them when he came to take the harvest, holding them responsible for it. When ʿAbd Allâh b. Rawâḥa was killed at Mu‘ātâ, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Jabbar b. Šakhūr to do this, as is told above. The place citing these phrases and discussion of their provenance is in the section on temporary sharecropping contracts in the work Kitâb al-Āhkâm, if God so wills it, and in Him is our trust.

Mu‘āmmad b. Ishaq stated, “I asked Ibn Shiḥāb how it was that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had given the Jews of Khaybar their palm-groves. He informed me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) conquered Khaybar by force and after fighting. Khaybar was part of what God bestowed upon him as war booty; he divided its proceeds into fifths, distributing it among the Muslims. After the fighting, some of its inhabitants came out to leave and the Messenger of God (SAAS) called for them to approach and told them, ‘If you wish, I will make over these properties to you on condition that you work them; their proceeds will be divided between us. I will let you stay for as long as God lets you stay.’

“They accepted and worked the land in accord with this agreement. The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to send ʿAbd Allâh b. Rawâḥa to divide up the proceeds, treating them fairly in the appraisal.
"When God took to Himself His Prophet (SAAS), Abū Bakr affirmed Khaybar in their control on the same basis as that which the Messenger of God (SAAS) had maintained before he died. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb reconfirmed them in this from the beginning of his rule. But then ʿUmar learned that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said during that illness during which God took hold of him, 'Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula!' ʿUmar examined this issue closely until he became utterly convinced of its authenticity, at which point he sent a message to the Jews saying, 'God has granted me permission to evict you. I have learned that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Two religions shall not be together in the Arabian peninsula." Anyone with a contract with the Messenger of God (SAAS) should bring it to me and I will enforce it. Those without such contracts should prepare to leave.' And ʿUmar did evict those who had no contracts with the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

I comment that the Jews of Khaybar in latter-day times, after 300 (years) claim to have in their possession a document from the Messenger of God (SAAS), in which it states that he exempted them from paying the jizya, the poll-tax. Some scholars have been so deluded by this document as to advocate exempting them from the jizya, this being Sheikh Aḥmad b. Khayrūn, of the Shāfiʿī school. The document is spurious and fake, devoid of authenticity; I have demonstrated its foolishness from many viewpoints in a separate book.

A number of colleagues have referred to it and to its foolishness in their writings, such as Ibn al-Ṣibāgh, in his work Masāʾil and Sheikh Abū Hāmid in his commentary. Ibn al-Maslama devoted a separate section to refer to and to refute it. Now, 700 years later, they are all excited about this and have brought out a book with a copy not mentioned by the early authorities. I have examined it and found it to be fake. It contains testimony of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, though he had died before the date of Khaybar. It also gives the testimony of Muʿāwiya b. Abū Sufyān, though he had not yet accepted Islam. At its end it states, "And ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalib wrote it." This is incorrect, a mistake. It refers to the jizya, too, even though this had not yet been legislated. This tax was first introduced and taken from the people of Najrān. They are said to have arrived at the end of 9 AH. But God knows best.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, "Nāfi', freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to me, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'I, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām and al-Miqdād b. al-Aswād went out to inspect our properties at Khaybar. When we arrived there, we separated and went to our properties. During the night, while I slept on my bed, an attack was made on me and my wrists were dislocated. When I cried out for my companions, they came and asked me who had done this. I told them I did not know. They administered to my hands and then took me to ʿUmar, who declared, "This is the work of the Jews of Khaybar!"

"He then stood up before the people to make a speech and said, "People, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had an agreement with the Jews of Khaybar that we
should evict them if we wished. They have attacked 'Abd Allāh b. Umar and dislocated his hands, as you have learned, having attacked one of the ānṣār before him. We have no doubt that it was they who did it; we have no enemies here besides them. Those who have property at Khaybar should proceed to them; I am going to evict the Jews.” And he did evict them.”

I note that Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had a share of the booty at Khaybar. He left it as a waqf, a charitable endowment, in God’s cause, stipulating that it be managed in accord with the instruction set by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), recorded in the sahih collections. He directed that it be managed by the most righteous of his male and female descendants.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated (in a heading) in his work Dala’īl (The Signs), “A summary of the chapters on the military expeditions which are mentioned as having occurred after the conquest of Khaybar and before the umrāt al-qadār, even though the date of some of these is not considered clear by the scholars of the military chronicles.”

THE EXPEDITION OF ABŪ BAKR AL-SIDDIQ TO BANŪ FAZĀRA.

Imām Ahmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting Ikrima b. ʿAmmār, quoting Iyās b. Salama (who said), “My father related to me, saying, ‘We went forth with Abū Bakr b. Abū Quḥāfa, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having given him command over us. We attacked Banū Fazāra, and when we arrived near the well, Abū Bakr gave us orders and we dismounted to rest for the night. When we had performed the al-ṣubh prayer, Abū Bakr ordered us to attack. We killed at the well those who passed before us.’”

“Salama went on, ‘I then looked over at the mass of the enemy which included children and women moving towards the mountain while I pursued them. I was concerned that they would get to the mountain ahead of me, so I cast an arrow which fell between them and the mountain. I then led them back to Abū Bakr whom I reached at the well. Among the enemy there was a woman of Fazāra wearing a worn-out leather garment. With her she had her daughter, an unusually attractive Arab girl. Abū Bakr presented her daughter to me. I did not sleep with her before we reached Medina, then again I went to bed without sleeping with her. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and asked me, ‘Salama, give the woman to me!” I replied, “By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly but I’ve not slept with her.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day he met me in the market and said, “Salama, give the woman to me!” I replied, “By God, Messenger of God, she attracts me greatly, but I’ve not slept with her!’” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent and left me. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met me in the market and said, “Salama, give the woman to me, may God preserve your father!” I replied, “I swear by God, Messenger of God, I’ve not slept with her, but she is yours.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent her to the people of
Mecca who had in their hands some Muslim prisoners. The Messenger of God (SAAS) ransomed them with this woman."

Muslim and al-Bayhaqi related this from a hadith of Ikrima b. 'Ammār.

THE EXPEDITION OF 'UMAR B. AL-KHATTĀB, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, TO TURBA, IN HAWĀZIN TERRITORY, FOUR MILES BEYOND MECCA.

Then al-Bayhaqi related, through al-Waqidi with the lines of tradition given by him, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, may God be pleased with him, along with 30 riders and a guide of Banū Hilāl. They travelled by night and kept concealed by day. When they reached the enemy territory, they fled and so 'Umar returned to Medina. He was asked, "Would you like to do battle with Khathām?" He replied, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered me only to battle Hawāzin in their lands."

THE EXPEDITION OF 'ABD ALLĀH B. RAWĀHA TO YUSAYR B. RIZĀM, THE JEW.

He then related, through Ibrāhīm b. Lahi'a, from Abū al-Aswad, from 'Urwa, and through Mūsā b. 'Uqba, from al-Zuhri, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha with 30 riders – inclusive of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha – to Yusayr b. Rizām, the Jew, whom they reached at Khaybar. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had heard that he was joining with Ghaṭafān to attack him along with them. When they (the Muslims) met with him, they told him, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) has sent us to you to place you in charge of Khaybar." They stayed with him until he eventually followed them with 30 men, each of whom had a co-rider from the Muslims. When they all reached Qarqara Niyar, a place some 6 miles from Khaybar, Yusayr b. Rizām regretted what he had agreed and reached for the sword of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha. The latter was aware of this and first held back his mount, then rushed ahead, leading the others. When he could overcome Yusayr, he struck his leg, cutting it off. Yusayr then charged ahead, wielding a cudgel of fir wood and with it struck at the face of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha, hitting him on top of his head. Each of the Muslims then turned upon his co-rider and killed him. (All were killed) except one Jew whom they were unable to catch. None of the Muslims were killed; and the Messenger of God (SAAS) spat upon the wound of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāha. The wound did not fester and it did not hurt him for as long as he lived.

ANOTHER EXPEDITION WITH BASHĪR B. SĀ'D.

A hadith is related through al-Waqidi, with its chain of transmission, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Bashīr b. Sā'd with 30 riders to Banū Murra, in
Fadak territory. He drove off their camels and they did battle with him. The Jews killed all the men with him; Bashîr displayed great courage that day and fought most fiercely. Eventually he took refuge in Fadak, spending the night with a Jew there. After that he made his way back to Medina.

Al-Wâqíḍî stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then sent forth Ghalib b. ‘Abd Allâh against them, along with a group of his chief Companions.” He then mentioned Usâma b. Zayd, Abû Mas‘ûd al-Badrî, and Ka‘b b. ‘Ujra.

Thereafter al-Wâqíḍî went on to relate how Usâma b. Zayd killed Mîrdas b. Nuhayk, an ally of Banû Murra. He told how, when he held his sword over him, Mîrdas spoke the words, La Ilaha illa Allâh! “There is no god but God!” and that those with him criticized Usâma since the man had gone on saying this until he had brought his sword down. Al-Wâqíḍî said that Usâma later regretted what he had done.

Yûnûs b. Bukayr related this story from Ibn Iṣḥâq, from a sheikh of Banû Salama, from men of his tribe, to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Ghalib b. ‘Abd Allâh al-Kalbî to the territory of Banû Murra. He captured Mîrdas b. Nuhayk, an ally of theirs from al-Ḫurqa, and Usâma killed him.

Ibn Iṣḥâq stated, “Muḥammad b. Usâma b. Muḥammad b. Usâma related to me from his father, from his grandfather Usâma b. Zayd, who said, ‘I and one of the ansâr captured him’ (meaning Mîrdas b. Nuhayk). ‘And when we drew our swords over him, he said, ‘I testify that la Ilaha illa Allâh!’ But we did not put down our swords and killed him. When we went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and related this to him, he asked, ‘Usâma who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified) that la Ilaha illa Allâh ‘there is no god but God?’ I replied, ‘But Messenger of God, he only said it to avoid being killed.’ He repeated, ‘Usâma, who will be for you (regarding such a case where it has been testified that) la Ilaha illa Allâh?’ And, I swear, he kept on repeating this to me until I wished I had not previously been a Muslim, that I had only become one that day and that I had not killed him. So I told him, “Messenger of God, I give my word that I will never kill any man who says, ‘la Ilaha illa Allâh.’” He then asked me, “And what about after me?” “And after you (your death) too,” I replied.”

Imâm Ahmad stated that Hushaym b. Bashîr related, quoting Ḥuṣayn, from Abû Zûbâyûn, who said, “I heard Usâma b. Zayd relate as follows, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent us out to al-Ḫurqa of Juḥayna. We attacked them in the morning. One of their men fought extremely well against us, and when they retreated, it was he who defended their rear. I and an ansârî overcame him and as we did so, he said, ‘la Ilaha illa Allâh’. The ansârî stood back from him, but I killed him. News of this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he asked, ‘Usâma, did you kill him after he said, ‘la Ilaha illa Allâh?’” I replied, “But Messenger of God, he only said that to avoid death.” But he kept on asking me the same until I wished I had only become a Muslim that day.”

Al-Bukhārî and Muslim gave this account from a hadith of Hushaym in similar terms.
Ibn Isḥāq stated, “Yaʿqūb b. Ṭutba related to me, from Muslim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Juhani, from Jundub b. Makith al-Juhani, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAṢ) sent Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kalb, Kalb of Layth, to Banū al-Mulawah at al-Kadid with orders to attack them. I was with his expedition and we went out as far as al-Qudayd, where al-Ḥarīth b. Mālik b. al-Barqāʾ al-Laythi met us and we took him prisoner. He said, “I came out only to accept Islam.” Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh told him, “If you were on your way to accept Islam, then it won’t hurt you to be tied up for a day and a night. And if you really had some other purpose, then we’ll have you secured.”

“So he tied him up and left him under the charge of a young black man we had with us, whom he told, “Stay with him until we come back for you; if he gives you trouble, cut off his head!” So we went on to the al-Kadid valley, where we made a halt in the early evening and my companions sent me on towards al-Kadid. I made my way to a hill that would allow me to overlook the village. I stretched out on the ground. It was before sunset. One of their men came outside and saw me stretched out on the hill. He told his wife, “I can see something dark on this hill that I did not notice earlier in the day. Look and see whether the dogs have dragged out some of your utensils.” She did look, then said, “I swear, I’m not missing anything.” The man then said, “Hand me my bow and two arrows from my quiver.” She did so and he shot an arrow at me that struck me in the side’ (or he may have said, ‘on my forehead’). ‘I pulled it out and put it aside, without moving. He then shot the other arrow at me, piercing the top of my shoulder. I withdrew it too and put it aside without moving. The man then told his wife, “I’m sure my arrows would have hurt him; if he were a scout, he would have moved. In the morning, go out and retrieve my arrows; I don’t want the dogs to chew them up.”

He went on, “We left them alone until their herd had been milked and were lying down quietly and a part of the night had passed. We then launched an attack upon them. We killed some and drove off their herd, heading away with them. Their shouts soon aroused others of them nearby. We raced off, eventually passing by al-Ḥarīth b. Mālik b. al-Barqāʾ and his companion. We continued on, with him accompanying us, until we heard the shouts of our pursuers who were too numerous for us to tackle. Soon all that separated us from them was the Qudayd valley. Then God sent down a flood of water from wherever He wished; we had not previously seen any rain, nor conditions for it. It came down so hard that no one could withstand it. I saw the enemy force standing there staring at us, unable to get at us, while we drove off their animals” – or “led them off” (al-Nufaylī was uncertain). “We hurried away with them until we reached the track; when we had proceeded down it, they were unable to retrieve what we had taken.”

Abū Dāūd related it from a hadith of Muhammad b. Isḥāq; in his account the narrator’s name is given as ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghālib, whereas the correct name is Ghālib b. ʿAbd Allāh, as above.
Al-Waqidi gave this story with a different line of authorities and in his version it was stated that he was accompanied by 130 men.

Al-Bayhaqi at this point narrated, through al-Waqidi, the expedition of Bashir b. Sa’d also in the vicinity of Khaybar. They encountered a large force of Arabs and seized much livestock. His dispatch on this expedition had been at the suggestion of Abû Bakr and 'Umar, may God be pleased with both. With him there were 300 Muslims, along with their guide Ḥusayl b. Nawbara; it was he who had been the guide of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Khaybar. Al-Waqidi stated this.

THE EXPEDITION OF ABÛ HADRAD TO AL-GHĀBA.

Yûnus stated, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishaq, "It was Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aslam who related to me the story of Abû Hadrad to al-Ghāba. He quoted Abû Hadrad as saying, ‘I arranged marriage with a woman of my tribe, promising her a dowry of two hundred dirhams. So I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to seek his help in my wedding. He asked me, “How much dowry did you promise her?” “Two hundred dirhams,” I told him. He exclaimed, “Goodness gracious, I swear by God, if you were just picking up the money from a valley floor, you couldn’t have given more! I swear, I don’t have enough to help you.” A few days later a man from Jasham b. Mu'awiya approached; his name was Rifā'a b. Qays - or Qays b. Rifā'a. He was accompanied by a large group of Jasham men, with whom he encamped at al-Ghāba, with the intention of combining with Qays to fight against the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was a man of fine birth and reputation among Jasham.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) summoned myself and two other Muslims and said, “Go out and get some information about this man.” He then gave us a decrepit old she-camel, mounting one of us on it. I swear, it was so weak it could only get up with him, when some men pushed it up from behind. It could scarcely stand up. He told us, “Make do with her.”

"So we left bearing arms consisting of swords and arrows. When we arrived at sunset close to the village, I hid on one side and told my companions to hide on another. I told them, “If you hear me crying Allâhu Akbar! and running to their camp, then you shout the same and follow me.”

"We remained waiting to attack them by surprise until night overcame us. The darkest part of the night passed. They had a shepherd who had gone out to graze their flock. He was late in returning and they were worried about him. Their leader, Rifā'a b. Qays eventually got up and took his sword, which he hung around his neck, saying, “By God, I'm going out to find out about our shepherd; something must have happened to him.” Some of those with him said, “By God, don’t you go; we'll do it for you.” "No," he replied. “Only I will go. I don’t want any of you to follow me.”

"He then came out and passed by me. When he was in my range, I shot an arrow at him, piercing him in the heart. I swear, he did not utter a sound!
I jumped out at him and cut off his head, then raced towards their camp, shouting Allāhu Akbar! My companions did the same. I swear, they fled in disorder, taking with them their women, children and those possessions they could. We drove off large numbers of their camels and livestock which we took back to the Messenger of God (SÀAS). I went to him carrying the man’s head. He gave me 13 baggage camels from those we captured as my dowry. So I concluded my marriage.”

**THE EXPEDITION IN WHICH MUHALLIM B. JUTHĀMA KILLED ĀMIR B. AL-ḌABAT.**

Yazid b. ‘Abd Allah b. Qusayt related to me, from Ibn ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father, who said, “The Messenger of God (SÀAS) sent us out against Iḍām. Our group of Muslims included Abū Qatāda al-Ḥarīth b. Ribāt and Muḥallim b. Jaththāma b. Qays. We went on until we were in the Iḍām valley. There Āmir b. al-Ḍabat al-Ashja’ī passed us by; he was riding a young camel, carrying a few provisions and a vessel of yoghurt. He saluted us with the Muslim words of greeting and so we refrained from attacking him. But Muḥallim b. Jaththāma attacked and killed him because of some earlier unresolved problem and seized his camel and provisions. When we reached the Messenger of God, (SÀAS) we told him our news and it was about us that the following verses of the Qurān were revealed, ‘O you who believe! When you go forth in God’s cause, be circumspect. Do not say to those who greet you in peace, “You’re no Muslim!” and seek for worldly gain. With God there will be many rewards. That is the way you behaved previously, but God has now favoured you. Be aware that God has knowledge of what you do’’ (sūrat al-Nisāʾ; IV, v.94).

Ibnm Aḥmad related this from Ya’qūb, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from Yazid b. ‘Abd Allah b. Qusayt, from al-Qa‘qa’ b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad, from his father.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to me, saying, ‘I heard Ziyād b. Ḍumlāra b. Sa‘d al-Ḍamrī narrating a ḥadīth from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, from his father and from his grandfather, both of whom said – they had both been present at Ḥunayn – “The Messenger of God (SÀAS) performed the al-ṣuhr, noon prayer, then went under the shade of a tree where he sat. ‘Uyayna b. Badr went over to him and demanded the blood of Āmir b. al-Ḍabat al-Ashja’ī, chief of (Banū) Āmir. ‘Would you agree to now accept 50 camels and another fifty when we return to Medina?’ the Messenger of God (SÀAS) asked. ‘Uyayna b. Badr responded, ‘By God, I’ll not leave him alone till his women experience the same sorrow my women have.’ ”

“‘A man from Banū Layth named Ibn Mukayl, a short man, arose. He said, ‘Messenger of God, I find nothing comparable to this death since the beginnings of Islam. All I can compare it to is the rear sheep that flee when their leader out in front is shot. Keep to the traditional ways today and bring change tomorrow!’
""‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) reiterated, ‘Will you agree to accept 50 camels now and 50 when we return to Medina?’ He kept on at them till they accepted the blood-wit. The family of Muḥallim b. Jaththama now asked, ‘Bring him over so that the Messenger of God (SAAS) may forgive him.’

""‘They brought a tall, thin man dressed in a gown in which he was prepared to he executed, and he stood before the Prophet (SAAS), who then spoke, ‘O God, do not pardon Muḥallim!’ He repeated this three times. Muḥallim arose, wiping away his tears with the hem of his gown.’"

Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq stated, “His people claim that after that he did forgive him.”

Aḥū Dāʾūd related this similarly through Ḥammād b. Salama from Ibn Iṣḥāq. Ibn Māja related it from Aḥū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Khalīd al-ʿAlīmar, from Ibn Iṣḥāq, from Muhammad b. Jaʿfar, from Zayd b. ʿAmīr, from his father and his uncle. His account contains part of the hadith.


Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “Ṣālim Aḥū al-Naḍr related to me that the account states, ‘They did not accept the blood-wit until al-Aqrāʾ b. Ḥabīb addressed them privately, saying, “People of Qays, the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked you to give up a dead man to make peace between people thereby, but you refused him this. Are you secure against the possibility that he will be angry at you, and that God will be angry at his anger? Or that he will curse you and that God will curse you because of his curse? Give him over to the Messenger of God (SAAS), or I will bring 50 men of Bānū Tamīm who will all swear that the dead man was an unbeliever who never performed the prayer, and that therefore no compensation for his death should be sought.” When he said this to them they accepted the blood-money.’”

This hadith is munqatū, “without a complete chain of transmission”, and is muḍīl, “problematic”.

Ibn Iṣḥāq related from a reliable source, from al-Ḥasan al-Ḥāṣrī, that when Muḥallim sat before the Messenger of God (SAAS) the latter asked him, “Did you offer him security then murder him?” and that he then cursed him.

“Al-Ḥasan said, “And I swear Muḥallim lived only seven days more thereafter before he died. The earth spat him out. Then they buried him again, but the earth again spat him out. When this happened yet again, they covered him over with stones to hide him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) he said, ‘The earth covers over worse than him, but God wishes to warn you of what conduct is impermissible, by showing you this.’”

b. Juththāma on a mission. ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ encountered them and saluted them with the Muslim greeting. But there had been a dispute between them before the coming of Islam and Muḥallim shot an arrow at him and killed him. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), he spoke with ʿUyayna and al-Aqrāʿ about it. Al-Aqr‘a said, “Messenger of God, keep to custom today and make changes tomorrow.” ʿUyayna said to him, “No, by God, not until his women taste the same bereavement.” Muḥallim approached, dressed in two outer garments, and sat before the Messenger of God (SAAS), asking his forgiveness, but the latter told him, “May God not forgive you!” They related that to him and he (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) said, “The earth accepts those worse than your companion, but God wished to warn you of what is impermissible to you.” They then threw him down and dumped him on a mountain side, covering him with stones. And there was revealed, “O you who believe! When you go forth in God’s cause, be circumspect.”

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related this from al-Zuhri. Shuʿayb related it from al-Zuhri, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb from Qubaysa b. Dhuʿyib, his story being similar to this. However, his account does not name Muḥallim b. Juththāma, nor ʿĀmir b. al-Aḍbaṭ. Al-Bayhaqi related it in a similar account from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. That account stated, “And it was about him that the words of the Almighty were revealed, ‘O you who believe! When you go forth in God’s cause, be circumspect.’”

I note that I have sufficiently discussed the reasons for the revelation of this verse and its import in my Tafsir (Exegesis). And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE EXPEDITION OF ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤUDHĀFA AL-SAḤMĪ.

It is established in both saḥih collections through al-ʿAmash, from Saʿd b. ʿUbayda, from Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥubalī, from ʿAli b. Abī Ṭālib, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) gave charge of an expedition to one of the ansār, telling those men he sent with him to listen well and to obey him. For some reason they angered him, so he said, ‘Get some firewood!’ They did so. He then said, ‘Light it!’ They did so. He then said, ‘Enter the fire!’ The men looked at one another and said, ‘But the only reason we fled to the Messenger of God (SAAS) was to avoid the fire!’ His anger subsided and the fire was extinguished. “When they came back to the Prophet (SAAS) they related this to him and he said, ‘If they had entered it, they would never have come out of it, for obedience is only in that which is good.’”

This anecdote is also firmly established in both saḥih collections, through Yaʿāq b. Musallam, from Saʿd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās. We have discussed this sufficiently in the Tafsir (Exegesis). And to God belong all praise and credit.

It is (also) known as al-qišās. Al-Suhaylī preferred this. It is otherwise called ʿumrat al-qadīyya, “the decision pilgrimage”. The first name relates to fulfilment of what was arranged at al-Ḥudaybiyya. The second name is taken from the words of the Almighty, wa al-ḥurumātū qisāsun, “Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.194). The third name comes from the decision he made with them based on his retiring from them that year provided that he would return the next, and that he would enter Mecca only with his sword still sheathed and that he not stay longer than three days.

This ʿumrā is the one referred to in the words of the Almighty in the sacred ṣūrat al-Fath: “God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God wills it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaved and cut, not fearing” (ṣūrat al-Fath; XLVIII, v.27). We have examined this verse sufficiently in our work, Taʾṣīr (Exegesis).

It was this that was promised in the words of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Responding to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb’s question, “Did we not say that we would come to the house and would circumambulate it?” he replied, “Yes indeed; but did I tell you you would go there this year?” “No,” ʿUmar replied. “Well,” he reiterated, “you will go there and you will circumambulate it.”

It was also referred to in the verses of ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa when he entered Mecca before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the day of the ʿumrat al-qadā, saying,

“Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we will fight you about its interpretation
Just as we already fought you about its revelation.”

This refers to interpretation of the vision the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to see that came to pass like the break of day.


“He then set forth on the ʿumrat al-qadā, in Dhū al-Qi‘dā, that same month when the polytheists had previously blocked his path; this was in place of the ʿumra they had denied him.”

Ibn Ḥishām stated, “He placed ʿUwayf b. al-ʿAḍbaṭ al-Duwati in command of Medina. It is also called the ʿumrat al-qišās because they blocked the way of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Dhū al-Qi‘dā, the holy month of 6 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) retaliated against them by entering Mecca in Dhū al-Qi‘dā, the holy month when they had blocked him, in 7 AH. We have been informed that Ibn ʿAbbās said, ‘It was concerning that that God Almighty revealed the words, “Those things forbidden are subject to retaliation.”’”
Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān quoted his father as saying about the maghāzi, the military expeditions, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned from Khaybar, he remained in Medina, sending out his expeditions until Dhū al-Qa‘da arrived. He then called out to the people, ‘Get ready for the ‘umra.’ They gathered their baggage and left for Mecca."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Muslims whose way had been blocked went forth with him on that ‘umra of his, it being 7 AH. When the Meccans heard of this, they kept out of their way. Quraysh meanwhile told one another that Muḥammad was in great difficulty and distress.

"A reliable source related to me, from ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbbās, who said, ‘They lined up at the assembly hall to look at him and those with him. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) went inside the mosque, he tossed the hem of his mantle over his left shoulder, exposing his right arm and said, “May God have mercy upon a man who today demonstrates his strength to them.”

“‘He then saluted the al-rukn, the “corner”, and came outside again, jogging, as did his Companions with him. He continued on until the ka‘ba concealed him from them; he saluted the rukn al-yaman, the “south” or “Yemen” corner. Then he walked on and saluted the rukn al-aswad, the “black stone” corner. He then jogged three circuits and walked the rest.’ Ibn ʿAbbās used to say, ‘People used to think that this (procedure) was not incumbent upon them. They thought this on the grounds that the Messenger of God (SAAS) only did this because of that tribe of Quraysh and what he had heard of them, until the hijājat al-wadā‘, the “farewell pilgrimage”; the sunna, the normative Muslim practice, continued it.’"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Harb related to him, quoting Ḥammād, he being Ibn Zayd – from Ayyūb, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived, the polytheists said, ‘Here comes a delegation of people whom the Yathrib fevers have weakened!’ And so the Prophet (SAAS) ordered them to jog for the three courses and to walk between the two corners. All that prevented him telling them to jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort).”

Abū ʿAbd Allāh stated, “Ibn Salama – meaning Ḥammād b. Salama – added, from Ayyūb, from Sa‘īd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the latter said, ‘When the Prophet (SAAS) came (to Mecca) that year when it was safe, he said, “Jog, so that the polytheists can see your strength. The polytheists will be positioned in front of Mt. Qu‘ayqu‘ān.”’"

Muslim related this from Abū al-Rabī‘ al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. Al-Bayhaqī traced the hadīth through Ḥammād b. Salama.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿĀli b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Ismā‘īl b. Abū Kha‘lid, (who said) that he heard Ibn Abū Awfā say, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the ‘umra, we shielded him from the polytheist youngsters and from the polytheists themselves in case they might harm him.”

78. A black spherical stone, thought to be a meteorite; it is still embedded in a corner of the Ka‘ba.
There will come hereafter the rest of the commentary concerning that event.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca to perform that pilgrimage, ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa kept hold of his camel’s halter and recited,

“Unbelievers, clear out of his path; clear out, for all good is in His messenger.

O Lord, I am a believer in his words; I know God’s truth in accepting it

We fought you about its interpretation, just as we fought you about its revelation,

With blows that remove heads from necks and divert friend from friend.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “The words, ‘We fought you about its interpretation’ to the end of the lines are verses of ‘Ammār b. Yāsir relating to a different occasion — meaning the battle of Siffin.” Al-Suhaylī stated this.

Ibn Hishām further stated, “The proof of this is that Ibn Rawāḥa was referring only to the polytheists, who never had accepted the (fact of) revelation. And only those who accept the revelation would do battle over the interpretation.”

Ibn Hishām’s statement is open to dispute. The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī related, from a different line of transmission, from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “When the Prophet (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the ‘umrāt al-qādā, ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa walked in front of him; in one account he did so while he held his leather stirrup. As he walked, he spoke the lines,

‘Unbelievers, clear out of his path; the al-Rahmān, the Most Merciful, has given revelation in revealing it;

That the best fight is in His cause; we have fought you over its interpretation.”

In another version, with precisely the same chain of transmission, the words are,

“Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we fight you over its revelation,

With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert friend from friend.

O Lord, I believe in what he says.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Hishām b. Sa‘d, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the year of al-qādiya, the ‘umrā in question, and circumambulated the ka‘ba mounted on his camel. He saluted the al-rukān, “the corner (with the Black Stone)”, using his staff. Regarding this, Ibn Hishām said, “He did so not due to any illness, while the Muslims were crowding around him, and ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was reciting,
Miisa b. 'Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri as follows, “Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth the year following that of al-Ḥudaybiyya on the ’umra pilgrimage, in Dhū al-Qa‘da of 7 AH. This was the same month that the polytheists blocked him from entry to the sacred mosque. When he reached Ya‘jij, he laid down all their weapons — leather shields, armour, spears and arrows. They then entered carrying the swords borne by mounted men. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Ja‘far b. Abī Talib on ahead of himself to Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, the al-‘Amiri woman, and proposed marriage to her. She appointed al-‘Abbās in charge of her affairs; his wife, Umm al-Fadl, daughter of al-Ḥārith, was her sister. Al-‘Abbās then agreed to her marriage to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived, he ordered his Companions, ‘Uncover your shoulders, and be vigorous as you circumambulate.’ This was so that the polytheists would see their skin, and their strength. He outwitted them all he could. The people of Mecca, men, women, and children, gathered around him, staring at the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions, as they circumambulated the ka‘ba. Meanwhile, ‘Abd Allah b. Rawāḥa walked ahead of him, speaking verse and brandishing his sword, saying,

‘Unbelievers, clear out of his path; I am a witness that he is His messenger;
The al-Rahmān, the Most Merciful, sent down about His revelation, in sheets that are recited to His messenger. 
Today we will fight you over its interpretation, as we fought you over its revelation,
With blows that will remove heads from necks and divert friend from friends.’

“Some polytheist chiefs remained away rather than look on with anger, resentment and envy towards the Messenger of God (SAAS). They went off to Mt. al-Khanda‘yna. The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Mecca for three nights, at which point the period of safe access agreed upon at al-Ḥudaybiyya ended.

“When morning of the 4th day came, Suhayl b. ‘Amr and Ḥuwaytib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza arrived, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was seated with his Companions, conferring with Sa‘d b. Ubāda. Ḥuwaytib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzza shouted, ‘We invoke God and the pact to you, because you have not left our land and the three nights are over!’ Sa‘d b. Ubāda replied, ‘You lie, may you have no mother! It is not your land, nor that of your forefathers. By God, he will not
leave! The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called out to Suhayl and Huwayḥib, saying, 'I have arranged marriage with one of your women. It will not harm you for me to stay until I consummate the marriage with her. We can prepare food and you can eat with us.' They replied, 'We will insist on invoking God and the pact unless you leave us.'

'The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave orders to Abū Rāfiʿ and he announced the departure. The Messenger of God (SAAS) rode off and halted in the valley of Saraf. The other Muslims had remained behind; the Messenger of God (SAAS) had entrusted Abū Rāfiʿ with bringing Maymūna. He stayed at Saraf until Maymūna arrived to him there. Maymūna had been caused great distress and been harmed by the foolish polytheists and their children. When she arrived to the Messenger of God (SAAS), at Saraf, he consummated his marriage with her. Thereafter, at night, he travelled on and reached Medina.

'God decreed that Maymūna's death should occur at a later day at Saraf; she died where the Messenger of God (SAAS) had consummated marriage with her.'

He then went on to relate the story of the daughter of Ḥamza and concluded by saying, "God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed concerning that 'umra, the words, 'The holy month for the holy month, and the things forbidden are subject to retaliation.'" The Messenger of God (SAAS) had made the pilgrimage in that same holy month in which they had blocked his path.

Ibn Lahiʿa related from Abū al-Aswad, from Ḥurwa b. al-Zubayr approximately this same text, which is further substantiated by numerous witnesses in many aḥādīth.

In the ṣaḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated, through Fūlayh b. Sulaymān, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) went out to make the 'umra pilgrimage, but the Quraysh unbelievers blocked his path to the kaʿba. He made sacrifice and shaved his head at d-Hudaybiyya and made a pact with them that they would make the 'umra the following year; the only arms (the Muslims) would bear would be swords and he would remain only so long as they agreed.

He did perform the 'umra the following year and entered it in accord with the pact he had made. After he had been there for three days, they told him to leave, and he did so.

Al-Waqīḍī stated, "Abd Allāh b. Nāfiʿ related to me, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'This pilgrimage was not retaliatory but accorded with the conditions placed upon the Muslims; that in exchange they would perform the 'umra in that same month that the polytheists had previously blocked them.'"

Abū Dāʾūd stated, "Al-Nufaylī related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn (who said), 'I heard Abū Ḥaḍīr al-Himyārī relate that Maymūn b. Muhrān said, 'I went out to make the
Cumra pilgrimage the year the Syrians besieged Ibn al-Zubayr in Mecca. Men of my tribe sent some animals with me for sacrifice.

"When we encountered the Syrians, they prevented us from going inside the sacred area. So I sacrificed the animals where I was, performed the other pilgrimage rites and then returned home. When I went out the following year to complete the ‘umra, I went to see Ibn ‘Abbās and I asked him and he replied, "You should change the animals for sacrifice; the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered his Companions to sacrifice different animals than they had in the year of al-Hudaybiyya on the ‘umrat al-qadā’.""

Abū Dā‘ūd was alone in giving this, from a hadith of Abū Ḥādir Uthmān b. Ḥādir al-Himyari, from Ibn ‘Abbās.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Ḥākim narrated to us, quoting al-‘Āsamm, quoting Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishaq, who said, ‘Amr b. Maymūn related to me as follows, "My father used to ask often, ‘Did the Messenger of God (SAAS) change the animals he sacrificed when the polytheists blocked him from the ka‘ba?’ He never got any information on this until I heard him ask Abū Ḥādir al-Himyari about that and he told him, ‘You’ve found an expert! I went on the pilgrimage the first year Ibn al-Zubayr was engaged in the siege. I was given some animals to sacrifice, but they (the Syrians) came between us and the ka‘ba. So I slaughtered them in the sacred area and returned to Yemen where I told people, ‘I have in the Messenger of God an example!’ The following year I again went on the ‘umra; I encountered Ibn ‘Abbās and asked him whether or not I should change the animals for sacrifice. He replied, ‘Yes; do change. The Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions did change the sacrificial animals from those they slaughtered when the polytheists blocked their path to different ones on the ‘umrat al-qadā’. They found camels expensive for them, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave them permission to sacrifice cattle.’’’"

Al-Waqīqī stated, "Ghanīm b. Abū Ghānim related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dinār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed Nājiyya b. Jundab al-Aslami in charge of the animals to be sacrificed. He would go on ahead searching for fodder among the trees, accompanied by four young men of Aslam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) took out 60 head on the ‘umrat al-qadīyya.’"

Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym al-Mujammir related to me, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “I was with the man in charge of the sacrificial animals, driving them.”

Al-Waqīqī stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth reciting Labbayka! ‘I am at Your service!’ and the Muslims with him recited the same. Muḥammad b. Maslama went on with the cavalry to Marr al-Zahrān, where he encountered a few men of Quraysh. They asked Muḥammad b. Maslama some questions and he replied, ‘This is the Messenger of God (SAAS); he will arrive at this place tomorrow morning, if God wills it.’ They (the Quraysh) noticed that
Bashîr b. Sa‘d had many weapons with him and so they left in a hurry and went to Quraysh whom they informed of the weapons and cavalry they had seen. Quraysh were scared by this. They told one another that they had not stirred up any trouble and they were maintaining their pact of a truce, and they wondered why the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men were attacking them.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) made a halt at Marr al-Zahrān. He sent on the weapons to the Yaljij valley, from where they could see the stones marking the limits of the sacred territory. Quraysh sent out Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ b. al-Ahnaf with a party of Quraysh and they encountered him at the valley of Ya‘jij; the Messenger of God (SAAS) was there with his men having met up with the animals to be slaughtered and the weapons. The Quraysh asked, ‘Muḥammad, you’ve never been known to break your word for any excuse, whether the issue is major or minor; are you now entering the sacred territory with your men bearing arms, even though you agreed to enter only with weapons such as travellers carry, swords in sheaths?’ The Prophet (SAAS) replied, ‘I will not bring in weapons against them.’ Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ commented, ‘This is what you are known for — piety and trustworthiness.’ He then hurried back to Mecca with his Companions.

“When Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ brought the news of the Prophet (SAAS), Quraysh left Mecca for the mountain heights. As they left Mecca, they told one another that they would not look at him or his Companions.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS), ordered the animals for slaughter to be driven ahead and they were corralled at Dḥū Ṭuwā. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went on with his men; he was riding his camel at-Qaswā and they kept their eyes on him, calling out Labbayka! ‘At Your service, O Lord!’ and brandishing their swords. When they arrived at Dḥū Ṭuwā, he stood up on his mount al-Qaswā, while Ibn Rawāḥa took its reins and spoke lines of impromptu poetry, saying,

‘Unbelievers, clear out of his path.’”

In both sahîh collections there is a hadîth from Ibn ʿAbbâs in which he stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men arrived in the morning of the 4th — meaning of Dḥū al-Qa‘da, 7 AH — and the polytheists said, ‘A delegation is approaching you who have been rendered weak by the fevers of Yathrib.’ So the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered his men to jog for the three circuits and to walk between the two comers. All that prevented him having them jog throughout all the circuits was his wish to spare them (the effort).”

Imâm Aḥmad stated, “Muḥammad b. al-Ṣabâḥ related to us, quoting Ismāʿîl b. Zakariyyâ, from ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿUthmân, from Abû al-Ṭūfâyî, from Ibn ʿAbbâs, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) halted at Marr al-Zahrân on his umra, his men learned that Quraysh were saying, ‘They’ll never recover from their emaciation.’ His Companions told him, ‘If we were to butcher our mounts and eat their meat and sip soup made from them, we’d gain
some strength for when we go out among people tomorrow.' He replied, ‘No; don’t do that; gather up all the provisions you have.’ They did so, spread out the scraps of food and ate until satisfied; each of them stuffed the remainder in their bags.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went out and entered the mosque, while Quraysh squatted over towards the Black Stone. He gathered up the left sleeve of his gown, then said, ‘Do not let the enemy see any insufficiency in you.’ He saluted the rukn, the corner, ran until hidden behind the south corner, then walked to the rukn al-aswad, the corner with the Black Stone. Quraysh commented, ‘They’re not satisfied with walking; they race around like gazelles!’ He did this for three circuits and it became sunna, orthodox practice.”

Abū al-Tufayl went on, “Ibn ‘Abbās informed me that the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) also did this on the hijājat al-wadāʾ, ‘the farewell pilgrimage’.”

Ahmad is alone in giving this hadith through this line.

Abū Dā’ūd stated that Abū Salama Mūsa related to him, quoting Ḥammād—meaning Ibn Salam—quoting Abū ʿAjīm al-Ghanawi, from Abū al-Tufayl, who said, “I commented to Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘So your people say that the Messenger of God (SAAS) ran at the ka’ba, and that that practice is sunna, “customary orthodox practice”.’ He replied, ‘They both spoke the truth and lied.’ ‘What was true and what lies?’ I asked. He replied, ‘They did speak the truth when they said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) ran. They also lied; it is not sunna. At the time of al-Hudaybiyya, Quraysh said, “Let Muhammad and his Companions alone until they die of worms!” Then they made a truce on the understanding that he would return the following year and stay in Mecca for three days. When he came, the polytheists went over towards Mt. Qurayyān. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told his Companions, “Run three times at the ka’ba. But that is not sunna.”’”

Muslim related this from a hadith of Sā’d al-Jarirī, ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Husayn and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Saʿd b. Abjar, all three of them quoting Abū Ṭufayl ʿAmir b. Wāthila, from Ibn ʿAbbās, in much the same words.

The act of running while circumambulating is considered sunna by most scholars. The Messenger of God (ŠAAS) did run during the ‘umrat al-qadh, and also at the ‘umrat al-Jirāna, as Abū Dā’ūd and Ibn Māja related, from a hadith of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who so stated.

It is clearly established in the hadith of Jābir given by Muslim and others, that the Messenger of God (ŠAAS) ran at the hijājat al-wadāʾ, the “farewell pilgrimage”, as he made the circumambulations. This is why ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated, “Why run, when God has made Islam long-lasting?” However, we should not abandon any practice performed by the Messenger of God (ŠAAS). This is fully substantiated in my book kitāb al-Ahkām.

It is very well known that Ibn ʿAbbās did not consider this practice sunna, as is substantiated in both saḥīh collections, from a hadith of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna,
from 'Amr b. Dinar, from 'Atā, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) only hurried at the ka'ba, al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa to demonstrate his strength to the polytheists.”

This is the terminology given by al-Bukhārī.

Al-Waqīdī stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had finished his duties at the 'umrat al-qaddā, he went inside the ka'ba. He remained inside until Bilāl, from atop the ka'ba's roof, made the call to the al-zuhr, noon, prayer; the Messenger of God (SAAS) had given him orders to do this. 'Ikrima b. Abū Jahl commented, ‘God honoured Abū al-Ḥakam?’ by not having him hear this slave say what he is saying!’ Ṣafwān b. Umayya said, ‘Praise be to God who took away my father before he saw this!’ Khalīd b. Usayd agreed, ‘Praise be to God who took the life of my father so that he did not witness this day when Bilāl climbs on top of the ka'ba and brays!’ Suhayl b. 'Umar and the men with him covered their faces when they heard this.”

The Ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated, “God honoured most of them with Islam.”

I note that the Ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī narrated this through al-Waqīdī to the effect that this took place on the 'umrat al-Qaddā, even though it is well-known that this happened in the year of the conquest of Mecca. But God knows best.

The Story of the Marriage of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Maymūna.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Abān b. Ṣāliḥ and 'Abd Allah b. Abū Najīh related to me, from ‘Atā and Mujāhid, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) married Maymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, on that journey of his when he was ḥarām, in a state of ritual purity. It was al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib who married her to him.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “She had appointed her sister, Umm al-Fadl, to represent her and she in turn entrusted the task to her husband al-‘Abbās. It was he who married her to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and gave her from him a dowry of 400 dirhams.”

Al-Suhaylī reported that when the proposal of the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached her, she was mounted on a camel. She said, “Both the camel and what is on it belong to the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

He also stated, “It was about her that the verse was revealed, ‘(We have made lawful to you) a believing woman! If she gives herself to the Prophet, if the Prophet wished to marry her. This provision is only for you, apart from all the believers.’” (ṣūrat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.50).

Al-Bukhārī related on a line of transmission through Ayyūb, from 'Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) married Maymūna while muḥrim, in a state of ritual conservation. When he consummated marriage with her, he was ḥalāl, free of the iḥrām. She died at Saraf. Al-Suhaylī stated and

79. That is, the speaker's father, Abū Jahl, killed at Badr.
al-Darqutni related through Abū al-Aswad, the orphan of 'Urwa, and through Maṭr al-Warrāq, from Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while ḥalāl.

He said, "And they interpreted the first version of the account from Ibn 'Abbās – that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was muhrim, 'in a ritual state', to mean that it was in the holy month. As a poet said,

"They killed Ibīn 'Affān, the Khalīfa, when he was muhrim and prayed; and I never saw the like of him abandoned."

"That is, this occurred in the holy month."

I note that this interpretation is open to dispute, because the accounts from Ibn 'Abbās contrary to that predominate, especially since he said, "He married her while he was muhrim and consummated marriage with her when he was ḥalāl." This also occurred in the month of Dhū al-Qa'da, another holy month.

Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Dhuḥli stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, "Al-Thawri said to me, 'No attention should be paid to the words of the people of Medina. 'Amr informed me, from Abū al-Shāṭhā, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married while muhrim.'"

Abū ʿAbd Allah stated that he told ʿAbd al-Razzāq, "Suḥyān related both aḥādīth from 'Amr, from Abū al-Shāṭhā, from Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, 'Yes; regarding the hadith of Ibn Khaytham, he related it here' – meaning in al-Yaman. 'Regarding the hadith of 'Amr, he related it there' – meaning in Mecca.'"

Both authors of the sāḥīḥ collections included this tradition, from ʿAmr b. Dinār.

In the sāḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī, through al-Awzā'ī, it states, "Aṭā' related to us, from Ibn 'Abbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while muhrim." Saʿīd b. al-Mußayyib stated, "Ibn 'Abbās made a mistake, even though she was his aunt; he did not marry her until after he had become ḥalāl."

Yūnus stated, from Ibn Ishāq, "Baqiyya quoted Saʿīd b. al-Mußayyib as having said, 'This ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbbās claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Maymūna while he was muhrim'. And he (Saʿīd) went on to relate what he had said. He (Saʿīd) continued, 'However, when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to Mecca, both the hill, and the marriage were at the same time. Ibn ʿAbbās was confused about this.'"

Muslim and the ahl al-sunan related from lines of transmission from Yazīd b. al-ʿAṣāmīl-ʿĀmīrī, from his aunt Muymūna, daughter of al-Ḥārith, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married me while we were both ḥalāl, at Saraf." However, al-Tirmidhī stated, "Several authorities related this hadith

80. This refers to the assassination of ʿUthmān; his death is said to have come while he was in prayer.
81. The state of being ḥalāl.
regarding the marriage of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Maymūna, from Yazid b. al-ʾAṣāmīn mursal, 'with an incomplete chain of transmission'."

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi stated that the ḥāfīz Abū ʿAbd Allāh informed him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʾAshāhānī al-Zāhīd, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq al-Qāḍī, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Mātur al-Warrāq, from Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Sulaymān b. Yaṣār, from Abū Rāfīʾ, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) married Maymūna while he was ḥalāl and he consummated the marriage when he was ḥalāl. I was the messenger between them."

Both al-Ṭirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī related this, from Qutayba, from Ḥammād b. Yazid. Al-Ṭirmidhī went on to state, "It is ḥasan, 'good'; we know of no other authority who gave its line from Ḥammād, from Mātur." Mālik related it from Rabīʿa, from Sulaymān, but as mursal, incomplete in its chain”.

And Sulaymān b. Bilāl related it from Rabīʿa, as mursal.

I note that her death came at Saraf in 63 AH, or, according to others, in 60 AH. May God be pleased with her.

An Account of the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from Mecca after the completion of his ʿumra pilgrimage.

It has been narrated above by Mūsā b. ʿUqba how Quraysh sent Ḥuwayṭīb b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza to the Messenger of God (SAAS) four days later so that he would leave, as had been stipulated in the agreement. He offered to hold a feast for them in honour of his marriage to Maymūna, his only purpose having been to reconcile with them thereby. They refused him, telling him to leave. And he did. Ibn Isḥāq related it similarly.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā related to him, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from al-Barāʾ, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) made the ʿumra pilgrimage in Dhu al-Qaʿda. The people of Mecca refused to invite him to enter Mecca until he compacted with them that he would stay there three days. When they drew up the document, they wrote, ‘This is what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has agreed.’ They (the Meccans) commented, ‘We don’t agree to this. If we knew you to be God’s messenger, we would not have opposed you at all. You are, however, Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh.’ He stated, ‘I am the Messenger of God, and I am Muḥammad, the son of ʿAbd Allāh.’ He then told ʿAli b. Abū ʿṬālib, ‘Erase the words “Messenger of God”.’ He replied, ‘No, by God, I’ll not erase you, ever!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then took the document – he could not write well – and wrote, ‘This is what Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, has agreed to. No weapons will enter Mecca except swords in sheaths. And he will not take away any of its people who wishes to follow him. Also, he will not prevent any of his men from staying if they wish to do so.’
When he did enter and the period for the stay was over, they came to ‘Ali and said, ‘Tell your master to leave us, since the time is over.’ The Prophet (SAAS) therefore went to leave, but he was followed by Ḥamza’s daughter calling out, ‘Uncle! Uncle!’ ‘Ali took her by the hand and told Fāṭima, ‘Take care of your cousin.’ She carried her away. ‘Ali, Zayd and Ja’far then began quarrelling over her. ‘Ali said, ‘I should take her; she is my uncle’s daughter.’ Ja’far said, ‘She’s the daughter of my uncle too, and her aunt is my wife.’ Zayd said, ‘She’s my brother’s daughter.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) decided that she should go with her aunt, saying, ‘An aunt has the same standing as a mother.’ He then said to ‘Ali, ‘You are from me, and I am from you.’ To Ja’far, he said, ‘You resemble me in appearance and character.’ To Zayd, he said, ‘You are our brother and our companion.’ ‘Ali then asked, ‘Will you not marry Ḥamza’s daughter?’ He replied, ‘She is the daughter of my foster-brother.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this hadith with this line of transmission.

Al-Waqīḍī narrated the story of Ḥamza’s daughter. He stated, “Ibīn Umni Ḥabība related to me, from Daḍūd b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ḥkrīma, from Ibīn Abbās, that Umnāra, daughter of Ḥamza b. Ṭālīb and her mother Salmā, daughter of Umayz, were at Mecca.

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭālīb spoke with him, saying, ‘How can we abandon the daughter of our uncle, an orphan, amidst the polytheists?’ The Prophet (SAAS) did not forbid bringing her out, and he (‘Ali) did so. Zayd b. Ḥāritha, the wasī, the executor, of Ḥamza, now spoke up; the Prophet (SAAS) had made Zayd and Ḥamza brothers when he had established brotherly relationships between the emigrants (and the ansār). Zayd said, ‘I have the greater right to her; she is my brother’s daughter.’ When Ja’far heard that, he said, ‘An aunt is (as) a mother. I have more right to her because her aunt, Asmā, daughter of Umayz, is with me.’ ‘Ali commented, ‘Do I really see you fighting? She is my uncle’s daughter and I brought her out from among the polytheists. You have no claim better than mine; I have more right to her than you do.’ The Prophet (SAAS) said, ‘I will judge between you. As for you, Zayd, you are the agent of God and of His messenger. You, Ja’far, are similar to me as my features and my disposition. You, Ja’far, have most right to her; your wife is her maternal aunt, and a woman cannot be wed along with her maternal or her paternal aunt.’ And he judged that she should go to Ja’far.”

Al-Waqīḍī stated, “When he awarded her to Ja’far, Ja’far arose and skipped around the Messenger of God (SAAS). The latter asked, ‘What’s this then, Ja’far?’ He replied, ‘Messenger of God, whenever the Negus was pleased with someone, he would get up and skip around him.’ Then he said to the Prophet (SAAS), ‘You marry her.’ He replied, ‘She’s the daughter of my foster-brother.’ So the Messenger of God (SAAS) married her to Salama b. Abū Salama. The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to say, ‘Did I reward Abī Salama?”'
I note that al-Waqidi and others report that it was because he had arranged the marriage of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to his mother, Umm Salama. This was because he was older than his brother Umar b. Abū Salama.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) returned to Medina in Dhū al-Ḥijja, and the polytheists were in charge of that pilgrimage (that year).”

Ibn Hishām stated, “It was regarding that ‘umra, so Abū Ubaydā related to me, that the words of the Almighty were revealed, ‘God will fulfil the true visions of His messenger: you will certainly enter, if God will it, the holy mosque in safety, with your heads shaven or shorn, not fearing. He knew what you did not know and vouchsafed for you a victory close at hand’” (ṣūrat al-Fāṭḥ, XLVIII, v.27).

Division.

Al-Bayḥāqī related here the expedition of Ibn Abī al-Awāja al-Sulāmī to Banū Sulaym.

He then traced the line of transmission from al-Waqidi, “Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim related to me, from al-Zuhrī, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) returned from the ‘umrat al-qādiya in Dhū al-Ḥijja, 7, AH. He then sent forth Ibn Abū al-Awāja al-Sulāmī along with 50 horsemen. But the scout sent out by that tribe warned them and gave them information. They gathered a large force and so when Ibn Abū al-Awāja came to them, they were well prepared. When the men of the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw their force, they invited them to accept Islam. The enemy pelted them with arrows, refusing to listen to them, saying, ‘We don’t need what you’re offering.’ They shot at them for a while then called up reinforcements that overlooked them (the Muslims) from all sides. The (Muslim) force fought fiercely until most of them had been killed. Ibn Abū al-Awāja suffered numerous wounds. He withstood his pain and returned to Medina with his remaining men, arriving there on the 1st of Ṣafar, 8 AH.’”

Division.

Al-Waqidi stated, “In the pilgrimage of that year – that is, 7 AH – the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned his daughter Zaynah to her husband Abū al-Āṣ b. al-Rabī‘. We have made reference to this above. That same year Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balṭa‘a arrived from having been with al-Muqawqis; with him were Māriyya, and Sirīn. They both accepted Islam en route, as did a eunuch.”

Al-Waqidi went on, “That same year, the Messenger of God (SAAS) adopted as his minbar a seat above two steps.” He went on, “However, what we are certain is that he did this in 8 AH.”

82. This is in reference to the conquest of Khaybar.
Their arrival occurred early in 8 AH, according to what follows.

Part of this has been referred to heretofore in the account given by Ibn Ishaq following the execution of Abī Rāṣīl, the Jew; this took place in 5 AH.

However, the ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi gave this information here, following his account of the ʿumrat al-qaḍāʾ. He narrated through al-Waqqāḍi, “ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid b. Jaʿfar informed us, from his father (who said) that ʿAmr b. al-Ṭāʾī stated, ‘I was stubbornly opposed to Islam. I was present at Badr with the polytheists and escaped. Then I was present at Uhud and escaped. Finally I was present at al-Khandaq and escaped.

‘I told myself, “What suffering! I swear by God, may Muḥammad prevail over Quraysh!” So I took my assets and moved to al-Raḥṭ. And I diminished my contacts with people. When the al-Hudaybiyya pact was agreed and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in peace and Quraysh returned to Mecca, I began saying, “So Muḥammad is going to come to Mecca with his men; Mecca is no place to be in, nor is al-Taʿīf. The best thing to do is to leave.” I was then still hostile to Islam. I think that if all Quraysh accepted Islam, I would not do so.

‘I went to Mecca and gathered together some men of my tribe who saw things as I did, repeated my views and sought my advice in matters concerning them. I asked them, “How am I in your view?” They replied, “As our adviser and our protector, a man of fine character and wise decision.”

“He went on, ‘I then told them, “You well know, by God, that I consider this matter of Muḥammad as serious and reprehensible; I have reached a decision.” “What is that?” they asked. “We should go and join the Negus”, I told them, “and live with him. If Muḥammad prevails, we will be there with the Negus; and we would be far better off under his control than under that of Muḥammad. And if Quraysh prevail, they already know us well.”

“‘This is the right decision (they responded).” I told them, “Then gather up presents for him.” The gift he most appreciated from our land was leather. So we gathered much leather for him, then left and went to the Negus. While we were there, who should arrive but ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍāmiri. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent him with a document he had prepared marrying him to Umm Ḥabiba, daughter of Abī Sufyān. He went in to see the Negus and then came out again. I told my companions, “That is ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍāmiri. If I had gone in to the Negus and asked him for him, and he had given him to me and I had cut off his head, then Quraysh would have been delighted and I would have been rewarded for killing Muḥammad’s emissary.”

“‘I did go in to the Negus and bowed down before him as I was accustomed to do. He said, “Welcome to my friend! Have you brought something as a gift
for me from your country?” “Yes, O king,” I told him. “I have much better leather to give to you.” I then presented it to him and he was delighted. Some of it he distributed to his generals and the rest he had stored away and had a record of it written and kept.

“When I saw he was in a good mood, I asked, “Your majesty, I just noticed a man leaving your presence. He is the messenger from an enemy of ours. He has caused us much trouble and has killed some of our leaders and best men. Please hand him over to me, so that I may kill him.” He became angry at this, raised his fist and brought it down so hard on my nose that I thought he had broken it. My nostril soon flowed with blood that dripped on to my clothing. I felt so humiliated I wished the earth would open up and swallow me.

“I eventually said, “Your majesty, if I had known you would be upset at what I said, I would not have asked you.”

“He went on, ‘He then became embarrassed and said, “Amr, how could you ask me to hand over to you for execution the messenger of the man to whom the al-nâmûs al-akbar, the Archangel Gabriel, comes, just as he did to Moses and to Jesus?”

“Amr went on, ‘God then changed my attitude from the way it had been, and I asked myself, “When the Arabs and non-Arabs alike recognize this truth, how can you oppose it?” I then said to the Negus, “Your majesty, do you really testify to that?” “So testify to God, ‘Amr,” he replied. “Obey me and follow him. I swear by God that he is right and that he will definitely prevail over those who oppose him, just as Moses prevailed over Pharoah and his armies.”

“I asked him, “Will you accept my allegiance to him in Islam?” “Yes,” he replied. He then stretched forth his hands and accepted my allegiance. He called for someone to bring a wash basin and the blood was washed from me and he presented me with garments in which to dress. My own clothing was soaked in blood and I cast it aside. Then I went out to my companions and when they saw the garments from the Negus they were delighted. They asked, “Did you receive what you wanted from your friend?” I told them, “I was reluctant to talk about it with him on the first occasion; I told him I would come back.” “We agree with that,” they said.

“Amr went on, ‘So I left them, as if I had something specific to do and made my way to where the boats were moored. I found one ship that was loaded and about to leave. I embarked with them and they sailed it away to al-Shu'ba, where I went ashore, carrying my money. I bought a camel and headed for Medina, passing by Marr al-Zahrân. I then went on until I reached al-Hadda, where I met two men who had preceded me there shortly before. They were looking for accommodation, one man entering a tent, while the other held their mounts. Then I saw that one of them was Khâlid b. al-Walid! I asked him, “Where are you headed?” “To Muhammad,” he replied. “The people are all joining Islam and there’s no one left with any power. I swear by God, if I were to oppose, he’d have us by the neck, like a hyena’s neck is caught in his cave.”
"I swear by God," I told him, I too am headed for Muhammad and am accepting Islam." Then Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa emerged and welcomed me. We all three lodged together.

"We then reached an agreement and went to Medina. I'll never forget what a man said whom we met at the Abū Utba well who shouted out, "Ya rabāh! Ya rabāh! Ya rabāh!" We were much cheered by this and proceeded further. Then the man looked closely at us and I heard him say, "After (losing) these two, Mecca has given up the leadership!" I assumed he was referring to myself and to Khalid b. al-Walid. He then turned and hurried off into the mosque; I assumed that he was going in to tell the Messenger of God (SAAS) of our arrival and it was as I thought.

"We dismounted at al-Ḥarrā and dressed in our best clothes. Then the call was made for the 'asr prayer and we went off to see him. His face was exultant, and the Muslims around him were delighted at our acceptance of Islam. Khalid b. al-Walid went forward and gave his allegiance. Then Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa advanced and gave his. I then went forward but, I swear by God, no sooner had I sat down before him than I could not raise my gaze towards him, I felt so ashamed. I then expressed my allegiance to him, provided that I be forgiven my prior sins and that he would not bring up the past. He said, "Islam cuts off what preceded it and the hijra cuts off what preceded it."

"And I swear by God, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave to none of his Companions consideration equal to that he gave myself and Khalid b. al-Walid after we had accepted Islam. We had the same status with Abū Bakr and I enjoyed the same with 'Umar; 'Umar was somewhat critical towards Khalid."

'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja'far, al-Waqīḍī's sheikh, teacher, stated, "I narrated this hadith to Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, and he said, 'Rāshid, the freed-man of Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Thaqafi, quoted his master Ḥabīb as relating much the same from 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ.'"

I note that Muḥammad b. Ishāq related it similarly, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rāshid, from his freed-man Ḥabīb, who said, "'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ in person related to me." And he then narrated the above as occurring in 5 AH, after the killing of Abū Rāfī. The text of al-Waqīḍī is more simple and better.

Al-Waqīḍī quoted his sheikh 'Abd al-Ḥamīd as saying, "I asked Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, 'Did he say when 'Amr and Khalid accepted Islam?' 'No', he replied, 'except that he did say it was before the conquest of Mecca.' I then said, 'My father told me that 'Amr, Khalid and Ṭalḥa came forward at the beginning of Ṣafar in 8 AH.'"

In the sahih collection of Muslim there is material testifying to the course of his acceptance of Islam, his fine companionship with the Messenger of God (SAAS) during his life, and how he died repenting his conduct during the period of his leadership after that of the Messenger of God (SAAS), along with a description of his death. May God be pleased with him.

83. A cry of surprise and delight.
THE PATH BY WHICH KHĀLID B. AL-WALID ACCEPTED ISLAM.

Al-Waqidi stated that Yaḥyā b. al-Mughīra b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hisām related to me, “I heard my father quote Khalīd b. al-Walīd as saying, ‘When God wished for good for me, he instilled Islam into my heart and gave me good sense. I then told myself, ‘I have witnessed how all these lands are against Muhammad (SAAS); yet whatever I witness in these places makes me want to leave them, feeling that I am out of place in them and that Muhammad will prevail.’”

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) left for al-Ḥudaybiyya, I went forth with some of the polytheist cavalry and encountered the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men at ʿUsfān. I positioned myself directly facing and opposing him. He and his men performed the al-zuḥr, the noon prayer, before us and we thought we should attack him then, but could not make up our minds to do so; which was a very good thing! He saw what we were about to do and he and his men performed the al-‘aṣr, late afternoon prayer, as a ṣalāt al-khawf; “prayer in fear of attack.” This made an impression on us and I said, “The fellow is denied us!” We moved back and he avoided our horsemen by taking the route to the right.

“When Quraysh made peace with him at al-Ḥudaybiyya and put him off till the following year, I asked myself, “What is left? Where can I go? To the Negus? He follows Muhammad, whose men are safe with him. Shall I go to Heraclius and abandon my faith for Christianity or Judaism? Should I go and live with foreigners, or stay at home with those who remain?”

“When I was in this quandary, the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca to perform the ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya. I pretended to be absent and did not witness his entry. My brother, d-Walīd b. al-Walīd, had come in with the Prophet (SAAS) on the ʿumrat al-qaḍiyya and he asked after me but could not locate me. He wrote me a letter in which he said, “In the name of God the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate. I know of nothing more strange than your antipathy for Islam, being as intelligent as you are. Could anyone disregard something like Islam? The Messenger of God (SAAS) has asked me about you. He said, ‘Where is Khalīd?’ I replied, ‘God will bring him.’ He then asked, ‘Could someone like him disregard Islam? If he were to put his energy and bravery to work with the Muslims it would be better for him. We would certainly give him precedence before others.’ Take note, brother, of what good things you are missing.”

“When his letter reached me, I got ready to come out and experienced a strong desire for Islam. The question the Messenger of God (SAAS) had asked about me pleased me greatly. I dreamt of being in a constrained and barren land and emerging into one that was spacious and fertile. I told myself that this was a vision. And when I went to Medina, I decided to relate it to Abū Bakr. He said, “Your exiting to which God led you was to Islam. The constrained land where you had been was polytheism.”

84. See above, pp.
“'And so when I made up my mind to come out to the Messenger of God (SAAS), I wondered in whose company I would go to him. Then I met up with Şafwân b. Umayya and asked him, ‘Abû Wahb, don’t you see what we are doing? We’re (as useless) as molars! Muḥammad may defeat the Arabs and the non-Arabs alike. If we joined and followed Muḥammad, then honour gained by him would be honour for us all.” But Şafwân rejected this vigorously, saying, “If I were the very last, I’d never follow him!”

“We parted and I told myself that this was someone whose brother and father had been killed at Badr. Then I met İkrîma b. Aba Jahl to whom I said the same as I had to Şafwân b. Umayya. He responded just as Şafwân had done. I asked him to keep confidential what I had said, and he agreed.

“I went off home, had my camel readied and left on it. On the way I met Úthmân b. Ṭalḥâ; knowing him to be a friend, I thought I would tell him my plan. I then recalled the names of some of his elders who had been killed and I thus became reluctant to mention this to him. But I said to myself, “What does it matter to me now that I’m about to leave?” So I told him what had transpired and said, “We’re like a fox in a hole that would be sure to come up if doused with buckets of water.” I said to him what I had earlier told my other two friends and he responded positively at once. I told him, “I got up this morning ready to proceed forth; over there at the road, kneeling down, is my mount.” We then agreed to meet at Ya’jij. If he got there first, he would wait; if I arrived there before him, I would wait there.

“We set off at night, before dawn, and we met at Ya’jij. We proceeded on together to al-H̄adda, where we found Āmr b. al-‘Āš. He welcomed us warmly, as we did him. He asked us where we were headed and we asked him why he had left. He wanted to know our purpose in leaving, and we replied, “To enter Islam and follow Muḥammad (SAAS).” He said that that was his purpose too.

“So we travelled on together into Medina and dismounted at the back of al-Ḥarra. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was informed of our arrival, and he was delighted with us. I dressed in my best clothes and headed for the Messenger of God (SAAS). My brother met me and said, “Hurry along; the Messenger of God (SAAS) has been told about you, is delighted at your arrival and is awaiting you.”

“We stepped up our pace and when I looked at him I saw him smiling all the time until we stopped before him. I addressed him as “Prophet” and he returned a greeting, his face beaming. I said, “I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are the Messenger of God.” He then said, “Come here.” And then he said, “Praise be to God who guided you. I considered you to have intelligence that I hoped would only lead you to good.” I replied, “Messenger of God, I used to agree with those others I have seen to be stubbornly opposed to the truth; please pray to God that He will forgive me this.” He replied, “Islam cuts off what preceded it.” I asked, “Messenger of God, and so hence ...” He then said, “O God, forgive every action Khalid b. al-Walid took to block God’s cause.”
“Khalid went on, ‘Uthmān and ‘Amr then came up and expressed their allegiance to the Messenger of God (SAAS). Our arrival was in Safar of 8 AH. And, I swear by God, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave precedence to none of his Companions over myself.’”

THE EXPEDITION OF SHUJĀʾ B. WAHB AL-ASAIDI TO SOME MEN OF HAWAZIN.

Al-Waqidi stated that Ibn Abī Sabra related to him, from Ishāq b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Farwa, from ʿUmar b. al-Ḥakam, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched Shujāʾ b. Waḥb with 24 men out against a group of Hawāzin with orders to attack them. He left, travelling by night and remaining hidden by day. When he came to them, they were taken by surprise. He, Shujāʾ, had told his men not to pursue them vigorously. They seized many camels and goats. They drove them off to Medina, where each man received 15 camels as booty.”

Others maintain that they also took many captives and that the leader (Shujāʾ) chose from them one modest girl and that their people then accepted Islam. The Prophet (SAAS) advised their leader to return the women to them, and he agreed. He gave a choice to the girl he had with him, and she chose to stay.

This expedition may be the one to which al-Shāfīʻi referred, quoting Malik, from Nāfiʻ, from Ibn ‘Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent an expedition towards Najd, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar being among them. The latter said, “We captured many camels and our share of the booty was 12 camels apiece, which the Messenger of God (SAAS) awarded us camel by camel.”

This is included in both saḥīḥ collections in a hadith from Malik. Muslim also related it in a hadith of al-Layth, and from a hadith of ʿAbd Allah. All of these quoted Nāfiʻ, from Ibn ‘Umar, in similar words.

Abū Daʿūd stated that Hanād related to him, quoting ʿAbda, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from Nāfiʻ, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent an expedition out to Najd and I took part in it. We captured many camels and our leader divided them up to each of us, camel by camel. Then we went on to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he divided up our booty between us, so that each of us acquired 12 camels, after the khumus (the one-fifth for the bayt al-mdl, the treasury) had been set aside. The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not include in our counts the camels our leader had given us, nor did he criticize him for what he had done. Each one of us received 13 camels, after he had made his distribution.”

THE EXPEDITION OF KAʿB B. ʿUMAYR TO BANŪ QUĐĀṢA, IN SYRIA.

Al-Waqidi stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, from al-Zuhri, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Kaʿb b. ʿUmar al-Ghifārī with 15 men out as far as Dhāḥ Aṭlāḥ, in Syria. There they found a very large body of
men. The Muslims invited them to accept Islam, but they did not agree and showered them with arrows. When the men of the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw this, they fought the enemy fiercely until they (the Muslims) were killed. One of their men was wounded badly and lay among the dead. In the cool of the night he managed to make his way back to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was about to send out an expedition against them when news reached him that they had gone elsewhere."

THE EXPEDITION TO MU'TA.

This is the expedition of Zayd b. Ḥāritha with approximately 3,000 men to al-Balqa' territory in Syria.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, following his account of the 'umrat al-qadīyya, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Medina for the duration of Dhū al-Ḥijjah – the polytheists having controlled that pilgrimage – throughout al-Muharram, Safar and both Rabi’ al-Awwal and al-Thānī. In Jumādā al-Uwālā he sent out into Syria those who were afflicted at Mu’ta."

"Muḥammad b. Ja’far b. al-Zubayr related to me, from Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent out his expedition to Mu’ta in Jumādā al-Uwālā, 8 AH. He appointed as their leader Zayd b. Ḥāritha, saying, 'If Zayd should be killed, then Ja’far b. Abū Ṭālib will take command. If he should fall, then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will lead.'"

"The army, consisting of 3,000 men, then prepared to leave."

Al-Wāqidi stated that Rābi‘a b. 'Uthmān related to him, from 'Amr b. al-Ḥakam, from his father, who said, 'Al-Nu‘mān b. Fanḥās, the Jew, came and stood with the men looking over at the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he said, 'Zayd b. Ḥāritha will be commander and if Zayd should be killed, then it will be Ja’far b. Abū Ṭālib. If Ja’far is killed, then ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa will be commander. If he should be killed, then the Muslims should choose one from among themselves to appoint over them.'"

"Al-Nu‘mān then said, 'Abū al-Qāsim, if you are a prophet and were to so name them, few or many in number, they would all be killed. When the prophets of Banū Isrā‘il named a commander and then went on to name his successor if he should be killed, then they would all be killed, even if they named 100.' He told Zayd, 'Attend to your affairs. For you will never return, if Muḥammad is a prophet.'"

"Zayd replied, 'I do testify that he is a prophet, a man of truth and piety; may God's peace and blessings be upon him.'"

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Ibn Ishaq went on, "When time came for their departure, the men said farewell to the commanders of the Messenger of God (SAAS). When ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said goodbye with the rest, he wept. When people asked him why, he
replied, ‘I swear by God, it’s not because of my love for this life or my affection for you; I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) reciting a verse from God’s Book which mentions hell-fire and says, “All of you will go to it; this is determined and decreed by your Lord” (surat Maryam; XIX, v.71). And I don’t know how I’ll be able to escape from it after I’ve gone into it!’

“The Muslims then said to him, ‘May God accompany you, protect you and return you all to us in safety.’

‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha spoke the following lines,

‘But I ask the All-Merciful for forgiveness, and a large wound that bleeds profusely
Or a spear from a warrior armed with one that goes through my intestines and my liver.
So that it will be said when people pass by my grave,
“God gave him guidance as a warrior, and he behaved well.”’

Ibn Ishaq continued, “The men then were about to leave when ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha came over to the Messenger of God (SAAS), said farewell to him and recited the following verses,

‘May God affirm the good He presented you, as he gave affirmation to Moses, and a victory like they won.
I sensed the goodness in you to be a gift; and God knows me to have fine sight.
You are the Messenger and whoever is deprived of your gifts and sight of you has been diminished by fate.’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “The army then set forth and the Messenger of God (SAAS) went out with them to bid them farewell. When he had said goodbye to them and turned away, ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha spoke the following verse,

‘May peace persist for a man to whom I have said farewell amidst the palm trees, the best friend and escort.’”

Imām Ahmad stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū Khalid al-Aḥmar, from al-Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakm, from Miṣqam, from Ibn ‘Abbās (who said that) the Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched a mission out to Muṭā, appointing Zayd as its leader. If Zayd were killed, then Jaﬀar was to take charge and if he were killed Ibn Rawāha would be in command. Ibn Rawāha stayed back and went into the mosque with the Prophet (SAAS), who saw him and asked, ‘What keeps you back?’ ‘I wanted to attend the prayer with you,’ Ibn Rawāha replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘To go forth (to battle) in the morning or the evening is better than the world and all in it.’”
Ahmad stated that Abu Mu'awiya related to him, quoting al-Hajjaj, from al-Hakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbás, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent out 'Abd Allah b. Rawāha on an expedition, and that day coincided with a Friday. His companions went on ahead, while 'Abd Allah b. Rawāha said, ‘I’ll stay back and perform the Friday prayer with the Messenger of God (SAAS), then rejoin them.’ When the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the prayer, he saw 'Abd Allah and asked him, ‘What prevented you leaving with your comrades?’ He replied, ‘I wanted to perform the Friday prayer with you, then catch them up.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Were you to spend all there is on earth you would not attain their departure.’”

Al-Tirmidhi related it similarly, from Ahmad b. Munic, from Abu Mu'awiya. He then added, “We know of this tradition only from this line.”

Shu'ba observed, “Al-Hakam only heard five aḥādīth from Miqṣam.” He enumerated them and concluded, “And this hadith is not one of them.”

I observe that the al-Hajjaj b. Arpt in his account is controversial. But God knows best.

The purpose of giving this hadith is that it establishes that the leaders left for Muta on a Friday. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “They then proceeded and encamped at Maṣan in Syria. There news reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Ma'āb, in al-Balqa' territory, with a force of 100,000 rūm, ‘Byzantines’. To them were joined another 100,000 men of Lakhm, Judhām, al-Qayn, Bahrā and Bali, commanded by a man from Bali tribe and the Irsha clan named Malik b. Zafila.”

In an account of Yūnus, from Ibn Ishaq, it is stated, “News reached them that Heraclius had encamped at Ma'āb with 100,000 Byzantines and 100,000 mustribs‘Afabs.”

It is also stated that the Byzantines numbered 200,000, along with 50,000 others. The smallest figure given is that the Byzantines numbered 100,000, while there were also 50,000 Arabs (allied to them). Al-Suhayli related this.

(Ibn Ishaq went on) “When this news reached the Muslims, they remained at Ma'ān for two nights to discuss the matter. Some said, ‘We should send a message to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and tell him of the size of our enemy force. He will then either reinforce us or give us some order we can carry out.’ But 'Abd Allah b. Rawāha encouraged the troops, saying, ‘Men, what you dislike is what you have come forth to seek - martyrdom! We are not fighting by means of our numbers or strength; we are combating them only with this religion with which God has honoured us. Go forth; it will only result in one of two good outcomes - either victory or martyrdom!’

“The others said, ‘By God, Ibn Rawāha is right.’ And so the army went forth.

85. The word implies persons of Arabic language but mixed ancestry. The tribes named in the passage were quasi-Christian.
"Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa spoke the following lines regarding this interruption of theirs,

'We brought our horses forward from Mt. Aja' and Mt. Farā', their bellies distended with grass.

The shoes with which we shod them were of stones as smooth as leather.

They remained for two nights at Ma'ṣān and after their period of rest they were fully restored.

When we went ahead our horses had free rein, the veins in their nostrils pulsing hard.

I swear by my father, we will go on to Ma'āb, even though both Byzantines and Arabs are there.

We gripped their reins and they galloped ahead vigorously, their dust swirling up,

Their noise loud and the points of their helmets glinting like stars.

Many a contented woman our spears rendered divorced, women who can remarry or stay widowed.'"

Ibn Ishāq stated further, "Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me that it was related to him from Zayd b. Arqam, who said, 'I was an orphan living in the care of 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. He took me forth on that journey, riding behind him on his saddle bag. I swear that by night I heard him recite the following lines,

"Since you (my mount) have brought me near and borne my baggage for four nights' distance from the marshes,

Then you deserve pleasure and freedom from blame; and I will not return hereafter to my people.

The Muslims having come will leave me in Syria where I long to stay

And those with whom I am joined in relationship to the Most Merciful, though not my brothers, will take you back.

There I will not worry about plants sprouting, nor about palm trees whose roots need water.'"

"When I heard these words from him I cried and he tapped me with his whip and said, "Why be sad, silly boy, if God grants me martyrdom and you ride home on a saddle?""

"Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa also spoke the following line of verse on one of his journeys,

'Zayd, Zayd of the lean, fast camels, you have been led forward throughout a long night, so dismount now.'"
Ibn Ishaq stated, "The army then advanced to the outskirts of al-Balqâ'. There they were met by the Roman and Arab troops of Heraclius, at one of the villages of al-Balqâ' called Mashārīf. The enemy advanced and the Muslims withdrew to a village called Mu'ta. There the forces clashed. The Muslims arranged their forces to meet the enemy, putting a man of Banū ʿUdhra named Quṭba b. Qatāda in command of the right flank and an ansārī named ʿUbāya b. Mālik in charge of the left flank."

Al-Waqidi stated, "Rabī'a b. Uthmān related to me, from al-Maqburi, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, 'I was present at the Battle of Mu'ta. When the polytheists approached, we saw such equipment, weapons, horses, brocade, silk and gold as no one ever before witnessed! I was dazzled. Thābit b. Arqam said to me, 'Abū Hurayra, don't you think that's a huge force?' "Yes," I replied. "But you weren't present at Badr with us. Superiority in numbers won't defeat us.'""

Al-Bayhaqi related this.

Ibn Ishaq went on, "The forces then engaged and battle commenced. Zayd b. Ḥaritha fought, bearing the banner of the Messenger of God (SAAS), until he perished amidst the enemy spears. Ja'far then picked it up and fought on until he was killed. Ja'far was the first Muslim to hamstring his mount in battle."

He continued, "Yahyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbād Allāh b. al-Zubayr quoted his father ʿAbbād as saying, 'My foster-father, of Banū Murra b. Ḥuf, who was present at the Battle of Mu'ta, related to me, 'I swear I can see Ja'far jumping off his sorrel mare, hamstringing her and fighting on until he was killed, reciting the lines,'"

'Hail to paradise approaching, its waters fine and cool
The punishment of the Byzantines is near, unbelievers
of doubtful descent.
It's up to me to strike them when we clash.'""

Abū Dā'ūd related this from a ḥadīth of Abū Ishaq, but he did not quote the poetry.

Those who permit the slaughter of animals if there is concern that the enemy may make use of them make reference to this ḥadīth. Similarly, Abū Ḥanīfa states, concerning al-ağhnām, sheep or goats, that if they cannot keep up with the pace and it is feared that the enemy will capture and use them, they may be slaughtered and burned to prevent this. But God knows best.

Al-Suhayli stated, "No one criticizes Ja'far for this. This action is permissible unless (the animals) are safe from seizure by the enemy. This has nothing to do with the prohibition of killing animals for amusement."

Ibn Hishām stated, "A reliable source, a scholar, related to me that Ja'far took the banner in his right hand which was cut off. He then took it in his left hand, and it was cut off. He then hugged it to himself with his upper arms until he was killed. He was 33 years of age. God rewarded him for his valour by giving him two wings in heaven with which he could fly wherever he wished."
It is said that one of the Byzantines gave him a blow that day that cut him in two."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Yahya b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to me, quoting his father ‘Abbād, as follows, ‘My foster-father, a man of Banū Murra b. ‘Awf, related to me, saying, ‘When Ja‘far was killed, ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took up the banner and advanced with it, on his horse. Then he began to waver and to hesitate somewhat and so he spoke the following verses,

‘I swear, my soul, that you will indeed do battle or be forced to do battle
Even though the men are shouting and screaming; why is it I see you hating paradise?
For long you have been at ease; are you anything but a drop of liquid inside a skin bag?’"

“He also said,

‘My soul, even if you’re not killed you’ll die any way; this is the fate of death you are exposed to.
What you hoped for has been given to you; if you do what they both did, you will have been well directed.’"

“The reference here is to his two companions, Zayd and Ja‘far. Then he dismounted. When he did so a cousin of his came up carrying a meat bone and said, ‘Take strength from this; you have suffered much recently.’ He took it from his hand and took a bite out of it. Then he heard a great commotion among the men. He said (to himself), ‘And are you still alive!’ He threw away the bone, took up his sword and advanced, fighting until he was killed. May God be pleased with him!”

“Thabit b. Aqram, brother of Banū al‘Ajlān, then took the banner. He said, ‘Muslims, form around one of you!’ ‘Let it be around you,’ they shouted. ‘No, I will not do it,’ he replied. So they formed around Khalīd b. al-Walīd. When he (Khalid) took the banner he defended his men, keeping them safe, then withdrew and the enemy distanced from him so that he could leave with the men.”"

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the army suffered great loss, the Messenger of God (SAAS) — so I have been told — said, ‘Zayd b. Ḥarītha took the banner and fought with it until he was martyred. Ja‘far then took it and fought, bearing it until he was martyred.’ After that the Messenger of God (SAAS) became silent and the faces of the ansār changed as they wondered whether there was something terrible about ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa. Then he said, ‘‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa has taken it now and fought with it until martyred.’

“He then said, ‘They have been raised up to heaven — I saw in a vision — upon couches of gold. I noticed that the couch of ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa was slanting away from those of his comrades and I asked, ‘Why is this?’ I was told, ‘They
went straight ahead, whereas 'Abd Allah b. Rawāḥa hesitated somewhat before proceeding."

This is related thus by Ibn Ishāq munqāṭš, with an incomplete chain of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Wāqīd related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Ḥamīd b. Hilāl, from Anas b. Mālik, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) announced to the people the deaths of Zayd, Jaʿfar and Ibn Rawāḥa before they received the news. He said, "Zayd took the banner, then was struck down. Jaʿfar took it and was struck down. Ibn Rawāḥa took it and was struck down." His eyes then brimmed with tears. He went on, 'And then one of the Lord's swords" (Khalid b. al-Walīd, that is) "took it until God gave them victory."

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this. He also related it elsewhere saying that he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) was on the minbar when he said, "And it would not please them to be with us."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to him, quoting Mughṭira b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī, not al-Ḥazāmī, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣaʿīd, from Nāfiʿ, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed Zayd b. Ḥarīta in command of the expedition to al-Muṣṭa. He also said, 'If Zayd should be killed, then Jaʿfar (will take over); if Jaʿfar is killed, then 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.' 'Abd Allāh said, 'I was among those at Muṣṭa. We searched for (the body of) Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalīb and found him among those slain. On his body we found some 90 sword wounds or arrow holes.'" Al-Bukhārī is alone also in giving this hadith.

Al-Bukhārī went on, "Aḥmad related to us, quoting Ibn Wahhāb, from 'Amr, from Ibn Abū Hilāl, he being Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl al-Laythī, who said, 'Nāfiʿ informed me that Ibn Umar informed him that he stood over Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalīb on that day, he having been killed, (and that Ibn Umar said), "I counted 50 wounds made by spears or swords, and none were in his back.""

"This too is a hadith only given by al-Bukhārī.

This account may be reconciled with the previous one; Ibn 'Umar saw that number of wounds, whereas others saw more than that. Or that those he saw on his front were inflicted before his death and that when he fell to the ground, they also gave him blows in his back. Ibn 'Umar counted those in his front suffered while he faced the enemy, before he was killed. May God be pleased with him!

The testimony quoted by Ibn Hisḥām, regarding his right arm being severed while it held the banner and then the same happening to his left, is upheld by what al-Bukhārī related: "Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting 'Umar b. 'Alī, from Iṣmāʿīl b. Abū Khalīd, from 'Amīr, who said, 'When Ibn 'Umar greeted Ibn Jaʿfar, he would say, "Peace be upon you, O Son of him who has two wings!"'

He related it also in al-Manāqīb (Virtues). Al-Nasāʾī gave it from a hadith of Yazīd b. Hārūn, from Iṣmāʿīl b. Abū Khalīd.
Al-Bukhari stated that Abū Nu‘aym related to him, quoting Sufyan, from Isma‘īl, from Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, who said, “I heard Khalīd b. al-Walid say, ‘At the battle of Mu’ta, nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword.’”

He then narrated it from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yahȳa, from Isma‘īl, who quoted Qays as having said, “I heard Khalīd b. al-Walid say, ‘At the battle of Mu’ta, nine swords were broken in my hand; a Yemeni broad-sword was left in my hand.’”

Al-Bukhari is alone in giving this hadith.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi stated that Abī Naṣr b. Qatāda related to him, quoting Abī ʿAmr Maṭar, quoting Abī Khalīfa al-Fāḍir b. al-Ḥabāb al-Jumāḥi, quoting Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, quoting al-Aswad b. Shaybān, from Khalīd b. Samir, who said, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabāḥ al-Anṣārī came to us; the anṣār themselves would ask him for legal opinions. The people swamped him; I was among them as they did so. He said, ‘Abū Qatāda, the horseman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), sent out the jaysh al-ʿumariʿ, the “army of the commanders”, saying, “Zayd b. Ḥarīthah will command. If he should be struck down, then Jaʿfar will command. If Jaʿfar is struck down, then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥa will command.” Jaʿfar jumped up and said, “Messenger of God, I didn’t want you to appoint Zayd over me!” He replied, “Go forth; you do not know which would be better.”

“They did leave, staying only for as long as God wished. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (later) mounted the minbar, gave an order and the summons was announced, “A full prayer assembly!” People gathered around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he then said, “I will give you news of this army of yours. They have gone forth and encountered the enemy. Zayd has been martyred.” He then prayed for forgiveness for Zayd. He went on, “Then Jaʿfar took the banner and he charged the enemy and was eventually martyred.” He then bore witness that Jaʿfar had attained martyrdom and sought forgiveness for him. He went on, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥa then took the banner and planted his feet firmly until he was martyred.” He prayed for forgiveness for ʿAbd Allāh. He went on, “Then Khalīd b. al-Walid took the banner; he was not one of the (appointed) commanders, but took command himself.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, “O God, he is truly one of Your swords; may You help him.” And from that day on Khalīd was known as “God’s sword.””

Al-Nasāʾī related it from a hadith of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from al-Aswad b. Shaybān. His account is similar, but has a nice addition: “Bābu khayrīn! Bābu khayrīn! A good beginning!” He then went on to relate the hadith as above.

Al-Waqīḍī stated that ʿAbd al-Jabbar b. ʿAmāra b. Ghaziyya related to me, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, who said, “When the army joined in battle at Muʿta, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sat on the minbar and God revealed to him what lay between him and Syria so that he could observe their conflict. He said, ‘Zayd b. Ḥarīthah took the banner and Satan came to him
and made life seem good to him and death hateful, making life on earth attractive to him. He (Zayd) said, “Now that the faith is firmly planted in the hearts of the believers, would you make life on earth seem good to me?” He then advanced until he was martyred.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then performed the prayer for him and said, ‘Ask forgiveness for him; he has entered paradise as a martyr.”

Al-Waqidi stated that Muhammad b. Šāliḥ related to him, from ‘Āṣim b. ‘Amr b. Qatāda, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “When Zayd was killed, Ja’far b. Abū Ṭālib took the banner. Satan then came to him and made life seem good to him, death hateful, and he made life attractive to him. But Ja’far said, ‘Now, when faith has become firm in the hearts of the believers, would you have me wish for life?’ He then advanced until he was martyred. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then spoke the prayer for him. He said, ‘Seek forgiveness for your brother; he is a martyr and has entered paradise. He is flying in heaven with wings of sapphire, going wherever he wishes there.’”

He went on, “Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and was martyred. He then entered heaven muṭarīḍ, ‘indirectly’. This upset the anṣār and someone asked, ‘Messenger of God, why “indirectly”? He replied, ‘When he suffered wounds, he drew back. But he criticized himself, regained his courage, was martyred and entered paradise.’

“His people were much relieved by this.”

Al-Waqidi stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. al- Fuḍayl quoted his father as saying, “When Khālid b. al-Walid took up the banner, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Now the fighting is fierce.’”

Al-Waqidi also stated, “Al-Ḥāf b. Khālid related to me as follows, ‘Ibn Rawāḥa having been killed in the evening, Khālid b. al-Walid spent that night (without engaging the enemy). Next morning, he attacked, having placed his vanguard at the rear and exchanged the forces of the left and right flanks. The enemy were no longer familiar with their banners and disposition and, believing them to have been reinforced, were frightened and retreated in disarray. And so they suffered a defeat as no enemy had inflicted upon them before.’”

This accords with the account given by Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, may God be pleased with him, in his work on the military campaigns. He stated, after recounting the ‘umrat al-Ḥudaybiyya, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went to Medina and remained there for six months. He then despatched an army to Muṭa, appointing Zayd b. Ḥarīthah as their commander. He ordered, ‘If he is struck down, then command is to go to Ja’far b. Abū Ṭālib. If Ja’far is struck down, then ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa is to be their commander.’ They travelled on until they encountered Ibn Abū Sabra al-Ghassāni at Muṭa, where there was a large force of Christian Arabs and Byzantines, including men of Tanūkḥ and Bahra’. Ibn Abū Sabra closed the gate of the fortress against the Muslims for three days. The armies then clashed on a red field, where the fighting was intense. Zayd b. Ḥarīthah took...
the banner and was killed; Ja‘far then took it and he was killed. ‘Abd Allah b. Rawāḥa took it next and was killed. Then the Muslims chose Khalid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmi to succeed those three commanders chosen by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). God then defeated the enemy and gave victory to the Muslims. “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent them forth in Jumādā al-Uwla, of 8 ah that is.”

Mūsā b. Uqba stated, “And they claimed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Ja‘far passed me by amidst the angels, flying as they did, and he had two wings.’

He went on, “They also claim — but God knows best — that Ya‘lā b. Umayya came with news of the men at Mu‘ta to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked, ‘If you wish, you can tell me or, if you prefer, I will tell you.’ ‘You tell me, Messenger of God,’ he asked. So the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them all the news of them and described it all to them. He (Ya‘lā) then commented, ‘By Him who sent you with the truth, you have not left out a word — what happened to them is exactly as you stated!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘God raised the earth up before me so that I could see their battlefield.’”

This text has many nice details that are absent from the account of Ibn Ishaq. It contradicts somewhat the latter’s account, which suggests that Khalid only disengaged the enemy to escape from the Byzantines and the Christian Arabs.

Mūsā b. ‘Uqba and al-Wāqidi stated clearly that they defeated the Byzantines and the Arabs with them, which is evident from the ḥadīth given above from Anas directly quoting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, “And then one of God’s swords took it until God gave them victory.” Al-Bukhārī related this. This account is preferable and is the one to which the ḥāfiṣ al-Bayhaqī referred after recounting both the statements to such effect as we have stated.

I note that it is possible to reconcile between the account given by Ibn Ishaq and that given by the others. This would be as follows: when Khalid took the banner he drew away the Muslims until he had removed them from the reach of the Roman and quasi-Arab unbelievers. Next morning he switched the rearguard and vanguard and both flanks, as al-Wāqidi related, and so the Byzantines thought these to be reinforcements that had arrived for the Muslims. And when Khalid attacked them, he defeated them, with God’s permission. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to me, from ‘Urwa, who said, ‘When those who had fought at Mu‘ta approached, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the Muslims met them. The boys rushed out to meet them while the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on his mount with the other people. He said, ‘Take the boys away and give me Ja‘far’s son.’ ‘Abd Allāh was brought to him and he picked him up and carried him. The people then began tossing dirt at the army, saying, ‘You runaways! You fled from God’s path!’ The Messenger
of God (SAAS) then said, 'They are not runaways but men who will fight again, if God, Almighty and Glorious is He, wills it.'

This hadith is incomplete with this line of transmission, and is somewhat strange.

It is my opinion that Ibn Ishāq is using his imagination in this text by thinking of these men as being the army, whereas they were men who had fled when the armies clashed. The remainder did not flee, but were awarded victory, as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had told them while on the minbar when he said, "Then one of God’s swords took it until God gave them victory." The Muslims would never have called them runaways after that, but would have met them with honour and respect. Rebuking and throwing dirt would only have been done to those who had fled and abandoned them there. Among them was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Ahmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā, from ʿAbd Allāh b. 'Umar, who said, "I took part in one of the expeditions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and some of the men fled, myself among them. We wondered what we should do, having fled and caused anger. We thought we might be killed if we returned to Medina. Then we decided we should present ourselves before the Messenger of God (SAAS), in which case we would either be forgiven or we would leave. We went to him before the pre-dawn prayer. He came out and asked, 'Who are you?' 'We are the runaways,' we replied. 'No', he replied, 'you’re the ones who will fight again. I’m one of you, and I’m one of the believers.' We then went forward and kissed his hand."

He then went on to relate it from Ghundar, from Shu'ba, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "We were on a military expedition, but fled. We wondered whether we should go overseas. Then we went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, ‘Messenger of God, we are the runaways.’ He replied, ‘No; you’re the ones who will fight again.’"

Abū Dā'ūd related it, as did al-Tirmidhi and Ibn Māja, from a hadith of Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād. Al-Tirmidhi stated, "It is hasan, ‘good’; we know it only from his hadith."

Aḥmad stated, "Ishāq b. ʿIsā and Aswād b. Ṭāmīr related to us as follows, 'Shurayk related to us, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent us out on a military expedition. When we encountered the enemy we fled in the first clash and went back to Medina by night, as a group, and went into hiding. Then we wondered if we should go to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and apologize to him."

"‘We did go to him, and when he met us we told him, ‘We are the runaways, Messenger of God.’ He replied, ‘No; you are those who will fight again, and I’m of your party.’’"

Al-Aswād said (that the words used were) “I am of the party of every Muslim.”
Ibn Ishq stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm related to me, from ‘Amir b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that Umm Salama, the wife of the Messenger of God (SAAS), asked the wife of Salama b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, ‘Why don’t I see Salama attend the prayer with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims?’

“She replied, ‘He can’t go outside. Whenever he does, people cry out, ‘Runaway! You ran away from God’s path!’ So he sits at home and never goes out; he was present at the battle of Mu’ta.”

I comment that it is possible that some of them fled when they saw the great size of the Byzantine force, who were many times larger in number; the Muslims numbered 3,000, while the enemy, so they say, was 200,000 strong. Such circumstances do permit flight, as is well established. When this group fled, the rest remained firm and God gave them victory, and released them from the clutches of the enemy, many of whom they killed, as al-Wāqīdī and Mūsā b. ‘Uqba before him recorded.

This is further affirmed and substantiated by what Imām Ahmad related: “Al-Walīd b. Muslim related to us, quoting Safwān b. ‘Amr, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jūbayr b. Nufayr, from his father, from ‘Awf b. Mālik al-‘Ashja’ī, who said, ‘I was among those who accompanied Zayd b. Hāritha and the other Muslims to the battle of Mu’ta. I went with a madādi, an “auxiliary”, from Yemen whose only equipment was his sword. One of the Muslims slaughtered a camel and the auxiliary asked him for a piece of its leather. He gave it to him and the madādi used it as a shield.

“We advanced and encountered a force of the Byzantines, among whom was a man riding a sorrel equipped with a gilded saddle and a gilded sword. The Roman began attacking the Muslims, and the auxiliary crouched down behind a rock. When the Roman went by, the madādi hamstrung his horse and when its rider fell, he jumped on him and killed him. And so he seized his horse and weapon. When God gave victory to the Muslims, Khālid b. al-Walīd sent to him and took the booty.’

“‘Awf went on, ‘So I went to Khālid and said, “Khālid, haven’t you heard that the Messenger of God (SAAS) has decreed that the spoils (from a dead enemy) belong to the person who killed him?” “Yes”, he replied, “but I thought this excessive.” I told him, “If you don’t give it back to him, then I will report you to the Messenger of God (SAAS).” But he refused to return it.’

“‘Awf continued, ‘When we had a meeting with the Messenger of God (SAAS), I related to him the story of the madādi and what Khālid had done. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, “Khālid, return to him what you took.” I then said, “So there, Khālid! Didn’t I tell you I would!” The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, “What’s all this?” So I related it to him and he got angry. He said, “Khālid, don’t give it back to him! Would you disobey one of my commanders? You expect only what in their commands is trouble-free, while assigning them the troublesome!”’” Al-Walīd stated, “I asked Thawr about this
And he related it to me from Khalid b. Ma'dan, from Jubayr b. Nufayr, from 'Aowf, in similar form."

Muslim and Ibn 'Aowf related it from a hadith of Jubayr b. Nufayr, from 'Aowf b. Malik in similar words. This story substantiates that they took booty from them, and despoiled and killed some of their officers.

It is related above from al-Bukhari that Khalid, may God be pleased with him, said, "At the battle of Mu'ta nine swords were broken in my hand and only a Yemeni broad-sword remained."

This requires that they engaged them in heavy combat; if this had not been the case, they would not have been able to disengage from them. This by itself is an independent proof. But God knows best. This hadith was chosen by Mūsa b. Qqba, al-Wāqidi and al-Bayhaqi, and Ibn Hishām related it from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "The authorities on the military expeditions differ over their having fled or withdrawn. Some maintain that this was so, while others claim that the Muslims prevailed over the polytheists, and that the latter were defeated."

He went on, "The hadith of Anas b. Malik that quotes the Messenger of God (SAAS) as having stated, 'Then Khalid took it (the banner) and God gave him victory,' indicates their victory over the enemy. But God knows best."

I note that Ibn Ishaq related that Qutba b. Qatāda al-Udhri, who commanded the Muslim right flank, attacked Malik b. Zāfila (whom Ibn Hishām names "Rāfīla"), the commander of the Christian Arabs there, and killed him. Boasting of that, he spoke the following verses,

"I stabbed Ibn Zāfila b. al-Arāsh with a spear that passed through him then broke. I gave him a blow on his neck that made it bend like a mimosa branch. We led away his tribe's women at Raquqayn like sheep."

This substantiates our view. Because it usually happens that when an army commander is killed his men flee. Moreover, Qutba states clearly in his verses that they took their women prisoner. And this is plain in what we have related. But God knows best.

Ibn Ishaq adopts the view that what happened was disengagement and withdrawal from the Byzantines, and he calls this a success and a victory, in view of the superiority in numbers of the enemy and their having the Muslims surrounded. This would normally have meant that they would have been totally decimated; and so when they disengaged and withdrew, this constituted the most that could be hoped for in such circumstances.

This is quite likely; however, it does contradict the clear statement of the Messenger of God (SAAS) that "God gave them victory over them."

Ibn Ishaq did give evidence for his view. He stated, "Regarding the discussion about Khalid b. al-Walid and his protecting and withdrawing his men, the verses
of Qays b. al-Muḥṣir al-Yaʿmuri are relevant. He said, apologizing for his actions and those of the others that day,

'I swear by God, my soul criticizes me persistently for stopping when the horses were excited, staring ahead. I stopped then, neither moving aside nor advancing, and not defending those for whom death was near. However, I modelled myself on Khalid; is it not true that there is none like Khalid among our men? I grieved much for Jaʿfar at Muʿta, when arrows were of no use to archers.

He joined up to us both our flanks, men who were muhājirin, not polytheists, men not defenceless.'”

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “Qays clarified in his poetry what had been the subject of disagreement among people; this is, that the army avoided conflict and were unwilling to die and, moreover, that Khalid did disengage with his men.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Al-Zuhri stated, as we have been informed, ‘The Muslims appointed Khalid b. al-Walid as their commander, and God gave them victory. He remained their leader until he returned to Medina.’”

**DIVISION.**

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to me, from Umm ʿIsā al-Khuṣayyā, from Umm Jaʿfar, daughter of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abū ʿĀlib, from their grandmother Asmāʾ, daughter of Umays, who said, ‘When Jaʿfar and his men had suffered casualties, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in to see me just after I had tanned 40 manna weight of skins, kneaded my dough and washed, oiled and cleaned off my children. He said to me, “Bring Jaʿfar’s sons to me.” I brought them to him, he smelt them and his eyes welled with tears. I asked, “Messenger of God, by my father and my mother, do tell me what makes you cry! Do you have news of Jaʿfar and his men?” “Yes”, he replied, “they have been struck down today.” I arose screaming, and the women gathered around me. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then went outside to his people and said, “Don’t neglect Jaʿfar’s family; make food for them. They are preoccupied by the fate of their master.””

Imām Ahmad told it thus from the hadith of Ibn Isḥāq who related it through ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Umm ʿIsā, from Umm ʿAwn, daughter of Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Asmāʾ. He made reference to preparing the food. What is correct is that it referred to Umm Jaʿfar and Umm ʿAwn.

Imām Ahmad stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting Jaʿfar b. Khalid from his father, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, “When the news came of the death of Jaʿfar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Prepare food for Jaʿfar’s

86. Guillaume gives this name as Musahhar al-Yaʿmuri. *op. cit.* p.536.
family. A matter has come to them that preoccupies them.” Or the words were, “something that occupies them has come”.

This is similarly related by Abū Dā'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja from a hadīth of Sufyān b. Uyayna, from Ja'far b. Khālid b. Sārat al-Makhzūmī al-Makki, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this hadīth as hasan, “good”.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq went on, “Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim related to me, from his father, from Ṭīṣa, wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, ‘When news of the death of Ja'far arrived, we could see the sadness in the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’

“She commented, ‘A man went in to him and said, “Messenger of God, the women are distressing and annoying us.” He told him, “Go back in to them and quieten them down.”

“She said, ‘He left, then he came back and said the same to him. And (as the saying goes) “Persistence often harms”, that is, those who engage in it. He then told the man, “Go off and quieten them; and if they keep it up, then toss dirt in their mouths!” I said to myself, “May God remove you, fellow! You neither relieved yourself, nor will you be able to obey the Messenger of God!” I well knew he could not toss dirt in their mouths.””

Ibn Ishāq is alone in giving it from this chain; it is not in any of the compendia.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wahhāb (who said), “I heard Yahyā b. Sa‘īd say, ‘Amra told me the following: “I heard ‘Ā’isha say, ‘When Zayd b. Hāritha, Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalib and 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa were killed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was sitting with sorrow evident on his face. I was peeping at him through a chink in the door. Then a man came in and said, “Messenger of God, I'm afraid Ja'far's women...” And he went on to tell of their weeping. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him to forbid them from doing so. So the man left but returned and said, “I swear, they were too much for me.” I then heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, “Go and toss dirt in their mouths!”

“‘“‘Ā’isha, may God be pleased with her, went on, ‘May God smack you in the nose! By God, you'll not do that nor will you relieve the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of his cares!”’”

Muslim, Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasā’ī related this from various lines, from Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī, from ‘Amra, who quoted her.

Imām Ahmad stated that Wahh b. Jarir related to him, quoting his father, who said, “I heard Muḥammad b. Abū Ya'qūb relate from al-Hasan b. Sa‘īd, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out an army under the command of Zayd b. Hāritha, saying, “If Zayd should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be Ja'far; if he should be killed or martyred, then your leader will be 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.” When they clashed with the enemy, Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed. Then Ja'far took the banner and fought until he was killed. 'Abd Allāh b. Rawāḥa then took the banner and
fought until he was killed. Khalid b. al-Walid then took the banner and God gave him victory. When their news reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), he went out to the people and gave thanks and praise to God. He then said, “Your brothers have met the enemy. Zayd took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then Ja‘far b. Abū Tālib took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawāha took the banner and fought until he was killed or martyred. Then one of God’s swords, Khalid b. al-Walid, took the banner, and God gave him victory.” He then gave Ja‘far’s family a respite of three days before going to them. Then he went to them and said, “Do not grieve for my brother after today. Summon to me all my brother’s family.” We were then brought there as if we were a flock of birds. He said, “Summon the barber to me.” The barber was brought and he shaved our heads. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Muhammad is just like our uncle Abū Tālib. As for ‘Abd Allāh, he is just like myself in character and appearance.” He then took my hand and raised it, saying, “O God, let Ja‘far live on in his family; and bless ‘Abd Allāh in his affairs.” He said this three times. Then our mother came and spoke of those of us who were orphaned and began arousing his sympathy. Then he said, “How can you worry about your family when I am their protector in this world and the next?”

Abū Da‘ūd related this in part; al-Nasā’i gave it in its entirety in his biography, from a hadith of Wahb b. Jarir.

This hadith determines that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave them permission to mourn for three days and that thereafter he forbid them from mourning. This perhaps indicates the meaning of the hadith related by Imām Ahmad from that of al-Ḥakam b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmā‘ who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) told her, when Ja‘far was killed, “Wear mourning for three days, then do as you wish.”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this hadith. It is probable that he gave her permission to mourn — by which is meant extreme behaviour in weeping and tearing at clothes — because of the severity of the pain at the loss of Ja‘far, the father of her children. It may also be that this constituted an instruction to her to engage in al-tasallub, “mourning”, this word implying extreme mourning, for three days, and thereafter to mourn as she wished in the ways usual for widows. But God knows best. The phrase is also read with the spelling tasallubā (instead of tasallabi) for three days, this word meaning “act with restraint”. This interpretation contradicts the other reading. God knows best.

Then there is the hadith given by Imām Aḥmad to the effect that Yazīd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Talḥa, quoting al-Ḥakam b. ‘Uuyayna, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaddād, from Asmā‘, daughter of ‘Umays, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) came in to us on the third day following the death of Ja‘far and said, ‘Do not mourn further after today.’” This hadith is another of those unique to Aḥmad; its chain of authorities is fairly acceptable. However, it is problematic.
if interpreted for its obvious meaning. Because it is established in both \textit{sahih} collections that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “It is not appropriate for a woman who believes in God and the Judgement Day to mourn for her dead longer than three days, except in the loss of her husband, whom she may mourn for four months and ten days.”

If what Imām Ahmad related was accurate, then it should be considered applicable specifically to that (case) and otherwise the statement given above relating to extreme mourning for three days would apply. But God knows best.

I note that Asmā', daughter of 'Umays, eulogized her husband in an ode in which she stated,

“I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
and my skin will always wear dust.
No one ever saw the like of him, a hero who persisted
so valiantly in the fray.”

Eventually her \textit{'idda}, waiting period, ended and Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, became engaged to her. He then married her and gave a feast to which people came. 'Ali b. Abū Talib was one of those attending and when the others had gone he asked permission of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to speak with Asmā' through the curtain. He gave him leave to do so. When 'Ali approached the curtain, the scent of her perfume reached him and he asked her — in general terms — who was the person speaking in the above verse,

“I swear, my soul will never cease to be sad over you,
and my skin will always wear dust.”

She replied, “Away with you, Abū al-Ḥasan, you’re always joking!”

She bore Muḥammad to Abū Bakr, giving birth at a tree between Mecca and Medina, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was on his way to the \textit{hijjat al-wadaf}, the “farewell pilgrimage”. He told her to wash herself and recite prayers; this will be discussed in its appropriate place. When later Abū Bakr died, 'Ali b. Abū Bakr married her and she bore him children. May God be pleased with him, her and them.

\textbf{Division.}

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr quoted to me Urwa b. al-Zubayr as saying, ‘When they drew near Medina, the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the people came out to meet them. The boys were racing around, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) came forward on a mule. He said, “Take away the children; carry them off and bring me Ja'far’s son.” ‘Abd Allāh, Ja'far's son was brought and he (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) carried him in his hands. The crowd began tossing dirt at the army, shouting, “You runaways! You ran away from God’s path!” The Messenger of God (SAAS) was calling out, “They’re not runaways! They’ll fight again, if God wills it!”’”
This hadīth is mursal, incomplete in its chain.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʿāwiya related to him, quoting Āṣīm, from Muʿrīq al-Ṭjīl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came back home from a journey, he would meet the boys from his family household. On his return from one trip, I was led out to him and he mounted me before him. He then said, ‘Bring me one of Fāṭima’s sons’ – it was either Ḥasan or Ḥusayn. He mounted him behind him and we went on into Medina, three on a mule.”

This was given by Muslim, Abū Daʿūd, al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Māja from a hadīth of Āṣīm al-Ḥāwal, from Muʿrīq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Khālid b. Sāra, that his father related to him that ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar said, “You should have seen myself and Qūtham and Ṣubayd Allāh, the two sons of ʿAbd-Allāh, all three of us boys playing, when the Prophet (ṢAAS) passed by us on his mule. He said, ‘Lift up this one to me.’ He lifted me up in front of him. He then said, referring to Qūtham, ‘Lift up this one to me.’ He then placed him behind himself. Ṣubayd Allāh was more favoured by ʿAbd-Allāh than Qūtham, and he was not pleased at his uncle carrying Qūtham rather than himself. He then touched Jaʿfar’s head three times and said, each time he did so, ‘O God, let Jaʿfar live on in his son.’”

He (Sāra) went on, “I asked ʿAbd Allāh, ‘What eventually happened to Qūtham?’ ‘Was he martyred?’ he replied. I said, ‘God and His messenger know best what is good.’ ‘Yes,’ he said.”

Al-Nasāʾī related it in his work Al-yawm wa al-layla, from a hadīth of Ibn Jurayj.

This was after the conquest (of Mecca). ʿAbd-Allāh only arrived in Medina after the conquest. The hadīth related by Imām Aḥmad is as follows, “Ismāʿīl related to us, quoting Ḥābib b. al-Shahid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Malika, who said, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar asked Ibn al-Zubayr, “Do you remember when we met the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), me, you and the son of ʿAbd-Allāh?” “Yes,” he replied. “He carried us and left you.””

It is this text that al-Bukhārī and Muslim give, from a hadīth of Ḥābib b. al-Shahid. It is considered one of the al-ajwābat al-muskita, “a silencing response”.

It relates also that it was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd-Allāh who answered Ibn al-Zubayr in this way. This anecdote is another one that came after the conquest, as explained above. But God knows best.

Section: On the virtues of those three commanders, Zayd, Jaʿfar and ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with them.

was the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS). This came about because Zayd's mother went to visit her family and they were attacked by horsemen who took him away. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām purchased him for his aunt Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid; it is also said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) purchased him for her. She in turn presented him to the Prophet (SAAS), before he received the Prophethood. His father discovered his whereabouts, but he chose to stay with the Messenger of God (SAAS), who manumitted him and brought him up. He was known as Zayd b. Muḥammad; the Messenger of God (SAAS) loved him greatly.

He was the first of the freed-men to accept Islam. Verses of the Qurʾān were revealed about him. These include: “And He has not made to be your sons those you merely claim to be your sons” (sūrat al-Ahzab; XXXIII, v.4). “Affirm their relationship to their fathers; that is more just in God’s view” (Ibidem; XXXIII, v.5). “Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men” (Ibidem; XXXIII, v.40). “And when you said to him whom both God and you had favoured, ‘Retain your wife and fear God,’ you concealed in yourself what God was about to reveal. And you feared men, but God has greater right to be feared. (But) when Zayd had finished his union with her, We married her to you” (Ibidem; XXXIII, v.37).

There is a consensus that these verses were revealed about him. The words anʿama Allāhu ʿalayhi “him God had favoured” refer to his accepting Islam. And the words, anʿama ʿalayhi, “you had favoured” refers to his having manumitted him. We have discussed these verses in our Tafsir (Exegesis).

The point is that God Almighty named in the Qurʾān no other Companion (of the Prophet (SAAS)) except him. He led him to Islam, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) freed him and married him to his freed-woman Umm Ayman, whose name was Baraka, and she bore him Uṣāma, son of Zayd. He used to be known as al-ḥibb ibn al-ḥibbi, “the dearest of all”. He then married him to his maternal aunt’s daughter, Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh. He established him as a brother to his uncle Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and gave him precedence as commander over his nephew Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalib at the battle of Muṭa, as we related above.

Imām Aḥmad and the Imām and ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr b. Abū Shaybā – whose words these are – stated, “Muḥammad b. Ubayd related to us, from Wāḥil b. Daʿūd, ‘I heard al-Bahi relate that ʿAṣifa used to say, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed Zayd as commander of every expedition, without exception, to which he dispatched him; and if he were still alive, he would have left him in command.”’”

Al-Nasāʾī related this from Aḥmad b. Salmān, from Muḥammad b. Ubayd al-Ṭanāfusi.

This chain of authorities is excellent and firm and consistent with the criteria of the saḥīḥ collections. This hadith was regarded as gharib, “anomalous”. God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting Ismāʾil, quoting Ibn Dinār, from Ibn Umar, may God be pleased with him, that the latter sent
out an expedition in command of which he placed Usāma b. Zayd, but some people complained about his appointment. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose and said, “You complain about his being made commander; you used to complain earlier about his father being made commander, even though, by God, he was certainly qualified to be commander, and moreover was extremely dear to me. Well, this man too is extremely dear to me.”

This ḥadīth is included in the saḥīḥ collections, from Qutayba, from Ismā'īl b. Jāfār b. Abī Kāthīr al-Madani – he being the son of Ja'far b. Abī Kāthīr al-Madani – from ‘Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar. Al-Bukhārī related it from a ḥadīth of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Salīm, from his father. Al-Bazzār related it from a ḥadīth of ʿAṣim b. ʿUmar, from Ubayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrī, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, and pronounced the chain of transmission as being gharīb, “anomalous”.

The ḥāfīz Abī Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUmar b. Ismā'īl related to him, from Mujalid, from al-Shaʿbī, from Masrūq, from ʿAisha, who said, “When Zayd b. ʿHāritha was killed and Usāma, Zayd’s son, was brought to him and placed before him, the eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) welled with tears and he put off the meeting. Next day, when Usāma was brought back before him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘You make me feel today just as you did yesterday.’”

There are strange aspects to this ḥadīth. But God knows best.

It has been related above how it is recorded in both saḥīḥ collections that when, upon the minbar, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke of their deaths, he said, “Zayd took the banner and was struck down; then Jaʿfar took it and was struck down. Then ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took it and was struck down. Then one of God’s swords took it and God gave him victory.”

And it stated, “His eyes welled with tears.” Then he said, “They would not be pleased with us.” In another ḥadīth it is said that he bore witness that they had been martyred and were assured of paradise.

Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Zayd b. ʿHāritha and Ibn Rawāḥa,

“O eyes, weep generously, to your last tear, and recall, in your ease, those in the grave.

Remember Muʿtā and what happened there, that day they went off to defeat in battle.

When they left, abandoning Zayd there, in a resting place fit for the destitute or powerless.

That dear friend of the very best of mankind, that lord of men, beloved by all.

That Ahmad who knows no equal, that man who has both my pleasure and my pain.

The status Zayd had among us was not that of a man who tells lies and is conceited.

And weep tears generously, eyes, for the Khazraji (ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa); a lord who was not niggardly there.
We have suffered much by their deaths; we pass our night in sorrow, not pleasure."

The genealogy of Ja'far b. Abü Talib is as follows. He was the son of the paternal uncle of the Messenger of God (SAAS), being older than his brother 'Ali by ten years. (Another brother) 'Aqil was also ten years older than Ja'far; another, Talib, was ten years older than 'Aqil.

Ja'far was early in accepting Islam. He emigrated to Abyssinia and performed many famous and praiseworthy actions and functions there, and gave fine responses to questions. We have dealt with all these previously, in the section on the emigration to Abyssinia; and to God be all praise.

At the battle of Khaybar he arrived back to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said to him then, "I don't know what pleases me more - Ja'far's arrival or the conquest of Khaybar!" He went up to Ja'far, embraced him and kissed him on the forehead. And the day they went forth to the 'umrat al-qad̄yya, he said to him, "You, Ja'far, resemble me in both appearance and character." It is said that he was embarrassed and delighted to hear this, as was related in the correct sequence above. And to God be all praise and credit.

When he dispatched him to Mu'ta, he appointed him as deputy commander to Zayd b. Hāritha. When the latter was killed, they discovered 90 wounds upon him, some from swords, others from spears and arrows. All of these were on his front, not his back. His right arm was severed, then his left and he held the banner. When he lost both, he held it to himself, until he was killed, still hugging it. It is said that a Roman split him into two with his sword. May God be pleased with Ja'far and curse his killer!

The Messenger of God (SAAS) told of him that he was a martyr and one of those destined for heaven. There are hadith in which he referred to him as having two wings.

Al-Bukhārī related, from Ibn Umar, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) greeted Ja'far's son 'Abd Allāh, he would say, "Peace be upon you, son of him with the two wings!"

Some authorities quote this from 'Umar b. al-Khattāb himself, but the authentic tradition comes from Ibn Umar.

They say that it is as compensation for his two arms that God awarded him wings in paradise. Some material relating to this was given above.

The hāfiz Abū Ḥāṣim al-'Tirmidhi stated that 'Alī b. Hīr related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from al-'Alā' b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, from his father, who quoted Abū Hurayra as saying, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'I saw Ja'far flying in paradise with the angels.'"

It is related above in a hadith that he was killed at the age of 33. Ibn al-Athir stated in al-Ghāba (The Forest), "His age when he was killed was 41. Though some state otherwise."

I note that regarding his being said to have been 10 years senior to 'Ali would require his age to have been 39 at his death. This is because 'Ali accepted Islam
when he was 8 years old, as is well known, and remained in Mecca for 13 years thereafter. When he emigrated he was 21. The battle of Mu‘a took place in 8 AH. But God knows best.

Ja‘far was referred to after his death as al-‘ayyār, “the flyer”, for the reason given above. He was a man who was noble, generous and much praised. For his charity he was known as abū al-masākin, “father of the poor”, because of his generosity to them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān b. Wahīb related to him, quoting Khalīd, from ‘Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “No one wore shoes or sandals, rode his mount or wore his clothes, apart from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), more impressively than did Ja‘far b. Abū Ta‘lib.”

This hadith has a fine chain of transmission back to Abū Hurayra. It seems that he finds him superior only in his noble qualities. Regarding superiority in his religious qualities, it is well known that Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān were better than him. As for his brother ʿAlī and himself, may God be pleased with both, it is clear that they were equal or that ʿAlī was superior to him. Abū Hurayra only wished to establish his superiority in noble qualities. This is proven by what al-Bukhārī related, as follows, “Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿIbrāhim b. Dinār Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Juhani, from Ibn Abn Dhi‘b, from Sa‘īd al-Maqburi, from Abī Hurayra (who said) that, ‘The people used to say, “Aba Hurayra does too much.”’ I used to keep close to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), content to fill my stomach with (unleavened) bread. I never ate leavened bread, never wore silk and never had men or women serve me. I would press my belly against the pebbles in my hunger. I would teach people about a verse of the Qur’ān I already knew to get him to take me home to feed me. The person who was best to the poor was Ja‘far, son of Abū Ta‘lib. He would take us home and feed us whatever he had there. He would even bring out to us an empty leather butter vessel we would split open and lick out its contents.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ḥassān b. ʿAbbās Thābit spoke the following verses eulogizing Ja‘far,

“I wept, for the death of Ja‘far, the dear friend of the Prophet, was hard on all mankind. I was very upset, and when your death was told me, I called out, ‘Who is for fighting in the shade of the eagle (banner)?’ With swords which, when drawn from their sheaths striking and spears continually piercing, After Fātimah’s blessed son, Ja‘far, the best of men, the worst To lose; the most noble of all in lineage, the most active when wronged and most submissive

87. In his zeal to collect traditions, that is.
To the right when it occurs, unaffected by falsehood, most generous and least
Immoderate, most open-handed when appropriate, most evident in
Generosity, except for Muḥammad, the like of whom does not exist in all mankind.”

Ibn Rawḥa’s genealogy is as follows. His full name was ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥa b. Thaʿlabah b. Imru al-Qays b. ʿAmr b. Imru al-Qays al-Akbar b. Malik b. al-Agharr b. Thaʿlabah b. Kaʾb b. al-Khazraj b. al-Ḥarīth b. al-Khazraj, Abū Muḥammad, known as Abū Rawḥa and as Abū ʿAmr, al-Anṣāri, al-Khazrajī. He was the maternal uncle of al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, and his sister was ʿAmra, daughter of Rawḥa.

He was early in accepting Islam and was present at al-ʿAqaba. That evening he was one of the leaders of Banū al-Ḥarīth b. al-Khazraj. He participated in the battles of Badr, Uḥud, al-khandaq, al-Ḥudaybiyya and Khaybar. He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) would send him out to negotiate these, as is told above. He was present on the ‘umrat al-qaḍāʾ pilgrimage and on that occasion went in holding the reins of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Some say it was its leather stirrup he held. As he did so, he called out,

“Clear the unbelievers from his path.”

The rest of his verses are reported above.

He was one of the commanders martyred at the battle of Muʿta, as told above. He urged on the Muslims to battle the Byzantines when they discussed that issue. He also encouraged himself and dismounted (to take the banner) after his two comrades were killed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) testified to his martyrdom and he was one of those promised entry to paradise.

He is also related to have addressed the Prophet (ṢAAS) in verse when he said farewell to him, as follows,

“May God affirm the good He presents you, as he gave affirmation to Moses, and a victory they won.”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, “May God keep you firm.” Hishām b. ʿUrwa commented, “And God did keep him firm so that he was martyred and entered paradise.”

Ḥammād b. Zayd related, from Thābit, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawḥa went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was making an address and heard him tell everyone to sit down. So he did sit down, right where he was, outside the mosque, until people had finished listening to his address. Word of ʿAbd Allāh’s action reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he said, “May God increase your zeal in obedience to God and to His messenger!”
Al-Bukhari stated in his saihth collection, “Muṣādh (b. Jabal) said, ‘Let’s sit down and pray for a while.’”

There is a hadith similar to that having a complete chain of transmission going back to ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, from Amāra, from Ziyād b. Naḥwī, from ‘Umm, who said, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to say when he met one of his comrades, ‘Come, let’s sit and express faith to our Lord sāʿatan, “for a while’.” One day he said this to a man who got angry and went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, ‘Messenger of God, don’t you know about Ibn Rawāḥa? He’s encouraging people to abandon your faith for that of sāʿatan!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘May God have mercy on Ibn Rawāḥa; he loves those sessions when the angels try to outdo one another.’”

This hadith is very strange.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that d-Ḥākim related to him, quoting Aḥbāb, quoting Aḥmad b. Yūnūs, quoting a sheikh of Medina, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from Ṭāḥā b. Yāsir, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa said to a comrade of his, “Come; let’s express faith for sāʿatan.” He replied, “But aren’t we believers?” “Why yes”, he replied, “but by mentioning God we increase our faith.”

The hāfīz Abū al-Qāsim al-Lūkī related, from a hadith of Abū al-Yāmān, from Ṣafwān b. Salīm, from Shurayh b. Ubayd, that ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa used to take one of his comrades by the hand and say, “Let’s go and express faith for a while; we’ll sit in a dhikr session.”

This hadith is mursal, lacking a complete chain, from both authorities. We have examined this extensively in our commentary on the work of al-Bukhari. And to God be all praise and credit.

In the saihth collection of al-Bukhari, Abū al-Dardāʾ is quoted as saying, “We were out on a journey with the Messenger of God (SAAS), on a very hot day. The only ones of us fasting were the Messenger of God (SAAS) and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with him.”

He was one of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), who was well known for his poetry. His verses on the Messenger of God (SAAS), quoted by al-Bukhari, include the lines,

“With us there is the Messenger of God; we recite his document, when it emerges clear and shining from the dawn.

88. Presumably the misunderstandings related in this and following ahādīth stem from the similarity in the sound of the word shayṭan, “Satan” or “a devil”, to the word sāʿatan, “for a while”.

89. This word, meaning “to make mention of”, connotes repetition of the name of God. It is used specifically by Muslim Ṣūfī groups who achieve a mystical unity with God by repetition, dhikr, of God’s name, “Allah”. It is interesting to see the word used in this apparent context in this presumably early hadith.
He spends the night keeping his body outside his bed, when the polytheists lie heavily upon theirs.

He brought us guidance after blindness, and our hearts are certain that what he spoke is true.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʻImrān b. Maysara related to him, quoting Mūḥammad b. Fuḍayl, from Ḥusayn, from Ṭāhir b. al-ʻAṣwad b. Ṣa`dī, who said, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawaḥa once fainted, and his sister ʻAmra began crying and wailing and lamenting him. When he came to, he said, ‘Whenever you said something (about me) I was asked, ‘Are you really like that?’”’

“Qutayba related to us, quoting Khaythama, from Ḥusayn, from al-Šaḥīḥī, from al-ʻAṣwad b. Bashīr, who said, ‘ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawaḥa fainted once’ as above. But when he died she did not weep for him.”

We have given above the lament spoken by Ḥassān b. Thābit about him and others.

A Muslim poet who returned with others from Muʿṭā – may God be pleased with them all – spoke the following verses,

“Sad enough it is that I returned, while Jaʿfar, Zayd and ʿAbd Allāh are buried in graves.

Their end came as they passed away on their path, leaving me to misery and with all that changes.”

Hereafter, if God so wills it, will be given more of the verses composed about these three commanders by Ḥassān b. Thābit and by Kaʿb b. Mālik, may God be pleased with them both.

THOSE MUSLIMS MARTYRED AT MUʿṬĀ.

From among the muḥājirīn there were Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalīb, their freed-man Zayd b. Ḥāritha al-Ḵalībī, Masʿūd b. al-ʿAṣwad b. Ḥāritha b. Naḍla b. Ṣaʿdī and Wāḥb b. Saʿd b. Abū Sārḥ; these total four.

From among the anṣār there were ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawaḥa and ʿAbbād b. Qays, both of Khazraj, al-Ḥārith b. al-ʻAṣwād b. Isāf b. Naḍla al-Najjārī, and Surāqa b. ʿAmr b. ʿAṭiya b. Khansaḍ al-Māzīnī; these numbered four.

The total of Muslims killed that day was these eight men, according to the account of Ibn Ishaq. However, Ibn Hishām stated, “According to Ibn Shiḥāb al-Zuhārī, those killed at Muʿṭā included Abū Kulayb and Jabir, both sons of ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Mabḍūl, both of Māzin, both full brothers, along with ʿAmr and ʿĀmir, sons of Saʿd b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbbād b. Saʿd b. ʿĀmir b. Thaʿlaba b. Mālik b. Afṣā.” These four were also anṣār and so according to these two authorities the total killed should be twelve men.

That two armies of opposing faiths, one consisting of those fighting for God’s cause and numbering three thousand men, and the other of disbelievers totalling two hundred thousand, one hundred thousand Byzantines and one hundred
thousand Christian Arabs, could battle together with the resulting deaths of only twelve Muslims is truly wonderful! And a large number of unbelievers were killed.

Khālid alone stated, “Nine swords were broken in my hand; I finally held only a Yemeni broad-sword.” How many must he have killed with all those swords, not to mention all the other brave bearers of the Qurʾān like him, who sentenced to death those crucifix worshippers, upon whom be the curses of the Most Merciful at that time and for ever!

This relates to the words of the Almighty, “There was a sign for you in the two sides that clashed. One side fought for God’s cause, while the others were unbelievers whom they saw to be twice as numerous as themselves. Yet God assists with victory whomever He pleases. There is surely a lesson in this for those who have sight” (ṣūrat ʿAl ʿImrān; XIII, v.12).

A HADĪTH THAT ACCORDS GREAT MERIT TO THE COMMANDERS OF THIS EXPEDITION.

These were Zayd b. Hāritha, Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭalib and ʿAbd Allah b. Rawāḥa, may God be pleased with them all!

The imām, scholar and ḥāfiẓ Abū Zurāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rāzī, may God make his visage glow, stated in his fine book Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwa as follows, “Both Ṣafwān b. Śāliḥ al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd, quoting Ibn Jarīr, and ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Dimashqī, quoting al-Walīd and ʿAmr, that is, Ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, related to him that Ibn Jarīr stated that he heard Salīm b. ʿAmīr al-Khabāʾirī say, ‘Abū Umāma al-Bahīlī informed me, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘While I was sleeping two men came to me, gripped me by the arm and took me to a desolate mountain. They told me, ‘Climb!’ “I can’t,” I replied. ‘We’ll make it easy for you,” they said. I then climbed on up until I was at its centre and there I heard loud noises. “What are those noises?” I asked. “That is the groaning of those in hell,” they replied. Then they took me on to where there were people suspended by their tendons, their mouths split open and streaming blood. “Who are these?” I asked. “These”, they replied, “are those who eat before their fast has ended.” Then he said, “The Jews and Christians will fail.””

Salīm (b. ʿAmīr) asked, “Did he hear it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), or was this his opinion?”

“The two men then took me on to where there were people exceedingly distended and exuding a foul odour like that of a toilet. “Who are these?” I asked. They replied, “These are unbelievers who have been killed.” They then took me further where there were others even more distended and even more foul in smell, their odour also toilet-like. “Who are these?” I asked. “These are men and women who engage in prostitution,” they replied. They then took me further

90. This comment or question intrudes into the text without explanation.
and I saw women whose nipples were being bitten by snakes. "What did these people do?" I asked. They replied, "They are women who denied milk to their children." They then took me further off to where there were children playing between two lakes. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are the children of believers," they told me.

"Then they took me up to a high place where there were three men drinking wine. "Who are these?" I asked. "These are Ja'far b. Abū Ṭalib, Zayd b. Ḥarīthah and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa," they replied. Then they took me to yet another high point where I found myself with three other men. The two men said, "These are Abraham, Moses and Jesus, upon all of whom be peace. They await you.""

Section: On the Poetry Verses spoken about the Expedition to Mu'ta.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "The following verses of Ḥassān (b. Thabit) are among those spoken in mourning for those killed at Mu'ta,

'A difficult night I had in Yathrib, worry that kept me sleepless while others slept deep.  
Remembering a friend, my tears flowed copiously, and memory often causes weeping.  
Indeed, the loss of a friend is a tragedy, and what a lot of noble men suffer yet persist!  
I saw the finest Muslims go off in groups, while others behind them delayed.  
May God not keep distant those dead men who followed on at Mu'ta, including Ja'far who has wings  
And Zayd and ʿAbd Allāh, all of whom followed on, when the ropes of death swung.  
That morning they went forth with the believers, led on to death by that happy man of splendid character,  
Fine as the light of the moon, of Hāshim's line, proud before injustice, valiant.  
He thrust on until he lay down without a cushion on a battlefield, a broken spear in him.  
His reward is with that of the martyrs - a paradise of gardens, under a canopy of green.  
In Ja'far we saw someone faithful to Muhammad, a man of decision when he gives orders.  
May there never cease to be in Islam men of Hāshim's line, perpetual pillars of glory and the source of pride.  
They are Islam's mountain, and those around them are large rocks rising up to splendid, towering heights.  
Fine leaders, who include Ja'far and his brother ʿAlī, as well as ʿAlīmad, the one chosen.
Hamza and al-ʿAbbās are of them too, as is ʿAqīl, the sap of the tree from which he was pressed.

Through them all hardships are alleviated at every dismal and difficult time when people suffer.

They are God's friends to whom He revealed his wisdom, including that of absolute purity.'

"Ka'b b. Malik, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

'While others slept, your eyes shed like water dripping from the seam of a waterskin.

That night when cares overwhelmed me so that sometimes I moaned, at others tossed and turned,

Sorrow kept returning, and I spent the night as though guardian of Ursa and Pisces.

It felt as though a flame burned inside me, between my ribs and intestines

In pain for those who followed one another at Mu'ta and lay piled high, unremoved.

May God bless them, heroes all, and may fine rain water their bones.

They endured at Mu'ta for God's sake, ignoring death and fearful of cowardice.

They went on ahead of the Muslims, as though they were young stallions accoutred with full armour,

Being led ahead by Ja'far and his banner; he was first and how fine a leader!

Until the lines were breached and Ja'far lay stretched out where the ranks had clashed.

The light-giving moon was changed then, and the sun was obscured and almost set.

A leader of mighty stature, of Hāshim's line, most honourable in his power, unmovable.

Men by whom God protected his servants, to whom the revealed Book came down.

They were superior to other tribes in their honour and dignity, their fine qualities overwhelming the ignorant.

They would not expend their efforts on trivial matters, and their spokesman would be seen to decide with justice.

Noble of visage, their hands would be open and flow with generosity, even when bad times excused them.

For their leadership, God was pleased at His creation, and because of their bravery the God-sent Prophet was made victorious.'"
IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MOST MERCIFUL AND BENEFICENT.

THE BOOK ON THE DISPATCH BY 
THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) OF 
MISSIONS TO RULERS ABROAD AND HIS 
DOCUMENTS TO THEM INVITING THEM 
TO GOD, ALMIGHTY AND GLORIOUS IS HE, 
AND TO ENTER THE FAITH OF ISLAM.

Al-Waqqādī related that this happened at the end of year 6 AH, in Dhū al-Ḥijja, after the ‘umra to al-Hudaybiyya. Al-Bayhaqi gave this section in this position, following his account of the expedition to Mu’ta. But God knows best.

There is no dispute among scholars that this activity began before the conquest of Mecca, and following al-Hudaybiyya. This accords with Abū Sufyān’s response to Heraclius. When asked by him, “Would he betray?” Abū Sufyān replied, “No; we are into a period of time with him during which we do not know what he will do.”

In al-Bukhārī’s phrase, “That was the period in which Abū Sufyān had agreed to a truce with the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated, “(This activity) took place in the period between al-Hudaybiyya and the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

We note here that comment, even though the statement of al-Waqqādī is preferable. But God knows best.

Muslim related, from Yūsuf b. Ḥammād al-Maṣʿī, from Ṭabą b. Al-Ḥālī, from Saʿīd b. Abū Urūba, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote, before the battle of Mu’ta, to Chosroes, to Caesar and to the Negus and to every tyrant, inviting them to God, Almighty and Glorious is He; this does not apply to the Negus, for whom he had prayed.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishaq as having said, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from Ḥubayd Allah b. Ṭabba, from ʿAbd Allah b. Ṭabba, from ʿAbd Allah b. ʿAbbās, who said, ʿAbū Sufyān related to me personally as follows, “We were a mercantile people. The warfare had so blocked us in that our merchandise was spoiled. When the truce came – that of al-Hudaybiyya – between us and the Messenger of God (SAAS), we were still not sure that we were safe. I went away to Syria on a trading expedition with a group of Quraysh. I swear, I didn’t
know anyone in Mecca, man or woman, who did not consign goods to me. Our objective upon leaving Syria was to proceed to Gaza in Palestine.

""We left and reached Syria. That was at the time when Caesar, commander of the Byzantines, defeated the Persians in his country and expelled them, retrieving his great cross that they had stolen from him. News of this reached him when he was in his palace at Hims, in Syria. He left there on a march of thanks to Jerusalem, to pray there. Carpets were laid out to welcome him, and these were spread with aromatic plants. Eventually he reached Aelia (Jerusalem) and prayed there.

""One morning he got up depressed and turned his sight up to the sky. His patriarchs asked him, 'O King, are you worried this morning?' He replied, 'Yes, I am.' 'Why is that?' they enquired. He asked them, 'Did you notice that last night the mulk al-khitan,' the ""king of the circumcised"" was ascendant?' They swore in response that the only nation they knew who practiced circumcision was that of the Jews. They pointed out that they were under his power and sovereignty and that if this vision had come to him about them, then he should send throughout his kingdom and kill all the Jews and so relieve himself of this concern.

""While they were discussing this a messenger arrived from the governor of Buṣrā bringing in an Arab whom they had captured. The messenger told Caesar, 'Your majesty, this is an Arab, one of those people of sheep and camels. He will tell you about an event in his land if you would care to question him.' When the man was before him, Caesar told his interpreter, 'Ask him for news of what is going on in his country.' He did ask him and the man told him that there was news of an Arab of Quraysh who had come forth claiming to be a prophet and that some groups were supporting, others opposing him. He said that battle had occurred in several places and that all this had been in progress when he had left home.

""When he had related this, Caesar said, 'Strip him!' And he was found to be circumcised! Caesar commented, 'I swear by God, it was this I saw, not what you said. Give him back his clothes.' The Arab then left, free.

""Caesar then summoned his chief of police and told him, 'Turn Syria upside down until you bring me someone from that man's tribe I can question about him.'"

Abū Sufyān went on, ""I and my companions were there in Gaza when he burst in on us demanding which tribe we were from. We told him and he took us all in to him.

91. The account in Ibn Ishāq's text as translated by Guillaume omits the reference to the mulk al-khitan but includes information that Caesar had a vision in which it was revealed to him that ""the kingdom of a circumcised man"" would overwhelm his own empire. The hadith in al-Bukhari's compendium quoted hereafter pp.358 et seq makes it clear that there has been an omission from Ibn Ishāq's text as quoted here.
“Eventually there we were before him. And I swear I never saw a man more astute than him,” — he was referring to Heraclius.

He went on, “Caesar asked us, ‘Which of you is most closely related to that man?’ I told him that I was and he asked me to approach closer. He then seated me before him and told my companions also to sit behind me. He told them, ‘If he lies, then refute him.’ I knew that they would not refute me even if I did lie, but I was a man of dignity and honour and would have been ashamed to lie. I also knew that if I did it was likely that they would report what I had said to others and that people would talk about me in Mecca. So I did not lie to him.

“Caesar asked, ‘Tell me about this man who has come forth among you.’ I responded by telling him a little about him, minimizing his importance. He was not impressed by this and told me to answer his questions about him. I said I would.

“He then asked, ‘How do you view his lineage amongst you?’
“‘To be pure and of our finest lineage,’ I replied.
“‘Tell me’, he asked, ‘has any other member of his family made claims similar to his and is he imitating that person?’
“‘No,’ I replied.
“‘Tell me’, he went on, ‘is there any property involved that you have taken from him which might make him say these things so that you will return them to him?’
“‘No,’ I replied.
“‘Tell me about his followers,’ he asked. ‘Who are they?’
“‘They are the young, the powerless and the poor; his followers include no chiefs of high birth.’
“‘Tell me about his companions; do they love and honour him, or (do they come to) despise and abandon him?’
“‘No man who has accompanied him has ever abandoned him,’ I replied.
“‘Tell me about the warfare between yourselves and him,’ he asked.
“‘Well’, I replied, ‘it varies; sometimes it goes in our favour, sometimes in theirs.’
“‘Tell me, would he betray?’ This was the only thing he had asked that I could deceive him about, so I said, ‘No; we now have a truce with him, yet we don’t feel secure against some treachery by him.’ But, I swear, Caesar took no account of this remark of mine.

“He went on to talk further. He commented, ‘You say he is of your purest lineage. God selects prophets that way; He only takes men from the purest lines in their people. I asked you whether any others of his family members were saying similar things that he is imitating; you said no. I asked whether he had some property you might have seized and suggested he might be saying what he is to get you to return it to him. But you said no. I asked you about his followers
and you maintain that they are young, powerless and poor. That's how the followers of prophets are in every age. I asked you whether those who follow him like and respect him or despise and abandon him. You claim that only rarely does someone follow him then abandon him. In such circumstances the sweetness of faith does not enter a person’s heart then leave again.

"I asked you about the warfare between you. You replied that sometimes it favours you, sometimes him. That is how warfare is for prophets, yet they win in the end. I asked you if he betrayed, and you said he did not.

"If what you have said is the truth, then he will conquer the land beneath these feet of mine. I wish I were with him so I could wash his feet!"

"He then told me to go on about my business. So I arose, clapping my hands together and commented, 'This affair of Ibn Abū Kabsha has got to the point where the kings of those of pale skin fear him within their own domain!'"

Ibn Ishaq stated that al-Zuhri related to him that a Christian bishop who lived at that time told him, "Dihya b. Khalīfa took a message to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (SAAS) that said, 'In the name of the Most Merciful and Beneficent: From Muhammad, Messenger of God, to the Great Heraclius of Byzantium. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance. Accept Islam and be safe; God will then give you reward twice over. If you refuse, then the sin of al-akkārin, "the cultivators" will be upon you.'"

"When the letter reached him he read it and placed it between his thigh and his waist. He then wrote to one of the Byzantines who read Hebrew asking what he had read that was relevant to what had come from the Messenger of God (SAAS). He wrote back, 'He is the prophet who is awaited; there is no doubt about this, so follow him.'"

"Caesar then summoned the Byzantine leaders and they were assembled for him in his capital chamber and he ordered that they be locked inside. He then looked down from an upper room at them, since he was afraid of them and said, 'Fellow Romans, I have received a message from Ahmad! He is, I swear by God, the prophet we were awaiting and about whom there is information in our book. We recognize him by his qualities and time. Accept him and follow him and you will be safe both on earth and in the hereafter.' They snorted in disbelief, as one man, and rushed to the doors of the chamber, which they found locked against them.

"Caesar feared them and ordered, 'Bring them back!' He then said, 'Romans, I spoke to you these words only to test your commitment to your faith. I have been delighted by what I saw.' They all then fell in obeisance to him, he had the doors unlocked and they left.'"

Al-Bukhārī related the story of Aba Sufyān's contact with Heraclius with certain additions. I would like to give his account verbatim from his ṣaḥīḥ 92. Perhaps a reference to the parable of the evil grape-growers given in Matthew, XXI, v.33-46.
collection so that the disparity between that he gives and that of Ibn Ishaq may be ascertained, along with the former's useful additions.

Al-Bukhari stated, prior to the section of his saikh collection that deals with faith, as follows, "Abū al-Yaman al-Hakam b. Naṣīr related to us, quoting Shu'ayb, from al-Zuhri, (who said), "Ubayd Allah b. 'Abd Allah b. Utba b. Mas'ūd informed me, that 'Abd Allah b. Abbās informed him that Abū Sufyān informed him that Heraclius sent for him while he was with a group of companions of Quraysh. They were merchants and in Syria and it was during the period in which he, the Messenger of God (SAAS), had made a truce with Abī Sufyān and the Quraysh unbelievers. They (Caesar's men) went to them in Aelia (Jerusalem) and he (Caesar) invited them to a meeting with him. Around him were the Byzantine dignitaries. He invited them (the Quraysh merchants) to come forward and summoned his translator. Caesar then asked, "Which of you is closest in relationship to this man claiming to be a prophet?"

"Abū Sufyān went on, 'I am closest in relationship to him.'

"Caesar said, "Bring him close to me and move his companions forward to sit at his back."

"He then told his interpreter, "Tell them I want to ask him about this man. If he lies to me, then they should contradict him." And I swear by God, were it not for my embarrassment at having them attribute lies to me, I would have lied about him!

"The first thing he asked was, "How do you regard his lineage among yourselves?" I replied, "He is of good lineage." He next asked, "Has any one of your people made such claims as he makes prior to him?" "No," I replied. He then enquired, "Was any of his forebears king?" "No," I replied.

"Is it your chiefs who are his followers, or your powerless?" "It is our powerless." "Are they increasing in number or decreasing?" he asked. "They are increasing," I told him. "Do any of his followers apostatize in anger at his faith after adopting it?" "No," I replied.

"Did you accuse him of telling lies prior to his making his claim?" "No," I replied. "Does he betray?" he enquired. "No," I told him. "We are in a truce and we don't know what he is doing now." This comment was the only one in which I could offer inference of anything (negative).

"Have you battled with him?" he asked. "Yes," I answered. "And how did the fighting between you turn out?" "The warfare between us has sometimes favoured him, sometimes us," I replied. "What is it that he commands you to do?" he asked. "He says", I responded, "as follows: 'Worship God alone. Do not associate anything with Him. And abandon what your forefathers used to say.' He orders us to pray, to be truthful, chaste, and to maintain our family ties."

"He then told the translator, "Tell him, 'I asked you about his lineage, and you claimed that he is of high lineage. Messengers are sent among their people's nobility.'"
"He went on, "I asked you whether any one else among you made such claims before him. You said not. If anyone had said the same before him, I would have said he was imitating him.

"I asked you whether any of his forebears was king. You said not; if one had ruled, I would have said, 'He is a man seeking his father's kingdom.'

"I asked you whether you accused him of lying before he made his claims. You said not. I then knew that he was not someone who would tell lies to people or lie about God.

"I asked you whether it is his people's leaders or the powerless who follow him. You said it was the powerless; they are the ones who do follow prophets.

"I asked you whether his supporters were increasing or decreasing. You said they were increasing. That is the way it is with a faith until it comes to fruition.

"I asked you whether any of his supporters later renege after becoming displeased with his religion. You said not. That is how it is with a faith, when joy with it pervades the people's hearts.

"I asked you whether he betrays. You said not. Similarly, prophets do not betray.

"I asked you what he orders you to do. You replied that it was to worship God, to associate no others with Him, not to worship idols, to pray, to be truthful and to be chaste.

"If what you say is true, then he will have dominion over the land beneath my feet. I knew he was going to come, but I did not think he would be one of you. If I knew I could reach him, I would rush to meet him. If I were with him, I would wash his feet.'"

He then called for the letter dispatched by the Messenger of God (SAAS) with Dihya to the governor of Busrā which the latter had sent on to Heraclius. Its contents were as follows, "In the name of God the Most Compassionate, the most Merciful. From Muhammad, the servant of God and His messenger to Heraclius, the leader of the Byzantines. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. I invite you to Islam; accept it and you will be safe and God will give you double reward. If you turn away, then yours will be the sin of the al-arṣiyyin, the peasants. Moreover, O people of the scriptures, agree to a joint statement with us: that we will worship only God and will associate nothing with Him. That some of us will not take others as masters besides God. And if they turn away, say, 'Bear witness that we are Muslims'" (ṣūrat Al-ʾImrān; III, v.64).

Abū Sufyān stated, "When he had said this and had finished reading the letter, there was an uproar in the court. Voices were raised and we were expelled.

93. See last footnote, above, p.357.
After we had left, I told my companions, 'This Ibn Abū Kabsha affair has got to the point where he even scares the king of those of pale skin!' Thereafter I was convinced that he would prevail; and eventually God drew me into Islam.'

Al-Bukhārī continued, "Ibn Naṭūr, governor of Aelia when Heraclius had been appointed leader of the Christians of Syria, would relate that after Heraclius had arrived in Aelia, he awoke one morning in a bad mood. Some of his patriarchs asked him why and expressed concern. Heraclius, Ibn Naṭūr related, was a soothsayer who interpreted the stars. When they asked him about his mood, he replied, 'When I looked up at the stars, I saw that the "kingdom of the circumcised" was ascendant. Who is it of this nation who are circumcised?' They replied, 'Only the Jews practise circumcision; and you should definitely not fear them. Issue orders to your provincial town to kill all the Jews there.'

'While they were discussing this, in came to Heraclius a man sent by the king of Ghassān and he told them of the activities of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Heraclius questioned him further and gave orders for them to go and discover whether or not he (the messenger from Ghassān) was circumcised. They went and looked and reported that he was. Heraclius then asked whether or not the Arabs practised circumcision and was told that they did. Thereupon he said, 'The kingdom of this nation is ascendant!' He wrote to a colleague in Rome who was as knowledgeable as himself.

'Then Heraclius went to Ḥimṣ, where he had scarcely arrived before a letter came from his colleague agreeing with his own conclusion that the prophet who had emerged was indeed genuine. Heraclius had his dignitaries taken into a chamber in Ḥimṣ, the doors of which were locked. Looking down at them, he said, 'Byzantines! Is it your desire for success and right guidance and to have stability in your country? If so, then you will give allegiance to this prophet.'

'The dignitaries raced for the doors like wild onagers, but found them locked. When Heraclius saw their negative reaction, he despaired of them (accepting) the faith and ordered for them to be reassembled before him. He told them, 'I only spoke as I did before to test the strength of your allegiance to your faith. Now I have seen.'

'They bowed low before him and expressed their satisfaction with him. And this brought the (involvement) of Heraclius to an end.'

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān, Yūnus and Maʿmar related this from al-Zuhri."

Al-Bukhārī related this story in many places in his sahih collection, with idiomatic variants it would take long to examine. All the other scholars, except for Ibn Mājah, gave it in various lines of transmission back to al-Zuhri.

We have discussed this hadith at length and sufficiently early in our (Tafsīr) (Exegesis) of the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī, along with reference to its distinctive linguistic and contextual qualities.
Ibn Lahi'a stated, from al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa, “Abū Sufyān b. Harb left on a mercantile expedition to Syria, accompanied by some colleagues. News of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Heraclius and he wished to ascertain what was known about him. So he sent word to the leader of the Arab community in Syria within his domain and ordered him to dispatch to him some Arabs so that he could question them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He therefore sent to Heraclius 30 Arabs, including Abū Sufyān b. Harb. They went in to him in the church in the centre of Aelia. Heraclius said, ‘I sent for you to give me information about the activities of this man of Mecca.’ They replied, ‘He is a magician and a liar and no prophet.’

“Heraclius asked them, ‘Then tell me, which of you knows him best and is closest to him in relationship?’ They replied that that would be Abū Sufyān, his uncle, and that he had fought against him.

“When they told him that, he had them removed. Then he seated Abū Sufyān and questioned him. He asked, ‘Now tell me, Abū Sufyān.’ He replied, ‘He is a magician and a liar.’

“Heraclius went on, ‘I don’t just want you to slander him; tell me about his lineage among you.’ ‘He is of the house of Quraysh,’ he replied.

“How is his intelligence, his reasoning?” ‘We never found fault with his views.’

“Was he deceitful, lying and wont to swear oaths in his business dealings?” ‘No, I swear by God; he was not like that.’

“Perhaps he is seeking some kingship or high honour that had previously been held by a forebear of his?’ ‘No,’ Abū Sufyān replied.

“Do any of those (who follow him) come back to you?’ ‘No,’ he replied.

“And did he renege after making an agreement?’ Heraclius asked. ‘No’, he replied, ‘except that he might renege on this truce,’ Abū Sufyān replied.

“And what are your fears about this truce?’ ‘My people and their allies have given a truce to him and his allies.’ Heraclius commented, ‘If you begin (the fighting) then it is you who will be the ones betraying.’

“Abū Sufyān became angry at this and said, ‘He only ever beat us once, and I was absent that day! That was at Badr. Then I attacked him twice while they were in their homes, slitting open stomachs, cutting off their ears and private parts!’

“‘And do you consider him a liar, or truthful?’ Heraclius enquired. ‘Oh, he’s a liar,’ he replied.

“Well, if there is a prophet among you, you should not kill him. The Jews are the ones best at doing that!’ Heraclius commented.

“Abū Sufyān then returned home.”

There are strange aspects to this text, as well as some good points absent from the accounts of Ibn Ishaq and al-Bukhārī.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related in his work on the military expeditions an account similar to that of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr. But God knows best.
Ibn Jarir stated in his work on history as follows, “Ibn Ḥamdūl related to us, quoting Salama, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥishāq, from a certain scholar, who said, ‘Heraclius said to Dihya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbi, when the latter brought him the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “I swear by God, I know well that your leader is a prophet sent by God and that he is the one whom we have been awaiting and whom we find mentioned in our scripture. But I fear for myself from the Byzantines; if I did not, I would follow him. Go and see Bishop Saghāṭīr, and tell him about your leader. The Byzantines actually consider him more highly and more persuasive than myself. See what he tells you.”’

“Dihya went and told him what he had brought to Heraclius from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and informed him of what was the latter’s message. Saghāṭīr responded, “I swear by God, your leader is a prophet; we know him from his qualities and we find him with his own name in our scriptures.”

“He then went and exchanged black clothing he had been wearing for white. He took his staff and went out to address the Byzantines in the church. He said, “Byzantines, a letter has reached us from Aḥmad inviting us to God. I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that Aḥmad is His servant and messenger.” They attacked him immediately in unison, hitting him until they had killed him.

“When Dihya returned and informed Heraclius what had happened, the latter commented, “I told you! We fear for ourselves from them. And Saghāṭīr was more respected and effective in speaking with them than myself.”’


(The account continues) “Caesar was informed that there was a man at his gate claiming to be an envoy from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Caesar was disturbed at this and ordered that the man be brought in. This was done; he had his bishops present with him.”

(Dihya continued) “I gave him the letter which stated, ‘In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Caesar, leader of the Byzantines.’ A nephew of Caesar’s, tall, red-haired and blue-eyed, snorted in anger at this and said, ‘Don’t read out this letter today! He began it with himself and then wrote, “leader of the Byzantines” instead of “king of the Byzantines”.’

“The letter was read to its end and Caesar ordered everyone out and sent for me. I went in and he asked me questions to which I answered. He then sent for his bishop, their most prominent figure, a man whose opinion and statements were influential, and when he read the letter, he said, ‘By God, he is the prophet Moses and Caesar foresaw and whom we have awaited!’ ‘What do you advise me?’ Caesar asked. The bishop replied, ‘As for myself, I believe and follow him.’ ‘I too know’, Caesar commented, ‘that he is genuine, but I can do nothing. If I did, my kingdom would be lost and the Byzantines would kill me.’”
On this subject, Muhammad b. Ishaq quoted Khālid b. Yasar as relating that a Syrian elder said, “From what news he had heard of the Prophet (-SAAS), and having decided to leave Syria for Constantinople, Heraclius assembled the Byzantines and addressed them as follows, ‘Byzantines, I have certain issues I wish to present to you. Tell me what are your wishes regarding them.’

“They asked what they were and he went on, ‘You will know, by God, that this man certainly is a prophet who has been sent. We find him to have those qualities by which he has been described to us (before); let us proceed and follow him and thus find peace in this world and the next.’

“They replied, ‘But then we would be under the control of the Arabs; and we are more numerous, powerful and have a more extensive domain than they do!’

“He continued, ‘Let us pay him the jizya, the poll-tax, every year. That will relieve pressure on me from him and by what I give him I will be spared possible warfare.’

“They responded, ‘Why should we give to the despised and powerless Arabs tax money they would take from us, when we are the more numerous, have a more powerful nation and a larger domain? No, by God, we’ll absolutely never do that!’

“Well then,’ Caesar suggested, ‘let’s make peace with him by my giving him Suriyya, while he leaves me the land of al-Shām.’ He explained that Suriyya consisted of Palestine, Jordan, Damascus and Ḥimṣ, up to al-darb94, while the lands beyond al-darb constituted al-Shām.

“They objected, ‘Why should we give him Syria when you know well that it is the very navel of al-Shām! We’ll never do that!’

“When they refused, he asked them, ‘Do you think, by God, that you’ll have defeated him if you defend yourselves from him in your towns?’

“He then rode away on his mule, eventually looking down upon al-darb and approaching the land of al-Shām. He then said, ‘Peace be upon you, land of Suriyya; this is my farewell greeting.’ He then hurriedly returned to Constantinople. But God knows best.”

An Account of the dispatch by the Messenger of God (SAAS) of a message to the King of the Christian Arabs in Syria.


94. Lane, in his Lexicon states, “The Arabic name of the ancient Derbe, near the Cilician Gates, which were the chief mountain pass, from the direction of the countries occupied by the Arabs, into the territory of the Greek (sic) Empire.” Derbe lay some 100 miles due east of Tarsus, some 120 miles north of Cyprus, well inside the boundaries of present-day Turkey. c.f. Guillaume (op. cit. p.657).
Al-Waqidi stated, “He wrote a letter to take with him that said, ‘Peace be upon him who follows the true path and believes in Him. I invite you to believe in God alone, and without associate who will preserve your kingdom for you.’

“When Shujā’ b. Wahb arrived, he read it (to the king) who responded, ‘Who is it who would take my kingdom away from me? I will go to him.’

*An Account of the delegation the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent to Chosroe, King of the Persians.*

Al-Bukhārī related, from a hadith of al-Layth, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Utba, from Ibn ‘Abbās (who said), “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent his message with an envoy to Chosroe with orders that he deliver it to the governor of al-Bahrayn. The governor forwarded it to Chosroe who tore it into shreds after he had read it.

“And I95 believe that Ibn al-Musayyab said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) cursed them, saying, ‘May they be completely torn into shreds!’”

‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb quoted al-Zuhri, from Yūnus, as saying, “Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāri related to me, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) climbed the minbar one day to make an address and gave praise and thanks to God, spoke the shahāda, then said, ‘I wish to send some of you forth to foreign kings; do not dispute among yourselves about me as Bani Isrā’îl did about Jesus, son of Mary.’

“The muhājirīn said, ‘O Messenger of God, we would never disagree about you over anything; order us to go forth.’

“He then dispatched Shujā’ b. Wahb to Chosroe who had his palace decorated and assembled the dignitaries of Persia. He then brought in Shujā’ b. Wahb. When he entered, Chosroe ordered that the letter be taken from him, but Shujā’ b. Wahb told him, ‘No; I will hand it only to you, as the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered me.’ Chosroe had him brought forward and Shujā’ then gave him the letter.

“Chosroe called for one of his scribes, a man from al-Ḥira, who read it to him. It said, ‘From Muhammad, servant and Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia.’ It angered Chosroe that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had begun the letter with a reference to himself, and he shouted in anger and tore up the letter before he learned what it said. He then had Shujā’ b. Wahb taken outside.

“Having seen what he had, Shujā’ mounted his camel and left, saying, ‘Well, I swear, I don’t care which of the two routes I am on, since I did deliver the letter from the Messenger of God (SAAS).’

“When the force of his anger had abated, Chosroe sent for Shujā’ to go in to him. They searched but he could not be found. He was sought for as far as al-Ḥira, but he had gone on ahead.

95. Presumably it is ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Urba who is quoted here.
“When Shujā' went in to tell how Chosroe had behaved and how he had torn up the letter, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘May Chosroe tear up his kingdom!’”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq narrated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Abū Salama, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent out ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa with his message to Chosroe. When he read it, he tore it into shreds. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, “May he tear up his kingdom!”

Ibn Jarir stated that Ibn Ḥamīd related to him, quoting Salama, quoting Ibn Ishaq, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, who said, “He dispatched ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ʿAdī b. Saʿīd b. Sahm to Chosroe, son of Hurmuz, the king of Persia with a message saying, ‘In the name of God, the Most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muhammad, Messenger of God, to Chosroe, leader of Persia. Peace be upon those who follow the guidance, believe in God and His messenger and bear witness that there is no god but God who is unique and without associate, and that Muhammad is His servant and His messenger. I call upon you with God’s invitation. I am God’s messenger to all people, to warn all who live that the word (of God) bears witness against all unbelievers. If you accept Islam, you will be secure; if you refuse, then the sin of Magūs will be upon you.’

“When he had read this, Chosroe ripped it up, saying, ‘How dare he write this to me when he is my slave!’

“Chosroe then wrote to Badham, his governor over Yemen, saying, ‘Dispatch two strong men of yours to this man in Ḥijāz to bring him to me.’

“Badham then sent off Qahramān, a scribe adept in Persian writing, along with a Persian named Kharkhara, carrying a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordering him to accompany them to Chosroe. And he told Abadaway, ‘Go into this man’s country, talk to him and bring me news of him.’

“The two men left and when they reached Tā’if, they found there a man of Quraysh whom they questioned about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He told them, ‘He is in Medina.’ The people of Tā’if – and Quraysh too – welcomed the two men joyfully. They told one another, ‘Rejoice! Chosroe, the King of Kings, is going after him! We’ll be rid of him!’

“They left and when they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) Abadaway told him, ‘The Shāhinshāh and King of Kings Chosroe wrote to King Badhām ordering him to send to you those who would conduct you to him. He has sent me to you for you to leave with me. If you do so, a message will be sent on your behalf to the King of Kings that will be to your advantage and will protect you from him. If you refuse, then you know his reputation. He will destroy you and your people and lay waste to your country.’

“The two men then entered to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They had shaved off their beards but left their moustaches intact. He hated the sight of them.
and asked, ‘Poor fellows! Who told you to do that?’ They replied, ‘It was our Lord’ – meaning Chosroe. The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘Well, my Lord ordered me to spare my beard but cut off my moustache!’ He then told them, ‘Leave now and come back to me tomorrow.’

“Then news came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) from heaven that God had empowered Chosroe’s son Shirawayh to kill his father. And on such-and-such a night of such-and-such a month Shirawayh did attack and kill his father.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) called in the two men and told them of this. They responded, ‘Do you know what you are saying? We don’t hate you so much as that! Shall we write to King Badha about you regarding this?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘Do tell him this from me. Say to him, “My faith and my power will attain that reached by Chosroe and will ultimately encompass all creatures.” Tell him, “If you accept Islam, I will award you the land beneath your feet and make you and your sons kings over your people.”’

“He then presented to Kharkhara a belt decorated with gold and silver that a king had given to him. The men left, returned to Badham and told him their news. He told them, ‘I swear by God, those are not the words of a king; I see the man to be a prophet as he claims. Let it be as he said, for if it turns out as he predicted, he is indeed a prophet sent by God: Otherwise we will reconsider what to do.’

“Soon thereafter, a letter arrived from Shirawayh which said, in part, ‘I have killed Chosroe. I did so because of the anger in Persia at his killings of his nobility and having them stabbed in their mouths. When this letter reaches you, require those under your charge to give obedience to me. And ensure immediately that no attack is made against that man about whom Chosroe wrote to you, until you receive my order about him.’

“When this letter from Shirawayh reached Badham, he said, ‘This man certainly is a Messenger of God.’ He then accepted Islam, as did all other Persians in Yemen.

“Badhawayh said to Badham, ‘I never spoke to anyone I found more awe-inspiring.’ Badham asked him, ‘Did he have armed guards with him?’ ‘No,’ he replied.”

Al-Waqidi, may God have mercy on him, stated, “The assassination of Chosroe by his son Shirawayh took place during the night of the 13th of Jumâdâ al-Åkhira, 7 AH at 6 o’clock.”

I note that there is poetry saying that his death occurred in a harâm, a sacrosanct, month, as follows,

“They killed Chosroe during the night of the sacrosanct month; he passed away and was accorded no shroud.”

And an Arab poet97 spoke the verses,

97. These verses are ascribed in Vol. 1 p.33 above to Khâlid b. Hiqq al-Shaybânî.
“And there was Chosroe, sliced up by his sons with swords as if he were meat. On one day fate brought him to term; is not there a term for every pregnant mother?”

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi narrated from a hadith of Hammād b. Salama, from Ḥamīd, from al-Ḥasan, from Abū Bakra, that a Persian came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and that the latter told him, “This night my Lord has killed your lord.”

(The narrator continued) “And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was told that Chosroe’s daughter had been appointed to succeed him, he commented, ‘No people governed by a woman will prosper.’”

Al-Bayhaqi also said, “It is related in a hadith from Dihya b. Khalīfa that when he returned from visiting Caesar, he found emissaries from Chosroe meeting with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This was because Chosroe had sent a threatening message to the governor of Ṣan‘a asking, ‘Can’t you rid me of this man who has appeared in your land and has asked me to accept his religion? Take care of him, or I will of you!’”

“And so the governor sent envoys to him who received the response from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘Notify him that my Lord has killed his lord tonight.’ They found it to be as he said.

“And Dā‘ūd b. Abū Hind related much the same, from ‘Āmir al-Sha‘bī.”

Then al-Bayhaqi narrated through Abū Bakr b. ‘Ayyāsh, from Dā‘ūd b. Abū Hind, from his father, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “Sa‘d went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, ‘I see some news from Sa‘d’s face!’ Sa‘d then said, ‘Messenger of God, Chosroe is dead!’ He (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) commented, ‘God curse Chosroe! The first people destroyed will be the Persians, and then the Arabs!’”

I note that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) first told this to the two envoys of Chosroe who had come to him on behalf of the governor of Yemen, Badhān. Then the news came of the accuracy of the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Sa‘d being the first to hear it. And so he then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him of this accuracy. Al-Bayhaqi, may God have mercy on him, thus gave this account.

Al-Bayhaqi narrated through more than one line, from al-Zuhri, as follows, “Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-‘Rahmān informed me that it had reached him that while Chosroe was in his palace reception chamber a petitioner was brought – or sent – to him, seeking his rights and to his great surprise a man walked up bearing a staff, saying, ‘Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?’ Chosroe answered, ‘Yes; don’t break it!’ The man turned and left. When he had gone, Chosroe sent to his chamberlain and asked, ‘Who permitted this man access to me?’ The replied, ‘But no one went in to see you.’ ‘You lie!’ he insisted. He was angry and threatened them, then left them.
“When the new year came, the man returned, carrying the staff. He said, ‘Chosroe, will you accept Islam before I break this staff?’

“Yes; don’t break it,” he agreed.

“When the man had left, he called for his chamberlain and questioned him as he had the first time.

“Next year back came that man carrying the staff. He asked Chosroe, ‘Will you accept Islam before I break this staff?’ ‘Don’t break it! Don’t break it!’ Chosroe asked. But the man did break it. And thereupon God destroyed Chosroe.”

Imām al-Shāfi‘ī stated that Ibn Uyayna informed him, from al-Zuhri, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him. And, I swear by him who holds my soul in His hands, their treasures will be spent in God’s cause.”

Muslim gave this from a ḥadīth of Abū ‘Uyayna, and both of these quoted it as a ḥadīth from al-Zuhri.

Al-Shafici stated, “(It is said that) When the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought to Chosroe, he tore it up and the former commented, ‘May his kingdom be torn up!’ But we maintain that Chosroe honoured the letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and placed it in musk98 and that what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said was, ‘May his kingdom be preserved!’”

Al-Shafici and other scholars say that when Arabs, some of whom having accepted Islam, went out on merchant ventures to Syria and Iraq, they would complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their fear of the kings of those two countries. And he would respond, “When Chosroe perishes, there will be no Chosroe after him; and when Caesar perishes, there will be no Caesar after him.”

He (al-Shafici) stated, “And the kingdom of the Chosroes did indeed die out completely, and that of Caesar and Syria also ended completely, even though in general their reign persisted. This was grace to the prayer spoken for them by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when they honoured his letter. But God knows best.”

I note that in this there is a fine announcement that the rule of the Romans will never return to Syria.

The Arabs used to use the term Qaysar, “Caesar”, to denote the Roman who ruled Syria, along with the (Arabian) peninsula. The term Kīsrā, “Chosroe”, was applied to whomever ruled the Persians, al-Najāshi, “the Negus”, to the ruler of Abyssinia, al-Mugawqis for the ruler of Alexandria, Fārsīn, “Pharoah” for whomever ruled Egypt as an unbeliever, and Bātlaymūs (Ptolemy), for the ruler of India. They also accorded other generic titles; we have mentioned these elsewhere.99 But God knows best.

98. Presumably to perfume and preserve it.
Muslim related, from Qutayba and others, from Abū ‘Awāna, from Simāk, from Jābīr b. Samra, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘A group of Muslims will discover the treasures of Chosroe in the white fortress.’”

Asbāt narrated, from Simāk, from Jābīr b. Samara, a ḥadīth similar to that and added, “I and my father were among them, and we acquired 1,000 dirhams from that.”

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**THE EMBASSY OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) TO AL-MUQAWQIS, RULER OF THE CITY OF ALEXANDRIA; HIS NAME WAS JURAYF B. MĪNĀ THE COPT.**

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from ‘Abd Al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Qārī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Ḥāṭīb b. ‘Abū Balṭ’ā to the Muqawqis, ruler of Alexandria. When Ḥāṭīb delivered to him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he kissed it, honoured Ḥāṭīb and entertained him well. He then sent him back to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), dispatching to him with Ḥāṭīb a ceremonial gown, a mule and saddle and two slave girls, one of whom became Ibrāhīm’s100 mother. The other girl was presented by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Muḥāmmad b. Qays al-‘Abdī.”

Al-Bayhaqī related this also.

He then narrated through ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslām, from his father (who said) “Yahyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāṭīb related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, ‘Abū Balṭ’ā, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to the Muqawqis, the ruler of Alexandria. I took him a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he gave me accommodation in his home and there I stayed with him. He then sent for me, having assembled his patriarchs. He said, “I have questions for you and would like you to help me reach understanding.” I replied, “Please ask.” He said, “Tell me about your master; is he not a prophet?” “He is indeed,” I replied. “He is the Messenger of God.” “Then why,” he asked, “if he is so, why did he not curse his people, since they evicted him from his country to another?” I replied, “Take Jesus, son of Mary; do you not bear witness that he was the Messenger of God?” “Yes, indeed I do,” he replied. “Well,” I asked, “what about when his people took him and wanted to crucify him; could he not have cursed them and had God destroy them when God raised him up to the earthly heaven?” He replied, “You are a wise man who has come from a wise man. These are presents I am dispatching with you to Muḥāmmad. And I am sending with you a guard who will conduct you to your safe haven.”

“He presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) three slave girls, including one who was the mother of Ibrāhīm, son of the latter. One girl the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to Ḥassān b. Ṭhābit, the anṣārī. He also sent some of his treasures to him.”

100. The son of the Prophet (ṢAAS).
Ibn Ishaq recounted that he presented four girls to the Messenger of God (SAAS), one of whom was Mariya, Ibrahim's mother. Another was Sirin, whom he gave to Hassan b. Thabit; to him she bore 'Abd al-Rahman b. Hassan.

I note that among these presents was a black eunuch named Ma'bur, a pair of plain black slippers, and a white female mule named al-Daldal.

This Ma'bur was a eunuch. At first no one knew this, so when he began going in to Mariya, as had been his habit in Egypt, people gossiped. They did not know the truth of the matter, that he was a eunuch. Eventually someone noted that he was the one the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered 'Ali b. Abü Talib to kill, but he let him go when he found him to be a eunuch. The hadith relating this is contained in the Sahih collection of Muslim, with a line of transmission through Hammad b. Salama.


THE EXPEDITION TO DHU AL-SALASIL

The hafiz al-Bayhaqi related it here, before the account of the conquest (of Mecca). His line of transmission leads through Musa b. Uqba and Urwa b. al-Zubayr, both of whom said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Amr b. al-As to Dhu al-Salasil in the Syrian uplands, in territory of Bali and 'Abd Allah and those of Quda'a allied to them."

Urwa b. al-Zubayr stated, "Banu Bali were uncles of al-As b. Wajil. When he travelled there, he was afraid at the large numbers of the enemy. So he sent word to the Messenger of God (SAAS) asking for reinforcements. The Messenger of God (SAAS) assigned the first muhajirin; Abu Bakr and Umar volunteered, along with a group of muhajirin leaders, may God be pleased with them all. The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrakh as their leader."

Musa b. Uqba stated, "When they reached 'Amr, he told them, 'I am your leader; it was I who sent to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to seek reinforcements.' The muhajirin replied, 'No; you are leader of your men, while Abu Ubayda is in command of the muhajirin.' 'Amr insisted, 'No; you're just reinforcements provided to me.'

"When Abu Ubayda, who was a man of fine disposition and easy-going nature, said, 'You know, 'Amr, that the last instruction he gave me was to say, 'When you reach your comrade, obey him.' If you disobey me, then I will obey you.' Abu Ubayda gave the leadership over to 'Amr b. al-As."

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated, "Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Husayn b. al-Tamimi related to me, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent
'Amr b. al-'As to bring the Arabs into Islam. This was because the mother of al-'As b. Wa'il was from Banu Bali. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent him to them, for he would therefore be at ease with them. When he arrived at a well in Judham territory known as al-Salasil -- this expedition being known by that name -- he became concerned. And so he sent to the Messenger of God (SAAS) for reinforcements. The latter sent him Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ along with the first muhājirūn, among whom were Abū Bakr and Umar. When he dispatched Abū Ubayda, he told him, "Do not quarrel."

"Abū Ubayda then set forth and when he arrived, 'Amr said to him, "You have merely come to reinforce me." Abū Ubayda said, "No; but I will do my duty, as you will."

"Abū Ubayda was a mild and easy-going man. 'Amr told him, "I insist; you are my reinforcements." Abū Ubayda replied, "'Amr, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, 'Do not quarrel.' So even if you disobey me, I will obey you." 'Amr told him, "Well, I am your commander, and you are my reinforcement."

"So be it," he replied.

"And 'Amr went and led the prayers with the men."

Al-Waqidi stated that Rabi'a b. Urwān related to him, from Yazid b. Rūmān, that when Abū Ubayda reached 'Amr b. al-'As they totalled 500 men and travelled on day and night into Bali territory, overrunning it as they went. Whenever they arrived at some settlement, they were told that those who had been there had dispersed on hearing of their approach. Eventually they reached the furthest part of the territory of Bali, Udhrā and Balqīn. There they finally encountered a small force with which they briefly fought, engaging in exchanges of arrows. 'Amir b. Rabī'a suffered a wound in his arm. The Muslims attacked and defeated the enemy, who dispersed and fled. 'Amr plundered the area for a few days, hearing nothing of any enemy force being gathered, and receiving no information where they had gone. He sent out his cavalry to bring in sheep and camels which they slaughtered, but they captured nothing more; there were no spoils to be distributed.

Abū Dā'ud said that Ibn al-Muthannā related to him, quoting Wahb b. Jarir, quoting his father, (who said), "I heard Yahyā b. Ayyūb relate from Yazid b. Abū Habīb, from 'Imrān b. Abū Anas, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jubayr, from 'Amr b. al-'As, who said, 'I involuntarily discharged semen on a very cold night during the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsīl. I was afraid that if I were to wash, I would perish. So I performed the ablutions with sand, then performed the morning prayers with my men. They later reported that to the Messenger of God (SAAS). God asked, "'Amr, did you really pray with your men while in a state of junub, ritual impurity?" I then told him what had prevented me from washing myself

101. The Arabic printed text notes that Ibn Hishām's version of Ibn Ishāq substitutes "into Syria" for "into Islam".
and said, “I heard God say, ‘Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you’” (ṣūrat al-Nīṣā; IV, v.29). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and said no more.”

Muḥammad b. Salama related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Ibn Lahiʿa and ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from Yazid b. Ṭabīb, from Ṭımrān b. Anas, from ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān b. Jubayr, from Abū Qays, the freed-man of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs— who had been on an expedition, and related the ḥadīth similarly. He said, “He washed under his thighs, performed the ablutions for prayer and prayed with the rest.” He then related approximately the same as above, but he did not refer to having cleaned himself with sand.

Abū Dāʿūd stated, “This anecdote is related from al-Awzāʿī, from Ḥassān b. ʿĀṭiyah, who said in it that he cleaned himself with sand.”

Al-Waqādī stated, Aflāḥ b. Saʿīd related to me, from Ābū ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān b. Raqīsh, from Ābū Bakr b. Ḥazm, who said, “While away on an expedition, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs involuntarily discharged semen during a night of exceeding cold. He asked his men, ‘What do you think? I had a discharge, but if I wash, I’ll die!’ He had water brought and did perform the ablutions, washing his private parts and cleaning himself with sand. He then went on and performed the prayer with the rest. ʿAwf b. Mālik was sent on ahead to report. He said, ‘I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in the pre-dawn, while he was praying in his home. I greeted him and he said, ‘You’re ʿAwf b. Mālik?’ I said I was and he said, ‘The one who slaughters camels?’ I said yes, and he added nothing more. He then asked, ‘Well, tell me the news.’ I made a report to him on our expedition and of the disagreement between Abū ʿUbayda and ʿAmr, and how Abū ʿUbayda had submitted to ʿAmr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘May God be pleased with Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ!’

‘I then told him that ʿAmr had prayed with the men while he was in a state of junub, and that even though he had water, he had only washed his private parts in performing the ablutions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained silent.

‘When ʿAmr returned, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him about his performance of the prayer and he related it to him, commenting, “I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, that if I had washed completely, I would have died; I never experienced cold like that. And the Almighty had said, ‘Do not kill yourselves; God is compassionate towards you.’”

‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed; and we have not heard that he made any comment.’”

Ibn ʿIshāq stated, “Yazid b. Abū Ḥabīb quoted ʿAwf b. Mālik al-ʾAshjaʿī as saying, ‘I was present on the expedition to Ḍhū al-Ṣalāsīl sent out by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) under ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs. I went in the company of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. We passed by some people who had slaughtered some camels but did not know how to cut them up properly. I was a proficient butcher, so I told them, ‘If you will give me a tenth share, I’ll divide it up between you.’ They agreed
and so I took a sharp knife and cut it up, right then and there. I took a portion for myself and carried it off to my companions and we cooked and ate it. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar then asked, “Where did you get this meat, ʿAwf?” I told them and they said, “By God, you did not do well to feed us this!” Then they arose and brought back up the food from their stomachs.

“When we set off for home from that trip, I was the first to reach the Messenger of God (SAAS), as he was praying in his house. I greeted him, al-salāmu ʿalayka, ‘peace be upon you’, Messenger of God!” He responded, “You’re ʿAwf b. Malik?” “Yes, indeed I am, I swear.” “The one who did the butchering?” he asked, but made no further comment.”

Muḥammad b. Ṣaḥāq related it thus, from Yaẓīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from ʿAwf b. Malik, and the ḥadīth is missing links in its chain of transmission and is, moreover, muʿḍal, “enigmatic”.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated, “Ibn Lahi’a and Saʿīd b. Abū Ayyūb related this from Yaẓīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Rabīʿa b. Lāqīṭ, from Malik b. Zuhdūm from ʿAwf b. Malik. I believe he (ʿAwf) related it as above except for his using the words, ‘I offered it to ʿUmar; he asked me about it, and I told him. He then said, “You have accelerated your reward!” and he did not eat it.”

He then narrated it similarly from Abū ʿUbayda and in that version made no mention of Abū Bakr. It ends approximately as above.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiz and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed him as follows, “Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Āsamm related to us, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Ṭālib, quoting ʿAlī b. ʿAlīm, quoting Khālid al-Ḥadhidha, from Abū Uṯmān al-Nahḍī (who said), ‘I heard ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs say, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent me forth in command of the army sent to Dhū al-Salāsīl. Among us were Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. I told myself that he would only have given me command over Abū Bakr and ʿUmar because of some very high regard he had for me. So once I went to him, sat down before him and asked, ‘Messenger of God, who is your favourite person?’ “Aʿisha,” he replied. ‘I wasn’t asking you about your family,’ I told him. ‘Then it would be her father,’ he replied. ‘Who after that,’ I enquired. ‘ʿUmar,’ he replied. I went on asking until he had mentioned a number of men. Then I told myself that I had better stop asking!””


This is the text given by al-Bukhārī. In one account ʿAmr is quoted as saying, “I fell silent, fearing that he would place me last!”
THE EXPEDITION OF ABU 'UBAYDA TO THE SEA COAST.

Imam Malik quoted Wahb b. Kaysan as stating that Jabir said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent out an expedition towards the coast; in command he appointed Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah. The force consisted of 300 men. And I was one of them.

"Having travelled part of the way, our food supply became depleted. Abu 'Ubayda ordered all the remaining food to be gathered together. The food consisted of dates. He would distribute a very little of it to us each day until eventually all we received was one date per day. I asked him, 'What good is one date?' He replied, 'You'll find out when it has run out!'

"At last we arrived at the sea where we found a whale as big as a hillock. The army ate from it for 18 days; then Abu 'Ubayda ordered that two of its ribs be set up. He then had his mount saddled and he passed beneath them without touching them."

This anecdote is given in both sahih collections from a hadith of Malik in similar form.

It is also included in both sahih collections through Sufyan b. Uwayna, from 'Amr b. Dinhar, from Jabir, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent us out with a force of 300 mounted men, our commander being Abu 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrah. We were to look for caravans belonging to Quraysh. We were overcome by intense hunger, so that we were forced to eat al-khabat, 'tree leaves'. The army therefore became known as the khabat army. Then a man slaughtered 3 camels then 3 more and yet 3 more. Ultimately Abu 'Ubayda forbade him from doing this. Then the sea cast up a creature called an 'anbar, a sperm whale. We ate of it for half a month and we grew fat and our bodies became healthy."

He then went on to relate about the ribs. The reference here to looking for caravans belonging to Quraysh indicates that this expedition occurred before the truce of al-Hudaybiya. But God knows best. The man in the anecdote who butchered the camels was Qays b. Sa'd b. Ibada, may God be pleased with him.

The hafiz al-Bayhaqi stated that Abu Bakr b. Ishaq narrated to him, quoting Isma'il b. Qutayba, quoting Yahya b. Yahya, quoting Abu Khaythama - he being Zuhayr b. Muzawiya - from Abu al-Zubayr, who quoted Jabir as saying, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent us out on an expedition under the command of Abu 'Ubayda to seek caravans belonging to Quraysh. He provisioned us with leather bags full of dates; that was all we had. Abu 'Ubayda would ration them out one by one.

"I (Abu al-Zubayr) asked Jabir, 'What did you do with them?' He replied, 'We would chew on them like the children do, then we would drink water with them, and that would last us all day until the night. We also would knock down leaves with our sticks, pour water over them and eat them.
“We went to the sea coast and there on the beach something as big as a sand dune was cast up. When we approached it, we found it to be a creature called an ʿanbar, a sperm whale. Abū ʿUbayda first said that it was dead. But he then said, “No; after all, we are messengers on behalf of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and pursuing God’s cause. You are forced to do so; eat it.” So we ate off it for a month, all 300 of us, and put on weight again. We would ladle the fat out of its eye sockets with leather bottles and cut meat off it the size of a bull. Abū ʿUbayda took 13 of us and sat them in its eye. He also took one of its ribs, stood it upright, saddled the biggest of his camels and passed under it. We provisioned ourselves with strips of its meat dried, and when we returned to Medina and went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him this, he said, “It was bounty that God brought forth for you; do you have any of its meat you could give us to eat?” And we did send some to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he ate it.”

Muslim related this from Yahyā b. Yahyā, and Ahmad b. Yahyā and Daṭūd related it from al-Nuʿayīn, all three of them deriving it from Abī Khaythama Zuhayr b. Muʿawiyah al-Jawfi al-Kiifi, from Abī al-Zuhayr, Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Tadrus al-Makki, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh the ansārī.

Most of these texts require this expedition to have preceded the truce of al-Hudaybiyya. However, we have given it here following the example of the hāfit al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy on him. He positioned it following Muʿta and before the conquest. But God knows best.

After examining the Muʿta expedition, Al-Bukhārī related that of Usāma b. Zayd to al-Ḥaraqāt of (Bani) Juhayna. He stated that ʿAmr b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting Ḥuṣayn b. Jundub, quoting Abū Ūbyān, who said, “I heard Usāma b. Zayd say, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent us out against al-Ḥaraqā; we attacked them in the morning and defeated them. I and an ansārī chased after one of their men and when we caught up with him, he said La Ilāha illā Allāh, “there is no god but God”. At this the ansārī stopped, but I stabbed at him with my spear until I had killed him. When we returned home, this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he asked me, “Usāma, did you really kill him after he had said, La Ilāha illā Allāh?” “He was only trying to save himself,” I replied. But he kept on asking me the same question until I wished I had not accepted Islam before that incident.”

We have quoted and discussed this hadith heretofore.

Al-Bukhārī then went on to narrate the hadith of Yazid b. Abū ʿUbayd, from Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, who said, “I participated in seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and fought also in nine others on which he sent us. On one we were commanded by Abū Bakr, and on another by Usāma b. Zayd, may God be pleased with both.”

102. Muslims are prohibited from eating the flesh of an animal that has not been slaughtered in accord with Islamic practice and after the invocation of God’s name over it.
At this point the ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi recounted the death of the Negus, the ruler of Abyssinia, in a state of being Muslim, the announcement of his death to the Muslims being made by the Messenger of God (SAAS), and the latter’s prayer for him.

It was narrated through Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) announced the death of the Negus on the day he died, led the people to the mosque where he lined them up and that he then pronounced Allāhu Akbar! “God is Most Great”, four times.

Both these authorities derive their accounts from a hadith of Mālik and also from a hadith of al-Layth, from ‘Uqayl, from al-Zuhri, from Sa‘īd and Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra in similar terms.

They both also gave it from a hadith of Ibn Jurayj, from ‘Ala‘, from Jābir, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Today a fine man died; pray for Aḥma.’”

These accounts have also been quoted and discussed heretofore; and all praise be to God!

I note that it seems that the death of the Negus occurred a substantial time before the conquest (of Mecca). In the sahih collection of Muslim, it is said that when he wrote to the foreign rulers, he also wrote to the Negus and that he was not a Muslim. Others, like al-Waqidi, claim that he was. But God knows best.

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi narrated through Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī, from Mūsā b. ‘Uqba, from his father, from Umm Kulthūm, (who said), “When the Prophet (SAAS) married Umm Salama, he told her, ‘I have sent to the Negus some ounces of musk and a copper pot as presents, but I believe that he has died. I expect the presents to be returned to me. If that happens’ – I believe he said this – ‘then I will divide them between you.’ Or he may have said, ‘and they will be yours’.

“And it was as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said. The Negus did die and the presents were returned. He then gave an ounce (of the perfume) to one of his wives and all the rest to Umm Salama.”

THE GREAT CONQUEST OF MECCA. IT OCCURRED IN RAMADĀN, 8 AH.

God, Almighty is He, made reference to it in several places in the Qurʾān. He stated, “Not equal among you are those who spent before the conquest, and did battle; these are higher in rank than those who spent and fought thereafter. But to all (of these) God has promised reward” (sūrat al-Ḥadid; LVII, v.10).

He also stated, “When God’s help comes and the conquest and you see people entering God’s religion in droves, then celebrate with praise of your Lord and seek His forgiveness. He is indeed forgiving” (sūrat al-Ñaṣr; CX, v.1–3).

The cause of the conquest, following the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya, was as Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq stated. He said, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said that al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam both
told him as follows, 'It was stipulated in the truce of al-Ḥudaybiyya that whoever wished to enter into an alliance with Muḥammad could do so, and that those wishing to ally with Quraysh could also do that. Thereafter Khuzā‘a stated that they wished to be allied with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while Banū Bakr joined with Quraysh.

"The truce remained in effect for some 17 or 18 months. But then Banū Bakr attacked Khuzā‘a at night at a well called al-Watir, close to Mecca. Quraysh, thinking that it was night and that they would not be observed, assisted Banū Bakr by providing horses and weapons, and they fought along with them in order to express their hatred for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"When the conflict between Khuzā‘a and Banū Bakr became intense, 'Amr b. Salim rode off to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to tell him the news. He had composed some verses on the subject and spoke these to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he arrived,

"O Lord, I address Muḥammad and invoke his father's pact with our ancient forebears.

You were as children and we as parents and then we accepted Islam and never held back.

So Help the Messenger of God with a final victory, and call for God's servants to come up as reinforcements

Including the Messenger of God, accoutred for war; when angry, his face becomes stern.

With an army broad as the sea and foaming; Quraysh have broken their pacts.

They have destroyed their clear treaty with you and sent guards for me up on Mt. Kādā.

They claim that I will not inspire (to help) yet they are more lowly and fewer in number.

They attacked us at night while we slept at al-Watir, and killed us as we bowed in prayer."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, "You have been helped, 'Amr b. Salim!"

"Soon a cloud passed overhead in the sky and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, "This cloud is bringing aid to Banū Ka'b."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then told his men to prepare for battle, but he hid from them his destination. He asked God to blind Quraysh to news of him so that he could surprise them in their own territory."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The reason for the trouble was that a man named Malik b. ʿAbbād, of Banū al-Hadrami, allied to al-Aswad b. Rizn, went out on a trading trip. When he was deep in Khuzā‘a territory, they attacked him, killed him and robbed him. Banū Bakr then attacked a man of Banū Khuza‘a and killed him. Khuza‘a, just before accepting Islam, had attacked the sons of al-Aswad b. Rizn
al-Dili, Salmā, Kulthūm and Dhu‘ayb, leaders who were the pride of Banū Kināna, and killed them at 'Arafa at the boundary rocks marking the sacred area.

“A man of al-Dil related to me that Banū al-Aswad b. Rizn, due to their high prestige, were paid double blood-wit in the pre-Islamic period, while Banū al-Dil received single blood-wit.

“While Banū Bakr and Khuzā‘a were engaged in this conflict, Islam came between them. When the agreement at al-Ḥudaybiyya was made, Banū Bakr made a pact with Quraysh, as did Khuzā‘a with the Messenger of God (SAAS). Then the truce went into effect. But Banū al-Dil, (a clan) of Banū Bakr, used it to gain revenge from Khuzā‘a for the men killed. Nawfal b. Mu‘awiya al-Dili went out at the command of their men; not all of Banū Bakr followed him, however. He attacked Khuzā‘a, killing one of their men, at al-Wattir, a well of theirs. The sides then disengaged, then battled on. Quraysh supplied Banū Bakr with weapons and some of them participated in the fighting, using the dark of night to conceal their identity, until eventually they forced Khuzā‘a inside the sacred territory. Once inside it, Banū Bakr pointed out to Nawfal, ‘We have entered the sacred territory! (Think of) your God! Your God!’ He (Nawfal) then said an awful thing, ‘There is no God today! Banū Bakr, gain your revenge! I swear by my life that you steal within the sacred area, so can you not also gain your revenge?’

“Khuzā‘a took refuge in the house of Budayl b. Warqā‘ in Mecca and in that of a freed-man of theirs named Rafi‘. Al-Akhzar b. Lu‘f al-Dili spoke the following verses on this subject,

‘Have the people of furthest Abyssinia learned that we defeated Banū Ka‘b with our arrow heads? We imprisoned them in the home of the slave Rafi‘, and also with Budayl we kept them, inactive. In the home of a base and passive man, once we had satisfied our anger by the use of our swords, we confined them to their great distress, having descended upon them like a rain torrent from a mountain gully Slaughtering them like goats, as if we were lions, slashing our swords into them. They had wronged us and acted aggressively and were the first to murder at the sacred boundary, So scared when attacked that they were like ostrich chicks, their flight blocked by Mt. Thawr.’

“Budayl b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Salama b. ‘Amr b. al-Ajabb, known as Budayl b. Umm Aṣram, answered him back with the following verses:

‘A boastful people made a pact, but we have left them only Na‘fil as their chief to assemble them. Was it fear of the prime people, whom you disdain, that you went beyond al-Wattir, panicking, not to return?"
Every day we favour those we protect by paying the blood-wit, but no one needs to favour us.

We attacked your homes at al-Talâ’â with our swords that forestalled any complainer’s blame.

We defended against the tribe’s attack from all the way from between Bayḍ and Ṭāṭid to the slopes of Mt. Raḍwâ.

At the battle at al-Ghamîm ʿUbays retreated in haste; we terrified him by our brave chief.

Perhaps it was because the mother of one of you had diarrhoea that you fled and we did not fight?

By God’s house, you lie! You did not do battle; but we left your affairs in confusion.’”

Ibn Ishâq stated that ʿAbd Allâh b. Abû Salama related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “You can expect to see Abû Sufyân come to you to re-establish the pact and extend its duration.”

Ibn Ishâq stated, “Then Budayl b. Warqâ went with a group of Khuzâ’â to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told how they had been attacked and how Quraysh had joined with Banû Bakr against them. They then left and on their way back, at ʿUsfân, encountered Abû Sufyân. Quraysh had dispatched him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to reaffirm and extend the pact, since they were now worried by what they had done.

“When Abû Sufyân met Budayl he asked him whence he had come, thinking that he had come from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Budayl replied that he had been travelling in that valley and along the coast with Banû Khuzâ’â. Abû Sufyân thereafter went to where Budayl’s camel had knelt and examined its droppings; he found it to contain date stones. He said, ‘I swear, Budayl has been to Muhammad!’

“Abû Sufyân then made his way to Medina to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), where he went in to see his own daughter, Umm Ḥabiba. When he was about to sit on the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), she rolled it up. He then commented to her, ‘I wonder whether you consider this rug undesirable for me or me for it?’ She replied, ‘It is the rug of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and you are a dirty polytheist! I won’t have you sit on his rug!’ He responded, ‘Well, daughter, you’ve certainly turned out badly since you left me!’

“He then went to see Abû Bakr whom he asked to speak on his behalf with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but he refused. He next visited ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭâb and spoke with him, but ʿUmar replied, ‘Me intercede for you with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! I swear, if ants were all I had to fight you with, I’d do it!’

“Abû Sufyân then made his way to (the home of) ʿAli b. Abû Ṭâlib, where he also found Fatîma, the daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was sitting playing with her son Hasan. Abû Sufyân said, ‘Ali, you are the man closest in relationship to me. I have come with a request and I don’t want to leave disappointed. Please intercede with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on my behalf.’
He replied, 'I sympathize, Abū Sufyān, but once the Messenger of God (SAAS) has determined something, we just can't talk to him about it.' Abū Sufyān then turned to Fāṭima and said, 'Muḥammad's daughter, won't you have this son of yours bring protection between our men so that he may then become the lord of all the Arabs till the end of time?' She replied, 'My son is not old enough to bring such protection, and no one could provide protection against the Prophet (SAAS).'

"Abū Sufyān then addressed ʿAlī, 'I'm really in desperate circumstances; what advice can you give me?' ʿAlī replied, 'I swear, I don't know what would help you. But you are chief of Banū Kināna. Why don't you arise in public, guarantee protection against them, then return home?' 'You think that might well do me some good?' he asked. ʿAlī replied, 'Well, I really don't, but that's all I think you can do.'

"So Abū Sufyān stood up in the mosque and said, 'I guarantee protection between our men.' He then mounted his camel and rode off. When he reached Quraysh, they asked what he had accomplished. He reported how he had gone and visited Muḥammad and spoken with him but had received no response, gone on to Ibn Abī Quḥāfa" without avail, and then to ʿUmar whom he had found very antagonistic. He commented that he had found ʿAlī the most sympathetic and reported that he had given him advice which he had followed, though without any expectation that it would prove useful. They asked what he had advised. Abū Sufyān reported how ʿAlī had advised offering protection, which he had done. They enquired whether the Prophet (SAAS) had approved that, and Abū Sufyān said no. They commented that ʿAlī had been toying with him and that Abū Sufyān had gained nothing. He replied that he had not known what else to do."

Al-Suhaylī makes a useful addition to this account. He commented on Fāṭima's words in this hadith, "No one gives protection against the Messenger of God (SAAS)". This contradicts what is in the hadith, "Their least powerful will give protection for all Muslims". He stated that he reconciled both versions by saying that the hadith refers to one who will grant protection to an individual or a few people only. As for Fāṭima's words, they refer to the giving of protection to a large number of people upon whom the Imām has declared war; in such a case no one can offer protection. He (al-Suhaylī) went on, "Saḥnūn and Ibn al-Majishawn both say, 'The protection that a woman grants is dependent upon the permission given by the Imām, because of his (the Prophet's) words to Umm Ḥānī', "We give protection to those you protect, Umm Ḥānī." This is also related from ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs and Khalīd b. al-Walīd. Abū Ḥanīfa said, 'The protection granted by a slave is not valid.' Yet his statement, 'their least powerful will give protection' requires inclusion of women and slaves. But God knows best."

Al-Bayhaqī related through Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "Banū Ka'b spoke the following,
O God, I appeal to Muhammad by the pact between his father and our forebears.

Give much help, may God give you guidance, and call for God's servants to come in reinforcement."

Mūsā b. Uqba said with regard to the conquest of Mecca, "Then Banū Nufātha, of Banū al-Dīl, attacked Banū Ka'b during the truce between the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Quraysh. Banū Ka'b were at peace with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and Banū Nufātha were at peace with Quraysh. Banū Mudlij kept withdrawn from them and honoured the pact they had made with the Messenger of God (SAAS). In Banū al-Dīl there were two men who were their chiefs, Salmā b. al-Aswad and Kulthūm b. al-Aswad. It is said that those who helped them were Safwān b. Umayya, Shayba b. Uthmān and Suhayl b. 'Amr.

"Banū al-Dīl made a raid against Banū 'Amr and their dependants, including their women, children and the weak. They fought them and forced them to seek refuge, ultimately making them withdraw to the home of Budayl b. Warqā in Mecca.

"Riders from Banū Ka'b then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him what they had suffered and the part that Quraysh had played in it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told them to go back home and then to disperse into the land.

"Abū Sufyān then left Mecca for the Messenger of God (SAAS), worried at what had happened. He said, 'Muhammad, strengthen the pact and extend it for us.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'That is why you have come? Has something bad happened?' 'God forbid! We are keeping to our pact and to the truce of al-Hudaybiyya; we are not changing anything.'

"He then left the Messenger of God (SAAS) and went to Abū Bakr, to whom he said, 'Review the pact and extend it for us.' Abū Bakr replied, 'My protection is with the Messenger of God (SAAS). I swear by God, if all I had was ants to fight you with, I'd take their help against you!'

"He then went to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and spoke to him. 'Umar replied, 'Nothing new ever happened without God having created it and nothing was ever firmly set that God could not destroy, and nothing was ever cut asunder that God could not join together.' Abū Sufyān commented, 'May you be punished badly by a close relative!'

"He then went to see Uthmān and when he had spoken to him, Uthmān told him, 'My protection rests with that of the Messenger of God (SAAS).' Abū Sufyān then pursued Quraysh nobles and spoke with them, but all said that their pact was made with the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"When he despaired of their help, he went in to see Fāṭima, daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and spoke with her. She replied, 'I'm just a woman. That is up to the Messenger of God (SAAS).' He told her, 'Then give orders to one of your sons.' She replied, 'But they are just children; they couldn't..."
grant protection.' 'Then speak to 'Ali,' he asked her. She replied, 'You talk to him.'

"He did speak to 'Ali, who said to him, 'Abū Sufyān, none of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would ever act contrary to his wishes by granting protection. You are the leader of Quraysh, their most important and powerful figure. Give protection on behalf of Quraysh. You are the leader of Quraysh, their most important and powerful figure. Give protection on behalf of Quraysh. 'Yes,' Abū Sufyān replied. 'You speak the truth; I am as you say.' He then left and called out, 'I grant protection. And, by God, I do not believe that anyone will betray me.'

"He then went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, 'Muḥammad, I have declared protection between the people and I don't think anyone will betray me by revoking my protection.' 'As ever you say, Abū Ḥanzāla,' he told him, and at that Abū Sufyān left.

"They claim, but God knows best, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said when Abū Sufyān had left, 'O God, close over their hearing and their seeing so that they only see us suddenly and only hear us too late!'

"Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca and there Quraysh asked him, 'What happened? Did you bring some letter or pact from Muḥammad?' 'No, by God,' he replied. 'He refused me that. I watched his men closely and I never saw any people more obedient to a king who ruled them than they were to him. However, 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalīb told me to grant them protection without claiming it for myself or my people. He told me I could do this without having it revoked by anyone because of my high status and leadership. I got up and made the announcement, then went in to tell Muḥammad that I had done so; I told him that I did not think it would be revoked. He merely said it was I who was saying so.' Quraysh responded, 'You have no reason to be pleased. You return with nothing of any use to you or us. 'Ali was merely toying with you! Your offer of protection was invalid and useless.'

"He then went in to see his wife and she told him the same. She exclaimed, 'What a terrible envoy you are! You gained nothing at all.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw a cloud and commented, 'These clouds are gently raining down victory for Banū Ka'b!'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed there for that period that God wished after the departure of Abū Sufyān. He began equipping for battle. He told 'A'isha that she should prepare his food, and to hide that fact.

"He then went out to the mosque, or for some other purpose, and Abū Bakr came in to see 'A'isha. He found her busy pounding and sifting wheat. Abū Bakr asked her why she was preparing the food but she made no reply. 'Is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) preparing for battle?' he asked. She was still silent. He then asked, 'Is he going to attack the "yellow skins"?' meaning the Byzantines. She said nothing. He then said, 'Perhaps he is heading for Najd?' She was silent. 'Maybe he is heading for Quraysh then?' She said nothing.

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned, Abū Bakr asked him, 'Messenger of God, are you leaving on a campaign?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Are you
perhaps heading for the "yellow skins"? 'No,' he replied. 'Then to Najd?' 'No,' he answered. 'So maybe you are going after Quraysh?' he suggested. 'Yes,' he replied. Abū Bakr then said, 'But, Messenger of God, don’t you have a valid truce with them?' 'Haven’t you heard what they did to Banū Ka‘b?' he asked.

"Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) announced to everyone that there was to be a campaign. At that Ḥātib b. Abū Balṭā’a wrote a message to Quraysh, but God made His messenger (SAAS) aware of the letter."

He proceeded to relate the account that follows.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq said that Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to him, from ʿUrwa, from ʿA‘isha, who said that Abī Bakr came in to see her while she was sifting wheat. Abī Bakr asked her, "What’s this? Has the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked you to prepare supplies for a campaign?" "Yes", she replied, "to prepare for a campaign." "Where to?" he asked. "He did not tell us anything, except to make preparations."

Ibni Ishāq went on to say that the Messenger of God (SAAS) then made an announcement to the people that he was going to Mecca. He ordered them to act seriously and to make preparations. He said, "O God, take away sight and information from Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land."

And so the people made their preparations.

(Ibn Ishāq went on) "Ḥāsān b. Thābit spoke the following verses to arouse the people and to refer to the men killed by Khuzā‘a,

'It hurt me greatly, even though I did not witness, as men of Banū Ka‘b were having their heads cut off in the Mecca valley

By men who did not unsheathe their swords; and there were many men killed who were unburied.

How I wish that my (poetry’s) help, with its heat and hurt could harm Suhayl b. ‘Amr!

And Ṣafwān, an old fellow who grunts from his arse; this is the time when war had been saddled for battle.

Do not feel secure, Ibn Umm Mujālīd when war is fully prepared for and about to break out.

But don’t worry about it, for our swords will have their impact and death’s door will open wide!'"

THE INCIDENT INVOLVING ḤĀṬIB B. ABU BALṬĀ‘A.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Ja‘far, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr and others, from various of our scholars, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) had decided to attack Mecca, Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balṭā’a wrote to Quraysh informing them of how the Messenger of God (SAAS) was about to move against them. He gave the letter to a woman; Muḥammad b. Ja‘far

104. A reference to Ḥkrima, Aba Jahl’s son.
claimed her to have been of Muzayna, while others maintained that she was Sāra, a freed-woman of someone from Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He paid her to take it to Quraysh and she placed it on her head, tied it up in her hair and left with it."

Ibn Ishaq went on, "News came from heaven to the Messenger of God (SAAS) of what Ḥāṭīb had done and he sent ‘Alī b. Abū Ṣāliḥ and al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām in pursuit, telling them, ‘Seize a woman with whom Ḥāṭīb b. Abū Balṭa'a has sent a letter to Quraysh warning them of what we have decided to do about them.’

"The two men caught up with her at al-Ḥalifa of Banū Abū Aḥmad. They made her dismount and searched her baggage but found nothing. ‘Alī then told her, ‘I swear by God, the Messenger of God (SAAS) has not been misinformed, nor has he lied to us. Either you produce this letter for us, or we will search you for it!’ When she saw how serious he was, she told him to turn away and untied her hair, took out the letter and gave it to him. He took it to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) summoned Ḥāṭīb and asked him, ‘Ḥāṭīb, what made you do this?’ He replied, ‘I really am, I swear, a true believer in God and in His messenger. I have not changed at all. But I'm not a man with any claims to nobility or tribal influence and there, living among Quraysh, I have my son and family and I wanted to protect them.’

"ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, ‘Messenger of God, let me cut off his head! The man has turned hypocrite! The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, ‘What makes you so sure, ʿUmar? Perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, ‘Do as you wish; I forgive you!’’

"It was about Ḥāṭīb that God revealed, ‘O you who believe: do not consider My enemies and yours to be allies to whom you give friendship?’ (sūrat al-Mumtaḥana; LX, v.1).

Ibn Ishaq related this story as being mursal, with an incomplete line of authorities. Al-Suhaylī narrated that in Ḥāṭīb’s letter it said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) may well send forth an army against you that will descend upon you like nightfall. And I swear by God, that even if he were to attack you alone, then God would give him victory over you. He fulfils what He promised him."

Al-Suhaylī went on, "And in the Tafsir (Exegesis) of Ibn Sallām it is stated that Ḥāṭīb wrote, ‘Muḥammad has assembled an army for war; he is either heading for you or for others. You should beware!’"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Quraysh related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Amr b. Dīnār, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad told him that he heard ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abū Rāfī‘ say that he heard ‘Alī relate, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched me, al-Zubayr and al-Miqdād saying, ‘Go to the well at Khākh. There you will find a woman in a howdah who has a letter. Take it from her.’ So we left, our horses racing us along, and we arrived at the well, where we found the woman in the howdah. We told her to produce the letter, but she denied
having it. We then told her that if she did not produce it, we would strip her clothes off her.

“She then brought it forth from her hair wrappings and we took it to the Messenger of God (SAAS). The letter said, ‘From Ḥāṭib b. Balṭā‘a to the polytheists of Mecca, informing them of some of the actions of the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) asked Ḥāṭib about this and he replied, ‘Messenger of God, don’t act harshly with me! I was just associated with Quraysh, allied with them but not of them. Some of your muḥājirīn have relatives among Quraysh who can look after their families and possessions. What I wanted was to find someone among them who would protect my relatives. I did not do this to apostatize from my faith, nor to express my acceptance of disbelief after Islam.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘Well, he has spoken the truth to you.’ Umar asked, ‘Messenger of God, let me strike off the head of this hypocrite!’ (He replied) ‘But he fought at Badr. And what makes you so sure; perhaps God looked down upon those who fought at Badr and said, “Do as you wish; I forgive you.”’

“God then sent down, ‘O you who believe, do not consider My enemies’ up to the words, ‘has strayed from the right path.”’ (ṣūrat al-Mumtaḥana; L.X, v.1).

The other compilers of the tradition also gave it, except for Ibn Maja, from a hadith of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna. Al-Tirmidḥi stated that it was hasan, saḥīh, “good and authentic”.

Imām Āḥmad said that it was related to him by Ḥujayn and Yūnus, both of whom said that Layth b. Sa‘d related to him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jabir b. ‘Abd Allah, that Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balṭa‘a wrote to the people of Mecca telling them that the Messenger of God (SAAS) intended to attack them. However, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was provided information about the woman who had the letter and so he sent after her and retrieved the letter from her head. He then asked Ḥāṭib whether he really did this and he confessed. He explained, “I did not do it to betray the Messenger of God (SAAS), nor am I a hypocrite. I knew that God would make His messenger prevail and allow him to complete his mission. However, I’ve always been a stranger amidst them (Quraysh) and my mother is there with them. And I wanted to have some favour with them.” Umar asked, “Should I cut off this fellow’s head?” But the Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, “Would you really kill someone who fought at Badr? What makes you sure; perhaps God looked down at those who fought at Badr and said, ‘Do as you wish.’”

Only Imām Āḥmad gives this tradition from this line of transmission; its chain of authorities meets the criteria of Muslim. And all praise be to God!

DIVISION.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated that Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhṛī related to him, from Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Urbā, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then proceeded on his journey, having appointed
Abū Ruhm Kulthsūm b. Ḥusayn b. Ṣūba b. Khalaf al-Ghifhārī in command of Medina. He departed on the 10th of Ramādān and fasted, as did those with him. Having arrived at al-Kadād, between Ḫasfān and Amaj, he broke his fast and thereafter travelled on to Marr al-Zahrān, where he and 10,000 Muslims made camp.”

ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayrå stated, “He had 12,000 men with him.” Al-Zuhri and Mūsā b. ʿUqba said the same. Sulaym totalled over 700 men; some say they were over 1,000 strong. Muzaynā were over 1,000 strong, and each tribe was represented in both force and faith in Islam. The muhājirūn and the anṣār accompanied the Messenger of God (ṢaaS) en masse, none of them remaining behind.

Al-Bukhārī narrated a similar account from Māḥmūd, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated, from a ḥadīth of Āṣim b. ʿAlī, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from ʿUqayl, from al-Zuhri (who said), “ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me, from Ibn ʿAbbas, that the Messenger of God (ṢaaS) went forth on the expedition that led to the conquest in Ramādān.”

Al-Zuhri went on, “I heard Saʿd b. al-Musayyab make a similar statement, that he did not know whether he started out with some days left of Shaʿbān and that then Ramādān arrived, or whether he left in Ramādān, after it had begun. However, ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh informed me that Ibn ʿAbbas said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢaaS) fasted until he reached Ḫasfān. Then he called for a vessel and drank from it, allowing the people to see this. He continued to eat normally (without fasting) throughout the month.’”

Al-Bukhari related this from ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, from al-Layth. He, however, did not mention the confusion between Shaʿbān and Ramādān.

Al-Bukhārī stated, that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Jarīr, from Māṣūr, from Mūjahid, from Ṭawus, that Ibn ʿAbbas said, “The Messenger of God (ṢaaS) set out in Ramādān, fasting until he reached Ḫasfān. Then he called for a vessel and drank from it, allowing the people to see this. He continued to eat normally until he reached Mecca.”

He went on, “Ibn ʿAbbas used to say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢaaS) both fasted and ate normally while travelling. Those who wished, fasted; those who wished, ate normally.’”

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh as stating that Ibn ʿAbbas said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢaaS) set forth on the conquest of Mecca, he placed Abū Ruhm Kulthsūm b. Ḥusayn al-Ghifhārī in command of Medina. He left on the 10th of Ramādān, fasting, as did those accompanying him. When he arrived at al-Kadād, between Ḫasfān and Amaj, he broke his fast. When he entered Mecca, he was eating normally and people saw that this was his latter practice, having abrogated his former, his fasting.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “His statement, ‘he left on the 10th of Ramādān’ is interpolated in the ḥadīth, as is his reference to ʿUbayd Allāh b. Idrīs, quoting Ibn Ishāq.”
He then related through Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, from Jābir, from Yaḥyā, from Ṣādaqā, that Ibn Iṣḥāq said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the 10th of Ramaḍān, 8 AH.”

Al-Bayhaqi narrated from the hadith of Abū Iṣḥāq al-Faẓārī, from Muḥammad b. Abū Ḥafṣa, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The conquest occurred 13 days into Ramaḍān.” Al-Bayhaqi then commented, “This dating is fanciful; it relies only on al-Zuhrī’s statement.”

He went on to narrate through Ibn Wahb, from Yūnūs, from al-Zuhrī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out from Medina in Ramaḍān on the campaign for the conquest – the conquest of Mecca. He was accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. This coincided with the beginning of 8 and one-half years following his arrival at Medina. Mecca was conquered with 13 days remaining of Ramaḍān.”

Al-Bayhaqi also narrated through Ṭāḥaf al-Razzāq, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left in Ramaḍān, accompanied by 10,000 Muslims. He fasted until he reached al-Kadid, then he broke his fast.

Al-Zuhrī stated, “Only the most recent being acceptable, then that would be what follows.” He said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Mecca on the morning of the 13th of Ramaḍān.” He then recounted the conquest in accord with both saḥīḥ collections, through Ṭāḥaf al-Razzāq. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqi narrated through Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Tantāmī, from ʿAṣiyya b. Qays, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudārī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted en route until we reached al-Kadid, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) advised us to break the fast, being pleased with both those who continued fasting and those who did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so.”

Ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥyrā, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (who said) that ʿAṣiyya b. Qays related to him, from someone who had told it to him, who quoted Abū Saʿīd al-Khudārī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to set forth in the year of the conquest on the 2nd of Ramaḍān. We fasted en route until we reached al-Kadid, where the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told us to break the fast. Thereafter some continued fasting, while others did not. When we reached the first staging post where we encountered the enemy, he told us to break the fast, and we all did so.”

I note from al-Zuhrī’s account that the conquest was on the 13th of Ramaḍān, and from that of Abū Saʿīd that they left Medina on the 2nd of Ramaḍān; their trip between Mecca and Medina must therefore have taken 11 days.

However, al-Bayhaqi related, from Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-ṣafl, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfār, from Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān, from al-Ḥasan b. al-Raḥīm, from Ibn Idrīs, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, from al-Zuhrī, and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn,
and 'Āsīm b. ʿUmar b. Qatāda and ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr
and others, all said that the conquest of Mecca took place with 10 days remaining
of Ramaḍān in 8 AH.

Abū Daʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Wahīb related to him, from Jaʿfar b.
Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “The
Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth in the year of the conquest and was
fasting until he reached Kurāʾ al-Ghamīm. Some of the men accompanying
him were on foot, while others rode; this journey was during Ramaḍān. He was told,
‘Messenger of God, the men are suffering from fasting, but are watching to see
what you will do.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called for a vessel of
water and drank, while the men watched. Some of the men then broke the fast,
while others continued it. When he was told that some men were still fasting, he
commented, ‘They’re disobedient.’”

Muslim narrated it from a hadīth of al-Thaqāfī and al-Darāwardī, from Jaʿfar
b. Muḥammad.

Imām ʿAbd Allāh narrated from a hadīth of Muḥammad b. Isʿāq, who said that
Bashīr b. Yaṣār related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of
God (SAAS) left in the year of the conquest in Ramaḍān. He fasted, as did the
Muslims with him, until he reached al-Kadid. There he called for water in a
wooden cup, while he was mounted. He drank while the men looked on. This was
to inform them that he had broken his fast. The Muslims then broke their fast.”

Aḥmad was alone in giving this hadīth.

Section: On the Acceptance of Islam by the following relatives of the
Prophet (SAAS).

These were al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalīb, his uncle, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith
b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalīb, his cousin, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughfrat
al-Makhzūmī, the brother of (his wife) Umm Salama, “mother of the believers”.
They went out to meet him while he was on his way to the conquest of Mecca.

Ibn Ishaq stated that al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalīb met the Messenger of God
(SAAS) while the latter was en route. Ibn Hishām stated that he met him at
al-Juhfa, having emigrated with his family. Previously he had been living in
Mecca engaged in his function of providing water for the pilgrims. The Messenger
of God (SAAS) was, according to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, satisfied (at that).

Ibn Ishaq stated that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalīb and ʿAbd
Allāh b. Abū Umayya met the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Niq al-ʿUqāb, a
place between Mecca and Medina. There they sought to meet with him and
Umm Salama spoke to him about them. She said, “Messenger of God, it is
your two cousins, your maternal uncle’s son and your maternal aunt’s son, along
with your brother-in-law.” He replied, “I don’t need to see the two of them;
my maternal uncle’s son offended my honour, while my maternal aunt’s son
slandered me in Mecca.”
Ibn Ishaq continued, “When news of this response reached them, Abū Sufyān, who had a young son with him, said, ‘By God, if he does not see me, I’ll take this young son of mine by the hand and we’ll go off somewhere and die of thirst and hunger!’ When the Prophet (SAAS) heard this, he took pity on them and allowed them both to come in and they did so and accepted Islam. Abū Sufyān then recited to him the verses that concerned his acceptance of Islam and apologized for his former behaviour:

‘By your life, I swear that day I carried a banner so that al-Lāt’s cavalry would overcome those of Muḥammad,

I was like a traveller lost in a dark night, but now is

a time when I am led aright and lead others well.

A guide other than myself gave me guidance and there
gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously

opposed.

I kept myself and others actively away from Muḥammad

and was called his relative, though I claimed no such

ties.

They (Muslims) are as they are; those who do not agree

with them – even men of wisdom – are blamed and rejected.

I wished to please them, but could not agree with them

so long as I was not guided.

Tell Thaqif that I do not want to battle them, and
tell Thaqif, “Threaten others!”

I was not in the army that struck Ḥam, nor had I any

part in it, by hand or voice.

Tribes came from far away lands, strangers out of Sahām

and Surdād.’”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “They claim that when Abū Sufyān recited to the Messenger of God (SAAS) the line, ‘and there gave me guidance to God someone whom I had vigorously opposed,’ the latter struck the former in the chest and commented, ‘Yes, you did oppose me vigorously, all right!’”

**DIVISION.**

Having dismounted at Marr al-Zahrān, the Messenger of God (SAAS) made camp and stayed there. As al-Bukhārī related it, from Yahyā b. Bukayr, from al-Layth and Muslim, from Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb, both of the latter quoting from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from Abū Salama, from Jābir, who said, “We were at Marr al-Zahrān with the Messenger of God (SAAS), gathering *kibāth*, the fruit of the *arāk* thorn tree. He told us, ‘Look out for the black ones; they are the best.’ The men asked him, ‘Messenger of God, were you ever a shepherd?’ ‘Yes, I was; was there ever a prophet who was not?’”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Asamm, from Ḥam b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Sinān b. Ismā’īl, from Abū al-Walīd
Sa'id b. Minā, who said, "When the Meccans had finished and left, the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered the men to proceed to Mecca. Having reached Marr al-Zahrān, he made camp at al-‘Aqaba and sent out the pickers to gather al-kibāth. Sinān asked (Abū al-Walīd) Saʿīd what this word meant and he said it was the fruit of the thorny arīk tree."

Saʿīd went on, "Ibn Masʿūd was one of those who was picking. As they found a nice fruit, they would promptly eat it. They were laughing as they observed the thinness of Ibn Masʿūd's legs as he climbed up a tree and the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, 'Are you amused at his thin legs? By Him who holds my soul in His hands, they weigh heavier in the scales (of righteousness) than Mt. Uhud!'

"The choicest fruits Ibn Masʿūd picked he would offer to the Messenger of God (SAAS). And on this subject he, Ibn Masʿūd, spoke the following line,

'This is the finest I have picked (for you), while the hand of every picker goes to his mouth.'"

In both saḥīḥ collections Anas is quoted as saying, "We disturbed a rabbit while we were at Marr al-Zahrān and the men took it to Abū Ṭalḥa who slaughtered it. He sent its thighs and legs to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he accepted them."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) halted at Marr al-Zahrān, having kept any news from reaching Quraysh; they had no information at all about what he was doing. During those nights, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqā came out to gather any news from what they might see or hear."

Ibn Lahī'a recounted from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent out horsemen as scouts to catch any spies. Khuzā'ī were not allowing anyone to pass by them, and so when Abū Sufyān and his companions came they were seized by the Muslim horsemen. Umar went up to him, (Abū Sufyān) intending to stab him in the neck, but al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib gave him protection; he was a friend of Abū Sufyān.

Ibn Ishāq quoted al-ʿAbbās as saying that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached Marr al-Zahrān, he, al-ʿAbbās, said, "Woe upon Quraysh! If the Messenger of God (SAAS) enters Mecca by force before they come out and seek peace, it will mean their destruction forever!

"So I mounted the white mule belonging to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and rode out on it to al-ʿArāk, hoping to encounter some logger, milkman or someone else who could go to Mecca to tell them where the Messenger of God (SAAS) was, so that they could come out and seek peace with him before he conquered it and them by force.

"I was engaged in this when, to my surprise, I heard the voices of Abū Sufyān and Budayl b. Warqā engaged in discussion. Abū Sufyān was saying, 'I swear, I've never seen so many fires or such a camp as tonight!' Budayl replied, 'I swear,
this must be Khuzā‘a fired up by war!' Abū Sufyān answered, ‘But Khuzā‘a are too weak and few in number for these to be their fires and encampment.’

‘Having recognized his voice, I called out, ‘Is that you, Abū Ḥanṣāla?’ He knew my voice and replied, ‘Is that Abū al-Fadl?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Well what are you up to, may my father and mother be your ransom!’ he exclaimed.

‘I told him, ‘Woe on you, Abū Sufyān! That is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his forces!’ ‘Then woe on Quraysh, by God,’ he burst out. ‘What should we do?’ I replied, ‘If he conquers you, he’ll cut off your head! Ride (with me) on the back of this mule, so that I can take you to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I’ll ask him to guarantee your safety.’

‘He rode behind me and his two companions returned home.”

Urwa said this was not so, and that the other two men had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and accepted Islam and he had asked them for news about the people in Mecca.

Al-Zuhri and Mūsā b. ‘Uqba said that they went with al-‘Abbās to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-‘Abbās went on, “So I set off with him. And whenever we passed by one of the fires of the Muslims, they asked, ‘Who is that?’ When they noticed the mule of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) they said, ‘Oh, it’s the uncle of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mule.’ Eventually I passed by the fire of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and he asked who I was and came over to me. When he saw Abū Sufyān on the rear of the mule, he exclaimed, ‘It’s Abū Sufyān, the enemy of God! Thanks be to God who has handed you over without any pact or agreement!’”

Urwa b. al-Zubayr claims that ‘Umar stabbed Abū Sufyān in the neck, intending to kill him, but al-‘Abbās prevented him.

Similarly, Mūsā b. ‘Uqba narrated from al-Zuhri that the scouts of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of the bridles of their camels and asked who they were. They replied that they were a delegation for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Al-‘Abbās met them and took them in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who talked with them in the course of the night and then invited them to witness that there is no god but God. They did so and he then asked them to bear witness that “Muḥammad is the Messenger of God”. Ḥakīm and Budayl testified to this, but Abū Sufyān said, “I do not know this.” After morning came, he did accept Islam. They then asked him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) to grant Quraysh safety. He replied, “Those who enter the house of Abū Sufyān shall be safe,” his house being in the heights of Mecca. He went on, “Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Hizām shall be safe,” his house being in the lower part of Mecca. And he added, “Whoever locks his own door shall be safe.”

Al-‘Abbās’s account states, “Then ‘Umar hurried off towards the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while I rode the mule and arrived before him, but only by the amount that a slow-moving mule can outpace a slow-moving man. I jumped off the mule and went in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). ‘Umar did the
same and said, 'Messenger of God, this is Abū Sufyān whom God has delivered without any pact or agreement! Let me cut off his head!' I said, 'Messenger of God, I have given him my protection.' I then sat down with the Messenger of God (SAAS), holding his (Abū Sufyān's) head and said, 'I swear, no man apart from myself is willing to protect him tonight!'

"When Umar kept on complaining about him, I told him, 'Take it easy, Umar! I swear, if he were from Banū 'Adī b. Ka'b you'd not be saying this! But you well know that he is from Banū 'Abd Manāf. 'Take it easy yourself,' 'Abbās, he replied. 'Your accepting Islam the day you did was more welcome to me than if al-Khaṭṭāb (his father) 'had been the one to do so! And this was only because I knew that your accepting Islam was more welcome to the Messenger of God (SAAS) than that of al-Khaṭṭāb would have been.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'Take him away to your tent, 'Abbās, and bring him to me when morning comes.'"

Al-'Abbās continued, "So I went off with him to my tent where he spent the night with me. Next morning I hurried him over to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said, when he saw him, 'Woe on you, Abī Sufyān! Is it not time for you to know that there is no god but God?' He replied, 'How wise, noble and kind you are! Had there been any other besides God he would have already given me some aid!'

"'Well, Abī Sufyān,' continued the Messenger of God (SAAS), 'is it not time for you to know that I am the Messenger of God?' 'How wise, noble and kind you are', Abī Sufyān replied, 'but I'm still having some trouble with that.'"

Al-'Abbās then told him, "Woe on you, accept Islam! Bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God, before your head is cut off!"

He then gave true testimony, accepting Islam.

Al-'Abbās went on, "So I said, 'Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a man to whom prestige is important; do something for him."

"He then stated, 'Yes; whoever enters Abū Sufyān's house shall be safe.'"

Urwa added that he went on to say, "Whoever enters the house of Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām shall be safe." And Mūsā b. 'Uqba stated similarly, from al-Zuhri, that he said, "And whoever locks his own door shall be safe, as will be anyone who goes into the mosque."

As he was about to depart, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to al-'Abbās, "Keep him at where the valley narrows, and the mountain projects, until God's forces pass him by, so that he sees them."

Mūsā b. 'Uqba narrated, from al-Zuhri, that Abū Sufyān, Budayl and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām stood along with al-'Abbās at the mountain projectory, and that when Sa'd b. Ubāda spoke the verse,

"Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed"
to Abū Sufyān, he complained to the Messenger of God (SAAS). The latter then took back the banner of the ḥadīthūn from Saʿd and gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. He took it to the upper part of Mecca and planted it in al-Ḥājūn. Khālid entered from the lower part of Mecca, where Bani Bakr and Hudhayl confronted him. He killed 20 men of Bani Bakr and 3 or 4 of Hudhayl. They were defeated and killed at al-Ḥazwara,105 the fighting there reaching the door of the mosque.

Al-ʿAbbās went on, "I proceeded out with Abū Sufyān, keeping him in the narrow part of the valley to which the Messenger of God (SAAS) had asked me to restrict him.

"The tribes went past flying their banners. As one went by, Abū Sufyān asked, 'Who are those, 'Abbās?' I replied, 'Sulaym,' and he commented, 'Well, Sulaym don't concern me.' When another passed, he asked who they were and I told him they were Muzayna. He commented, 'Muzayna don't concern me.' This went on until all the tribes had gone by; he asked me about each one, and he always replied that they were of no concern to him. Eventually the Messenger of God (SAAS) went past with his 'green squadron' that consisted of muhājirūn and ʿaṣār; their armour allowed only their eyes to be seen. He then exclaimed, 'Glory be to God, 'Abbas! Who are those?' I replied, 'That is the Messenger of God (SAAS) with his muhājirūn and his ʿaṣār.' He commented, 'No one could ever withstand those men! By God, Abī al-Fadl, your brother's domain this morning is immense!'"

"I replied, 'Abū Sufyān, it is that of the prophethood.'

"I agree," he said. I told him, 'You should hurry to your people.'"

(Al-ʿAbbās continued) "When he reached them he shouted at the top of his voice, 'Quraysh, this is Muḥammad who brings a force against you that you cannot withstand. Whoever goes into the house of Abī Sufyān will be secure.'

"Hind, daughter of 'Utba, stood up to him and gripped him by the mustache and said, 'Kill this overweight bag of fat! He is too disgraceful to lead our people!' Abī Sufyān replied, 'Woe upon you, do not allow this woman to deceive you. You cannot withstand the force against you. Whoever enters the house of Abī Sufyān will be secure.'

"People shouted, 'God kill you! What good will your house do us?'

"He replied, 'Those who lock their doors will be secure. Those who enter the mosque will be secure.'

"The people then dispersed to their homes or into the mosque.'

Urwa b. al-Zubayr related that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by, Abī Sufyān asked him, "I see many faces I do not recognize. Are all these faces against me?" The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, "It is you and your people who have done this; these people believed me when you called me a liar. They assisted me when you exiled me."

105. The market-place of Mecca.
Abū Sufyān then complained to him how Sa‘d b. Ubāda had spoken the following line as he passed him,

“Today is that of the great battle; today sanctuary is disallowed.”

At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Sa‘d lied; this is a day when God is glorifying the ka‘ba, a day by which the ka‘ba will be adorned.”

Urwa related that in the early morning after that night he spent with al-ʿAbbās, Abū Sufyān saw the people gathering for prayer, spreading forth to perform their ablutions and he felt afraid. He asked al-ʿAbbās, “What are they doing?” He replied, “They have heard the call to prayer and are spreading out to perform the prayer.” When the prayer began and he saw them prostrating and bowing along with him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), Abū Sufyān asked, “Would they do anything he asked of them?” “Yes, they would,” he replied. “If he ordered them to give up food and drink, they would obey him.”

Mūsā b. Ṭq wa related, from al-Zuhri, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed his ablutions, the men scrambled for the leftover water with which he had washed and Abī Sufyān commented, “ʿAbbās, I’ve never seen anything like tonight, not even in the kingdoms of Chosroe or Caesar!”

The ḥāfid al-Bayhaqī related from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-ʿAṣāmm, from Almah b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibn Ishāq, who said that al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭubayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās (a certain hadīth). The last-mentioned then proceeded to narrate this story in its entirety, just as Ziyād al-Bakkāṭ related it, from Ibn Ishāq, munqattān, with an incomplete line of transmission. But God knows best.

However, al-Bayhaqī narrated through Abī Bilāl al-Ashʿarī, from Ziyād al-Bakkāṭ, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from al-Zuhri, from Ṭubayd Allāh, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying that al-ʿAbbās brought Abū Sufyān to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and so on. However, in this account he is quoted as saying that Abū Sufyān accepted Islam that night, before he came next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). This account also says that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, “Whoever enters Abū Sufyān’s house will be secure,” Abū Sufyān asked, “But what if my house is not large enough?” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, “And whoever enters the ka‘ba will be secure.” “And what if the ka‘ba is not large enough?” Abū Sufyān enquired. He replied, “And whoever enters the mosque shall be secure.” “What if the mosque is not large enough?” He replied, “Whoever locks his door will be secure.” Abū Sufyān then said, “There will be sufficient space.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ṭubayd b. Ismāʿīl related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Hishām, from his father, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth in the year of the conquest of Mecca and this news reached Quraysh, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥākīm b. Ḥizām and Budayl b. Warqā came out to look for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They travelled as far as Marr al-Ẓahrān.
where they saw so many camp fires that they seemed like those on Mt. 'Arafât (in the pilgrimage season). Abû Sufyân commented on this and asked whose fires they could be and Budayl b. Warqa' responded that they must be the fires of Bani 'Amr. Abû Sufyân objected that they were fewer in number. The two men were seen by the guards of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who seized them and took them to him. Abû Sufyân then accepted Islam.

"As Abû Sufyân was returning home, he (the Prophet (SAAS)) said to al-ʼAbbâs, 'Keep Abû Sufyân where the mountain projects so that he sees the Muslims.' Al-ʼAbbâs did restrain him there while the tribes went past, squadron by squadron, with the Messenger of God (SAAS). As one squadron went by, Abû Sufyân asked al-ʼAbbâs who they were. He replied, 'These are Ghifâr.' 'Well, what are Ghifâr to me?' Abû Sufyân commented. Then Juhayna passed by and he said the same. Sa'd b. Hudhaym and Sulaym then passed and he made the same comment. Then another squadron passed that was unlike the others and he asked their identity. Al-ʼAbbâs replied, 'They are the ansâr under the command of Sa'd b. ʻUbâda with the banner.' Sa'd called out, 'Hey, Abû Sufyân, today's the day of the great battle; today the ka'ba will be no sanctuary!' Abû Sufyân commented, 'Abbas, would that this were a day of honour!'

"Then there passed a squadron smaller than the rest; the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions were with them, his banner being borne by al-Zubayr b. al-ʻAwwâm. As the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by Abû Sufyân, the latter called out, 'Do you know what Sa'd b. ʻUbâda said?' 'What did he say?' asked the Messenger of God (SAAS). Abû Sufyân repeated it and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Sa'd lied; this is a day when God will assert the glory of the ka'ba, a day when the ka'ba will be adorned.' He then ordered that his banner be planted at al-Hajûn.'

ʻUrwa related that he was told by Nâfî b. Jubayr b. Muṭṣîm that he heard al-ʼAbbâs ask al-Zubayr b. al-ʼAwwâm, "Was it here that the Messenger of God of (SAAS) ordered the banner to be placed?" "Yes," he replied.

He (Nâfî) went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered Khalîd b. al-Walîd to enter the upper part of Mecca, at Kadhâ, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) went in from Kadhâ. That day two of the cavalry under Khalîd b. al-Walîd, Ḥubays b. al-ʻAshâr and Kurz b. Jâbir al-ʻFihî were killed."

Abû Daʿûd said that ʻUthmân b. Abû Shayba related to him, quoting Yahyâ b. ʻAdam, quoting Idrîs, from Muḥammad b. Ishâq, from al-Zuhîrî, from Ubayd Allâh b. ʻAbd Allâh b. Ṭuba, from Ibn ʻAbbâs who said that his father al-ʻAbbâs b. ʻAbd al-Muṭṣalîb brought Abû Sufyân b. Harb to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Marr al-Zahrân and he accepted Islam. Al-ʻAbbâs told him, "Messenger of God, Abû Sufyân is a man who likes to enjoy prestige; perhaps you could do something for him." "Yes," he replied. "Whoever goes into Abû Sufyân's house will be secure. And whoever locks his door will be secure."
An Account of the entry of the Messenger of God (SAAS) into Mecca.

It is established in both sahih collections from a hadith of Malik, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca wearing a helmet. When he took it off a man came who said, “Ibn Khatal is clinging to the hangings of the ka’ba.” “Kill him,” he ordered.

Malik stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was not, we believe, in a state of ihram though God knows best.”

Ahmad stated that ‘Affan related to him, quoting Hammad, quoting Abü al-Zubayr, from Jabir, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest he was wearing a black turban.

The ashâb al-sunan relate this from a hadith of Hammad b. Salama. Al-Tirmidhi said that it was hasan sahih, “good and authentic”.

Muslim related it from Qutayba, as did Yahya b. Yahya from Musawiya b. Ammar al-Duhni, from Abü al-Zubayr, from Jabir, who stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca wearing a black turban and that he was not in a state of ihram.

Muslim narrated from a hadith of Abu Usama, from Musawiir al-Warrâq, from Ja’far b. ‘Amr b. Hurayth, from his father, who said, “It’s as if I can still see the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the day Mecca was conquered; he was wearing an ash-black turban, its end hanging down between his shoulders.”

Muslim narrated in his sahih collection, as did al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasa’i from a hadith of Ammar al-Duhni, from Abü al-Zubayr, from Jabir, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was wearing a black turban when he entered Mecca.

The ashâb al-sunan narrated from a hadith of Yahya b. Adam, from Shurayk al-Qadi, from Ammar al-Duhni, from Abü al-Zubayr, from Jabir, who said, “The banner of the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he entered Mecca was white.”

Ibn Ishaaq stated, from ‘Abd Allah b. Abu Bakr, from ‘A’isha, who said, “The banner of the Messenger of God (SAAS) the day Mecca was conquered was white; his black flag was known as al-qubah, ‘the eagle’. It was made of a piece of variegated wool.”

Al-Bukhari stated that Abu al-Walid related to him, quoting Shu’ba, from ‘Abd Allah b. Qurra, who said, “I heard ‘Abd Allah b. Mughaffal say, ‘On the day Mecca was conquered, I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) mounted on his camel reciting the sirat al-Fath (XLVIII) in a vibrant, quivering tone. And if it had not been for the people crowding around me, I would have recited in the same tone as he did.’”

106. The physical and psychological state required of a pilgrim before he performs the umra or the hajj pilgrimages. During this state certain actions are prohibited that are permissible at other times.

107. The scholars, apart from al-Bukhari and Muslim, who assembled the sahih collections of ahâdith.
Muhammad b. Ishâq stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allâh b. Abû Bakr who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Dhû Ṭuwalâ, he halted on his mount; he was wearing a turban made of striped red cloth from Yemen. He bowed his head so low in submission to God, having seen how He had honoured him with the conquest, that his beard almost touched the middle of his saddle.

The ʿhâfīz al-Bayhaqî stated that Abû ʿAbd Allâh al-Ḥâfîz told him that Daʿîlî b. Ahmad related to him, quoting Ahmad b. ʿAlî al-Abbâr, quoting ʿAbd Allâh b. Abû Bakr al-Maqdîsî, quoting Jaʿfar b. Sulaymân, from Thâbit, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca the day of the conquest of Mecca with his chin resting in submission (to God) on his saddle.”

(Al-Bayhaqî) went on to say that Abû ʿAbd Allâh al-Ḥâfîz informed him, quoting Abû Bakr b. Bâlawayh, quoting Ahmad b. Ṣâʿîd, quoting Ismâʿîl b. al-Ḥârîth, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, quoting Ismâʿîl b. Abû Khalid, from Qays, from Ibn Masʿûd, who said that a man spoke to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the day of the conquest and he began to tremble. Then he said, “Tread softly! I’m the son of a woman of Quraysh who ate cheap desiccated meat!”

(Al-Bayhaqî continued) “Muhammad b. Sulaymân b. Fâris and Ahmad b. Yahyâ b. Zuhayr related this similarly, from Ismâʿîl b. Abû al-Ḥârîth as being mawṣûlan, with full lines of transmission.”

He then related it from Abû Zakariyyâ al-Muzakkt, from Abû ʿAbd Allâh Muhammad b. Yaʿqûb, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wâhhabit, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, from Ismâʿîl b. Qays, but with an incomplete line of transmission, which is how it is accepted.

This modesty in this place on the part of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he entered with such a huge army contrasts completely with those fools of Banû Isrâʾîl, the “ancient Israelites”, who were ordered to enter the temple (at Jerusalem) bowing down—that is prostrating—while saying “Wipe out (our past sins)”. However, instead they entered creeping forwards on their behinds saying, “Wheat in barley!”

Al-Bukhârî stated that he was informed by al-Qâṣîm b. Khârîja, quoting Ḥâṣ b. Maysara, from Hishâm b. Urwa, from his father, who said that ʿAṭîsha told him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca in the year of the conquest from Kâdâ, which is in the upper part of the town. Abû Usâma and Waḥb agreed that it was from Kâdâ.

ʿUbâyd b. Ismâʿîl related to us, quoting Abû Usâma, from Hishâm, from his father, that at the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered from the upper part of Mecca, from Kâdâ.

This tradition should only be considered more authentic if one views an account with an incomplete chain of authorities more authentic than one fully complete, as given in the text above! Alternately, this Kâdâ may be spelled either Kâtâ or Kâdâ.

108. A reference to the Qurʾân, sūrat al-Arâf; VII, v.161. The passage narrates how the Israelites were told to use the word ḥîṣâ, “put down, remove”, when beseeching God for the forgiveness of sins. However, they mistakenly used the word ḥîma, “wheat”. 
with a madda, an alif of elongation or an alif maqṣūra, a final yā and without ḥamza. Kūdā, spelled with a u, is in the lower part of Mecca. This is widely accepted and preferable.

It is stated above that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Khālid b. al-Walid in from the upper part of Mecca, while he himself entered from below, at Kūdā; that is given in the saḥīh collection of al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Abū al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abdān informed us, quoting Aḥmad b. Ḫubayy al-Ṣaffār, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥabīb b. al-Mundhir al-Khuzāmī, quoting Ma’n, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ, from Nāfi’, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘When, in the year of the conquest, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he saw the women striking at the heads of the horses with their veils. He smiled at Abī Bakr and said, “And what was it, Abū Bakr, that Ḥassān said?” Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then recited the lines,”

“May I be deprived of my ‘young daughters’ (i.e. horses)
if you do not see them making the dust rise at both
sides of Kādū?
As they race ahead, pulling at their reins, fully
saddled, as the women strike at them with their veils.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Add those verses to those spoken by Ḥassān!””

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that Yahyā b. ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father, from his grandmother Asmāʾ, daughter of Aba Bakr, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted at Dhu Ṭawā, Abū Quḥāfa said to a daughter, one of his youngest children, ‘Daughter, lead me up on Mt. Abū Qubayṣ.’ Asmāʾ commented that his sight was very weak.”

She went on (quoting the daughter in question), “She said, ‘I took him up there and he asked me, “Well, what do you see?” “I can see a black mass.” “That must be horses,” he said. I then said, “Now I see a man hurrying to and fro in front of that mass, going back and forth.” “That”, he said, “must be the wāṣī” – meaning the man who goes out to and gives orders to the cavalry.

“I then said, “The black is now spreading out!” Abū Quḥāfa exclaimed, “The cavalry has been dispatched, then! Hurry me back home!” I led him down, but the cavalry met him before he reached home.”

Asmāʾ went on, “The girl was wearing a silver necklace and a man confronted her and cut it off her neck. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca and went into the mosque, Abū Bakr came in, guiding his father. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saw him, he said, ‘Why did you not leave the sheikh at home for me to attend him there?’ Abū Bakr replied, ‘Messenger of God, it is more fitting for him to come to you rather than you to him.’”

109. They differ from those lines said to have been spoken by Ḥassān on this occasion. See hereafter, p.420 lines 8–10.
The account went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then had Abū Quḥafā sit down before him and rubbed his chest, saying, ‘Accept Islam!’ Abū Quḥafā did so. Abū Bakr then guided him back home. Abū Quḥafā’s hair was as white as a thaghāma plant. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Change his hair (colour).’

“Abū Bakr then arose and, taking his sister’s hand, he said, ‘I invoke God and Islam; (who has) my sister’s necklace?’ No one replied. He then said, ‘Forget your necklace; I swear by God, there’s little trust in people today!’”

Abū Bakr meant that specific day, because the army was so numerous that almost no one concerned himself with anyone else, and there were people scattered everywhere. Perhaps the person who took it considered it spoils of war. God knows best.

The hāfīz al-Bayhaqi stated, “Abd Allāh al-Hāfīz informed us, quoting Abū al-‘Abbās al-Aṣamm, quoting Bahr b. Naṣr, quoting Ibn Wahb (who said that) Ibn Jurayj informed him, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb took Abū Quḥafā by the hand and led him to the Prophet (SAAS). When he brought him before him, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Change him (his hair colouring). But don’t make him almost black.’”

Ibn Wahb stated that ‘Umar b. Muḥammad related to him, from Zayd b. Aslam, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) congratulated Abū Bakr on his father’s acceptance of Islam.

Ibn Ishāq stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Najīḥ related to him that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent forth the various parts of his army from Dhū Ṭawā he ordered al-Zuhayr b. al-‘Awwām to enter with some of the men from Kadā; al-Zubayr was in command of the left flank. He ordered Sa’d b. Uṣāda to take some of the others in from Kudā.

He went on, “Some scholars claim that when Sa’d proceeded inside, he said, ‘Today is the day of the great battle; today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity.’

“A man heard this (according to Ibn Hishām that man was ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb) and he asked, ‘Messenger of God, do you hear what Sa’d b. Uṣāda says? We can’t be sure he won’t assault Quraysh. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told ‘Ali, ‘Go after him and take away the banner from him; you enter with it.’”

Sources other than Muḥammad b. Ishāq recount that when Abū Sufyān complained to him about what Sa’d b. Uṣāda had said when he passed him by. The words Sa’d had used were, “Abu Sufyān: today’s the day of the great battle. The hurma, the sanctuary” – by which he meant the kaḥā – “will lose its sanctity.”

The Prophet (SAAS) then said, “No; this is a day on which the kaḥā will be glorified.” He then ordered that the banner – that of the ansār – be taken away from Sa’d b. Uṣāda as a way to teach him a lesson. It is said that it was given over to his son, Qays. Mūsā b. ‘Uqba stated, from al-Zuhri, that he gave it to al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām. But God knows best.
The hafiz b. 'Asakir stated in his biography of Ya'qiub b. Ishaq b. Dinār that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sirrī al-Anṭakī, quoting 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū al-Zinād and that it was also related to him by Mūsā b. Uqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, “On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave the banner to Sa'd b. Ubāda who began waving it and saying, ‘Today the sanctuary will lose its sanctity!’ This angered Quraysh and they greatly resented it. The wife of the Messenger of God (SAAS) then stood in his way and recited,

'O Prophet of the right guidance, the tribe of Quraysh took refuge in you and it was too late. When all the space of earth was too narrow for them when the God of heaven became hostile towards them The two ends of the strap met together and we were brought to the famous disaster. Sa'd wants to deliver a mortal blow to the people of al-Ḥajāt and al-Bathā A Khazaṣrāṭ, he he would in his rage set vultures and dogs upon us! Stop him, for he is the black lion, and a lion thirsts for blood. If he were to involve the banner and were to call out, “O defenders of the flag! People of the flag!” Then Quraysh will be there in the valley bottom in the hands of the female slaves. He is living in the past, wanting (for Mecca) a decision to strike it out, like a deaf serpent.”

He went on, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard this poem feelings of mercy and compassion for them entered him and he asked for the banner, taking it from Sa'd b. Ubāda. It was then given to his son, Qays.

“It is related that the Prophet (SAAS) wished not to disappoint her in something in which she requested his help. Yet he did not want to anger Sa'd, and so he took the banner from him and gave it to his son.”

Ibn Ishaq stated that Ibn Abū Najih recounted to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered Khalīd b. al-Walīd to enter with some men from al-Laytī, in the lower part of Mecca. Khalīd was in command of the right wing, which consisted of Aslam, Sulaym, Ghifār, Muzayna, Juhayna and other Arab tribes. Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ charged in with a column of Muslims upon the people of Mecca, straight ahead of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who himself entered from Adhākhīr and halted at the upper part of the city where his tent was pitched.

Al-Bukhārī narrated, from a hadith of al-Zuhri, from 'Alī b. al-Ḫusayn, from 'Amr b. Uthmān, from Usāma b. Zayd who said that at the time of the conquest he had asked, “Messenger of God, where will you make camp tomorrow?” He
replied, "Has 'Aqil left any house for us?" He then added, "No believer shall inherit from an unbeliever, nor shall any unbeliever inherit from a believer."

Al-Bukhari went on to state that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu'ayb, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, from 'Abd al-Rahmān who quoted Abī Hurayra as stating that the Prophet (SAAS) said, "Tomorrow, if God wills it, and if God gives us victory, our camp will be at al-Khayf where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief."

Imām Ahmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting Ibrahim - meaning Ibn Sa'd - from al-Zuhri, from Abū Șalama, from Abū Hurayra, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Our camp tomorrow, if God wills it, will be at Khayf of Banū Kināna, where they swore an oath of loyalty to disbelief.’"

Al-Bukhari related it from a ḥadīth of șubāl Ibn Sā'd in similar words.

Ibn Șaṣā stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Najīb and ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr related to him, that Șafwān b. Șumayyā, İkrīma b. Abī Jahl and Suhayy l. ʿAmr had gathered some men at al-Khandama to do battle. Șimas b. Qays b. Khalid, brother of Banū Bakr, had been sharpening a sword prior to the arrival of the Messenger of God (SAAS). His wife asked him why and he replied that it was for use against Muhammad and his men. She commented, "I swear by God, I don't think it will be of any use against them, Muḥammad and his men!" He replied, "Well, I swear by God, I hope to give you one of them as a servant!" He then spoke the verses,

“If they advance today, I’ll have no excuse. This set of weapons is complete
With sharp blades and easy to manipulate.”

He then took part in the fighting at al-Khandama, along with Șafwān, İkrīma and Suhayy l. There they were engaged by the Muslims accompanying Khalid. Șirz b. Jābir, Banū Muḥārib b. Fīhr and Șubaysh b. Khalīd b. Rabī’a b. Șaram, ally of Banū Munqidh, both of Khalid’s troops, were killed. They had become separated from Khalid and taken a different route; they were killed together, Șirz prior to Șubaysh.

Both sources quoted by Ibn Șaṣā went on to say that Șalama b. al-Maylā’ al-Juhanni, also of Khalid’s cavalry, was killed there, while some 12 or 13 of the polytheists were killed. When they had lost the battle, Șimās left in defeat and went home. He told his wife, “Lock the door on me.” She asked, “And what about all that you said?” He replied with the following verses:

“If you had witnessed the battle at al-Khandama when Șafwān and İkrīma fled,
With Abū Yazīd erect like a widowed mother receiving condolences,
And the Muslims greeted them with their swords,
Cutting and striking arms and skulls with nothing but
their battle cries being heard,
While we emitted sobs and groans, then you would not
speak the slightest word of blame.”
Ibn Hishām stated that these verses are alternatively attributed to al-Raḍāsh al-Hudhali.

Ibn Hishām also said that the battle cry of the muhājarīn at the conquest, at Ḥunayn and at al-Ṭā'if was “O tribe of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān!” That of al-Khazraj was “O Banū ‘Abd Allāh” and that of al-Aws, “O Banū ‘Ubayd Allāh”.

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that it was related to him by ‘Alī b. Sa‘d al-Rāzī, quoting Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādi, quoting Shu‘ayb b. Ṣafwān, from ʿAmr b. al-Sa‘ib, from Ṭawūs, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “God made this land sacrosanct the day He created the heavens and the earth. He forged it the day He forged the sun and the moon. That which stems from heaven is haram, sacrosanct. It was not made halaṣ, desanctified, for anyone before me (to do battle). It was only made halaṣ for me for a brief period of the day, and it then reverted to its former state.”

(The account continues) “Someone told the Messenger of God (SAAS) that Khālid b. al-Walīd was killing people. He then told a man to go to Khālid and order him to stop the killing.

“(But) When the man reached him, he told him, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) says, ‘Kill those you are able to!’’ He killed 70 people. This fact was reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who sent Khālid a message that asked, ‘Did I not forbid you killing?’ Khālid replied, ‘So-and-so came to me and ordered me to kill those I was able to.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) again sent him a message asking, ‘Did I not give you an order?’ Khālid responded, ‘You wanted one thing, but God wanted another! God’s order superseded yours; I could not do anything other than what I did.’ At this the Prophet (SAAS) remained silent and gave him no response.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had instructed his commanders to refrain from doing battle against any except those who fought them. He did, however, order that a group whom he named should be put to death, even if they were found hiding beneath the hangings of the Ka‘ba. Among these persons was ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. Abī Sarh, who had accepted Islam, written down the Revelations and then apostatized. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca, having sentenced him to death, this ‘Abd Allāh fled to Uthmān who was his foster-brother. When the latter brought him to ask that he be spared, the Messenger of God (SAAS) made no reply for a long time, but then said, ‘Yes.’

“When ‘Abd Allāh departed with Uthmān, the Messenger of God (SAAS) commented to those around him, ‘Is there no wise man among you who could have got up and killed him when you saw I was remaining silent?’ They replied, ‘But Messenger of God, could you not have given us some signal?’ He replied, ‘Prophets do not kill by making signals.’”

In a different account, the wording is, “It is not proper for a prophet to betray by eye signals.”
Ibn Hishām stated that thereafter he was a good Muslim and that ʿUmar appointed him as a governor, and that ʿUthmān did the same thereafter.

I note that he died while prostrated in performing the morning prayer, or after having finished it in his house.

Ibn Ishaq stated (that the Prophet (SAAS)) also condemned to death ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaṭṭaš, a man of Banū Taym b. Ǧāḥilīb.

I note that it is also said that this man was named ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, “worshipper of al-ʿUzzā”, b. Ḥaṭṭaš. It is likely that that had been his former name and that after he accepted Islam he was called ʿAbd Allāh, “worshipper of God”.

(Ibn Ishaq continued) “After this man had accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent him out to collect charity contributions, in the company of one of the ʿanār. With him also he took a freed-man he had. Later he became angry with the freed-man, killed him and apostatized and became a polytheist again. He had two female singers, Fartāna and a friend, who would sing songs mocking the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims. This was why the Messenger of God (SAAS) condemned him and the two singers to death. He was killed while he clutched the hangings of the ʿabā. ʿAbū Barza al-ʿAṣlāmī and ʿAṣād b. Ḥurayth al-Makkāzīmī participated in executing him. One of his women singers was killed, while the other was granted clemency.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Also (he condemned) al-Ḥuwayrīth b. Nuqaydīh b. Wāḥb b. ʿAbd Quṣāy. He had been one of those who had insulted the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Mecca. When al-ʿAbbās had mounted up Fāṭima and ʿUmm Kulthūm to conduct them to Medina to join the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the start of the Hijrā, this al-Ḥuwayrīth had goaded a camel on which they were mounted, and they had fallen to the ground. When he had been condemned to death, ʿĀlī b. ʿAbū Ṭalīb executed him.

“Also condemned was Miqyās b. Ṣubāba because he had murdered the man who had by accident killed his brother, and he did this after he had accepted the blood-wit. He later apostatized and became a polytheist. It was a man of his own tribe, named Numaylā b. ʿAbd Allāh, who executed him.

“Then there was Sārā (who was also executed), a freed-woman of Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭālib and of ʿIkrima b. ʿAbū Jahl, because she used to insult the Messenger of God (SAAS) while he was in Mecca.”

I observe that it is narrated above that it was she who had carried the message from Ḥāṭib b. ʿAbū Balṭaʿa and seems to have been forgiven or to have escaped. Thereafter he condemned her to death. But God knows best.

She fled until she was granted immunity by the Messenger of God (SAAS). She lived on into the era of ʿUmar, and died when trodden underfoot by a man on a horse. Al-Suhaylī related that Fartāna also accepted Islam.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “ʿIkrima b. ʿAbū Jahl fled to Yemen. His wife, ʿUmm Ḥakīm, daughter of al-Ḥaṭīth b. Ḥishām, accepted Islam and sought immunity for him from the Messenger of God (SAAS), who granted that. She set off and located
'Ikrima, brought him back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he accepted Islam.


“ʿAbd Allāh b. Khadr was taken while he was clinging to the hangings of the kaʿba. Saʿd b. Ḥuwayrith and ‘Ammār b. Yaṣir raced to reach him and Saʿd, the younger of the two men, beat ‘Ammār to him and killed him. Men overtook Miqyas in the market and killed him. ‘Ikrima went to sea. A storm blew up and other people on the boat told one another, “Worship God sincerely, for your gods will do you no good here!” And so ‘Ikrima said, “Well, I swear by God, if the only thing that succeeds at sea is sincere faith, the fact is that nothing but that succeeds on land too! O God, I make a pact with you that if you save me from my present plight, I will go to Muhammad, place my hand in his and receive generous forgiveness.” So he did go to him and accepted Islam.

“ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abū Sarḥ went into hiding in the home of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) called on people to come forth and pledge allegiance, ʿUthmān brought ʿAbd Allāh before him and said, “Messenger of God, accept the allegiance of ʿAbd Allāh!” He raised his gaze towards him three times, all this expressing his refusal. Then, after the third time he did accept his allegiance. The Messenger of God (SAAS) later went to his Companions and asked, “Was there not one wise man among you who could have gone up to this fellow and killed him when you saw me refraining from accepting his allegiance?” They replied, “How could we know what you wanted? Could you not have given us some eye signal?” He replied, “It is not fitting for a prophet to use secret eye signals!””

Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasāʾī related this from a ḥadīth of Aḥmad b. al-Mufaḍḍal in similar terms.

“Abd al-‘Uzza b. Khaṭṭal was killed while he clung to the hangings of the ka’ba. Someone warned ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abū Sarḥ that he would be killed on sight. He was the foster-brother of Uthmān b. ‘Affān, who brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to intercede on his behalf. When an ansārī saw him, he girded his sword and went towards him, but found him in the circle around the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He hesitated, reluctant to advance at him. Then the Prophet (ṢAAS) spread forth his hand and accepted ‘Abd Allāh’s allegiance. Later he asked the ansārī, ‘I was waiting for you to fulfil your pledge!’ He replied, ‘Messenger of God, I wanted to do it for you; could you not have given me some sign?’ He replied, ‘It is not fitting for a prophet to wink.’”

Al-Bayhaqī went on to relate the story of Miqyas b. Ṣubāba—how he had killed a Muslim after he himself had accepted Islam and then had later apostatized.

He went on, “Umm Šāra was a freed-woman of Quraysh who had gone to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and complained to him of her poverty. He had then given to her. But thereafter a man sent her off with a message for the Meccans.”

He went on to tell the story of Ḥāshib b. Abū Balṭa’a.

Muḥammad b. Ishāq narrated from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm, that Hishām, the brother of Miqyas b. Ṣubāba, was killed at the expedition against Bāntū al-Muṣṭaliq by a Muslim who thought him to be a polytheist. Miqyas then came and made a pretence of accepting Islam to seek the blood-money for his brother. When he received it he attacked and murdered the man who had killed his brother and returned to Mecca as a polytheist. After the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) condemned him to death, he was killed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Ibn Ishāq and al-Bayhaqī quoted as follows the verses he composed when he murdered the man who killed his brother:

“It assuaged me that he was felled in the valley, his clothing stained by the blood of his jugular.

My mind was troubled before I killed him; my worries kept me from enjoying my bed.

Through him I avenged Fihr and charged his blood-wit to the chiefs of Bāntū al-Najjār, the lords of Fārī castle.

By killing him I eased my tension and got my revenge; and I was first to return to the idols.”

It is said that the two female singers whom he condemned to death were employed by this Miqyas b. Ṣubāba; moreover, it was his cousin who executed him between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.

Some say that it was al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, may God be pleased with him, who executed Ibn Khaṭṭal.
Ibn Isḥāq stated, Saʿīd b. Abū Hind related to me, from Abū Murra, the freed-man of 'Uqayl b. Abū Ṭalib, that Umm Hānī, the daughter of Abū Ṭalib, said, “When the Messenger of God (SAA) made a halt in the heights of Mecca, two of my brothers-in-law of Bānū Makhzūm fled to me.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “The two men were al-Ḥārith b. Hishām and Zuhayr b. Abū Umayya b. al-Mughira.”

Ibn Isḥāq went on to quote her as saying that while she was in the home of Ḥubayra b. Abū Wālib al-Makhzūmī, “My brother ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib came in and said, ‘I swear by God, I’ll kill them both!’ So I locked the door of my house on both men and went to the Messenger of God (SAA) who was in the heights of Mecca. I found him engaged in washing himself from a basin that had in it some traces of dough; his daughter Fāṭima was shielding him with his clothing. When he had finished washing, he wrapped his garment around himself and performed eight rakʿāt of the al-duḥā Prayer. He then came over to me and said, ‘Welcome indeed to you, Umm Ḥānī! And what brings you now?’ I told him about the two men and ‘Ali and he responded, ‘We give protection to those you protect and immunity to those to whom you extend it. We will not execute them.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd al-Walīd related to him, quoting Shu’bā, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from the son of Abū Laylā, who said, “No one informed us of having seen the Prophet (SAA) perform the al-duḥā prayer except Umm Hānī.” She related that on the day of the conquest of Mecca, he washed himself in her house and then performed eight prayer prostrations. She said, “And I never saw him offer a lighter prayer than that, though he did perform the rukū’, the bowings, and the sujūd, the prostrations, completely.”

In the sāhih collection of Muslim there is a hadith of al-Layth, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Saʿd b. Abū Hind, which states that Abū Murra, the freed-man of ‘Aqīl, reported that Umm Hānī, daughter of Abū Ṭalib, related to him that at the conquest of Mecca two men of Bānū Makhzūm fled to her and that she gave them refuge. She said, “‘Ali came in to me and told me, ‘I’m going to kill them both!’ Having heard this, I went to the Messenger of God (SAA), who was in the heights of Mecca. When he saw me he welcomed me and asked why I had come. I replied, ‘Messenger of God, I’ve been giving refuge to two of my brothers-in-law, but ‘Ali wants to kill them.’ The Messenger of God (SAA) responded, ‘We give protection to whomever you have protected, Umm Hānī.’ He then set about washing himself, while Fāṭima screened him and when he had finished he wrapped himself in his garment and prayed eight superogatory rakʿāt of the duḥā Prayer.”

In one account she is reported to have come in while he was washing and Fāṭima was screening him with his clothing. The account goes on, “He asked, ‘Who is the woman?’ ‘It is Umm Hānī,’ she replied. ‘Welcome indeed to Umm Hānī!’ he said. She told him, ‘Messenger of God, my brother ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib is going to kill two men to whom I have given protection.’ He responded, ‘We 110. A superogatory prayer performed shortly after sunrise.
grant protection to whomever you protect, Umm Hānī.‘ He then performed eight prostrations.”

That was in the ḏuḥā, the early morning, and so many scholars have thought that this was the (actual) al- ḏuḥā prayer. Others refer to this as the ṣalāt al- ṣafā, the “prayer at the conquest”. And the assertion is made that he would affirm the taslim,\(^\text{111}\) after each two rākāt.

This argues against the view of al-Suhaylī and others who maintain that the ṣalāt al-fāṭih should consist of eight (prostrations) and one taslim. Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās performed eight prostrations, with one taslim after each two, on the day of the conquest of al-Madīnah, in the palace of Chosroe. And all praise be to God.

Ibn Isḥāq stated that Muhammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Zubayr related to him, from Ūbayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Thawr, from Ṣafīyya, daughter of Shayba, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived at Mecca and had reassured the people, he went to the kā’bah and circumambulated it seven times on his mount, saluting the rūkūn, the corner with the Black Stone, with a staff he carried in his hand.

When he had finished his circumambulations, he called for ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī and took from him the key to the kā’bah. When it was opened for him, he went inside, where he found a dove made of wood. He broke it in his hand and threw it away. He then stood at the door to the kā’bah, the people having assembled for him in the mosque.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, “He then performed two rākāt and went to zamzam and looked down into it. He called for water, drank it and performed the ablutions, people hastening to collect the leftovers of the water he had used. The polytheists watched him with great interest, saying, ‘We never saw or heard of any king being treated this way!’ He pushed back the al-maqām\(^\text{112}\) to where it is located today, whereas it was previously close to the kā’bah.”

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq went on, “A scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stood at the door of the kā’bah and said, ‘There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. He has kept His promise, has helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. Every advantage of ancestry or money that might be claimed is herewith placed beneath these feet of mine, except for the guardianship of the kā’bah and the provision of water to the pilgrims. Compensation for those who are killed by mistake or incomplete intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated following a binding oath of 100 camels, 40 of which shall be pregnant. O Quraysh, God has removed from you the false pride of the jāhiliyya period and the veneration of ancestry. All men stem from Adam, and Adam stemmed from dust.’ He then recited the following verse

111. This is the final act in the ritual ṣalāḥ; thereafter the worshipper may resume his normal activities.

112. The maqām ʾIrāhīm, “Abraham’s station”, a pillar upon which Abraham is said to have stood during the construction of the kā’bah. It remains to this day a special site of prayer.
(from the Qurʾān), 'O people, We created you from male and from female' (ṣūrat al-Hijrāt; XLIX, v.13). He then said, 'O Quraysh, what do you think I am going to do with you?' They replied, 'Good! (You are) a noble brother, and the son of a noble brother.' He then said, 'You may go; you are free.'

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sat down in the mosque and ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalīb went up to him, holding the key of the kaʿba in his hand. He said, 'O Messenger of God, join together for us the right of guardianship of the kaʿba with that of provision of the water for the pilgrims, may God bless you!' He responded, 'Where is ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa?' He was summoned for him and then he told ʿUthmān, 'Here is your key, ʿUthmān; this is a day of piety and good faith.'"

Imām Ahmad stated, "Sufyān related to us, from Ibn Jadān, from al-Qāsim b. Rabīʿa, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, 'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, while standing on the steps of the kaʿba on the day of the conquest of Mecca, "Praise be to God who fulfilled His promise and helped His servant and has defeated the opposing parties alone. (Compensation) for those killed by quasi-intent by whip or cudgel shall be compensated by 100 camels.""

"On another occasion he said, "by a binding oath promising payment of 40 pregnant camels. All privilege of ancestry and pride that existed in the jāhiliyya (are finished)." Another time, he said, "Both these factors are beneath these feet of mine; however, the right to provide water for the pilgrims and to have guardianship of the kaʿba will continue for those in charge of them, as before.""


Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar related to him that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the kaʿba the day of the conquest, he saw inside it representations of angels and others. He saw Abraham pictured holding divining arrows in his hand. He said, "May God kill them! They have depicted our elder using divining arrows; what would Abraham have to do with divining arrows? Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian. But he was a hāfit, and a Muslim; he was no polytheist." He then gave orders and all those images were obliterated.

Imām Ahmad stated that Sulaymān related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmān, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jabir, who said, "There were pictures inside the kaʿba and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to wipe them away. And so ʿUmar moistened a piece of cloth and used it to erase them. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went inside nothing of them remained."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAṣādaqā b. al-Faḍl related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUyayna, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from Mujahid, from Abū Maʿāmar, from ʿAbd Allāh – he being Ibn Masʿūd – who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest, around the kaʿba there were 360 idols. He set
about striking them with a stick he carried, saying, ‘The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is powerless.’”

Muslim related this from a hadith of Ibn ‘Uyya.na.

Al-Bayhaqi related, from Ibn Ishāq, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Bakr, from ‘Ali b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, from his father, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest, in the ka’ba there were 300 idols. He took a staff and set about striking the idols with it until he had hit them all.”

He then related, through Suwayd b. Sa’id from al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd Allāh, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Dinar, from Ibn ‘Umar, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca he discovered there 360 idols. He gestured towards each one with a stick and said, ‘The truth has come and error has gone; error is bound to disappear’ (ṣūrat Banū Isrā’īl; XVII, v.81). And every idol towards which he pointed fell over, without him touching them with his stick.”

He (al-Bayhaqi) then commented, “Even though this is a daqif, weak, tradition, it is substantiated by the one preceding it.”

Hanbal b. Isbq stated tht he was informed by Abū al-Rabī‘, from Ya‘qūb al-Qammi, quoting Ja‘far b. Abī al-Mughira, from Ibn Abzā, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) conquered Mecca, an old, grey-haired black woman appeared, clawing at her face and complaining loudly. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘That is Na‘ila;’ she is despairing that she will ever again be worshipped in your country.’”

Ihn Hishām stated, “A narrator of traditions in whom I have trust narrated, on a line of authorities from Ibn Shihab, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Utba, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca on the day of the conquest on his mount and circumambulated the ka’ba on it. Around the ka’ba there were idols made with lead reinforcing. He began pointing at the idols with a stick he held, saying, ‘The truth has come, and error is gone. Error is bound to disappear.’ Every idol at whose face he gestured fell over on its back, while every one at whose back he pointed fell over on its face. Eventually every single one had fallen over. Tamīm b. Asad al-Khuza‘ī therefore spoke the verse,

“There is a lesson and learning in the idols for those expecting reward or punishment.””

In the sahih collection of Muslim, (there is a hadith) from Shaybān b. Farrūkh, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughira, from Thābit, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabah, from Abū Hurayra, who said in his account of the conquest of Mecca, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forward and when he reached the (Black) Stone he saluted it and circumambulated the ka’ha. Arriving at an idol at the side of the ka’ba to which they had made worship, the Messenger of God (SAAS) grasped a bow he was carrying by its bent frame and began poking it in the eye, saying

113. The pre-Islamic goddess whose icon is said to have been positioned on Mt. Ṣafā. 
The truth has come and error has gone. The truth has come and error is bound to disappear. When he had finished his circumambulation, he went out and climbed Mt. Šaṭa and, looking down at the ka'ba, raised up his hands, gave praise to God and spoke various prayers.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Iṣṭāq b. Maṃṣūr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, who quoted his father as quoting Ayyūb, from Ṭkrīma, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) reached Mecca, he refused to enter the ka'ba while it contained idols. He therefore ordered them to be removed. One picture showed Abraham and Ismāʿīl holding divining arrows, and he said, 'May God kill them! They knew very well that they never used them to cast lots!'

"He then went inside the ka'ba, and said, Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great! in various parts of it, then came out without saying prayers there."

Al-Bukhārī gave this ḥadīth, while Muslim did not.

Imām ʿĀḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, quoting Hammām, quoting ʿAta, from Ibn ʿAbbas, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to the ka'ba in which there were six columns. He stood at each column and prayed, but he did not perform the ṣalāh prayers.

Muslim related this from Shaybān b. Farūkh, from Hammām b. Yahyā al-ʿUdhlī, from ʿAta.

Imām ʿĀḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Rassāq, quoting Māʿmar, who said that ʿUthmān al-Khaẓraji had related to him that he heard Miqṣam relate that Ibn ʿAbbas had said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into the ka'ba and spoke prayers at its side and then went out and performed two rak'as of the ṣalāh prayers."

Muslim alone gives this.

Imām ʿĀḥmad stated, "Iṣmāʿīl related to us, quoting Layth, from Mūjahīd, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed two rak'as of the ṣalāh prayers in the ka'ba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that al-Layth said, quoting Yūnus, quoting Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest from its heights and that riding with him on his mount was Usāma b. Zayd. From al-Ḥajaba he was accompanied by ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa. He dismounted at the mosque and ordered that the key to the ka'ba be brought to him. He then went in with Usāma b. Zayd, Bīlāl and ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa and stayed there for a long time. Eventually he came out again and the people hurried there. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar was the first to go inside and he found
Bilāl standing behind the door. He asked him, ‘Where was it that the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed?’ Bilāl pointed to the spot. ‘Abd Allāh commented, ‘I forgot to ask him how many prayer prostrations he had made.’”

Immām Ahmad related from Hushaym, quoting various persons, including Ibn ‘Awn, from Nāfi’, from Ibn Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went in accompanied by al-Fadl b. ‘Abbās, Usāma b. Zayd, Uthmān b. Ṭalha and Bilāl. He gave orders to Bilāl who shut the door upon them. He stayed inside for a period of time, and then he came outside.”

Ibn Umar stated, “The first of them I met was Bilāl and I asked him, ‘Where was it that the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed?’ ‘It was over here’, he replied, ‘between the two columns.’”

I note that it is established in the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī and elsewhere that the Prophet (SAAS) prayed inside the ka'ba with its door behind his back, positioning himself with two columns on his right, one on his left and three to his rear. At that time the ka'ba had six columns. There was a distance of some three arms-lengths between himself and the western wall.

Ibn Hishām stated, “And a certain scholar related to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered the ka'ba at the conquest of Mecca accompanied by Bilāl, whom he ordered to make the call to prayer. ‘Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, ‘Aṭṭāb b. Usayd and al-Ḥarīth b. Hishām were seated in the courtyard of the ka'ba. ‘Aṭṭāb said, ‘God honoured (my father) Usayd by not having him hear this; had he done so, it would have enraged him.’ Al-Ḥarīth b. Hishām commented, ‘I swear by God, if I had known he was right, I would have followed him!’ ‘Abū Sufyān added, ‘I'll say nothing. If I were to speak, these stones would report on me!’

“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) came outside and said, ‘I know what you said,’ and he then related their comments to them. Al-Ḥarīth and ‘Aṭṭāb declared, ‘We testify that you are the Messenger of God! There was no one with us who overheard this for us to say he repeated it to you.’”

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as having related from his father, who said, “A member of the family of Jubbār b. Mūt‘im related to me that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca, he gave orders to Bilāl, who climbed on to the roof of the ka'ba and there made the call to prayer. One of the sons of Sa‘d b. al-‘Aṣ said, ‘God honoured Sa‘d by taking him away before he heard this black man on the roof of the ka'ba.’”

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated, from Ma‘mar, from Ayyūb that Ibn Abū Mulayka said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave orders to Bilāl who made the call to prayer on the day of the conquest of Mecca on top of the ka'ba and that one of the Quraysh men said to al-Ḥarīth b. Hishām, ‘Do you see where that black man has climbed?’ He (al-Ḥarīth) replied, ‘Leave him alone; if God dislikes him, He will change him.’”

Yūnus b. Bukayr and others quoted Hishām b. Urwā as quoting his father as saying that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave orders to Bilāl on the day of the
conquest of Mecca, and that he made the call to prayer from atop the ka'ba, to anger the polytheists.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd stated, from al-Waqidi, from Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, from Ismā'il b. Abū Khālid, from Abū ʿĪsāq, as saying that after the conquest of Mecca, Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was sitting saying to himself, “What if I had gathered a force against Muḥammad!” While he was asking himself this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) slapped him between the shoulders and said, “Then God would have put you to shame!” Abū Sufyān then raised his head and, when he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing above him, said, “I was never sure before that you were indeed a prophet!”

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiṣ related to us, iḥāzatan, with permission (for me to quote him), quoting Abū Ḥamīd ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqri, quoting Abū Ḥamīd b. Yūsuf al-Sulāmi, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Fīrāyībī, quoting Yūnus b. Abū ʿĪsāq from Abū al-Safār, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When Abū Sufyān saw that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walked that the people would tread in his footsteps, he said to himself, ‘What if I had fought this man again!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went up, struck him on the chest and said, ‘Then God would have put you to shame!’

“He (Abū Sufyān) said, ‘I turn to God and seek His forgiveness for what I have spoken!’”

Al-Bayhaqī then related, through Ibn Khuzayma and others, from Abū Ḥamīd b. al-Ṣaḥrāqī, from Abū Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Dhuhlī, quoting Mūsā b. Aʿyan al-Juzārī, who quoted his father, who quoted ʿĪsāq b. Rashīd as quoting Saʿd b. al-Muṣayyab as saying, “That night of the conquest of Mecca the people who entered kept on calling out Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great! rejoicing and circumambulating the ka'ba until the next morning. Abū Sufyān asked Hind, ‘Do you think this is from God?’ She replied, ‘Yes; this is from God.’

“Next morning Abū Sufyān went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and the latter told him, ‘You said to Hind, “Do you think that this is from God?” “Yes”, she replied, “this is from God.”

“At this Abū Sufyān exclaimed, ‘I testify that you are the servant and Messenger of God! By Him who is invoked in oaths, no one but Hind alone heard my saying this.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “ʿĪsāq related to us, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, from Ibn Jurayj who said that Ḥasan b. Muslim informed him, from Mujāhid, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘God made Mecca a sanctuary the day He created the heavens and the earth. It is a sanctuary by God’s having made it so and will remain such until Judgement Day. (Conflict in it) was not made permissible for anyone before myself, nor for anyone after me; and this only for a short time. In it game may not be hunted, its trees may not be cut down, nor may its vegetation be uprooted. And items found in it belong to the finder only after announcement of the find.’”
the idhkhar\textsuperscript{114} plant, Messenger of God, its use is essential in burials\textsuperscript{115} and inside homes.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) was silent a moment, then agreed, 'Except for the al-idhkhar; harvesting it is allowed.'"

A lie or similar hadith comes from Ibn Jurayj, quoting 'Abd al-Karim - he being the son of Malik al-Jazari - from 'Ikrima, from Ibn 'Abbās, which gives Abū Hurayra as the narrator of the words of the Prophet (SAAS).

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this hadith with the line of transmission quoted above. This account is mursal, incomplete in its chain, as is that of the second line.

This and similar accounts are cited by those who maintain that Mecca was conquered by force of arms, along with their reference to engagements that occurred at al-Khandama, reported above. At that battle some 20 Muslims and polytheists were killed; that the evidence from it is clear is the position of most scholars.

It is well known that al-Shafi'i held that Mecca was taken peacefully, since it was not distributed as booty and because the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated the night of its conquest, "Whoever enters the home of Abī Sufyān will be secure; whoever enters the sanctuary will be secure; whoever locks his own door will be safe."

The proper place for discussion of this issue, if God Almighty so wishes it, is with reference to the work Kitāb al-Ahkām.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Sa'īd b. Shurahblil, quoting al-Layth, from al-Maqburi, from Abū Shurayh al-Khuza‘i, who said that he asked 'Amr b. Sa‘īd, who was about to dispatch groups of fighters into Mecca, "O amir, 'Commander', please permit me to report a statement made by the Messenger of God (SAAS) the day following the conquest of Mecca. My ears heard, my heart knew and my eyes saw him as he spoke it. He praised and thanked God, then said, 'It was God, not men who made Mecca a sanctuary. It is not lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood nor to cut down trees within it. And should anyone seek permission to fight therein because the Messenger of God (SAAS) fought there, then tell him, "God gave permission to His messenger but gave none to you." And He only allowed this to me for a short period. Its sanctity has reverted today to what it was before. Let those here present inform of this those absent.'"

Abū Shurayh was then asked, "What did 'Amr reply to you?" Abū Shurayh responded, "He said, 'I know this better than you do. The sanctuary does not provide refuge to anyone who has sinned, nor to a murderer in flight, nor to anyone seeking to escape payment of the jizya\textsuperscript{116}, the poll-tax.'"

\textsuperscript{114} The schoenantum plant, an odoriferous shrub.
\textsuperscript{115} Other texts of al-Bukhari give the word al-qaym, "blacksmith"; rather than al-dafn, "burial", as here. The plant's use as an essential fuel seems implied.
\textsuperscript{116} An alternative reading of al-Bukhari's text substitutes al-kharbe, "having caused damages".
Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Sa‘d in similar words.

Ibn Ishaq related that during the jāhilyya period a man called Ibn al-Athwa‘ killed a man of Khuzā‘a known as “Ihmarrā Ba‘ṣan”, “he who turned red in rage”. On the day of the conquest of Mecca Banū Khuzā‘a killed Ibn al-Athwa‘ while he was in Mecca; the man who killed him was Khirāsh b. Umayya. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, “People of Khuzā‘a, kill no more; there has been too much killing, even if to some purpose. I will pay compensation for the man killed.”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥarmala al-Aslāmi related to me, from Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) learned what Khirāsh b. Umayya had done, he said, ‘Khirāsh kills to excess!’’

Ibn Ishaq also stated that Sa‘d b. Aḥb Sa‘d b. Maqburī related to him, from Abū Shurayḥ al-Khuzā‘a, who said, “When ‘Amr b. al-Zubayr advanced on Mecca to battle his brother ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, I went to him and said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when Mecca was conquered. The day following the conquest Khuzā‘a attacked and killed a man of Hudhayl who was a polytheist. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rose to address us and said, ‘God made Mecca a sanctuary when He created the heavens and the earth. It will remain one of God’s sanctuaries until the day of Resurrection. It will not be lawful for anyone who believes in God and the last day to shed blood therein, nor to cut down a tree there. This was not made lawful for anyone who came before me, nor will it be lawful for anyone who comes after me. It was only made lawful for me for this short period because of (God’s) anger against its inhabitants. Now its sanctity has reverted to as it was previously. Let those of you present so inform those absent. Respond to anyone who tells you that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought in it by saying, ‘God made this lawful for His messenger, but He has not done so for you.’ O Khuzā‘a, cease killing; there has been too much, even if to some purpose. You have killed someone and for him I will pay compensation. If someone should be killed after my stay here, then his family has two options: to demand the blood of his killer, or to seek blood-money for him.’” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then paid compensation for the man Khuzā‘a had killed.’

“‘Amr then said to Abū Shurayḥ, ‘Go away, sheikh! We know better than you about its sanctity. It does not protect anyone who sheds blood, retracts his allegiance or resists paying the jizya tax.’

“Abū Shurayḥ then said, ‘Well, I was present there and you were absent. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered those of us present to so inform those absent; and I have so informed you. Now do as you will.’”

Ibn Hishām said that he was told that the first person for whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) paid compensation at the conquest of Mecca was Junaydīb b. al-Akwa‘. Banū Ka‘b had killed him. The compensation he paid for him was 100 camels.
Imam Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Yahyā, from ʿUṣayn, from ʿAmr b. Ṣuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “When Mecca was conquered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he said, ‘Cease using weapons; except for Khuzāʿa against Banū Bakr.’ He gave them permission (to fight on) until the al-ʿaṣr, late afternoon, prayer. He then announced, ‘Cease using your weapons!’ A man of Khuzāʿa encountered and killed another from Banū Kalb next day at al-Muzdalifa. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he arose and said, (the narrator added that he saw him and that he was resting his back on the kaʿba), ‘The people God dislikes most are those who kill others in the sanctuary, those who kill those not fighting them, and those who kill for the blood-money of the jahlīyya period.”

He went on to relate the hadīth to its end.

This hadīth is completely unique.

The al-sunan scholars relate this hadīth in part.

His giving permission here to Khuzāʿa to take revenge on Banū Bakr up to the al-ʿaṣr prayer of the day of the conquest is something I have seen only in this hadīth. If true, it seems that this is in special consideration for what they suffered at their hands on the night of their attack, known as al-maṭir. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad related, from Yahyā b. ʿAmid and Sufyān b. ʿUyayn and Yazīd b. Ṭubayd, all of whom quoted Zakariyyā b. Abū Zaʿīda, from ʿAmr al-Shaʿbi, from al-Ḥārith b. Mālik b. al-Barsā al-Khuzāʿi (who said), “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day of the conquest of Mecca, ‘This (city) will never be conquered after today until the day of Resurrection.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Bandār, from Yahyā b. ʿAmid al-Qattān. He said, “It is hasan, saḥīh, ‘good and authentic.’”

I comment that if this statement is a proscription, then it is devoid of ambiguity. If it be a negation, then, as al-Bayhaqī said, “Its meaning is ‘by those whose people are unbelievers’.”

In the saḥīh collection of Muslim, it is stated, from a hadīth of Zakariyyā b. Abū Zaʿīda, from ʿAmir al-Shaʿbī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muṭṭī, from his father Muṭṭī b. al-Aswad al-ʿAdawi, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated on the day of the conquest of Mecca, ‘After this day and on up to Resurrection Day, no man of Quraysh will ever be killed in captivity.’”

The objection to the first statement, above, could equally well be made against this too.”

Ibn Hishām stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca following its conquest and went up to al-Safā to pray, the anṣār watched him and asked one another, “Do you think that since God has conquered for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) his own land and city that he will remain there?”

117. The author is attempting to explain the purport of the hadīth in light of the fact that several inter-communal conflicts between Muslim forces did indeed occur in apparent contradiction of the prophecy.
When he had finished his prayer he asked them what they had been saying and they replied that it was nothing. He kept on at them until they told him. He then said, ‘God forbid! I shall live where you live, die where you die!’

This comment given by Ibn Hishām is substantiated by Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal in his hadith compendium. He stated that the following was related to him by Bāhz and Hāshim, both quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughira, from Thābit. Hāshim said, ‘Thābit b. Būnātī related to me, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Rabah, who said, ‘Delegations came in to see Mu‘āwiya and I was among them, as was Abū Hurayra. This was in Ramdān. We prepared food for one another. Abū Hurayra would invite us very often. So I asked myself whether I should prepare some food and invite them to my tent. I ordered food to be prepared and met Abū Hurayra that evening. I said to him, “Abū Hurayra, the invitation tonight is at my place.” “So you’re beating me to it then?” “Yes,” I replied, “I’ve invited some people who are there.”

‘Abū Hurayra said, ‘Well, you ansār, should I recount a hadith of yours?’ He went on to relate the conquest of Mecca. He said, ‘When the Messenger of God (SAAAS) arrived, he entered Mecca. He dispatched al-Zubayr in command of one of the flanks and Khalīd in charge of the other. He sent Abū Ubayda over the bridge and they took the centre of the valley. The Messenger of God (SAAAS) was in his squadron. Quraysh had gathered their forces. They (the army commanders?) said, ‘We’ll send those ahead; and if they make progress, we’ll be with them. If they are attacked, we’ll give him whatever he asks.’

‘Abū Hurayra went on, ‘He (the Prophet (SAAAS)) then looked over and when he saw me, he said, ‘Abū Hurayra!’ I responded, ‘At your service, Messenger of God!’ ‘Call up the ansār for me; and I don’t want any except ansār to come to me.’ So I called out to them and they came and formed a circle around the Messenger of God (SAAAS). He then asked them, ‘Do you see the Quraysh forces and their supporters grouped together?’ He then spoke using his hands, saying, ‘Cut right through them to conduct me to al-Safā.’

‘Abū Hurayra went on, ‘So off we went, each one of us refraining from killing any of them and they not interfering with us. Abū Sufyān commented, ‘The green (banner) of Quraysh has been disgraced! There is no Quraysh after today!’

‘The Messenger of God (SAAAS) then announced, ‘Whoever locks his door will be secure; whoever enters Abū Sufyān’s house will be secure.’ And so people did lock their doors.

‘The Messenger of God (SAAAS), then advanced to the (Black) Stone, saluted it and circumambulated the ka‘ba. In his hand he carried a bow. He grasped it by its bent frame and arriving, on his way round, at an idol beside the ka‘ba they used to worship, he struck it in the eyes, saying, ‘The truth has come and error is gone. Error is completely gone!’

‘He then climbed al-Ṣafā from where he could look down upon the ka‘ba, and raised his hands, invoking God and praying to Him.
"Meanwhile, the ansār were down below and were telling one another, ‘The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and he has a feeling of compassion for his tribe!’"

"Abū Hurayra went on, ‘Then revelation came to him. It was never hidden from us when this came, and no one would raise his gaze to the Messenger of God (SAAS) until it was at an end.’"

Hashim stated, “When the revelation was over, he raised his head and said, ‘O ansār, did you just say, ‘The man is seized by a desire to be in his village and by compassion for his tribe?’ They replied, ‘Yes, Messenger of God, we did say that.’ ‘What then should I be called? Absolutely not! I am God’s servant and His messenger. I migrated to God and to you. It is with you I shall live and with you I shall die.’"

"Those present then went up to him, weeping and saying, ‘We only said what we did because of our passion for God and His messenger.’ He then said, ‘God and His messenger believe you and forgive you.’"

Muslim and al-Nasāʾi relate this from a hadith of Sulaymān b. al-Mughira. Al-Nasāʾi added the name of Salām b. Miskin. Muslim also related it from a hadith of Hammad b. Salama, all three sources quoting Thabit, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabāḥ the ansārī, who lived in al-Baṣra, from Abū Hurayra in similar words.

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that Fadāla b. Ṭumayr b. al-Muṭawwah – al-Laythi, that is – wanted to kill the Prophet (SAAS) as he was circumambulating the kaʿba at the time of the conquest of Mecca. When the man approached him, the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, ‘‘Is that Fadāla?’ ‘Yes, Fadāla, Messenger of God,’ he replied. He next asked, ‘And what was it you were just telling yourself?’ He replied, ‘Nothing; I was repeating the name of God.’ The Prophet (SAAS) laughed and said, ‘Seek God’s forgiveness!’ and he placed his hand on Fadāla’s chest and his heart became calm.

“Fadāla used to say, ‘I swear by God, by the time he took his hand away from my chest, none of God’s creation was more beloved by me than him.’

“Fadāla stated, ‘I went back to my family and went by to see a woman with whom I would talk. She asked, ‘Are you coming in to talk?’ ‘But Fadāla declined and proceeded to speak the verses, ‘She said, “come on in and talk!” He replied, “No; God and Islam forbid you that. Had you but seen Muḥammad and his advance at the Conquest, the day when the idols were smashed, You would have seen God’s religion fully visible while the face of idolatry was covered in darkness.”’"

Ibn Ishāq stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr related to him, from Urwa, from Ḥaʿisha, who said, “Ṣafwān b. Umayya left to go to Jidda to take a boat from there to Yemen. Ṭumayr b. Wahb told the Messenger of God (SAAS),
'Prophet of God, Șafwân b. Umayya, his people's chief, has fled from you intending to cast himself into the sea. Do you give him immunity, may God bless you?' He replied, 'He is given immunity.'

"Umayr then asked him, 'Messenger of God, please give me some token by which he will know your immunity for him.' So he gave him the turban he had been wearing when he had entered Mecca.

"Umayr left with it and caught up with Șafwân as he was about to go to sea. He told him, 'Șafwân, may my father and mother be your ransom; if you plan to kill yourself, this is a guarantee of immunity from the Messenger of God (SAAS) that I have brought you.'

"'Clear off! Don't talk to me!' Șafwân told him. Umayr insisted, 'But I swear, he is the most trustworthy, compassionate and best of all men and your cousin. His fame, honour and possessions are your own.' Șafwân replied, 'Yet I fear for myself.' Umayr argued, 'But he is too compassionate and noble for that.'

"Umayr did bring him back and when he stood before the Messenger of God (SAAS) Șafwân said, 'This man claims that you grant me immunity?' 'He spoke the truth,' he replied. 'Let me have two months to make my choice,' Șafwân asked. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, 'You may have four months to decide.'"

Ibn Ishaq went on to relate from al-Zuhri that Fâkhita, daughter of al-Walid, the wife of Șafwân, and Umm Hakîm, daughter of al-Ḥarîth b. Hishâm, the wife of Ǐkrima b. Abû Jahl, had followed Ǐkriia to Yemen and asked him to come back, and he did so and accepted Islam. When the two men (Șafwân and Ǐkrima) accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (SAAS) affirmed the validity of their first marriages.

Ibn Ishaq quoted Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Râhmân b. Hassân b. Thâbit as having said, "Hassân delivered against Ibn al-Ziba'ara while the latter was in Najrán the following single verse, adding to it no other,

'May you never be deprived of a man hatred for whom has made you settle in Najrán where your life is solitary and mean!"

"When this reached Ibn al-Ziba'ara, he came out to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and accepted Islam. When he did so, he spoke the verses,

'O Messenger of al-Malîk, the Sovereign Lord, my tongue is now mending what I tore when I was unproductive,

When I followed Satan in the ways of error; and those who turn along his course are deceived.

My flesh and bones believe in my Lord; and my heart is witness that you are the one who warns.

I shall drive away from you there the clan of Lu'ayy;
all of them are deceived.'"

Ibn Ishaq also quoted Ibn al-Ziba'ara as reciting, when he accepted Islam,
"Worries and cares held back sleep from me and the night pitched above me was disturbed and impenetrable. When I had heard that Āḥmad had criticized me, I passed that night as though in fever.

O best man that ever a sure-footed, fast-paced camel bore upon its body,
I apologize to you for what I did; I have been wandering in error.
During a time when Sahm and Makhzūm ordered me to pursue false paths.
I gave aid to evil policies, led on by the orders of those in error, accursed men.
Today my heart believes in the Prophet Muḥammad and whoever mistakes this is deprived (of truth).
Enmity is over, its causes gone; the ties and understanding between us call out.
Forgive my mistakes – may my parents be your ransom – for you are forgiving and are yourself forgiven.
Upon you there is the sign of the knowledge of the Sovereign Lord, a strong light and a seal impressed.
After friendship, He honoured you with His proof, and proof from God is powerful indeed.
I have testified that your religion is true, and that you will be mighty in the hereafter.
God testifies that Āḥmad is the one chosen, noble and pre-eminent among the righteous,
A prince, his high house being from Hāshim, the branch of a tree firm at its apex and in its roots."

Ibn Hishām stated, "Some scholars of poetry dispute attribution of these verses to this poet."
I note that ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zīḥārā al-Sahmī was one of the chief enemies of Islam, one of those poets who used their powers in satirizing the Muslims. God then allowed him to repent fully and to return to Islam, and to aid and defend it.

**Division.**

Ibn Ishāq stated that the following lines of Ḥassān b. Thābit were among those delivered on the day of the conquest of Mecca:

"Traces of her campgrounds, now empty, at Dhāt al-ʿAṣābi and al-Jiwā and on to ʿAdhār have vanished,
Homes of Bānū al-Ḥāshāb now deserted and obliterated by wind and rain

118. Sites in Syria Ḥassān is said to have visited.
Always was the company pleasant there and in its pastures were fine camels and sheep.

No more of that! But who can deal with a spectre that keeps me awake when evening is past?

Sha'tha: when she appears before one, the heart knows no consolation.

She is like a fine wine from Bayt al-Ra's™, one to be mixed with honey and water;

Such drinks are fine to recall, the best of wines for which to make sacrifice.

It we blame if we behave badly, getting into fights or quarrels

When we drink it, it makes us feel like kings or lions so that nothing can deter us from conflict.

May we be deprived of our horses if you do not see them raising the dust, their objective Kādā.

They battle their reins, turning aside the thirsty spears above their shoulders.

Our horses continue charging ahead, the women flapping their veils at them.

Either you turn away from us and we perform the pilgrimage, and then the conquest will occur and the cover (over the kacba) be removed,

Or you should bear up against a battle in which God will give victory to whomever he wishes.

Gabriel, the Messenger of God, is on our side, and the Holy Spirit is without peer.

God said, 'I have sent a servant who speaks the truth – if visitation can do good.

I swear by him; so stand, and acknowledge his truth.'

You replied, 'No; we'll not arise. We don't wish to.'

And so God said, 'I have sent my troops; they are the ansār and their intent is to fight.'

Every day we receive from Maʿadd insults, conflict or mockery.

We will confuse with our rhymes those who mock us; and we will strike when blood mixes with blood!

Give Abū Sufyān from me an important message – for now is plain what had been hidden –

Consider our swords having left you a slave, and household slaves have bondwomen rule them!

You satirized Muḥammad, and I answered for him; with God will be your requital.

Is whoever of you satirizes the Messenger of God, the equal of those who praise and aid him?

119. A place in Jordan.
You satirized someone blessed, a pious *hanif*, a companion of God, a man characterized by loyalty.

My father, his father and my honour, all protect against you the honour of Muḥammad.

My tongue is a faultless sword and my verse a water source no buckets could turn cloudy."

Ibn Hishām commented that Hassān spoke these verses before the conquest.

I note that what he said is well-directed and pointed towards what was to come after these verses; the Abū Sufyān referred to in the verse is Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

Ibn Hishām commented that he had heard that al-Zuhrī had stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw the women slapping the horses with their veils, he smiled at Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him."

Ibn Ishāq stated that Anas b. Zunaym al-Dīlī spoke the following verses in apology to the Messenger of God (SAAS) for what ʿAmr b. Salīm al-Khuzāʿī had said about the Muslims; that was when he came asking assistance against them, as related above.

"Is it you at whose command Maʿadd was led aright? No; God guides them and said to you, ‘Testify!’

No camel ever carried on its saddle a man more pious and trustworthy than Muḥammad,

Anyone swifter to do good or more generous, a man who goes forth like a burnished Indian-steel sword.

Anyone more ready to present a fine, unused Yemeni robe, or to give away the winning horse.

You should know, O Messenger of God, that you will attain me, and that a threat from you is as already accomplished.

You should know, O Messenger of God, that you have power over every settlement, whether in the highlands or the lowlands.

You should know that the mounted men, the riders of Ḥuwaymir, are liars who break every vow.

They informed the Messenger of God that I satirized him; if that be true, then my hand has never carried my whip!

All I said was, ‘Woe upon the mothers of the young men struck down by ill-luck, not in fortunate, happy times.’

They were killed by those not their equal in blood-line; and my weeping and confusion were extreme.

And you were accused of spreading evil about ʿAbd b. ʿAbd Allāh and Mahwād’s daughter.

Dhuwayb, Kulṭīm and Salmā all followed one another (to death) and even if I do not weep, I do grieve,
And Salmā! There is no tribe like Salmā and his brothers. Are kings alike to slaves?
I have committed no sin nor shed blood; be sure, you who know the truth, and take thought!”

Ibn Ishaq stated that Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abn Salmī spoke the following verses on the conquest of Mecca:

“That morning Muzayna and Banū Khufāf drove the people of al-Haballaq from every ravine. We struck them with our sharp swords at Mecca the day of the conquest of the good Prophet. We came at them with 700 of Sulaym and a full 1,000 of Banū ‘Uthmān. We crushed their backs, striking and thrusting and pelted them with fine arrows. Which you could hear making a crackling sound like arrowshafts breaking at their point fastenings. We charged, our steeds wheeling among them, the shafts of our lances straight ahead. We came back taking plunder as we wished, while they retreated regretting their conflict. We gave the Messenger of God our pledge and goodwill. They heard our speech and set about retreating from us on that morning of terror.”

Ibn Hishām stated that ʿAbbs b. Mirdās al-Sulami spoke the following verses at the conquest of Mecca:

“With us that day when Muḥammad conquered Mecca were 1,000 men wearing insignia; the valleys streamed with them. They helped the Messenger and witnessed his signs; their emblems the day of the encounter were to the fore. In a constricted place where their feet set firm; it was as though (their enemies’) heads were mere colocynths. Before this their hooves had raced over Najd, until jet-black Hijāz stretched out before them. It was God who conquered it for him and the judgement of swords and vigorous toil subjugated it to us. A man used to leadership, his head held high, aspiring to the heights of dignity, a most generous man.”

Ibn Hishām gave the explanation for the acceptance of Islam by ʿAbbs b. Mirdās. His father used to worship a stone idol called Dimār which he entrusted to...
'Abbās when his death was near. One day, while 'Abbās was worshipping it, he heard a voice from inside it say,

"Tell all the tribes of Sulaym that Dimār has perished, while the people of the mosque live on.

He of Quraysh who has inherited prophethood and right-guidance after Mary's son is a true guide.

Dimār has perished, though he was long worshipped, from before the scripture up to the Prophet Muḥammad."

At that 'Abbās set Dimār afire, joined the Messenger of God (SAAS) and accepted Islam. This story is given above in full in the section of the Cries of the Spirits along with various similar tales. And to God belong all praise and credit.

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) OF KHALID B. AL-WALID AGAINST BANŪ JADHIMA, AFTER THE CONQUEST OF MECCA.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated that it was related to him by Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm b. 'Abbād b. Ḥanīf, from Abī Ja'far Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, who said, "When Mecca was conquered, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent forth Khālid b. al-Walīd as a missionary and not as a warrior. With him were Arab tribes, along with Sulaym b. Manṣūr and Mudlij b. Murra. When Banū Khudhayma b. ʿAmir b. ʿAbd Manāt b. Kināna saw them approach, they went for their weapons, but Khālid told them, 'Put down your arms; people have accepted Islam.'"

Ibn Ismāʿīl continued that a companion of his, a scholar from Banū Jadhim, told him, "When Khālid asked us to put down our arms one of us, a man named Jahdam, said, 'Take care, Banū Jadhimā - it's Khālid! I swear by God, all there will be after laying down your arms will be captivity; and after that there will be execution! By God, I'll never lay down my arms!'

"He was seized by some of his people, who asked, 'Jahdam, do you want to spill our blood? People have (all) accepted Islam now and warfare is over. People are safe now.'

"They kept on at him until they had taken away his weapons. They disarmed him because of what Khālid had said."

Ibn Iṣḥāq went on to report that Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm quoted Abū Ja'far as saying further, "When they had put down their weapons, Khālid ordered that they be bound and he then put a number of them to the sword. When news of this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) he raised his hands to heaven and said, 'O God, I declare to You my innocence of what Khālid b. al-Walīd has done.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar told him that one man from that tribe escaped and went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and when the latter had

been told what had happened, He asked, “Did anyone argue with him?” The man replied that a man of pale complexion and medium stature had argued with him, but Khalid rebuked him and shut him up. Another man, tall and excitable, had also argued with him and they disputed fiercely. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, “The first man, Messenger of God, was my son ‘Abd Allāh; the other was Sālim, the freed-man of Abū Ḥudhayfah.”

Ibn Ishaq went on to say that Ḥākim b. Ḥākim further quoted Abū Ja‘far as saying, “Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) called for ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalīb and told him, ‘‘Ali, go out to those people and make enquiries. Put an end to the practices of the jāhiliyya.’

“All went out to them carrying money the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent with him. He paid them compensation for the deaths and for their material losses, even paying them for a dog’s howl! Having met all these obligations, he still had some money left. He asked them whether there was anyone else to be paid for lost blood or damages and they said not. He then gave them the remaining money on behalf of the Messenger of God (SAAS), in case any other demands that neither he nor they were aware of should be made later.

“Having done this, he returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and reported to him. ‘You acted correctly and very well,’ he told him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose and, facing the qibla and stretching his arms out wide so that his armpits were visible, he said, ‘O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khalid b. al-Walīd did.’ He spoke these words three times.”

Ibn Ishaq stated that some who wished to excuse Khalid report him as having said, “I did not fight them until ‘Ahd Allāh b. Ḥudhayfah al-Sahmi told me to do so. He said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered you to combat them because of their having refrained from accepting Islam.’”

Ibn Hishām quoted Abū ʿAmr al-Madīnī as saying that when Khalid reached them, they had said, “raba‘na! saba‘na! We have changed religion!” These traditions are defective in their lines of transmission.

Imām ʿAlī b. al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched Khalid b. al-Walīd to Banū Jadhima – I think he said this – and he invited them to enter Islam. But they did not respond properly by saying aslāmnā, ‘we accept Islam’, but instead began saying ‘saba‘nā! saba‘nā!’ Khalid then took some prisoners and killed others. He gave to each of our men a prisoner and next morning Khalid ordered that each man of us should kill his prisoner.”

Ibn ʿUmar went on, “I said, ‘I swear by God, I’ll not kill my prisoner! Nor will any of my men kill theirs either!’”

The account continues that they then went to the Prophet (SAAS) and told him what Khalid had done. He responded by raising his hands and saying, “O God, I declare to You that I am innocent of what Khalid has done!” He said this twice.
Al-Bukhari and al-Nasz'i related this from a hadith of 'Abd al-Razzaq in similar terms.

Ibn Ishq stated, "Jahdama said to them, when he saw what Khalid was doing, 'O Banu Jadhima, the die is cast and lost; I warned you of what had happened to you.'"

Ibn Ishq went on, "I have heard that there were angry words between Khald and 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Awf about this. 'Abd al-Rahman told him, 'You have behaved in Islam as though in the jahiliyya!' 'But I only took revenge for your father,' Khalid replied. 'Abd al-Rahman responded, 'You lie! I have already killed my father's murderer. It's your uncle, al-Fakih b. al-Mughira, whom you have avenged!' Ill feeling arose between them over this.

"When news of this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) he said, 'Take it easy, Khalid! And leave my Companions alone! I swear, that if you had a mountain like Uhd of gold and then spent it in God's cause, you'd not attain a morning and evening's worth of what my Companions have done!'")

Ibn Ishq then went on to relate the story of al-Fakih b. al-Mughira b. 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar b. Makhzum, the uncle of Khalid b. al-Walid. He had left on a business trip to Yemen in the company of 'Awf b. 'Abd 'Awf b. 'Abd al-Haithm b. Zahra, this man's son 'Abd al-Rahman, along with 'Affan b. Abn al-'Ash b. Umuya b. Abd Shams and his son Uthman. When they returned they brought with them some possessions of a man of Banu Jadhima who had died in Yemen. They brought these effects to his heirs. One of their men, a man named Khalid b. Hisham, claimed them and met them on Banu Jadhima territory, asking for the dead man's possessions before they reached the family of the latter. When they refused to hand them over he attacked them and in the fighting 'Awf and Fakih were killed and their goods were seized. 'Abd al-Rahman killed the man, Khalid b. Hisham, who had slain his father, while 'Affan and his son Uthman fled to Mecca. Quraysh were about to attack Banu Jadhima when the latter sent an apology to them insisting that the attack had not been their fault. They returned the two dead men and their property and so warfare was averted.

This, then, is why Khalid told 'Abd al-Rahman that he had avenged his father by killing Banu Jadhima and why 'Abd al-Rahman responded by saying that he had killed his father's murderer. And so he went on to charge that Khalid was merely avenging his uncle al-Fakih b. al-Mughira when they killed him and took his possessions.

What was really thought by both men was that he, 'Abd al-Rahman, had not intended any of this and that the charge had only arisen due to their conflict. Khalid had only sought to render Islam and its side victorious, even though he was in error in thinking that they had been demeaning Islam by saying, saba'na! saba'na! He did not realize that they had accepted Islam, and so he killed a large number of them and took the rest captive. Most of the captives were killed as well. The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not take his command away but left
him in charge. He did, however, declare his own innocence of what Khālid had done and paid compensation for the loss of life and property.

In this there is substantiation of a statement made by scholars that the mistake of the Imām rests with his treasury, not with his own funds! But God knows best.

This is why the Caliph Abū Bakr did not dismiss him when he killed Mālik b. Nuwayra during the *rida* wars, first executing him, then choosing for himself Mālik’s wife Umm Tamim. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then advised, “Dismiss him; there’s a fault in his sword!” Abū Bakr replied, “I’ll not sheathe a sword that God drew against the polytheists.”

Ibn Ishāq stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿUthba b. al-Mughīra b. al-Akhnas related to him, from al-Zuhri, from Ibn Abī Ḥadrad al-Aslami, who said, “That day I was with the cavalry of Khālid b. al-Walid and a young man of Banū Jadhima, of about my own age, whose hands had been tied up to his neck with a rope, spoke to me. The women were all gathered together a little way off. He asked me, ‘Take me by the rope and lead me over to where the women are so that I can say something, and then bring me back and you can do with me whatever you will.’

“I replied that what he had asked was easily granted and took his rope and led him over to stand near them. He then said, Ḥubaysh, accept that life is at an end.’ He then spoke the following verses,

‘Don’t you agree that when I sought and found you at Ḥilya or came to you at al-Khawāniq
Was it not right to reward a lover who had travelled hard through long nights and hot days?
There was no blame in my saying, when our peoples were together,
“Grant me love, before some tragedy occurs.”
“Grant me love before distance intervenes and the chief leads my lover away.”
I never betrayed our secret pact and, after meeting you, was never attracted by another.
And even when distracted from love by tribal matters, my passion persisted.’

“She replied, ‘May you live on for ten, or nine odd numbered years and then eight more in succession?’

“I then led him back and he was beheaded.”

Ibn Ishāq went on to relate, quoting Abū Fīrās b. Abū Sanbala al-Aslami who quoted some of their sheikhs, from others who were present there, to the effect that the girl, Ḥubaysh, went over to him when he was beheaded and bent down over, kissing him until she herself died right there with him!

The *ḥāǧī* al-Bayhaqi related, through al-Ḥumaydī, from Suṭyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nawfal b. Musāḥiq, who said that he heard a man of Muzayna named Ibn ʿĪsām quote his father as having said, “The Messenger of
God (SAAS) would say when he sent out a military expedition, ‘If you see a mosque or hear a call to prayer, do not kill anyone.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) did send us out on one such mission and so ordered us. We headed towards Tihāma and caught up with a man leading some howdahs, camel-borne litters. We told him, ‘Accept Islam!’ He replied, ‘What is Islam?’ We explained, but he would not recognize it. He then asked what we would do if he declined. We told him we would kill him. He then asked if we would wait while he went over to the howdahs. We agreed to take him over there. When he reached there, he called out, ‘Islam! Accept Islam, Ḥubaysh! before life comes to an end.’ She replied, ‘Islam! “be safe”, for ten and nine odd-numbered years and then eight more in succession.’

“The man then spoke the verses (given above) as far as ‘and the chief leads my lover away’ and came back to us, saying, ‘Do as you wish.’ So we led him off and beheaded him. The woman then hurried down from her howdah, threw herself down upon him and died.”

Al-Bayhaqi proceeded to relate, through Abū Abd al-Rahmān al-Nasā’i, who quoted Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥarb al-Marwazi, quoting ‘Alī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. Wāqid, from his father, from Yazīd al-Nāḥwī, from Ḥikrīma, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent forth an expedition that captured booty, along with a man. He told the raiders that he did not belong there and was in love with a woman he had been pursuing. He asked to see her one more time, and that then they could do with him whatever they wished. A tall woman of dark complexion was there and he said to her, “Accept, Ḥubaysh, before life comes to an end.” He then spoke two verses. She responded, “Yes, I would sacrifice myself for you!”

The narration continued “When they led him away and beheaded him, she came and threw herself upon him, sighed deeply once or twice and died.

“When they arrived back and reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS) he exclaimed, ‘Was there not one man of mercy among you?’”

THE DISPATCH OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD TO DESTROY AL-ʿUZZĀ.

Ibn Jarir stated that its destruction occurred five days before the end of Ramaḍān that year.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then dispatched Khalīd b. al-Walīd to al-ʿUzza. There was a building at a palm-grove that Quraysh, Kināna and Muṭrar revered. Its custodians and guardians were of Banū Shaybān, of Banū Sulaym, allies of Banū Ḥashim. When the Sulami who was its guardian heard that Khalīd was coming, he hung his sword upon the Goddess and hurried away up the mountain where she stood, saying,

‘O Azz, make an all-out attack on Khalīd; throw aside your veil and roll up your sleeves!”
O 'Azz, if you don't kill that man, Khalid, then you will meet swift punishment or convert to Islam!

"When Khalid reached there he destroyed it, then returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Al-Waqidi and others related that when he arrived there, it was five days prior to the end of Ramadzn. Having smashed it, he returned and reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who asked him, "And what was it you saw?" "I saw nothing," he replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then sent him back and when he arrived there he saw a black female emerge from the temple, her hair dishevelled and wailing. He then put her to the sword and spoke the verse, 'O 'Uzza, and such is for disbelief, and not glorifying God; I see that God has indeed disgraced you.'

He then went on to lay waste to that temple in which she had been. He also confiscated the valuables inside it, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure. He then returned and informed the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said, 'That was al-'Uzza; she'll not be worshipped again.'

Al-Bayhaqi stated that the jurist Muhammad b. Abü Bakr informed him, quoting Muhammad b. Abü Ja'far, quoting Ahmad b. 'Ali, quoting Abū Kurayb, from Ibn Fuḍayl, from al-Walī b. Jamā', from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had conquered Mecca, he sent Khalid b. al-Walīd out to al-Nakhla, where al-'Uzza was. It consisted of a shrine positioned above three acacia trees. He cut down the trees and destroyed the shrine and returned and reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS), but he told him, "Go back; you have done nothing."

Khalid did so and when the temple guardians saw him they hurried off up into the mountain, saying, "O 'Uzza, cut him down! O 'Uzza, disgrace him! If you don't, you'll have to die!"

When Khalid reached there he found a naked female with dishevelled hair piling dirt over her head and face. He put her to the sword and killed her, then returned and reported to the Prophet (SAAS), who commented, "Yes, that was al-'Uzza."

Chapter: On the period spent by the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Mecca.

There is no dispute over his having remained for the rest of Ramadzn, shortening the prayers and breaking the fast. This is used by some scholars to substantiate their view that travellers who do not resolve upon remaining may shorten the prayers and fast for 18 days, according to one view. According to the other, it is determined by the place where he is.

Al-Bukhari stated that Abū Nu'aym related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Qabīsa, quoting Sufyān, from Yahyā b. Abū Ishāq, from Anas b. Malik, who
said, “We stayed 10 days with the Messenger of God (SAAS), shortening the prayers.”

The other scholars related this from numerous lines, from Yahyā b. Abū Ishāq al-Ḫaḍrami al-Baṣrī, from Anas, in similar words.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related to him by ʿAbdān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Ḫikrīma, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained there for 19 days, performing prayers consisting of two rakʿās.”

Al-Bukhārī related it also from another line. Al-Bukhārī and Abū Ḥusayn gave longer versions of both. Abū Daʿūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māja (related it) from a hadith of Ḫāṣim b. Sulaymān al-Ḫawal, from Ḫikrīma, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

In the text of Abū Daʿūd the period of the stay was 17 days.

ʿAbdān related to us, quoting Ahmad b. Shihāb, from ʿĀṣim, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “We stayed with the Messenger of God (SAAS), while travelling for 19 days, shortening the prayers.”

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, “We therefore shorten the prayer if we stop over for less than 19 days. If our stay is longer, however, we complete the prayer normally.”

Abū Daʿūd stated that ʾIbrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Ibn Ṭāhīya, quoting ʿĀli b. Zayd, from Abū Naḍra, from Imrān b. Ḫusayn as follows, “I went on military expeditions with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and was present with him at the conquest. He remained (there) for 18 nights performing prayers consisting of only two rakʿās, saying, ‘You residents, pray four rakʿās; we are travellers.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from a hadith of ʿĀli b. Zayd b. ʿAdān and he said, “This is a hadith that is hasan, ‘good.’”

Abū Daʿūd then related from a hadith of Muḥammad b. Ḫishāq, from al-Zuhrī, from Ṭubayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained there 15 nights performing shortened prayers. He then said, ‘More than one authority quoted this from Ibn Ishāq without reference to Ibn ʿAbbās.’”


Chapter: On the regulations issued by the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUrwa, from Ḫiṣa, from the Prophet (SAAS) (the following hadith). And al-Layth stated that ʿYūnūs related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, quoting ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr who quoted Ḫiṣa as saying, “ʿUtba b. Abū Waqqās promised his brother Saʿd that he would gain custody of the son of Zamʿa’s slave girl. ʿUtba had said that the boy was his own son. When the Messenger of God
(SAAS) arrived in Mecca during its conquest, Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās took the boy to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and ‘Abd b. Zam‘a went with him.

"Sa'd b. Abū Waqqās stated, 'This is the son of my brother; he has sworn to me that he is his son.' ‘Abd b. Zam‘a said, 'Messenger of God, this is my brother; he is Zam‘a’s son and was born on his bed.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) looked at the son of Zam‘a’s slave girl and found him to be very like ‘Utba b. Abū Waqqās. He then said, ‘He is your brother, ‘Abd b. Zam‘a, because he was born on his (your father’s) bed.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said (to his wife), 'And you shall put on your veil before him, Sawda!' This was because of the resemblance he saw in him to ‘Utba b. Abū Waqqās.'"

Ibn Shihāb went on to quote ‘A’isha as saying, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘A child relates to a bed; for a fornicator there is a stone.'” Ibn Shihāb stated, “Abū Hurayra used to affirm this hadith in public.”

Al-Bukhārī also related this, as did Muslim, Abū Dā‘ūd and al-Tirmidhī, from Qutayba, from al-Layth. Ibn Mājah (also) gave it from his hadith. Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this from a hadith of Mālik, from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Muhammad b. Muqātit related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allah, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, “Urwa b. al-Zubayr informed me that while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was active on the conquest of Mecca, a woman committed theft and her family asked Usāma b. Zayd to intercede (and seek clemency) for her. When Usāma brought the matter up with him, the face of the Messenger of God (SAAS) changed colour and he demanded, ‘Are you talking to me about a punishment legally prescribed by God?’ Usāma replied, ‘Please seek God’s forgiveness for me, Messenger of God!’

"That evening the Messenger of God (SAAS) arose to make an address. He gave praise to God and went on to say, ‘Now then, peoples before you were ruined because if one of them of noble birth were to steal, he would be excused, whereas if a person without power were to do so the penalties of the law would be applied against him. By Him in whose hand rests the soul of Muhammad, if Fatīma, the daughter of Muhammad were to steal, I would cut off her hand!’

“He then ordered that the hand of the woman be amputated. Thereafter she was truly repentant and married.”

‘A’isha said, “After that she would sometimes come and visit and I would pass on requests from her to the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another section (of his work) and Muslim did so from a hadith of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, from ‘A’isha.

121. Sawda was the daughter of Zam‘a. Since it was obvious from the boy’s appearance that he was not Zam‘a’s son, Sawda was not his relative and therefore should not appear before him unveiled.

122. That is, a child is to be identified with the parents with whom he is. Stoning to death is the penalty in Islam for fornication.
In the *sahih* collection of Muslim there is a *hadith* of Sabra b. Ma'bad al-Juhani which says, “At the time of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told us to engage in *al-mura*, temporary marriage, when he entered (the town) but by the time he left it he forbade it (the practice).”

In one account the Prophet (SAAS) is quoted as saying, “It is certainly *harām*, forbidden; it is *harām* from this day and on to the day of resurrection.”

In an account in the *hadith* collection of Ahmad (b. Hanbal), the *musnad*, as well as in the *sunan*, it is stated that this (the prohibition of *muḥār* marriages) came at the *hijrat al-wada‘*, the “farewell pilgrimage”. But God knows best.

In the *sahih* collection of Muslim, it is stated, on a line of transmission from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, from ʿAbd al-Wahīd b. Ziyād, from Abū al-Umays, from Iyyās b. Salama b. Salama b. al-Akwa‘, from his father, who said, “In the year of *awātīs*, the Messenger of God (SAAS) condoned temporary marriage with women of three nights duration, but he then forbade it.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “The ‘year of *awātīs*’ means the year of the conquest.” This and the *hadith* of Sabra are identical.

I note that those who establish its prohibition in the expedition against Khaybar say that it was twice made permissible and twice prohibited. Al-Shafi‘ī and others give texts to this effect.

The practice is also said to have been both declared permissible and prohibited on more than two occasions. But God knows best. It is also said to have been prohibited only once, on this occasion under discussion, at the conquest of Mecca.

It is also said to have been declared permissible only in case of *al-darara*, “necessity”; on the basis of this, if necessity exists, it, *al-mura*, is made permissible. This view is attributed to Imām Ahmad.

It is also said that the practice was not absolutely forbidden, but should be considered *ṣalā al-ibāha*, “permissible”. This is well-known as the position of Ibn ʿAbbās and his companions, as well as that of a group of the Companions (of the Messenger of God (SAAS)). Discussion of this occurs in the work *al-Ahkām*.

**Division.**

Imām Ahmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, (who said) that Muḥammad b. al-ʿAwad b. Khalaf related to him that his father, al-ʿAwad, saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) accepting pledges of allegiance on the day of the conquest. He said, ‘He was seated with Mt. al-Qarn facing him and was accepting the people for their Islam and their *shahāda*.’ I asked, ‘What is meant by *shahāda*?’ He replied, ‘Muḥammad b. al-ʿAwad b. Khalaf related that he received their pledge of allegiance (on their expression of) faith in God and their testimony that “there is no god but God, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His messenger.”’”

Ahmad was alone in giving this.
Al-Bayhaqi stated, “People high and low came to him, men and women both, and he accepted their (affirmation of) Islam and their (recitation of the) shahada.

Ibn Jarir stated, “People then assembled in Mecca to pledge allegiance in Islam to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was seated before them, so I have been told, on Mt. al-Ṣafā, with ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb below where he sat. He accepted (their statements) of total obedience to the best of their ability to God and to His messenger.

“When he had finished receiving the pledges of the men, he accepted those of the women. Among them was Hind, daughter of ʿUtba, fully veiled and apologetic in her speech for what she had done to Hamza. She feared that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would punish her for that. When the women came up to the Messenger of God (SAAS), for him to accept their allegiance, he told them ‘Pledge to me that you will not associate anything else with God.’ Hind commented, ‘Well, I swear, you’re making demands of us different from those applied to the men!’

“He went on, ‘And do not steal!’ She responded, ‘I swear by God, I did occasionally steal a little money from Abū Sufyān; I really didn’t know whether that was permissible for us or not.’ Abū Sufyān, who was a witness to what she was saying, said, ‘You are absolved for whatever you took in the past.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, ‘You must be Hind, daughter of ʿUtba?’ ‘Yes, I am,’ she replied. ‘Please forgive what is now past, may God forgive you.’

“And you women must swear not to commit adultery,’ the Messenger of God (SAAS) went on.

‘Does a free woman commit adultery?’ Hind asked.

‘And do not kill your children,’ he continued. She responded, ‘Should we raise them from birth, then kill them when grown? You and they know best about this!’ At this ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb laughed uncontrollably.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘And you shall not make up slanderous and disgraceful stories.’ ‘Well’, Hind replied, ‘inventing slander is certainly ugly; a little exaggeration is better!’

‘And you must not disobey me,’ he went on. Hind responded, ‘To do good!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said to ʿUmar, ‘Accept their pledge. And may God forgive them. For God is forgiving, merciful.’”

123. That is, a woman who is not a slave—i.e. “does a woman of good birth (or high standing)”.

124. According to al-Ṭabarī’s account, Hind responded to this question by saying, “I brought them up when they were little and you killed them on the day of Badr when they were grown up, so you are the one to know about them!” (Quoted in Guillaume, op. cit. p.553.)

125. This exchange appears in different form in al-Ṭabarī’s account. According to it, the exchange was as follows, “You shall not disobey me in carrying out orders to do good.” She said, “We should not have sat all this time if we wanted to disobey you in such orders!” Quoted in Guillaume, op. cit. p.553.
Qārma then accepted their pledges, for the Messenger of God (SAAS) never shook hands with women. Indeed, the only women he ever touched were those God had made lawful for him, or who were mahram for him.

It is established in both sahih collections, from ‘A‘isha, may God be pleased with her, that she said, “No, I swear, the hand of the Messenger of God (SAAS) never touched the hand of any woman.” In one account the wording is, “And he only ever accepted allegiance verbally from them.” And he would say, “Whatever I say to one woman, is just what I would say to 100 women.”

In both sahih collections it is reported from ‘A‘isha that Hind, daughter of Utba, the wife of Abū Sufyān, came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, “O Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. He does not give me enough to cover expenses for myself and for my children. Would it be wrong for me to take some of his money without his knowledge?” He replied, “You may fairly take from his funds enough for yourself and your children.”

Al-Bayhaqi related through Yahyā b. Bukayar, from al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Urwa, from ‘A‘isha, that Hind, daughter of Utba, said, “Messenger of God, there used to be nothing hidden on the face of the earth that I wanted more than that your supporters be humiliated. But now there’s nothing hidden in the back of the earth that I want more than that your supporters be successful.” The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, “And what else, by Him who holds Muḥammad’s soul in His hand?” She said, “Messenger of God, Abū Sufyān is a stingy man. Would it be wrong for me to provide food from what he owns?” “No, but do so bil-ma‘rif; ‘fairly’.”

Al-Bukhārī related this from Yahyā b. Bukayar in similar terms. Material relating to the acceptance of Islam by Abū Sufyān is given above.

Abū Dā’ud stated that Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Jarir, from Mānṣūr, from Mujahid, from Tāwūs, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘(Now) there is no hijra, but there is jihād, “striving for God’s cause”, and niyya, “intentions”. If you are fought, then fight back.’”

Al-Bukhārī related it from ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, and Muslim did so from Yāḥyā b. Yahyā, from Jarir.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ‘Affān, quoting Wahb, quoting Ibn Tāwūs, from his father, from Ṣafwān b. Umayya, who said that he was told, “that only those who migrated will enter paradise”. So I (the father of Tāwūs?) said, “I’ll not go home until I ask the Messenger of God (SAAS) what it was he was asked. So I went to him, told him of this and he responded, ‘There is no hijra after the conquest of Mecca. However, there is jihād and niyya; and if you are fought, then fight back.’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

126. That is, in a degree of consanguinity to him that precluded marriage.
Al-Bukhari stated, “Muhammad b. Abū Bakr related to us, quoting al-Fudayl b. Sulaymān, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdi, from Mujāshiʾ b. Masʿūd, who said, ‘I went with Abū Maʿṣūm to the Prophet (SAAS) so that he could make a pledge to him to make the ḥijra. He replied, “The ḥijra is over,127 (reserved) for those who did it. I accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam and for the jihād.”’

“I met Abū Maʿṣūm and asked him (about this) and he replied, ‘Mujāshiʾ spoke the truth.’”

Khalid stated, from Abū ʿUthmān, from Mujāshiʾ, that he brought his brother Mujālid with him.

Al-Bukhari stated that ʿAmr b. Khalid related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū ʿUthmān, who said, “Mujāshiʾ related to me as follows, ‘After the conquest of Mecca, I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) with my brother and said, “Messenger of God, I’ve brought you my brother for you to accept his pledge for the ḥijra.” He replied, “Those (credited with) performing the ḥijra, with all its rewards, have gone.” “For what will you accept his pledge, then?” I asked. “I will accept his pledge of allegiance to Islam, to faith and to the jihād.”’

“I later met with Abū Maʿṣūm, who was the elder of them, and asked him (about it). He replied, “Mujāshiʾ spoke the truth.””

Al-Bukhari also stated that Muhammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghuḍar, quoting Shuʿba, from Abū Bishr, from Mujāhid, who said, “I said to Ibn ʿUmar, ‘I want to migrate to Syria.’ He replied, ‘There is no ḥijra; however, do go and present yourself. You’ll either find something or just return.’”

Abū al-Nadr stated that Shuʿba related to him, quoting Abū Bishr who said that he heard Mujāhid say, “I asked Ibn ʿUmar and he said, ‘There’s no ḥijra now’ – or ‘after the Messenger of God (SAAS).’” The rest of the hadith is as above.

Ishaq b. Yazid related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Ḥamza, quoting Abū ʿAmr al-Awzāʿī, from ʿAbd b. Abū Lubāba, from Mujāhid b. Jubayr, that ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmar said, “There is no ḥijra after the conquest.”

Al-Bukhari stated that Ishaq b. Yazid related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Ḥamza, quoting al-Awzāʿī, from ʿAbd b. Abū Rabah, who said, “I visited ʿAʾishā with ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr who asked her about the ḥijra. She replied, ‘There is no ḥijra now. The believers used to flee, each one singly with his religion, to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, and to His messenger, fearing his faith might be subverted. Now God has rendered Islam victorious and the believer worships God wherever he wishes. However, there is jihād and niyya.’”

These accounts and anecdotes show that the ḥijra, whether already completed or in general, came to an end after the conquest of Mecca. This was because people

127. This implies that following the conquest of Mecca migration to join Islam was no longer valid. Previously participation in the ḥijra had been an action for which there would be reward.
had entered into God's religion in large numbers and Islam had become victorious and firmly based; and so there was no hijra any more.

This is so unless there might be some circumstances arising that necessitate hijra, due to the close presence of warfare and a lack of power to make the faith prevail over them; this would then necessitate hijra into the domain of Islam. This is a matter about which there is no dispute among scholars.

However, such a hijra would not be similar to that of prior to the conquest. Moreover, both jihād and infaq, "sacrifice", for God's cause are appropriate and desirable right up to Judgement Day, though not like that jihād and infaq that pertained to the conquest, that is the conquest of Mecca.

God, Almighty is He, stated, "Those of you who made sacrifices and fought prior to the conquest are not equivalent; those are higher in rank than those who made sacrifices and fought thereafter. But for both God has promised reward" (sūrat al-Hādīd; LVII, v. 10).

Imām ʿAḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtārī al-Ṭāʾī, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Khudart, who said, "When the verse, 'when God's victory and the conquest came' (sūrat al-Nay; CX, v. 1) was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited it to its end and then he said, 'The people are good and I and my Companions are good.' He then said, 'There is no hijra after the conquest, but there is jihād and niyya.'

"Marwān said to him (Abū ʿAṣīd), 'You have lied! With him there were Raflī b. Khadij and Zayd b. Thābit, seated with him on the bed.' Abū ʿAṣīd responded, 'If these two wanted, they would tell you it was so. But this one is afraid that you will withdraw his prestige with his people, while this other one is afraid you will withdraw the stipend he receives!'

"At this Marwān raised his whip to strike him and when the two men saw this, they said, 'He spoke the truth!'"

ʿAḥmad is alone in relating this.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Mūsā b. Ismāʿīl, quoting Abū ʿAwānā, from Abū Bishr, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbaṣ, who said, "Umar would take me in with the sheikhs who had been at Badr. One of them seemed annoyed and said, 'Why do you let him come in with us, when we have sons like him?' Umar replied, 'But you know who he is.' One day Umar invited them and I went in with them; I did not realize that he had only included me to show them something. Umar asked, 'What do you have to say about the statement of God, Almighty and Glorious, 'When God's victory and the conquest come'? One of the sheikhs replied, 'We are ordered to praise God and to seek His forgiveness if we are aided and given victory.' Others of them were silent, saying nothing. Umar asked, 'Is that what you say, Ibn ʿAbbaṣ?' 'No,' I replied. 'Well, what do you say?' he asked. I replied, 'This refers to the approach of death for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which God was informing him. (The phrase)
‘When God’s victory and the conquest come’ was a sign of your (the Prophet’s) death. And so, ‘give praise to your Lord and ask his forgiveness. He is ever willing to forgive’. At that ʿUmar said (to the sheikhs) ‘I do not know anything about it other than what he knows.’

Al-Bukhārī was alone in recounting this. This is related similarly on more than one line of transmission from Ibn ʿAbbās, all to the effect that he interpreted this verse as a reference to the approaching death of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Mujāhid, Abū al-ʿĀliyya al-Ḍabḥāk and others, including Ibn ʿAbbās and ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with them both, also subscribed to this interpretation.

There is also a hadith given by ʿImām ʿAḥmad who quoted it through Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl, ʿĀṣār, and Saʿd b. Jubayr back to Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When the verse, ‘When God’s victory and the conquest come’ the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘I have been given notice of my death’” — that is, that he would be taken away (by God) that year.”

ʿImām ʿAḥmad is alone in including in his chain of transmission ʿAtṭāb b. ʿAbd Muslim al-Khurasanī. This hadith has weakness noted by several imāms. In the text there is a phrase which is completely inappropriate. Namely, the statement that “he would be taken away that year”. This is foolish, because the conquest was in the year 8 AH, in Ramadan, as related above. This is something beyond dispute.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) died in Rahīm d-Awwal of 11 AH, again something beyond dispute.

Similar is the hadith related by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarānī, may God have mercy upon him, (who stated as follows), “Ibrāhīm b. ʿAḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Wakīl related to us, quoting his father, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, from Abū al-Umays, from Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Jahm, from ʿAbd Allah b. `ayd Allah b. Urba, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, ‘The last sūra of the entire Qur’ān that was revealed in its entirety was, “When God’s victory and the conquest came.”’”

This is also unacceptable. Its chain of authorities is also problematic. It is likely that what is meant is that it is the last sūra of the Qur’ān that was revealed in its entirety. But God knows best.

We have sufficiently discussed interpretation of this noble sūra; and to God belong all praise and credit.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyāb, from Abū Qalāba, from ʿAmr b. Salama (who said) that Abū Qalāba asked him, “Won’t you meet him and ask him?” So I did meet him and did ask him. He replied, “We were at a water-source by which people passed and we would ask them, ‘What is wrong with the people? What is that man doing?’ They would reply, ‘He claims that God has sent him and revealed to him such-and-such.’ I would learn those words by heart and would feel as though they were implanted inside me. These Arabs were delaying their acceptance of Islam until the conquest. They would say, ‘Leave him for his own people to...
take care of him! If he does overcome them, then he will be a prophet speaking the truth.'

“When the combat at the conquest occurred, each tribe hurried to accept Islam. My father accepted Islam before my tribe did. When he arrived back, he said, ‘I swear by God that I have come to you from the Prophet, in truth!’ He, (the Prophet (SAAS)) said, ‘Perform such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time. And when the time for prayer comes, then one of you should call the adhān, the summons to prayer. And then which ever one of you knows the Qurʾān best should lead the prayer.’ So they enquired but found no one who knew more Qurʾān than I did, because of what I had been learning from the passing caravans.

“And so they appointed me to lead them in prayer; I was six or seven years old at the time. I used to be dressed in a burda, a short, squared garment, and when I prostrated it would ride up (and expose me). A woman of the tribe asked, ‘Couldn’t you cover over for us the anus of your reciter?’ So they bought cloth and made a shirt for me. And nothing had ever made me so happy as that shirt did!”

Al-Bukhari is alone in recounting this; Muslim did not.

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THE EXPEDITION AGAINST HAWĀZIN; THE BATTLE OF HŪNAYN.

God Almighty stated, “God aided you on many battlefields and at the battle of Hunayn, when your large numbers made you confident, but they were of no use to you and the earth was constrained all about you, spacious though it was! Then you turned back, retreating. Thereafter God sent down his sense of calm upon His messenger and upon the believers and He sent down forces which you did not see and He punished those who disbelieved; that is the reward of unbelievers. Then, after that, God will turn towards whomever He wishes; and God is Forgiving, Merciful” (sūrat al-Bārāʾ; IX, v.25–7).

Muhammad b. Ishaq b. Yasar related in his book that the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS) against Hawazin came after the conquest, on the 5th of Shawwāl, 8 AH. He also claimed that the conquest took place ten days before the end of Ramaḍān, fifteen days before his departure against Hawazin.

This is related similarly from Ibn Masʿūd. Urwa b. al-Zubayr stated this, and ʿAbd b. ʿAbd al-Malik preferred it, as did Ibn Jarir in his history.

Al-Waqidi stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth against Hawazin on the 6th day of Shawwāl and he reached Ḥunayn on the 10th of that month. Abū Bakr, ‘the Trusting’, stated, ‘We’ll not be defeated today because of size.” Then they were defeated; the first defeated were Bānt Sūlaym, then the Meccans, then the remainder of the force.”

128. The word used is sakmu; for discussion of this word, see Lane, op. cit. under sakana.
129. The implication is that the substantial numbers of the Muslims engaging would ensure victory.
Ibn Ishaq stated that when Hawazin heard about how God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (SAAS), their leader, Malik b. Awf al-Nasri, gathered them together. All of Thaqif assembled with Hawazin and they were joined by Nasr and all Jusham, along with Sa'd b. Bakr and a few men of Banu Hilal. Of Qays Aylan, only these were present. Of Hawazin, (the clans of) Ka'b and Kilab did not attend and no noteworthy person of them was there. Among Banu Jusham there was Durayd b. al-Simma, an elderly sheikh who was capable of speaking advice and giving his knowledge of warfare; he was a man of very great experience. Thaqif had two leaders; in the Ahlzl there was Qarib b. al-Aswad b. Mansur b. Muattib. In Banu Malik there were Dhul-Khimar Subay b. al-Harith and his brother Ammar b. al-Harith. The overall command was under Malik b. Awf al-Nasri.

Ibn Ishaq’s account continued, “When he had made the decision to attack the Messenger of God (SAAS), he had the people bring their possessions along with their women and their children with them. When they halted at Auwas, his force gathered around him; among them was Durayd b. al-Simma in a kind of howdah in which he was borne along. When they halted, Durayd asked, ‘In which valley are you?’ ‘In Auwas,’ they replied. He commented, ‘A fine place for cavalry! It’s not hilly with rocks, nor is it soft ground. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels and the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?’ They replied that Malik had had the force bring their possessions, women and children with them. ‘And where is Malik?’ asked Durayd. ‘He is here,’ they told him and summoned him.

“Durayd then said to him, ‘Malik, you have become your people’s leader and this is a day that will greatly influence the future. Why is it I hear the grunting of camels, the braying of donkeys, the crying of babies and the bleating of sheep?’ He replied, ‘I had the people bring their children and possessions with them.’ ‘Why was this?’ Durayd asked. Malik replied, ‘I wanted every man to have his family and possessions behind him so that he would fight for them.’

“On hearing this, Durayd made a sound of disapproval and commented, ‘You cowardly sheep grazer! Would anything ever turn around someone in retreat? If the battle is to go well, it will be only men with swords and lances who do you good. If the battle goes badly, you’ll be disgraced with regards to your family and possessions anyway.’

“Durayd then asked, ‘What have Ka'b and Kilab done?’ ‘No one from them is present,’ he replied. ‘So then skill and courage are absent! If it were to be a day of fine, noble deeds, Ka'b and Kilab would not miss it. I wish you had done the same as them! Who is attending with you?’ They told him that Amr b. Amir and Awf b. Amir were present. He responded, ‘Well, those two branches of Amir will do neither good nor harm.’ He then said, ‘Malik, you’ve done nothing (good) by sending ahead the main force of Hawazin to face up to the cavalry.’

“Durayd then told Malik b. Awf, ‘Send them up high to some inaccessible area of their people’s territory, then meet the turncoat apostates on horse. If the
battle goes in your favour, then your people behind you can join you. If it goes against you, then you will have saved your families and possessions.’

‘Malik replied, ‘By God, I’ll not do that! You’ve grown old and so has your mind!’ He went on, ‘Hawāzin, either you obey me, or I’ll press myself down on this sword until it comes out through my back!’ He hated Durayd to have any say or credit. They said they would obey him.

‘Durayd then said, ‘This is a battle in which I did not participate, nor did I miss it.’ He then spoke the following verses,

‘How I wish I were a youth once more! I would speed forth into the battle
I would lead on long-maned horses as though they were young donkeys.’

‘Malik then told everyone, ‘When you see them, then break your swords from their sheaths and charge at them as one man!”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Umayya b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Uthmān related to me that he was told that Malik b. ‘Awf sent out some of his men as scouts. When they came back their joints had become dislocated. ‘What happened to you?’ he asked them. They replied, ‘We saw some white men mounted on piebald horses. And all of a sudden, we were afflicted as you see us now.’ And, by God, even that did not deter him from his plan.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard about them, he sent out ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥadrad al-Aslami with orders to infiltrate them and report back. He did so, and when he had learned of their plan to wage war against the Messenger of God (SAAS) and heard (of the role of) Malik and Hawāzin and their intentions, he came back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and so informed him.

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had decided to go forth against Hawāzin, he was told that Ṣafwān b. Umayya had a stock of coats of armour and weapons. He therefore sent to Ṣafwān – still at that time a polytheist – and asked him to loan his equipment for the Muslims to use against their enemies next day.

‘Ṣafwān asked, ‘Are you going to take them (from me) by force, Muḥammad?’ He replied, ‘No. They will be a loan and guaranteed for return to you.’ ‘I’ve no objection to that,’ he responded. He then gave him 100 coats of mail and sufficient weapons. Some maintain that the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him also to transport the equipment and that he agreed.”

This is the account as given, without a full line of transmission, by Ibn Ishāq.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated this from Ibn Ishāq, from ‘Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, from his father. And also from ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb, al-Zuhri, ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm and others, the account of Ḥunayn is given similarly to above. The story of the armour is also as above. In that account, when Ibn Abū Ḥadrad returned and
reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS) about Hawāzin, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb questioned his veracity. Ibn Abū Ḥadrad responded, ‘If you call my honesty into question, ‘Umar, you’d probably call truth itself into question!’ ‘Umar asked, ‘Do you hear what he is saying, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘You were going astray, but God gave you guidance.’”

Imām Alī al-Madd stated that it was related to him by Yazid b. Hārūn, quoting Shurayk, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rāfiʿ, from Umayya b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) borrowed armour from (Ibn) Umayya at the battle of Ḥunayn. (Ibn) Umayya responded, ‘Are you taking them by force, Muḥammad?’ He replied, ‘No, it’s a loan, return guaranteed.’

He went on to relate that some of the armour was lost and the Messenger of God (SAAS) offered to make good on his guarantee of their return and that (Ibn) Umayya responded, “Today it’s Islam I want, Messenger of God.”

Abū Dā‘ūd and al-Nasāʾī related it from a ḥadīth of Yazid b. Hārūn.

Al-Nasāʾī included it from an account of Isrāʾīl, from ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Rāfiʿ, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ṣafwān b. Umayya, to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a ḥadīth of Hushaym, from Hajjaj from ʿAṭṭāʾ, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) borrowed coats of mail from Ṣafwān.

He also related it from a ḥadīth of Hushaym, from Hajjāj, from ʿAṭṭāʾ, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) borrowed coats of armour and horses from Ṣafwān. He related the remainder of the ḥadīth as above.

Abū Dā‘ūd stated that it was related to him by Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, quoting Jarir, from ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz b. Rāfiʿ, from people of the family of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣafwān, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, “Ṣafwān, do you have any weapons?” Ṣafwān responded, “As a willing loan or by force?” “As a loan,” he replied. Ṣafwān then loaned him between 30 and 40 coats of mail and the Messenger of God (SAAS) attacked Ḥunayn. When the polytheists were defeated, Ṣafwān’s armour was collected and some was found to be missing. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked Ṣafwān, “We have lost some of your armour. Shall we pay you compensation?” “No, Messenger of God,” he replied. “There is now in my heart what was not present that day.”

This is also mursal, incomplete in its line of transmission.

Ibn Ishaq continued, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went forth accompanied by 2,000 Meccans and 10,000 of his men who had come out with him and through whom God had conquered Mecca. They totalled 12,000 men.”

I note that according to the statements of Urwa, al-Zuhri and Mūsā b. Uqba, the total number of the 2 armies with which he faced Hawāzin was 14,000, since he had brought 12,000 to Mecca, in their view, and 2,000 of the al-ṭulaqāt had been joined to these.

130. The word means “those set free”. The term is applied to the Meccans who remained polytheists until the conquest of Mecca.

I note that ʿAṭṭāb was at that time approximately 20 years of age.

Ibn Ishaq related further how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had proceeded on to meet Hawāzin, and he then quoted the qasīda, the ode, of al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulami on that activity. Some of its verses were,

"Take to all Hawāzin, their high and low, a message from me, giving them clear advice:

'I think that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will attack you in the morning with his army.

Among them will be your brother Sulaym who will not let you leave, along with the Muslims, God’s servants, of Ghassān.

On his right flank there will be Bānū Asād, and the well-tried tribes of Bās and Dhūbyān.

The earth will almost shake with fear at Him, and in his vanguard will be Aws and Qutbān.’"

Ibn Ishaq pointed out that Aws and Qutbān were clans of Muzayna.

He went on, "Al-Zuhri related to me, from Sīnān b. Abū Sīnān al-Dīlī, from Abū Wāqīd al-Laythi, that al-Ḥārith b. Mālik said, ‘We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Hunayn, having only recently emerged from the jihālīyya.

‘We travelled on with him to Hunayn. The Quraysh unbelievers and other Arabs revered a great green tree called Dhat Anwāt; they would go to it each year and hang on it their weapons, make sacrifices near it and spend the day there.

‘As we travelled on with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we saw a great green lote tree and we called out from all sides of the path, ‘O Messenger of God, establish for us a Dhat Anwāt such as they have.’ He responded, ‘Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great!’ By Him who holds my soul in His hand, you speak as did the people of Moses to him, ‘Make for us a god like the god they have!’ You are an ignorant, foolish people! These are sunān, ancient practices! You would re-establish the ancient practices of your forebears!’"
b. al-Ḥanḍāliyya related to him, that when they went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to perform the prayer at al-ṣuhr, noontime, a horseman arrived, who said, "Messenger of God, I went on ahead of you, went up Mt. such-and-such and Mt. such-and-such and then I came across Hawāzīn in their entirety, complete with their sedān-born women, their livestock camels and their sheep, all gathered at Ḥunayn.

"At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, 'Tomorrow all that will be booty for the Muslims, if God will it!' He then asked, 'Who will stand guard for us tonight?' Anas b. Abī Manḥad replied, 'I will, Messenger of God!' "Then mount up," he told him.

"He went and mounted a mare, then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who asked him, 'Go on up into this defile till you reach its top; we don’t want to be exposed to danger from ahead tonight.'

"Next morning, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out to the place for prayer and performed two rakʿas of prayer. He then asked, 'Have you perceived anything from your mounted guard?' When they said they had not, he made a call for prayer and performed it, glancing up towards the defile until it was over. He then announced, 'Good news! Your horseman has come!' As he said this he was looking through the tree into the defile and the mounted man then appeared and stopped in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He reported that he had gone right up to the top of the defile, as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he had looked out over both defiles when morning came and had not seen anyone. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked him, 'Did you dismount at all during the night?' He replied, 'No; except to pray or to relieve myself.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, 'You have done your duty; don’t worry about not doing it hereafter!'"


Chapter: On the conduct of the battle; how at first there was flight and then it ended in favour of the pious.

Yūnūs b. Bukayr and others quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yaṣār as saying, "Āṣim b. Umar b. Qatāda related to me, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Jábir b. ʿAbd Allāh, from his father, who said, 'Malik b. 'Awf went forth with others to Ḥunayn, where he arrived before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). They prepared and positioned themselves for battle in the narrows and twists of the valley.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his force arrived in the valley in the half-light of dawn. As the men descended the enemy cavalry appeared before them and bore down on them. Our men broke ranks and fled, no one caring about the others."
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) moved away to the right, calling out, "Where are you going, men? Come to me; I am the Messenger of God! I am Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh!"

"But it did no good. The camels were all over one another. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw the state of the men..."

With him a group of men of his family: ʿĀli b. Ṭalīb, Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥāriṯ, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and his brother Raḥīma b. al-Ḥāriṯ b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and al- Faḍl b. al-ʿAbbās. And, it is said, al-Faḍl b. Abū Sufyān, Aymān b. Umm Aymān, Usāma b. Zayd. Some include with them Qutham b. al-ʿAbbās, along with a group of muḥājirīn, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

"Al-ʿAbbās was gripping the mouth-ring of his white donkey that he was riding, having struck it to open its mouth."

He (Ibn Ishāq) continued, "There was one man of Hawāzin mounted on a red camel who carried a black banner on the end of a long spear; he was ahead of and leading Hawāzin who were behind him. When he overtook someone, he would thrust his spear at him; if he missed the man, then he would raise his spear as a sign to those behind him and they would follow the man.

"While he was engaged in this, ʿĀli b. Ṭalīb fell upon him, accompanied by an ansārī. ʿĀli approached him from behind and struck the hocks of the camel and it fell on its rump. The ansārī then leapt on the man and gave him a blow that severed his foot, along with half his leg, so that he fell from his saddle.

"The men went on fighting hard and when those who had fled in defeat returned, they found bound prisoners assembled near the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Isām Aḥmad narrated this from Yaʿqīb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhrī, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq continued, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) turned to Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥāriṯ b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, who was one of those who had stood fast that day and had well and truly accepted Islam and was holding the back of the saddle of the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked, 'Who is this?' Abū Sufyān replied, 'I'm your mother's son, Messenger of God.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When the enemy had been defeated, some of the Arab toughs began to reveal their ill-will. Abū Sufyān Ṣakhir b. Ḥarb (whose acceptance of Islam was still fresh and who was still that day carrying divining arrows) said,

131. The Arabic printed text is defective at this point. The account, as given in Guillaume's translation, continues as follows: "The men ran away, except that a number of Muhājīrīn and Ansār and men of his family remained with the apostle. Of the Muhājīrīn who stood firm were Abū Bakr and Ḫārīṯ; of his family..." From this point the Arabic printed text seems intact, as above.

132. At this point the Arabic text seems defective and ill-ordered. In Ibn Ishāq's account as translated by Guillaume, this quotation is part of a separate passage quoting the words of the father of Kathīr b. al-ʿAbbās. See Guillaume, op. cit. p.509.
Their defeat won't end before the sea!' Kalada (or Jābara) b. al-Ḥanbal, who was there with his brother — on his mother's side — Ṣafwān b. Umayya (he still being a polytheist, during the respite granted him by the Messenger of God (SAAS)) cried out, 'Magic is definitely useless now!' Ṣafwān responded, 'Be silent, may God close your mouth! I swear, I'd sooner have a man of Quraysh be my leader than any of Hawāzin!'"

Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. Quraysh stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān b. Muslim, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭalḥa, from Anas b. Mālik, that, "Hawāzin brought their women, children, camels and livestock with them to the battle of Hunayn and lined them up so that they would outnumber (the supporters of) the Messenger of God (SAAS). And when the forces met, the Muslims did retreat, as God Almighty stated. And the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, 'O ansār, I am God's servant and His messenger.' And God defeated the polytheists; and he was neither struck by a sword, nor pierced by a lance."

The account went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated that day, 'Whoever kills an unbeliever shall own the booty from him.' Ṭalḥa killed that day 20 men and took booty from them.

"ʿAbū Qatāda stated, 'O Messenger of God, I struck a man on his shoulder vein; he was wearing armour, but I was forced away from him. Would you see who took it? At that a man arose and said, 'I'm the one who took it. You should compensate him for it and award it to me.' Whenever a request was made to the Messenger of God (SAAS) he either agreed to it or remained silent. This time he remained silent and ʿUmar spoke up, 'I swear, God would not compensate one of God's lions and give it to you!' The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'ʿUmar has spoken the truth.'"

He (Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. Quraysh) said, "ʿAbū Ṭalḥa met Umm Sulaym who had a dagger with her. ʿAbū Ṭalḥa asked, 'What is that?' She replied, 'If one of the polytheists comes near me, I'll stick him in the stomach!' ʿAbū Ṭalḥa commented, 'Did you hear what Umm Sulaym said?' The Messenger of God (SAAS) laughed and Umm Sulaym asked, 'Messenger of God, execute those ḥulaq̣, Meccan converts, at our rear who deserted you!' He replied, 'God has already done well and enough, Umm Sulaym.'"

Muslim also narrated from him the story of Umm Sulaym's dagger, and Abū Dārūt related it along with a statement from him (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) that, "Whoever kills someone (an enemy) will have the man's booty." Both these authorities quoted from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. Quraysh.

The comment given above as ʿUmar's is controversial; it is widely believed to have been made by Abū Bakr, "the Trusting".

Imām ʿAbd Allāh b. Quraysh stated that ʿAbd al-Šamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith related to him, quoting his father, quoting Nāfiʿ Abū Ghalib, (who said) that he was present when Anas b. Mālik was asked, by al-ʿĀlā b. Ziyād al-ʿAdawi, "Abū Ḥamza, what age was the Messenger of God (SAAS) when he received his mission?" He replied that he was 40 years of age. 'And what happened then?' he was asked. He
replied, ‘Thereafter he was 10 years in Mecca and 10 in Medina. When he had completed 60 years of age, God took him to Himself.’ He was asked, ‘At that time, what was he like, relative to the age of others?’ ‘He was the most youthful of men, handsome and well-built,’ he replied.

‘Al-‘Alî then asked, ‘Abû Ḥamza, did you ever participate in a military expedition with the Messenger of God (SAAS)?’ He replied, ‘Yes, I was on the expedition to al-Ḥunayn with him. The polytheists came forth and attacked us early in the morning and soon we saw our cavalry round at our rear. Among the polytheists there was one man who was really devastating us. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw this, he dismounted and then God defeated them and they retreated. When he saw that victory was won, he had them brought to him as captives, one by one, and they would pledge allegiance in Islam to him. One of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) said, ‘I have sworn that if that man who had been devastating us were brought, I would behead him.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained silent, and the man referred to was brought up. When the man saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) he said, ‘Messenger of God, I turn in repentance to God!’ He refrained from accepting the man’s pledge of allegiance so that his Companion could fulfil his vow. The latter kept looking over at the Messenger of God (SAAS), of whom he was in awe, waiting for him to tell him to kill the man. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) saw that he was not going to do anything, he accepted the prisoner’s pledge of allegiance. His Companion then asked, ‘What about my oath, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘I’ve only refrained from accepting his oath till now so that you could fulfil your oath.’ The Companion asked, ‘Messenger of God, could you not have gestured to me?’ He replied, ‘It is not fitting for a prophet to gesture.’’”

Ahmad is alone in giving this.

Ahmad (also) stated that it was related to him by Yazid, quoting Ḥamīd al-Ṭawrī, from Anas b. Malik, who said, ‘One of the prayers spoken by the Prophet (SAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn was, ‘O God, if You wish it, You will not be worshipped on earth after today!’”

The chain of authorities for this hadith is tripartite and meets the criteria of the two sheikhs. However, none of the compilers of the (canonical) collections included it with this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shu’ba, from Abū Ishāq, who heard al-Banî b. Azīb being questioned by a man of Qays as to whether he and others had deserted the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Ḥunayn. He replied, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) had not fled. The Hawāzin were good archers. They fled when we attacked, but when we charged at the booty, they shot arrows at us. I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) on his white mule, its reins being held by Abū Sufyān, and the former was saying, ‘I am undoubtedly the Prophet!’”

133. That is, al-Bukhārī and Muslim.
Al-Bukhari also related this from Abū al-Walid, from Shu'ba, the Messenger of God's words having been,

"I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib."

Al-Bukhari also stated that Isrā'īl and Zuhayr quoted this from Abū Ishāq, from al-Bara', with the addition of the words, "And then he dismounted from his mule."

Muslim and al-Nasā'i related it from Bandar. Muslim added Abū Mūsā to the chain. Both traced it back to Ghundar.

Muslim also related it from a hadith of Zakariyya' b. Abī Zā'ida, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Bara', who said that he then dismounted, calling for help and saying,

"I am the Prophet, undoubtedly; I am the son of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. O God, send down Your help!"

Al-Bara' went on, "When the fighting became most intense, we would seek protection with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ); those who were brave would imitate him."

Al-Bayhaqi related from various lines that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) said that day, "I am al-'Awtīk's' son."

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that it was related to him by 'Abbās b. al-Ḍaql al-ʿAsfātī, quoting 'Amr b. Ḥafṣ al-ʿWāṣṭī, quoting Hushaym, quoting Yahyā b. Saʿid, from 'Amr b. Saʿid b. al-ṣāṣ, from Shabbāba, from Ibn ʿĀṣim al-Sulami (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) said at the battle of al-Ḥunayn, "I am al-'Awtīk's son."

Al-Bukhari stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Malik, from Yahyā b. Saʿid, from 'Amr b. Kāthir b. Aflah, from Abū Muhammad, freed-man of Abū Qatāda, from Abū Qatāda, who said, "We accompanied the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) into battle at Ḥunayn. When we clashed, the Muslims retreated. I saw one of the polytheists overpowering one of the Muslims, so I struck him with my sword from behind on his shoulder vein, cutting through his armour. But he charged at me and pinned me down so hard I felt near death. However, he died and so released me. I caught up with ʿUmar and asked, 'What's wrong with everyone?' 'It is God's decree,' he replied."

"Later they (the Muslims) returned (to the battle) and the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) sat and stated, 'Whoever killed one of the enemy and has a witness to it can claim the dead man's possessions.' So I arose and asked, 'Who will be my witness?' I then sat down. The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) repeated what he had said, and again I arose, asking for someone to be my witness; and then I sat down. The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) repeated his statement, and again I arose. He now asked, 'What is wrong, Abū Qatāda?' I related what I had done and a man

134. A word meaning an ancient bow - an honorific title for ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.
then got up and said, 'He speaks the truth. I have the dead man's possessions, so compensate Abū Qatāda for me.' Abū Bakr then said, 'Absolutely not, by God! You cannot expect a lion of God to fight for God and His messenger, then for him to give you the booty he won!' The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'He (Abū Bakr) spoke the truth; give it back to him!' The man did so and I used it to purchase a piece of land from Banū Salama; it was the first money I earned after accepting Islam.'

The rest of the scholarly community, except al-Nasā'i, related this from a hadith of Yahyā b. Sa'īd.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that al-Layth b. Sa'īd related, quoting Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from 'Amr b. Kathir b. Aflah, from Abū Muḥammad, the freed-man of Abū Qatāda, who quoted Abū Qatāda as saying, “At the battle of Ḥunayn, I noticed one of the Muslims fighting a polytheist, while another of the polytheists was sneaking up behind the Muslims to kill him. So I charged at the second polytheist, who raised his hand to hit me, but I struck it and cut it off. However, he seized me and pulled me to himself so hard I feared (I would die). Then he went down, loosening his grip, and I pushed him away and killed him. After that the Muslims retired, as did I myself. Then I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb amid the army and asked him, 'What's wrong with everyone?' He replied, 'It is God's decree.'

"After that the men returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS) (after defeating the enemy) and he announced, 'Whoever can provide proof of his having killed an enemy shall receive his (the dead man's) possessions.' So I stood up to look for some proof of my having killed an enemy, but since I could not see anyone who could testify for me, I sat down again. Then it seemed to me I should tell to the Messenger of God (SAAS) what had happened (and did so). One of the men sitting there said, 'I have the weapons belonging to the man slain to whom he is referring; give him compensation for me.' Abū Bakr said, 'Indeed not; he will not give anything to some little hyena of Quraysh what belongs to one of God's lions who fought for God and His messenger.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose and awarded it to me and I used it to buy a piece of land. It was the first property I earned."

Al-Bukhārī related this in various other places, as did Muslim. Both drew it from Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Sa'īd.

It is given above from an account of Nāfi' Abū Ghalīb, from Anas, that the man who spoke up on the occasion was ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Perhaps he said it following Abū Bakr, or in substantiation or agreement of his words. Or there may have been some confusion over who spoke thus. God knows best.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥākim informed him, quoting al-ʿAṣāmīn, quoting Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, who said that it was related to him by ʿAṣim b. ʿUmar, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, from his father Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted the Messenger
of God (SAAS), when he saw how people were behaving at the battle of Hunayn, as saying, "Abbas! Call out: 'O ansār! O people of the tree!'" (When he did so) they responded, "Labbayka! Labbayka! At Your service! At Your service!" The men then tried to turn their mounts, and when they failed to do so, they threw off their armour from around their necks, took their swords and shields and headed in the direction of his voice. Eventually some 100 of them were gathered about him and they made a stand and fought on. The first call he made was to the ansār, then another was made to (Banū) Khazraj. They were steadfast in the battle. The Messenger of God (SAAS) looked out at his mounted men and the fierce battle waging and commented, "The fires of war are really hot now!"

Al-Bayhaqi went on, "By the time all the force had returned around him, the prisoners were already bound, and there with them the Messenger of God (SAAS). God destroyed many of them and caused many to flee. He awarded to His messenger their possessions and children."

Ibn Lahi'a stated, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhri, that after God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he had rested, he went out against Hawāzin, accompanied by the people of Mecca, some mounted, others on foot. Even the women left too, walking; they did so not for religious reasons but to watch and to bring back the booty. And they would not have minded if the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men had lost.

They also stated that he was accompanied by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb and Ṣafwān b. ʿUmayya. The wife of the latter was a Muslim, while he was still a polytheist. But they (the couple) had not been separated. Ibn Lahi'a stated, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa, and Mūsā b. ʿUqba narrated in his military chronicle, from al-Zuhri, that after God had conquered Mecca for the Messenger of God (SAAS) and he had rested, he went out against Hawāzin, accompanied by the people of Mecca, some mounted, others on foot. Even the women left too, walking; they did so not for religious reasons but to watch and to bring back the booty. And they would not have minded if the Messenger of God (SAAS) and his men had lost.

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"People say that one of the Quraysh men passed by  Sa'fwan b. Umayya and said, 'I bring good news of the defeat of Muḥammad and his men. I swear, they will never recover.'  Sa'fwan asked, 'Are you telling me it's good news for the bedouin to win? I swear, I much prefer a man of Quraysh than a bedouin as my master.'  Sa'fwan was angry for this reason.

Urwa went on, 'Sa'fwan sent a slave of his ahead, telling him, 'Listen for who is making the war cry.' When he came back, he said, 'I heard them saying, "O Banū 'Abd al-Rahmān! O Banū 'Abd Allāh! O Banū 'Ubayd Allāh!"' He (Sa'fwan) said, 'Muḥammad has won! Those were their war cries.' The sources stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was in the thick of the battle, he stood up in his stirrups while he rode the mule and raised his hands praying to God, saying, 'O God, I appeal to You to fulfil Your promise to me. O God, it must not be that they defeat us!' He called for his men and urged them on, 'O men who were at the Ḥudaybiyya truce! O God! O God! Things are turning against Your prophet.' It is said that he incited them by saying, 'O ansār of God and of His messenger! O Banū al-Khazraj! O people of sūrat al-Baqara! And he assigned some of his Companions to call this out.'

They went on, 'He also picked up a handful of pebbles and cast them into the faces and on to the heads of the polytheists, saying, 'May their faces be deformed!' His men then hurriedly gathered around him. They claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'Now the fires of war are heating up!' God then defeated His enemies wherever He had cast His pebbles at them. The Muslims pursued them, killing them. And God gave them their women and offspring as booty. Mālik b. 'Awf fled and entered the fort of al-Tā'if, along with some of his people's leaders.

"Many of the people of Mecca accepted Islam when they saw God's victory for His messenger (SAAS) and the way He had honoured His religion."

Al-Bayhaqi related this.

Ibn Wahb stated that it was told to him by Yūnūs, from al-Zuhri, who said that Kathir b. al-Ĥabīb b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib quoted al-Ĥabīb as stating, "I was present with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn; I and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarith kept close to him throughout. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was riding a white mule presented to him by Farwa b. Nuṣṭātha al-Jadhāmī. When the forces met, the Muslims turned back in flight. The Messenger of God (SAAS) suddenly urged his mule on towards the polytheists. I held tight to its bridle, trying to slow it down, while Abū Sufyān gripped the saddle of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) cried out, 'Hey, 'Abbās, call for the men of the acacia tree! I swear, it was as though, on hearing my voice, I had gained their attention as does a cow her young! They responded, 'Ya lābbaykāhl! Ya lābbaykāhl! At Your service! At Your service!' They and the polytheists then engaged in battle, while the ansār criers shouted, 'O ansār!' Then the cry was repeated directly to Banū al-Ĥārith b. al-Khazraj.
“The Messenger of God (SAAS), on his mule, stared over at them, as though stretching forward to battle them himself, and said, ‘This is when the fires of war will heat up!’ Then he picked up gravel which he threw into the faces of the unbelievers and said, ‘May you be defeated, by Muhammad’s Lord!’ I had been watching, and as far as I could see the fighting was progressing as before. But no sooner had he thrown the gravel than the enemy’s enthusiasm dulled and they retreated.”

Muslim narrated this about Abū al-Ṭāhir, from Ibn Wahb in similar terms. He also narrated it from Muhammad b. Rāfi’, from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Ma’mar, from al-Zuhri in similar terms.

Muslim also related, from a hadith of ‘Ikrima b. Ammār, from Iyyās b. Salama b. al-Akwa’, from his father, who said, “We fought the battle of Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God (SAAS). When we confronted the enemy, I advanced up a mountain path where I found a polytheist, at whom I shot an arrow. He hid from me and I did not know what became of him. I then saw the enemy coming up another mountain path. They clashed with the men of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who turned back. I retreated too. I had two striped garments, in one of which I was dressed, the other draped over me. I untied my waist-wrapper and joined both striped garments together. Then I retreated, passing by the Prophet (SAAS), who was mounted on his grey mule. He commented, ‘Ibn al-Akwa’ has seen something frightening.’

“As the enemy was overwhelming the Messenger of God (SAAS), he dismounted from his mule, picked up a handful of dirt from the ground and threw it into their faces, saying, ‘May their faces be deformed!’ And every single one of them had his eyes fill with that dirt from that handful and they turned and fled. God defeated them and thereafter the Messenger of God (SAAS) divided up their possessions among the Muslims.”

Abū Dā‘ūd al-Ṭayalisi stated in his Musnad hadīth collection that it was related to him by Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ya‘lā b. ‘Āṭā‘, from ‘Abd Allah b. Yasar, from Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṭihri, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Ḥunayn. We set out on an extremely hot day. We halted in the shade of some acacia trees, and when the sun had set, I put on my cuirass and mounted my horse. I then went over to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was in his tent. I addressed him, ‘Peace be upon you, Messenger of God and may His mercy and blessings be yours. Is it time to go yet, Messenger of God?’ ‘Yes, it is,’ he replied. He then called out the name of Bilāl, who emerged quickly from beneath an acacia, his shadow like that of a bird. He said, ‘At your service and pleasure, may I be ransom for you!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, ‘Saddle up my horse.’ He was brought two palm fronds that were without holes or indentations.

“He mounted his horse and we spent the day riding. The two cavalries came face to face and we did battle with them. Then the Muslims turned and retreated, as God Almighty stated. The Messenger of God (SAAS) began saying,
‘O worshippers of God, I am the servant and Messenger of God!’ He then jumped from his horse and someone close to him later told me that he took a handful of dirt and tossed it into the faces of the enemy, saying, ‘May their faces be deformed!’”

Ya'la b. 'Aqí stated, “Their sons quoted their fathers as saying, ‘All of them, without exception, had their eyes and mouths filled with dirt. And we heard a clanging sound from the sky like iron striking an iron pot and God, Almighty and Glorious is He, defeated them.’”

Abu Dā'ūd al-Sijistāni related it in his Sunan collection, quoting Mūsā b. Ḥamīd b. Sa‘lāma in similar words.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ‘Affān, quoting ‘Abd al-Wahīb b. Ziyād, quoting al-Ḥārith b. Ḥusayn, quoting al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, from his father, who quoted ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd as stating, “I was present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn. The men retreated from him, and 80 of the anṣār and the muhājirin remained there with him. We drew back some 80 feet, but did not turn our backs to the enemy. These men were the ones upon whom God sent down al-sakīna.134 The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was meanwhile still going forward on his mule, which veered to one side so that he slipped off his saddle. I called out to him, ‘Up you get! May God raise you up!’ He replied, ‘Get me a handful of dirt!’ With this he struck them in their faces and filled their mouths. Then he asked, ‘Where are the muhājirin and the anṣār?’ ‘They are close by,’ I replied. ‘Call for them,’ he asked. I did this and they came, their swords in their right hands shining like stars, and the polytheists then turned their backs in retreat.”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥafīz, quoting Abū al-Wahīb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṭā’īfī, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamīd b. Tamīm al-Ṭanṭarı, quoting Abū Qalāba, quoting Abū ‘Āṣim, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṭā’īfī, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Iyāḍ b. al-Ḥārith al-Anṣārī, from his father (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) attacked Banū Ĥawāzin with a force of 12,000 men and that at Ḥunayn a like number of the people of al-Ṭā’īf were killed as those who died at Badr. ‘Iyāḍ stated, “And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) picked up a handful of pebbles which he threw into our faces, and we were defeated.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated this in his history, but he did not include ‘Iyāḍ’s genealogy.

Musaddad stated that Ja‘far b. Sulaymān related to him, quoting ‘Awf b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, the freed-man of Umm Burthin, from someone who was present at Ḥunayn as an unbeliever, who said, “When we and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met they had not prepared ewes’ milk37 for us! So we advanced

136. “The calm”; see notes and above and Sirat al-Banīţa; IX, v.27. Sometimes the word is found identified as “His (God’s) sakīna”, as in the above verse and elsewhere, sometimes with the definite article, as here.

137. That is, presumably, “they were not going to treat us as honoured guests”.

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slashing away with our swords before the Messenger of God (SAAS) until we overwhelmed them. Eventually there between us and them were some really magnificent men. And then they cried out, ‘May your faces be deformed! Go back!’ And we were defeated because of those words.”

Al-Bayhaqi related this.

Ya’qūb b. Sufyān stated that it was related to him by Abū Sufyān, quoting Sa’īd ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḳibrahīm, quoting al-Walīd b. Muslim, quoting Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shaʿbī, from al-Ḥarīth b. Badr al-ʿNaṣrī, from a man of his tribe who had been present on that day at the battle of Ḥunayn, along with ʿAmr b. Sufyān al-Thaqafī, both of whom said, “When the Muslims were being defeated at Ḥunayn, there only remained with the Messenger of God (SAAS) Ābbās and Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥarīth. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then picked up a handful of pebbles and threw it into their faces. We fled, imagining every rock or tree to be some knight chasing us.”

Al-Thaqafī added, “I raced away on my horse until I entered al-Ṭaʿīf.”

Yūnùs b. Bukayr narrated in his military chronicle, from Yūsuf b. Suhayb b. ʿAbd Allāh, that only one man stood fast with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Ḥunayn, and his name was Zyād.

Al-Bayhaqi narrated, through al-Kudaymi, quoting Musā b. Masʿūd, quoting Saʿīd b. al-Saʿīb b. Yasār al-Ṭaʿīfī, from al-Saʿīb b. Yasār, who quoted Yazīd b. ʿAmīr al-Suwaytī as saying, at the discovery that Muslims came across at the battle of Ḥunayn, “The polytheists pursued them and the Messenger of God (SAAS) picked up handful of dirt from the ground and then advanced towards the polytheists and threw it into their faces, saying, ‘Go back! May your faces be deformed!’ And every man another would meet complained about dirt in his eyes.”

He then narrated through two other lines from Abū Hudhayfā, who stated that it was related to him by Saʿīd b. al-Saʿīb b. Yasār al-Ṭaʿīfī, quoting Abū al-Saʿīb b. Yasār, who said that he heard Yazīd b. ʿAmīr al-Suwaytī (who had been present at Ḥunayn with the Messenger of God (SAAS), though on the side of the polytheists, having accepted Islam only later) say as we asked him about the terror that God had cast into the hearts of the polytheists at the battle of Ḥunayn, “He would take pebbles and throw them into an iron pot that would clatter; and we would experience the same in our insides.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz and Muhammad b. Musā b. al-Faḍl, both of whom said, “Abū al-ʿAbdās Muhammad b. Yaqūb related to us, quoting al-ʿAbdās b. Muḥammad b. Bukayr al-Ḥadrāmī, quoting Abū Ayyūb b. Jabīr, from ʿṢadqa b. Saʿīd, from Muḥammad b. Suhayba, from his father, who said, ‘I went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS) to the battle of Ḥunayn, though it was not Islam nor any knowledge of it that made me do so; I just refused to have Hawāzīn defeat Quraysh! As I stood with him, I said, “Messenger of God, I can see piebald horses!” He replied, “No one but a
polytheist would see them!” Then he struck me in the chest and said, “O God, guide Shayba aright!” He then hit it again and said, “O God, guide Shayba aright!” and then he did and said the same a third time. And I swear by God, no sooner had he raised his hand from me the third time than there was none of God’s creation whom I loved more than I did him!”

He went on to relate the encounter between the armies, how the Muslims had been retreating, how al-‘Abbās had called out and the Messenger of God (SAAS) had asked God for His help, and so on until God had defeated the polytheists.


“I went to approach him from his right, but there was al-‘Abbās standing dressed in white metal armour, looking like silver with its tarnish wiped away. I said, ‘He’s his uncle – he’ll not desert him.’ Then I went at him from the left and came upon Abī Sufyān b. Abī al-‘Aṣwālī. I told myself, ‘That’s his cousin he’ll not desert him.’ Then I came at him from behind. All I had left to do was attack him fiercely with my sword when a great flame like lightning arose between myself and him. I was afraid it would burn me, so I put my hand over my eyes and retreated. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then turned and said, ‘Shayba, come closer to me. O God, take Satan away from him!’ I then lifted my gaze to him and found him to be dearer to me than my own sight or hearing. He then said, ‘Shayba, fight the unbelievers!’”

Ibn Ishaq quoted Shayba b. ‘Uthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa, a brother of Banū ‘Abd al-Dār, as saying, “I said, ‘Today I will get my revenge’” (his father had been killed at Uhud). ‘Today I shall kill Muḥammad!’ I went around the Messenger of God (SAAS) to kill him, but something overwhelmed me so that I could not do that; I knew that it was forbidden for me.”

Muḥammad b. Ishaq also quoted his father, Ishaq b. Yasar, from another man, who quoted Juwayr b. Mūṣir as saying, “I was with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn and while the battle was going on, I saw something like a black coverlet falling from the sky that descended between us and the enemy. We saw it to be ants that had spread all over and were filling the valley. Immediately the enemy were defeated. We had no doubt that it was the angels.”


He went on to quote Khudayj b. al-‘Arjār al-Naṣrī as reciting the following verses – about Ḥunayn, that is,
“When we approached Ḥunayn and its water, we saw something black, unpleasant in colour, streaked white. With a grey squadron which, were it cast up at the heights of Mt.‘Urwa it would have become level! If my people’s chiefs had obeyed me, we would not have encountered the manifest apparition. Then we would not have met the troops of Muḥammad’s people, 80,000 strong, along with Khindif.”

Ibn Isḥaq also quoted the following verses spoken by Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Nasrī, chief of Hawāzin, while he was in the turmoil of battle that day:

“Advance, Muḥājirīn! This is a day of battle to which one like me rides on one like you, again and again. Even if the front line is lost and the rear too and they come on up, Squadrons (so numerous as to) exhaust one’s sight. I used to thrust so hard as to make the wounds gush with blood! When others were blamed for holding back and hiding, I would thrust so hard the blood would gurgle forth. In a full stream from inside, sometimes overflowing, sometimes gushing fast, The lance’s tip still inside, broken at the shaft-head. O Zayd! O Ibn Hamham, to where do you flee? Your teeth are gone and you are old. The white-skinned women wearing long veils know well That I’ll not charge blindly, when the secluded women are brought from behind the curtains.”

Al-Bayhaqi related through Yūnus b. Bukayr, who quoted from Ibn Isḥaq, other verses delivered by Mālik when his companions had fled in defeat. These verses were spoken after he had accepted Islam; they are also attributed to others:

“Remember their progress, and all those there, while above Mālik the banners fluttered. Mālik is a leader above whom there is none; at Ḥunayn he wore a glistening crown. Until they met their enemy, when bravery led them on, wearing helmets and chain-mail and bearing leather shields. They struck hard at the men until they saw no one around the Prophet, until dusk encompassed him. Until Gabriel came down to help them and we were defeated and made captive. Had it not been Gabriel fighting us, our fine swords would have protected us

138. The name of his horse.
Wmar d-Fsriiq when they were being defeated, escaped from a thrust that caught his saddle."

Ibn Ishāq stated, "When the polytheists were defeated, and God gave His messenger power over them, a Muslim woman said,

'God’s cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; it is God who more deserves to prevail.'"

Ibn Hishām stated that an authority on the transmission of poetry quoted it to him as,

"God’s cavalry has overcome that of al-Lāt; His cavalry more deserves to prevail."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "When Hawāzin were defeated, widespread execution of Thaqīf of Bānū Malik took place. Seventy of their men were killed beneath their banner, which was under the charge of Dhū al-Khīmār. When he was killed, ‘Uthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. Ḥālib took it and fought on with it until killed. ʿAmīr b. Wahb b. al-Aswad told me that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) learned of his death, he said, 'God damn him! He hated Quraysh!'

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote Yaʿqūb b. Uṭba as having said that along with this man ‘Uthmān, a Christian slave of his was also killed. One of the anqār came to remove the youth’s possessions and found him to be uncircumcised. So he called out at the top of his voice, "Hey, Arabs, Thaqīf are uncircumcised!"

"Al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba al-Thaqafi said that upon hearing this, 'I took him by the hand, fearing that this calumny would spread among the Arabs and told him, “Don’t say that, may my father and mother be your ransom! He was just a Christian slave of ours.” I then uncovered the dead for him, asking, “Can’t you see that they are indeed circumcised?”’"

Ibn Ishāq continued, “The banner of (Bānū) al-Aḥlāf was with Qārīb b. al-Aswad. When the enemy were defeated, he leaned it against a tree and he, his relatives and his people all fled. Only two of the al-Aḥlāf were killed – one man of Bānū Ghaylara named Wahb and a man of Kubba named al-Jullāh. When he heard of the death of al-Jullāh, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘The leading young man of Thaqīf, except for him descended from Ibn Hunayda, has been killed today.’ By this latter man he was referring to al-Ḥārith b. Uways.

Ibn Ishāq stated further, “Al-ʿAbbās b. Mīrdās spoke the following verses, referring to Qārīb b. al-Aswad and his having fled from his brothers, and to Dhū al-Khīmār’s having constrained his people and himself to death:

‘Who is it will inform Ghaylān for me and, I imagine, someone knowing will go to him,

And Urwa too; I have only to lead you to a response and a statement that suggests the contrary to what you both say:
That Muhammad is a servant and a messenger for a Lord who does not lead astray nor does He do wrong. We find him to be a prophet like Moses, and whatever man thinks himself better than him is deluded.

Terrible was the state of Banū Qasī in Wajj, when the matters were decreed. They ruined their situation; and for every people there is a leader, and fortunes may well change.

We attacked them like forest lions; the forces of God move in plain view.

We attacked the force of Banū Qasī enraged, almost flying at them.

I swear that had they stayed, we would have brought troops against them and they would not have escaped.

We were (like) lions of Liyā‘ until we revealed them and al-Nuṣūrī were made to surrender. And (there was) a day before that of Ḥunayn that has now gone by when blood streamed. You'll hear of no day like today; a people of long memory has not heard of such.

We killed Banū Ḥuṭayf on the dust, over their banners, while the cavalry shifted away.

Dhū al-Khīmār was no leader for a people who had intelligence who could be punished or disavowed.

He took them on the roads to death, matters being clear for those who could see them.

Some on the point of death escaped and survived, while many of them were killed.

A feeble man would not help such a situation, nor would someone lacking modesty or over-cautious.

He destroyed them and perished; they gave him leadership over their affairs and the chiefs left.

Banū ʿAwf have horses that trot along and are given hay and barley to eat.

Were it not for Qārīb and his father’s sons, the pastures and forts would be divided up.

But they occupied the leadership by luck to which they were directed.

They obeyed Qārīb, and good fortune and aspirations lead to glory.

If they are led to Islam, they will be found to be leaders of men for so long as day and night persist.

If they do not accept Islam, then they call for war against God and shall have no helper.

139. A place near al-Tifference.
140. The family of Malik b. ʿAwf.
Just as war erased Banū Sa’d and fate brought evil to the clan of Banū Ghaziyya. As though Bana Mu’āwiya b. Bakr came to Islam like sheep, bleating. We said, ‘Accept Islam! We are your brothers; our hearts are innocent of old hatred.’ It was as though when the people came to us, they were, after the peace, devoid of hate.”

Chapter.

When Hawāzin had been defeated, their leader Mālik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣrī halted at a pass with a group of his men and told them to stay there until their weaker comrades and those at their rear caught up with them.

Ibn Ishaq stated that he had been informed that some horsemen came up while Mālik and his companions were at the pass. He asked his men, “What do you see?” “We can see men who place their lances between the ears of their horses that have long flanks.” Mālik commented, “Those are Banū Salim; you should not fear them.” When they arrived there they followed a route in the middle of the valley. Then other riders appeared, following the first group. Mālik asked his men, “What do you see?” They replied, “We see men who rest their lances carelessly across their horses.” “Those”, Mālik said, “are al-Aws and al-Khazraj. You should not fear them.” When these men arrived at the base of the pass, they took the same route as Banū Salim. Then another horseman appeared, and Mālik asked his men, “What do you see?” They told him, “We see a rider on a long-flanked horse holding his lance on his shoulder and with his head covered in a red kerchief.” “That is al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwāmī,” Mālik observed, “I swear by al-Lāt, he will attack you, so fight back hard.” When al-Zubayr reached the base of the pass, he saw them, made for them and kept thrusting at them until he had dislodged them from it.”

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave orders regarding the booty, and the camels, sheep, goats and prisoners were gathered together. He had them all taken to al-Jīrānā where they were kept.

Ibn Ishaq stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed Mas‘ūd b. ʿAmr al-Ghifārī in charge of the booty.

Chapter.

Ibn Ishāq stated that he was informed by a colleague that on that day the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by a woman whom Khālid b. al-Walīd had
killed; a crowd had gathered around her. He told one of his companions, "Go to 'Khālid and tell him that God's messenger forbids you from killing children, women or hired labourers."

Ibn 'Ishāq related it thus without a complete line of transmission. Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Abū 'Amīr 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Amr, quoting al-Mughīra b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, from Abū al-Zinād, who said that al-Muraqqā b. Šayfī related to him, from his grandfather Rabī b. Rabī, brother of Banū Ḥanẓala al-Kāthib, who stated that on one occasion the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition he had waged in which 'Khālid b. al-Walīd was in the vanguard. Rabī and the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by a dead woman who had been struck down by the vanguard. They had halted and were looking down admiringly at her when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), riding his mount, caught up with them. They drew away from her and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) halted over her and said, "This woman should not have been killed!" He then told one of his men, "Go to 'Khālid and tell him, 'No women nor hired labourers must be killed!'"

Abū Dā'ūd, Al-Nasā'ī and Ibn Māja related it similarly, from a hadith of Muraqqā b. Šayfī.

THE EXPEDITION TO AWṬĀS.

The reason for this was that when Ḥawāzin were defeated a number of them, including their leader Malik b. 'Awf al-Naqṣī, took refuge in al-Ṭā'īf, where they fortified themselves. One group of their men went and made camp at a place called Awṭās. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent an expedition of his men under the command of Abū 'Amīr al-Aṣḥārī and they fought and defeated the enemy. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then himself went and besieged al-Ṭā'īf, as will be recounted.

Ibn 'Ishāq stated, "When the polytheists were defeated at the battle of Ḥunayn, they went to al-Ṭā'īf, in the company of Malik b. 'Awf. Some of them encamped at Awṭās, while others, consisting only of men of Banū Ghīra of Thaqīf, went towards Nakhlā. The cavalry of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) followed those who took the path through the pass."

He went on, "Rabīʿa b. Rafīʿ b. Ahān al-Sulāmī - known by his mother's name as 'son of al-Daghīna' - captured Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. He did so by taking the reins of his camel, thinking that a woman and not he, was in the howdah upon it. When he made the camel kneel, he discovered an old man inside, Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, whom the young man, Rabīʿa, did not recognize. Durayd asked him, 'What do you want of me?' He replied, 'I am going to kill you.' 'Who are you?' Durayd asked. 'I am Rabīʿa b. Rafīʿ al-Sulāmī.' Rabīʿa then struck Durayd with his sword, but the blow was ineffective. Durayd commented, 'Well, your mother did not give you a good weapon! Here, take my sword from the back of
my saddle in the *howdah*, then use it to strike me; hit above the backbone and below the skull. Now that’s how I would strike men! And when you go to your mother, tell her that you killed Durayd b. al-Ṣimma. I swear that many were the times I defended your women!

“Banū Sulaym claim that Rabī’ said, ‘When I struck him and he fell down, he was exposed and the skin high up between his thighs was like parchment from his having so often ridden bareback.’

“When Rabī’ returned to his mother and told her of having killed him, she said, ‘I swear, he set free three of your mothers!’”

Ibn Isḥāq then quoted verses his daughter ‘Amra spoke eulogizing him. These included,

“They said, ‘We killed Durayd!’ I said, ‘They spoke the truth!’ And my tears kept streaming down my robe.

Were it not for Him who had defeated all the tribes, Sulaym and Kaš would have known what to do.

Then a great army would have attacked them constantly, their armour emitting various odours of rust, wherever they went.”

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent after those of the enemy who had headed for Awrt%s a force under Abū ʿAmir al-Ashʿari. He caught up with some of those who had fled and they engaged in battle. An arrow was shot at and killed Abū ʿAmir and Aba Miṣaṣ al-ʿAshʿari took the banner, he being the cousin of Abū ʿAmir, battled them and God, Almighty and Glorious, gave him victory over them. They claim that it was Salama b. Durayd who shot Abū ʿAmir al-ʿAshʿari with an arrow, striking him in the knee and killing him.

“Salama spoke the following verses,

‘If you ask about me, I’ll say I’m Salam, son of Samādir, “the weak-sighted”, I’ll tell whoever asks I strike with my sword the heads of Muslims.’”

Ibn Isḥāq stated further, “An authority on poetry and its transmission whom I trust told me that Abū ʿAmir al-ʿAshʿari confronted the polytheist brothers. One of them attacked him and Abū ʿAmir fought back, calling him to accept Islam, saying, ‘O God, bear witness against him!’ Then Abū ʿAmir killed him.

“A second polytheist attacked him and Abū ʿAmir fought back, inviting him into Islam, saying, ‘O God, bear witness against him.’ Abū ʿAmir then killed him. At that they all charged at him while he spoke as before. Eventually he had killed nine of them and only the tenth remained. He attacked Abū ʿAmir, who fought back, calling upon him to accept Islam, saying, ‘O God, bear witness against him.’ Then the man called out, ‘O God, do not bear witness against me!’ At that Abū ʿAmir stopped fighting him and the man withdrew. He thereafter accepted Islam and was a good Muslim. When he saw him, the Prophet (SAAS) would comment, ‘That’s the fugitive from Abū ʿAmir.’”
"Two brothers - al-‘Alā and Awfā, sons of al-Hārith of Banū Jusham b. Mu‘awiyya - then shot at Abū ‘Amir. One of them hit him in the heart, the other in the knee, and they killed him. Abū Mūsā then turned the enemy back and attacked and killed these two men. A man of Banū Jusham b. Mu‘awiyya eulogized them in the following verses,

‘What a calamity was the killing of al-‘Alā and Awfā together, who received no support. They left him lying on a battle field, his clothing as though stained with saffron. The like of them both was never seen before; no two were ever more free of fault, or more sure of aim.’"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muhammad b. al-‘Alā related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Burayd b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abī Māsā, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had finished at Ḥunayn, he sent Abī ‘Amir in command of an army to Awfās. There he encountered Durayd b. al-Ṣimma who was killed, while his companions were defeated."

Abū Mūsā went on, "He sent me forth with Abī ‘Amir, who was shot in the knee, the arrow, shot by a man of Banū Jusham, lodging in it. When I reached him, I asked, ‘Who shot you, uncle?’ He pointed over at the man, saying, ‘There, that’s the man who shot and killed me!’ I made for him, but he withdrew when he saw me coming. I followed on, calling out, ‘Aren’t you ashamed not to stand and fight?’ he stopped retreating and we exchanged a few sword strokes then I killed him. I went and told Abī ‘Amir, ‘God has killed your enemy!’ He asked me, ‘Take out this arrow.’ I did so and water seeped from the wound. He then requested, ‘Nephew, deliver my greeting to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and ask him to pray for my forgiveness.’"

"Abī ‘Amir then appointed me in command of our men and after a short while he died. I returned in to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) inside his house. He was lying on a rope bed of date-palms and stalks with a coverlet over him; the ropes and strands of the bed had made marks on his back and sides. I told him our news and about Abī ‘Amir and how he had told me, ‘Ask him to seek forgiveness for me.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for water to be brought, performed the ablution, then raised his arms praying, ‘O God, forgive ʿUbayd, Abū ʿAmir!’ I saw the whiteness of his underarms. He then said, ‘O God, place him on the Judgement Day of Resurrection above many of Your creation’ - or ‘of many people’. I said, ‘Will you also ask forgiveness for me?’ He then said, ‘O God, forgive ‘Abd Allāh b. Qays his sins and on Resurrection Day grant him a favourable entry (into paradise).’"

Abū Burda noted, "One of the prayers was for Abī ‘Amir, the other for Abī Mūsā, may God be pleased with them both."

Muslim related this from Abū Kurayb, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlā and ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Barād, from Abū Usāma in similar words.
Imām Āḥmad stated, “‘Abd al-Razzāq related to us, quoting Sufyān - he being al-Thawrī - from ʿUthmān al-Batti, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudari, who said, ‘At Āwtās we took some women prisoner who had husbands and we were reluctant to have intercourse with them while this was so. We therefore asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and this verse was revealed, “and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess” (ṣūrat al-Nisāʾ; IV, v.24). And so we considered their bodies permissible to us.’”

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasaʿī related it thus from a ḥadīth of ʿUthmān al-Batti. Muslim gave it in his saḥīh collection from a ḥadīth of Shuʿba, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudari. Imām Āḥmad, Muslim, Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasaʿī gave it from a ḥadīth of Saʿīd b. Abū ʿUrūba. Muslim, Shuʿba and al-Tirmidhī gave it additionally from a ḥadīth of Hammām, from Yaḥyā, all three giving an account from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Abū ʿAlqama al-Ḥāshimi, from Abū Saʿīd to the effect that the men of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at Āwtās made captives of women who had husbands who were polytheists. This fact made some of the men refrain from intercourse with them. And so this verse “and all married women, except those whom your right hands possess” was revealed.

This is the version given by Abū Hānbal; and he added to this chain of authorities Abū ʿAlqama al-Ḥāshimi who is considered reliable. This is the accepted interpretation, though God knows best.

A number of the early authorities view this verse as evidence that the sale of a female slave means her divorce. This is related of Ibn Masʿūd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, Ibn ʿAbbās, Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. The majority oppose these, citing an anecdote about Burayra to the effect of her having been sold and then given a choice of ending or maintaining her marriage. If sale of her meant her divorce, then she would not have been given a choice.

We have discussed this issue in detail and sufficiently in our Taṣfīr (Exegesis). And we will refer to it again, if God so wills it, in our (projected work) al-Ahkām al-Kabīr.

A number of the early authorities cite this ḥadīth relating to those made captive at Āwtās to substantiate the permissibility (of intercourse) with female slaves who were polytheists. The majority, however, oppose them, saying, “This is a special case; perhaps these women accepted Islam or were Christians or Jews.” The proper place for further discussion of this issue will be in al-Ahkām al-Kabīr, if God Almighty wills it.

Chapter: On those who were martyred at the battle of Hunayn and on the Expedition to Āwtās.

(These men were) Ayman b. Umm Ayman, freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he being Ayman b. Ubayy; Zayd b. Zamʿa b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, whose horse, named al-Janāḥ, bolted and so he was killed; Suḥrāq b. Māliḵ b. al-Ḥārīth b. ʿAdt al-Anṣārī, of Banū al-ʿAjlān; Abū ʿAmīr al-Ashʿarī,
the commander of the expedition to Awṣās. These total four men; may God be pleased with them.

Chapter: On the Poetry spoken at the Expedition against Hawāzin.

Among these verses are those of Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā,

"Had it not been for God and His servant, you would have retreated when terror overcame every coward
At the winding valley that day our enemies faced us, the swift horses stumbled on to their chins.
Some men went running, their garments held up in their hands, others were knocked to the side by hooves and flanks.
God honoured us and gave victory to our faith, dignifying us through worship of the Most Merciful.
And God destroyed them, dispersing and humiliating them for worshipping Satan."

Ibn Hishām stated that some transmitters of the poetry include the verses,

"When Your Prophet's uncle and his ally arose, calling, O squadron of the faith!
Where are they who responded to their Lord, at the battle of al-'Arīd and at the 'willing allegiance'"141

(Ibn Ishāq stated) 'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulāmī spoke the following,

'By the swift horses on assembly day and by the Book that the Messenger recited,
I was pleased at Thaqīf's painful fate yesterday beside the defile
They are the enemy's leaders from Najd, and killing them is sweeter than drinking.
We defeated their group, that group of Banū Qasī, and fierce was the fighting for Banū Rāḥib.
The tents of Banū Hilāl were left at Awṣās begrimed with dust.
If (our forces) had clashed with Banū Qilāb, their women would have risen with dust upon them.
We raced our horses among them between Buss and al-Awrāl,143 breathing hard in pursuit of the booty
Amidst a clamorous army that included the squadron of the Messenger of God that charged into the battle.'

'Abbās b. Mirdās also spoke the following,

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141. See above, Vol. 11 p.341, footnote 74.
142. That is, in mourning.
143. Buss is a mountain near Dhat 'Araq. Al-Awrāl are three black mountains in the desert.
‘O seal of the prophets, you are sent with the truth;
all guidance on the right path being yours.

God built upon you love in His creation, and Muḥammad
he named you.

Then those who were true to the pact you gave them
became an army, over whom you appointed al-Dahhāk
A man with a sharp sword who, when surrounded by the
enemy, saw only you.

He would even battle those near in blood, seeking to
please the All-Compassionate and yourself too.

I tell you I witnessed his repeated attacks in the
tumult of war, braining the polytheists,
Sometimes strangling them with his hands, sometimes
slashing their heads with his sharp sword,
Using it to smash the warriors' heads; if you saw what
I did, it pleased you well,

While Banū Sulaym charged before him, striking and
thrusting constantly at the enemy.

They walked beneath his banner as though lions of a
thicket determined to battle there.
Not wanting closeness from their relatives, seeking
only that they obey their Lord and to please you.
These were our actions for which we were renowned, our
ally being your Lord.’

“ʿAbbās b. Mīrđās also spoke the following,

‘Mījdal is empty of its people now, as is Mutālī; and
the plains of Arik are bare, as are its cisterns.
Homes of ours, O Juml, when our lives were fine and
easy, and time's changes would unite our family wish
A lover whom great distance has diverted; can life now
past ever return?
If she seeks after the unbelievers, she is not to be
blamed; for I am the assistant and follower of the
Prophet.
The best of envoys I have known, Khuzayma, brought us,
and al-Mīrrār is of them, and Wāsī too.

And so we came, along with 1,000 men of Sulaym,
upon whom were splendid coats of mail made by Dārūd.
We pledged allegiance to him at al-Akhshabayn, though
it was the hand of God to whom we really pledged there.
We went into Mecca with the mahdi, the one well-led, by
force, our swords in the rising dust, glistening,
openly,
The bodies of our horses were covered with sweat,
groaning, their blood within them boiling,
At the battle of Hunayn when Hawazin came at us, and our tight ribs restricted our breathing
We kept firm with al-Daḥāk, undeterred by the blows and strikes of our enemies
Before the Messenger of God, while a banner flew above us, shining like lightning above clouds.
That evening Daḥāk b. Sufyān struck with the sword of the Messenger of God, and death was near at hand.
We defended our brother from our brother, and if we had seen an option, we would have followed our relatives.
But the religion of God is that of Muhammad; we are pleased with it. It has guidance and laws.
Through it he set us aright after our mistaken course; and no matter decided by God can be prevented.'

"Abbas b. Mīrūās also spoke the following,

'The remaining connection with Umm Mu'ammal has been ended, for she changed her intention, against her word.
She had sworn by God not to sever the link; she did not speak true in that, and was not true to her word.
She is from Banū Khufāf who spent the summer in the al-ʿAqiq valley, living in the desert at Wajrā and al-ʿUrfā.
Even if Umm Mu'ammal follows the unbelievers, she has stocked my heart with passion despite her distance.
Someone will tell her that we refused; the only ally we seek is our Lord,
And that we are with the guide, the Prophet, Muḥammad and that 1,000 are with us, matched by no other tribe,
With trustworthy heroes of Sulaym, men who obey and do not disobey by even a syllable.
Khufāf, Dhakwān and ʿAwf, whose path you would imagine strewn with (disuniting) difficulties,
(But) our glossy armour and helmets were as though worn by frowning lions slashing in their lairs.
Through us God's religion gained strength; we added a like number to the group already with him
At Mecca when we came; it was as if our banner was an eagle that, having soared, was ready to swoop down.
Upon mounts staring fixedly ahead, their forcing against their bits you would think inspired by a genie's hum,
That morning we trod the polytheists underfoot, finding no deviation or change from the orders of the Messenger of God,

144. Banū Sulaym and Hawazin were both clans of Qays.
At a battle amidst which the men heard from us no urgings except to fight and to crush heads. Sent flying from their supports by our swords which sliced right through the warriors’ necks. Many’s the man we left struck down, and many the widow weeping bitterly over her husband. It is God’s pleasure we seek, not that of man; and to God belongs all that is apparent and hidden.’

“Abū b. Mirdās, may God be pleased with him, also spoke the following verses,

‘Why are your eyes sleepless, as though bothered by irritants, husks beneath their lids?
Eyes made sleepless from their pain, welling and streaming their tears,
Which look like pearls scattered when the man stringing them breaks their thread.
How far away is the home of her for whose love you hope, between you and whom al-Ṣammān and al-Ḥafar stand!
Abandon your youth now gone, long past for your hair is grey and thin.
And recall the distress of Sulaym in their lands; yet Sulaym have reason to have pride.
They are a people who aided the Most Merciful and followed the religion of the Messenger while people were in conflict.
They no longer plant palm shoots in their land, nor do cattle low in their wintering grounds
Where only fast steeds, like eagles, are kept at hand amidst lands filled with herds of camels.
Khūfūf and ‘Awf were brought to their flanks, and the clan of Dhākwān did not turn away in annoyance.
They struck openly at the polytheist armies in Mecca’s valley and their souls were whisked away
Until we left, their bodies like palm trees uprooted on the plain’s surface.
At the battle of Hunayn our witness was to the glory of the religion and it is recorded with God.
When we rode death, dingy-hued its inner flanks, while the horses emitted a dusky glow
Beneath the banner, with al-Dāḥkak leading us, like a lurking lion walking within his forest,
In dire straits due to the burdens of warfare that almost caused sun and moon to fade.
We remained steadfast at Awtās; our lances dedicated to God, we helped those we wished, and won victory.
And finally people returned to their homes who, were it not for the Sovereign and ourselves, would not have emerged.

You will not see any tribe, small in number or large, without our having had some influence upon them.'

"Abbas also spoke the following,

'O man who is borne upon a young, strong-boned, swift-footed camel
If you should go to the Prophet, then say to him as it is your duty to do, if the group assembled are at ease,
'O finest man to ride a mount or ever to walk upon the earth, if souls be counted,
We were true to our pact with you when the cavalry were overpowered and wounded by the warriors
When there streamed a force from all parts of the Buhtha clan that shook the mountain trails
Until we attacked the people of Mecca, in a squadron, their armour shining, being led by proud men.
From every powerful clan of Sulaym, wearing close-knitted chain-mail upon them
Moistening their lances when they charged into the fray, so that you would imagine them as frowning lions.
Overwhelming the squadron, their insignia showing, bearing in their hands slashing swords and quick-thrusting spears.
At Hunayn there were a thousand in our force by which the Messenger was supported, as by fierce lions,
They were a vanguard ahead of the believers; and that day the sun upon them seemed more intense.
We went forward, God guarding us in his care; and God never loses those He guards.
We were blockaded at al-Mansqih. But God took pleasure in that; and that makes our blockade worthwhile.
The morning of Awtas we made a fierce attack and the enemy drew back, calling out to us, "Hold off!"
Hawazin appealed to the brotherhood between us; but the breast Hawazin used to offer is very dry!
Finally we left their force like wild asses that lions have torn apart, one after the other.'

"He also, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following,

'Who is it will tell the peoples that Muhammad is God's messenger, right-guided wherever he moves?
He called out to God, seeking His help alone and He was true and kind to him.
We travelled forth, keeping our appointment with Muhammad at Qudayd so that he could have us fulfil a matter that God had decreed.
They scouted us at dawn and as dawn broke they perceived us to be young warriors with lances set, upon horses, and our armour firmly attached, and our numerous infantry rushing forward like a torrent.

The best of the tribe—if ask you must—are Sulaym and they include some who claim to be Sulaym

And a force of ansār who would not desert him, obedient to him and they do not disobey him in what he says.

Since you have appointed and promoted Khalid commander of the army, he has indeed advanced

With an army, guided by God, of which you are leader. With it you rightfully strike those who are evil.

I have sworn a genuine oath to Muhammad and have fulfilled it with a thousand horses, fully bridled.

The Prophet of the believers called, 'Advance!' And it pleased us to be the vanguard.

We spent the night at Mustadir pool. We had no fear—only enthusiasm and determination.

We obeyed you until all the enemy accepted Islam, attacking their force in the morning, those people at Yalamlamā.

(A force so large) even a piebald red stallion could go astray amidst it, and an old man be insecure unless well marked.

We surprised them like a covey of grouse startled at dawn, each of which you see to be uncaring for its brother,

That morning; until finally we left them that evening at Hunayn, its streams flowing with blood.

If you wished, you could everywhere see fine race horses, their riders stretched out besides broken lances.

Hawāzin have regained from us their herds; and for us to be disappointed and deprived of these has pleased them.'

Thus did Imām Muhammad b. Ishāq give the poems of 'Abbās b. Mirdās al-Sulami, may God be pleased with him. We have omitted some of the odes he included for fear of being long-winded and boring. Ibn Ishāq also gives the poetry of others; but enough on the subject has been given above. Though God knows best.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST AL-TĀʾIF.

Urwa and Mūsā b. Uqba quoted al-Zuhri as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) fought at Hunayn and besieged al-Tāʾif in Shawwāl of 8 AH.
Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “The routed Thaqif army reached al-Ṭaʾif, shut themselves behind the gate of the city and fortified themselves in preparation for conflict.

“Neither Urwa b. Masʿūd nor Ghaylān b. Salama were present at Ḥunayn or the siege of al-Ṭaʾif. They were at Jurash learning how to construct testudos for use at a distance and close by the walls.

“Having finished at Ḥunayn, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on to al-Ṭaʾif. On that subject Kaʿb b. Mālik spoke the following verses,

“In the lowlands and at Khaybar we ended all doubt, then rested our swords
For them to choose (next). Had they spoken, their blades would have said, “Attack Daws or Thaqif!”
May I have no mother if you do not see them at your courtyards, with us in our thousands.
We will tear down the pavilions in the Wajj valley, and your homes will be devoid of you.
The most swift of our cavalry will attack you, leaving behind them a dense mass
When they descend on your areas, you’ll hear from them enough to make your camels kneel in alarm.
In their hands will be sharp, slim swords, visiting death upon those opposing them,
Flashing like lightning, fashioned by Indian blacksmiths, not beaten out flat.
You might have thought the blood of heroes in them that battle morning was mixed with saffron.
As for their most diligent, had they no adviser in their peoples who knew of us
To tell them that we had gathered the most choice and well-bred of horses
And had brought against them a force to line up around the walls of their fort?
Their leader was the Prophet, resolute, pure of heart, steadfast and abstemious,
Mature, wise, knowledgeable, astute, never rash or frivolous.
We obey our Prophet and a Lord who is the Most Merciful and has been most kind to us.
If you offer us peace we will accept and will make you our allies, and
If you refuse, we will fight you steadfastly, and conflict with us will not be gentle or easy.
We will fight on as long as we survive or you turn in repentance to Islam, submissively.
We will battle on, careless whom we confront, nor whether we destroy the old or the new.
How numerous were the tribes allied against us, some
the central tribes, some their allies.
They attacked us thinking themselves unequalled, but we
severed nose and ears
With our Indian swords, supple and gleaming, violently
forcing them forward
To the business of God and Islam until the religion is
established in justice and devotion
And al-Lāt, al-ʿUzza and Wudd are forgotten and we
remove their necklaces and earrings.
Now they have become acquiescent and secure; and those
who do not refrain (from idolatry) become disgraced.’”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Kināna b. ʿAbd Yāhil b. ʿAmr b. ʿUmayr al-Thaqafi
answered him in the following verse.”

(I note that he had later come over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),
along with the Thaqif delegation; he accepted Islam along with them. This
was so stated by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Abū Ishāq, Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr, Ibn
al-Athir and others. Al-Madsʿini, however, claimed that he did not accept
Islam, but went into Byzantine territory, where he accepted Christianity and
died.)

“To those seeking us to fight us: we’re at a well-known
place we will not leave.
We know our forefathers were here, where are its
terraces and its vineyards.
ʿAmr b. ʿAmir previously put us to the test, and their
men of reason and wisdom advised them.
They knew – if truth they tell – that we set straight
cheeks turned aside in disdain.
We reform them; those who are wild we tame and those
who do wrong acknowledge the evident truth.
We dress in light, supple chain-mail, from a longed-for
legacy, sky-coloured its sheen, decorated with
stars.
We force them off us with our sharp swords which, when
once drawn in conflict we do not again sheathe.’”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “Shaddād b. ʿArid al-Jushami spoke the following verses
concerning the passage of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to al-Ṭāʾif,

‘Do not assist al-Lāt whom God destroys; how can aid be
given to one who cannot be assisted?
She who was burned, flaming in black smoke, while at
her stone monument not even the worthless do battle.
Once the Messenger descends on your lands and has left,
none of its people will remain there.’”
Ibn Ishaq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then travelled - from Hunayn to al-Ta'if - by way of Nakhla al-Yamaniiya, Qarn, al-Mulayh and Buhrat al-Rughâ of Liyya; he had a mosque constructed there and performed the prayers.

"Amr b. Shu'ayb related to me that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) stopped that day at Buhrat al-Rughâ he allowed retaliation in kind for blood spilled, that being the first occasion in Islam that such permission was given. A man of Banû Layth had killed someone of Hudhayl and he executed him for it. While at Liyya he ordered the destruction of the fort of Malik b. 'Awf.

"He then proceeded along a path known as al-Dayyiqa, 'the narrow, difficult path'. As he was setting out along it he asked what it was called and it was so named to him. He commented, 'No; it's al-Yusru, "the easy road".'

"Emerging from it he passed Nakhîb and made a halt beneath a lote tree known as al-Siidzra, near property owned by a man of Thaqif. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent word to him to either come out or have his wall destroyed. He refused to emerge and so the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that his wall be demolished."

Ibn Ishaq then quoted Ismâ'il b. Umayya as quoting Bujayr b. Abû Bujayr to have said, "I heard 'Abd Allah b. Amr say that he heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say when he went forth with him to al-Ta'if and passed by a grave, 'This is the tomb of Abû Righîl, he being the father of Thaqif. He was of Thamiid and one of those defending their sanctuary there. When he went out (with Abraha) he was afflicted by that same vengeance that came down upon his people at that place, and he was buried there. The proof of this is that along with him a golden bough was buried. If you exhume him, you will find it.'

"The men promptly did so and retrieved the bough, along with his remains."

Abû Dâûd narrated this from Yahyâ b. Mu'sîn, from Wahb b. Jarîr b. Hâzîm, from his father, from Mu'hannam b. Ishaq.

Al-Bayhaqi narrated it from a hadith of Yazid b. Zuray', from Rawh b. al-Qasîm, from Ismâ'il b. Umayya.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then travelled on and established his camp near al-Ta'if. Some of his men were killed by arrows because the camp had been set close to al-Ta'if. They therefore withdrew to the place where today stands his mosque, built by Thaqif after their acceptance of Islam. It was Amr b. Umayya b. Wahh who built it. It had in it a column from which, so they say, a cracking sound could be heard every morning when sunlight struck it.

"He besieged them there for some 20 days." Ibn Hishâm gives this figure as 17.

145. This related to the advance made in the area by Abraha (see Vol. I above, p.22) who was persuaded in al-Ta'if to leave their temple undisturbed and to continue on to attack the sanctuary at Mecca.
Urwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba quote al-Zuhri as having stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went on to al-Ṭāʾif, leaving the captives (from Hunayn) at al-Jīrāna, where they filled the tents of Mecca. The Messenger of God (SAAS) encamped at al-Akama, near the fortress of al-Ṭāʾif, for some ten or more days, engaging them in battle while they fought back from behind their fortifications. The only man to emerge was ʿAbū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, Ziyād’s brother from his mother’s side. The Messenger of God (SAAS) set him free. Many casualties were suffered there and they (the Muslims) cut down some of their grape vines to enrage them thereby. At this Thaqīf asked, ‘Don’t ruin our properties; they will either remain ours or become yours.’”

Urwa stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered each Muslim to cut down five date-palms or five vines. He sent out a crier to announce, “Anyone who comes forth to us will be free.” A number of people did join him, including ʿAbū Bakra b. Masrūḥ, a brother of Ziyād b. ʿAbū Sufyān on his mother’s side. He then set them free and assigned each one to a Muslim who was to provide food and a mount.

Imām ʿAhmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAmr, from ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAs, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would set free any slave who came to him with priority over any of their freed-men who accepted Islam. (He stated also) that at the battle of al-Ṭāʾif he set two men free.

(Imām) Ahmad stated, “ʿAbd al-Quddās b. Bakr b. Khumayr related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAs, from ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAmr, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif and two slaves came out whom he set free. One of them was ʿAbū Bakra. It was his practice to set free any slaves who came over to him.’”

He also stated, “Naṣr b. Rāb related to us, from ʿAbd al-ʿAs, from ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd al-ʿAs, who said, ‘At al-Ṭāʾif, the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, “Whatever slaves join us shall be freed.”’

‘Some of the slaves did come out, including ʿAbū Bakra. The Messenger of God (SAAS) set them all free.’”

This hadith is given only by ʿAhmad; it hinges upon al-Hajjāj b. Artāt, a weak source. However, Imām ʿAhmad did accept it. It was his view that it was a general, universal principle that every slave who left the enemy to join Islam was freed.

Others maintained that this was conditional and not an absolute rule.

If the hadith is authentic, then its general legislative authority is very plain – as in the case of his statement (referred to above), ‘Whoever kills an enemy shall own that man’s possessions.’

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq as stating, “ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mukarram al-Thaqāfī related to me, ‘When the Messenger of God (SAAS) besieged the people of al-Ṭāʾif, one of their slaves came out to join him, he being ʿAbū Bakra, who belonged to al-Ḥarīth b. Kalda. Along with him came
“al-Munba‘ith”; his real name was al-Muḍṭaṣi‘, “he who lies down”, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him “al-Munba‘ith”, “he who rises again”. Also there were Yūnas and Wardān among a group of slaves who accepted Islam. When the delegation arrived from the people of al-Ṭā‘if to accept Islam, they asked, “Messenger of God, restore to us our slaves who joined you.” He replied, “No; those have been set free by God.” But he did give the man the clientage to his former slave.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Ghundar, quoting Shu‘ba, from 'Āṣim, who said that he heard Abū ʻUthmān say, “I heard Sa‘d, the first to shoot an arrow in God’s cause, and Abū Bakra, who climbed over the walls of al-Ṭā‘if to join the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), both say, ‘We heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, “Anyone who claims to be the son of someone other than his real father, while knowing the facts, will be denied paradise.”’”

Muslim related this from a hadith of 'Āṣim.

Al-Bukhārī also stated, “Hishām said, ‘Ma‘mar informed us, from 'Āṣim, from Abū al-Āliya – or Abū ʻUthmān al-Nahdí – as follows, ‘I heard Sa‘d and Abū Bakra narrate the following hadith from the Prophet (ṢAAS), namely, that 'Āṣim reported having said to him, ‘Two men have testified to you who are to be trusted.’ ‘Yes, that is so,’ he replied. One of these was the first to shoot an arrow in God’s cause. The other was the third of 23 persons who joined the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from al-Ṭā‘if.””

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated, “Two of his wives were accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). One of these was Umm Salama. He set up two pavilions for them and would pray between them. He besieged the enemy and fought them fiercely, engaging in exchanges of arrow fire.”

Ibn Hishām stated that he also shot at them using catapults.

A trustworthy source related to me that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was the first in Islam to fire a catapult, using them against the people of al-Ṭā‘if.

Ibn Ishāq stated that a number of the Muslims went beneath a testudo and moved it slowly forward to burn the walls of al-Ṭā‘if and heated nails were cast down upon them. When they emerged from beneath the testudo, Thaqīf shot arrows down at them, killing some men. At that point the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that the Thaqīf vines be cut down and the Muslims set about this task.

Abū Suṭyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba then advanced and called for safe passage to talk with them. This was granted and they invited some women of Quraysh and Banū Kinānā to come out to them; they feared that they might be treated as captives if the fortress were conquered. The women refused and Abū al-Aswad b. Mas‘ūd asked the two men, “Can’t I make a better suggestion for you than that you put forward? You well know the whereabouts of the estate of Abū al-Aswad. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has been encamped at a valley
called al-'Aqiq, between the lands of Banû al-Aswad and al-Ṭâif. There is no property in al-Ṭâif more distant from irrigation water nor more difficult to supply or more inaccessible to cultivate than it. If Muhammad cuts it down it will never produce again to him; so suggest that he either take it for himself or leave it alone for the sake of God and our kinship ties."

They claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did leave it alone for them. Al-Waqidi quoted his elders similarly. It was his view that it was Salmân al-Fārisi who suggested using the catapult and that he himself operated it. It is said that he brought it forward, along with the two testudos. But God knows best.

Al-Bayhaqi, through Ibn Lahi'ā, from Abū al-Aswad, from Urwa, reported that 'Uyayna b. Ḥusn sought permission from the Messenger of God (SAAS) to go to the people of al-Ṭa'if to invite them to Islam. He was given this permission. When he went to them, he advised them, in a lengthy address, to stay in their fortification, telling them, "You should not be scared by the strikes of someone who cuts down trees!"

The account continues, "When he returned, the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him what he had told them and he replied, 'I invited them into Islam, warned them of hell and told them of paradise.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, 'You lie! You said such-and-such to them!' 'Uyayna admitted, 'You speak the truth, O Messenger of God! I turn to God and to you seeking forgiveness for that.'" Al-Bayhaqi related, from al-Ḥākim, from al-Asamm, from Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Hisbām al-Dustuwarī, from Qatāda, from Salīm b. Abū al-Ja'd, from Miṣdān b. Abū Ṭalḥa, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ al-Sulami, he being 'Amr b. Ṭābita, may God be pleased with him, who said, "We were with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at the siege of the fortress at al-Ṭa'if. I heard him say, 'Whoever of you can make an arrow reach (them) will reach an extra level in paradise.' And that day I made 16 arrows reach."

"I also heard him say, 'Whoever casts an arrow in God's cause is in effect set free. For whomever turns grey in God's cause there shall be a light on Resurrection Day. Any man who frees a Muslim shall have God render every one of his bones a shield for every other, bone by bone. And any woman who frees a Muslim woman shall have God render every one of her bones a shield for every other bone she has.'"

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Tirmidhī narrated this, and al-Nāṣīrī declared it sahih, from a hadith of Qatāda.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ḥumaydī, quoting Sufyān, quoting Hisbām, from his father, from Zaynab, daughter of Umm Salama, who said that Umm Salama stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) came in to see me when I had a mukhammāth, 'an effeminate man', with me. The former heard that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did leave it alone for them. Al-Waqidi quoted his elders similarly. It was his view that it was Salmân al-Fārisi who suggested using the catapult and that he himself operated it. It is said that he brought it forward, along with the two testudos. But God knows best.

The account continues, "When he returned, the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him what he had told them and he replied, 'I invited them into Islam, warned them of hell and told them of paradise.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, 'You lie! You said such-and-such to them!' 'Uyayna admitted, 'You speak the truth, O Messenger of God! I turn to God and to you seeking forgiveness for that.'"
the latter say to ‘Abd Allah b. Umayya, ‘If God conquers al-Ta’if for you tomorrow, be sure to take Ghaylān’s daughter; she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back.’ And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Don’t have such persons in your company!””

According to Ibn ‘Uayna and Ibn Jurayj the name of the effeminate was Hit. Al-Bukhari also related it, as did Muslim, with lines of transmission from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father. In one version there are the words, “whom they considered devoid of normal male sex drive”. And in one there is the phrase, “And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘I would not have this man know what is here. Don’t have such people in your company.’”

This implies that if he were someone who understood that, then he would be included (for consideration) with those referred to in God Almighty’s words, “or the children who are not conscious of the private parts of women” (surah al-Nūr; XXIV, 31).

By the word al-mukhannath in the usage of the early authorities is meant those devoid of (sexual) interest in women; the word does not refer to homosexuals. For had he been like that, his execution would certainly have been necessary, as the hadith tradition indicates, and as Abū Bakr, ‘the Trusting’, may God be pleased with him, himself decreed execution.

The meaning of the phrase given above, “she exposes four folds of flesh when approaching and eight when she turns her back” is a reference to the folds of flesh on her stomach; these would appear as four folds as she approached and each of these would become two as she moved away. This woman was named Badiyya, daughter of Ghaylān b. Salama, and she was a lady of Thaqif.

Al-Bukhari quoted Ibn Jurayj as giving the name of this mukhannath as Hit. This is widely accepted as fact. However, Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, “With the Messenger of God (SAAS) there was a freed-man of his aunt Bint ‘Amr b. ‘Ayid, a mukhannath named Mati’. He would go into the presence of the wives of the Messenger of God (SAAS) in his home; he was not considered as having the normal desire for women that men have. Then he (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) overheard him saying to Khalīd b. al-Walid, ‘Khālid, if the Messenger of God (SAAS) should conquer al-Ta’if, then be sure that Badiyya, daughter of Ghaylān, does not slip away from you. She exposes four folds of flesh when she approaches you and eight when she turns her back.’ When he heard this, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘I would not have thought this man would notice such as that.’ He then told his women, ‘Let him not have access to you.’ He was then banned from the house of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Al-Bukhari stated that it was related to him by ‘Abī b. ‘Abd Allah, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Amr, from Abū al-‘Abbās, the blind poet, from ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amr, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) besieged al-Ta’if, but did not overcome them, he said, ‘We’ll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.”
This disappointed them and they asked, ‘Are we to leave without victory?’ He replied, ‘Then recommence the fighting.’ Next day they did so but suffered casualties. He then said, ‘We’ll be leaving tomorrow, if God wills it.’ This pleased them and the Messenger of God (SAAS) laughed.” Sufyān, the sub-narrator, once used the wording, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) smiled.”

Muslim related this from a hadith of Sufyān b. ‘Uuyayn; he gave the line of transmission as being from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, different from that given by al-Bukhārī. And (this line is given) in another similar version and in one from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. But God knows best.

Al-Waqīdī stated, “Kuthayyir b. Zayd b. al-Walid b. Rabah quotes Abū Hurayra as saying, ‘Fifteen days of the siege of al-Ṭāif having elapsed, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sought the advice of Nawfal b. Mu‘āwiya al-Dili, asking, “Nawfal, what is your view of maintaining it?”’ He replied, “Messenger of God, if you wait out a fox in its hole, you’ll take it; and if you leave it (where it is) it will do you no harm.’”

Muhammad b. Ishāq stated, “I have been informed that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was engaged in the siege of Taqif, he asked Abū Bakr, ‘Abū Bakr, I had a vision that I was presented with a bowl filled with cream. A cock pecked at it and spilt its contents.’ Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, replied, ‘I don’t think you will achieve with them today what you wish.’ ‘I don’t think so either,’ the Messenger of God (SAAS) said.

“Khawla al-Sulamiyya, daughter of Ḥakīm, then said, ‘Messenger of God, please give to me, if God gives you victory, the jewellery of Badiyya, daughter of Gayl b. Salama, or that of al-Fuwā’i, daughter of Uqayl’; these were known as the Thaqīf women with the most jewels. It is said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘What, Khawla, if I am not awarded control over Thaqif?’

“Khawla then left and reported to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb what he had said and the latter went in to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked, ‘Messenger of God, Khawla has reported to me a conversation she claims to have had with you.’ ‘I might have said it,’ he replied. ‘Umar asked, ‘Then have you not been awarded control over them?’ ‘No,’ he answered. ‘Umar asked, ‘Then should I not announce our departure?’ ‘Yes, do,’ he told him.

“‘Umar then announced their departure. As the army moved off, Sa‘īd b. ‘Ubayd b. ‘Asid b. Abū ‘Amr b. ‘Allāj commented, ‘Well, their tribe is standing fast.’ ‘Uuyayn b. Ḥūṣn responded, ‘Yes, I swear by God, nobly and valiantly.’ One of the Muslims then addressed the latter, ‘Uuyayn, God Damn you, would you praise the polytheists for withstanding the Messenger of God (SAAS), when you came here to assist him?’ ‘Uuyayn replied, ‘I did not come with you to fight Thaqīf; I wanted the Messenger of God (SAAS) to conquer al-Ṭāif so that I could acquire a Thaqīf woman with whom to have intercourse so she would bear me a son. We hold Thaqīf in high regard.’”

Ibn Lahī’a narrated, from Abū al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa, the story of Khawla, daughter of Ḥakīm, and what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said and how
he had told Umar to announce the departure. He went on, "And the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered the men that they not disband their force. Next morning the Messenger of God (SAAS) set forth with his men and as he mounted to leave, he said, 'O God, guide them and spare us the trouble of them!'"

Al-Tirmidhi narrated, from a hadith of 'Abd Allāh b. Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that they (the Muslim forces) said, "O Messenger of God, the Taqīf arrows greatly harmed us; pray to God against them." He responded, "O God, give guidance to Thaqif."

He (al-Tirmidhi) then commented, "This hadith is hasan gharib."

Yūnus quoted Ibn Ishaq as saying that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mukarram, quoting well informed scholars as saying, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) besieged the people of al-Ta'if for some 30 days and then left, not having defeated them. After he had returned to Medina, a delegation of them came to him, in Ramaḍān, and accepted Islam."

Reference to this will come in detail with regard to Ramaḍān of 9 AH, if God so wills it.

The following is the list of names of those Muslims who were, according to Ibn Ishaq, martyred at al-Ta'if.

From Quraysh: Sa'īd b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ b. Umayya; 'Urfuṭa b. Janāb, ally of Banū 'Umayyya b. al-Asad b. al-Ghawth; 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr al-Siddiq, who was struck by an arrow there and who died of his wound in Medina, after the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS); 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Umayyya b. al-Mughira al-Makhzūmī, struck by an arrow that day; 'Abd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa, an ally of Banū 'Adī; al-Saʿīb b. al-Hārith b. Qays b. ʿAdī al-Sahmī, along with his brother 'Abd Allāh; Julayḥa b. 'Abd Allāh, of Banū Saʿīd b. Layth.


Those martyred that day totalled twelve—seven men of Quraysh and four of the ansār. Also killed was one man of Banū Layth. May God be pleased with them all.

Ibn Ishaq stated, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) left on his way back from al-Ta'if, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Salmā spoke the following verses concerning the battles at Ḥunayn and al-Ta'if:

'It was a replay of the battles of the Ḥunayn valley,
Awṭās and al-Abraaq;
Hawāzin foolishly assembled their forces but broke up like birds scattered.
They did not retain a single position against us,
except for their walls and the base of their ditch.
We paraded before them to bring them out, but they fortified against us behind a closed gate.

Our men without armour withdrew to a great force, a squadron whose armour shone with death.

Close-ranked, and green-hued; if sent charging against a fortress, it would be as though never constructed.

They walk like hounds on tree-shed thorns, like horses led separately then brought together again,

Each wearing armour that once firmly set looks like a pool shimmering under a breeze,

Over coats of armour, the hems of which brushed our shoes, finely woven by Dā'ūd and Muḥarrīq’s family.”

Abū Dā'ūd stated that it was related to him by ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb Abū Ḥafṣ, quoting al-Firṣāḥi, quoting Abān, quoting ʿAmr – he being Ibn ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ḥāẓim – quoting ʿUṭmān b. Abū Ḥāẓim, from his father, from his grandfather Ṣāḥḥ – he being Abū al-ʿAyya al-ʿAmmārīsī – who said that when he, Ṣāḥḥ, heard that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was attacking Thaqīf, he set off with his cavalry to assist him. When he arrived at al-Ṭīfīf, however, he found him already gone. He then made a vow that he would not leave the fortress before they emerged to accept the authority of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And he did not leave them until they had done so. Ṣāḥḥ then wrote to him as follows, “Messenger of God, Thaqīf have now accepted your authority. I am accompanying them to you, along with my cavalry.”

(The account continues) “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that there be a general assembly for prayer and he spoke ten prayers for Banū al-ʿAḥmas, saying, ‘O God, bless al-ʿAḥmas for both their cavalry and their foot soldiers.’

“When they arrived al-Mughira b. Shuʾba spoke, ‘O Messenger of God, Ṣāḥḥ took my aunt and she adopted that which Muslims embrace.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called for Ṣāḥḥ and said, ‘Ṣāḥḥ, when people accept Islam, their blood and possessions are spared; return al-Mughira’s aunt to him.’ And he did return her.

“He then asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for that water supply belonging to Bānū Salīm; they had fled from Islam and abandoned that water. He asked, ‘Messenger of God, settle me and my people there.’ ‘Yes,’ he agreed and he agreed to settle him and Aslam – the tribesmen of Aslam, that is – there. They then went to Ṣāḥḥ and asked him to give the water supply to themselves, but he refused. And so they went again to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Messenger of God, we have accepted Islam and went to Ṣāḥḥ to have him give us our water supply, but he refused. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘Ṣāḥḥ, when people accept Islam their blood and possessions are spared. Deliver their water supply over to them.’ He replied, ‘Yes, O Prophet of God.’

“I then saw the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) turn red with embarrassment at his (Ṣāḥḥ’s) having taken the women and also the water!”
Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this hadith. And there is some difference of opinion about its chain of authorities.

I observe that it was the Divine Wisdom that determined that the conquest should be postponed that year so that they (Thaqif) would not be annihilated. It has been related above how, following the death of his uncle, Abū Ṭalib, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had gone earlier to al-Ta'if. He had invited them to come to God Almighty and to provide him sanctuary, so he could go on conveying the message of His Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, but they had rejected him and called him a liar.

He had then departed for home in a state of depression from which he had only emerged at Qarn al-Thaqif. There he saw a rain cloud in which was Gabriel. The angel of the mountains had then called out to him, saying, “Muḥammad, your Lord greets you. He has heard how your people have spoken to you and have rejected you. Would you like me to level the Akhshahayn mountains upon them?” The Messenger of God (SAAS) had replied, “No; give them respite so that God might bring forth from their loins those who will worship Him alone, associating no other with Him.”

His statement, “No; give them respite ...” was consistent with his not conquering their fortress so that they not be annihilated, and that the conquest should be delayed to allow them to come forth as Muslims thereafter, in Ramadan of the following year. This will be related hereafter, if God Almighty so will it.

Chapter.

The return of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from al-Ta'if and the division of the spoils taken from Hawāzin at Ḥunayn; this division occurred following his entry from al-Jīrāna to perform the 'umra pilgrimage.

Ibn Ishaq stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS), following his departure from al-Ta'if, went through Dānā and made camp at al-Jīrāna, accompanied by his men and by many Hawāzin captives. One of his men had asked him, as he was leaving Thaqif, “O Messenger of God, speak a prayer against them,” but he had prayed, “O God, guide Thaqif and bring them.”

(Ibn Ishaq continued) “At al-Jīrāna a delegation of Hawāzin came to him. At that time he held captive 6,000 women and children and innumerable camels and sheep.”

He went on, “Amr b. Shu‘ayb related to me (and there is a hadith of Yūnus b. Bukayr also from ‘Amr) quoting his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘We were with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Ḥunayn and after he had taken captives and possessions from Hawāzin, a delegation came to him at al-Jīrāna from them; they had now accepted Islam. They addressed him as follows, “O Messenger of God, we are one people, one tribe. You well know what disaster has befallen us. Be kind to us and may God be kind to you.””
Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. Ṣurad Abū Ṣurad, then arose and said, "Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemaids who cared for you. If we had suckled Ibn Abū Shamir or al-Nu'mān b. al-Mundhir and then had suffered from them what we have from you, we would have at least hoped for some special consideration and compassion from them. And you are the Messenger of God, the most trustworthy of men."

He then recited the following verses,

"Be kind to us, Messenger of God, in your nobility, for you are the man from whom we hope and expect this. Be kind to womenfolk ruined by fate, their community destroyed and ruined. Fate has imposed upon us circumstances of great sorrow, the hearts of our people overwhelmed with misery and pain. If there does not reach them comforts that you deliver, O most wise of men when tested, Be kind to women from whom you suckled, your mouth filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk. Be kind to women from whom you suckled, for then your actions will adorn you and not be wasted. Do not render us like those whose joy is gone for ever; let us survive, for we are a noble people. We will surely express thanks for favours for, if given us, we will remember them forever hereafter."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, "What matters most to you – your women and children or your possessions?" "What?" they replied. "Would you have us choose between our honour and our goods? Of course, our women and children matter most to us." The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on, "As for what was mine or belonged to Banū Abī Sālih, that is yours. After I have prayed with the people, say, 'We ask the Messenger of God to intercede with the Muslims; and we ask them to intercede with him for us for our women and children.' When you ask this, I will grant your wish and make a request on your behalf."

"When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the noon prayer, they arose and they spoke as he had asked. He then said, "As for what was mine or belonged to Banū Abī Muțṭalib, that is now yours. The muhājirūn responded, "Whatever (rights) we had now go to the Messenger of God." The anṣār said the same.

"However, al-Aqra' b. Ḥabīs said, "For myself and Banū Tamīm, no!" Uwayna stated, "For myself and Banū Fazāra, no!" Al-ʿAbbās b. Mīrđās al-Sulāmī said, "For myself and Banū Sulaym, no!" But Banū Sulaym disagreed, saying, "What was ours is now that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)." ʿAbbās b. Mīrđās then asked Banū Sulaym, "Would you disgrace me?"
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then stated, "Whoever withholds his right shall have six camels due from the first booty that we obtain. Now return their women and children to these people."

"He then mounted and the people followed after him, saying, "O Messenger of God, divide up for us our share of the booty!" They forced him over close to a tree which pulled off his cloak. He asked them, "Please return my cloak to me. For I swear by Him who has my soul in His hand, if the camels I had for you numbered as many as all the trees of Tihāma, I would divide them up among you. Moreover, you have never found me miserly, cowardly or untruthful!"

"He then went over to a camel and took from its hump a piece of its fur which he held up in two fingers, saying, "People, I swear by God, I have nothing from your booty - not even this hair - except for one-fifth of it. And that too is given back to you. 'A needle for a needle'. For theft of booty means sin, and hell-fire and disgrace on Resurrection Day for those who take it."

"One of the ansār then came carrying a strand of hair rope and said, "Messenger of God, I took this to sew up a saddle-cloth for a camel of mine with ulcers." The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "I award to you my rights in it. Since word of this might spread, I don't need it." And he threw it from his hand."

This text requires that the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned their captives to them before the division of the spoils, a view held by Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Yasa, but one opposed by Mas'ud ibn Wqba and others.

In the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī there is a hadith from al-Layth, from Qayyil, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, from al-Miswar b. Makhrama and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. It states that when the delegation of Hawāzin came to him, having accepted Islam, and asked to have their property and women returned, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told them, "There are with me those you see. The talk that is most favoured by me is what is most true. Choose one of two options - either the captives or their possessions. I have been waiting for you."

(The narration continued) "He had delayed the distribution for ten days following his return from al-Ṭā'if. When it was clear to them that he would return to them only one of the two categories, they replied, 'We choose those of us who are captives.'

"He then arose among the Muslims and, having given appropriate praise to God, said, 'These brothers of yours have come in repentance and I have decided to return those of them taken captive. Whoever of you wishes to do that as a favour should do so. Those of you who would prefer to receive this (full) share, we will give it with the first booty God awards us.'

"The Muslims responded, 'We are pleased to return them as a favour, O Messenger of God.' He then told them, 'We do not know which of you have agreed and which have not. So go back and let your leaders inform us.' They did return and their leaders talked with them and came to him and informed him that they (all) had agreed and had given their assent (to the release of the prisoners)."

147. Perhaps: that is, "Be absolutely scrupulous over issues of value".
This is what we have been informed about those Hawāzīn taken captive.

Al-Bukhārī did not refer to the objection raised by al-ʿAqīr, Wyayna and their families; he remained silent on the issue. A positive (statement) generally takes priority over a denial. And more so if there be silence.

Al-Bukhm related from a hadith of al-Zuhri as follows, “ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Jūbayr b. Muḥīm informed me, from his father, that Jūbayr b. Muḥīm informed him that while he was with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), accompanying the men returning from Ḥunayn, the bedouin so crowded around him questioning him that they forced him against a tree which pulled off his cloak. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stopped and asked, ‘Hand me back my cloak. If I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly.’”

Ibn Isāq stated that he was informed by Abū Wajrā, Yazid b. Ḫubayd al-Ṣāʿī, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib a slave girl named Rayṭa, daughter of Hilāl b. Ḥayān b. ʿUmayya, and to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān he gave a slave-girl called Zaynab, daughter of Ḥayān b. ʿAmr b. Ḥayān. He also gave a slave girl to ʿUmar, but he gave her to his son, ʿAbd Allāh.

Ibn Isḥāq went on to state that Nafīʿ quoted ʿUmar’s son ʿAbd Allāh as having said, “I sent her off to my aunts of Banū Jumāḥ to prepare her properly for me while I circumambulated the kaʿba and arranged to come and take her on my return from the mosque. When I had finished at the mosque, I went there and found everyone in turmoil. I asked what was going on and they replied that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had returned their wives and children (to Hawāzīn). I then said, ‘Your woman friend is with Banū Jumāḥ; go and get her.’ And they did so.”

Ibn Isḥāq continued, “Wyayna b. Ḫisn took an elderly Hawāzīn woman, saying as he did so, ‘I can see an old lady who I think is of high standing in her tribe; ransom for her may be substantial.’ When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned the captives at a rate of six camels per person, ʿUmayna refused to give her back. Zuhayr b. ʿUṣayr then told him, ‘Let her go; I swear, her mouth is not cool, her breasts are not rounded, she has no child in her womb, she has no upset husband, and her milk is not abundant. It’s not as if you’ve taken a woman who is fair-skinned and a virgin, or even someone who is plump and mature!’ And so Wyayna gave her back in exchange for six camels.”

Al-Waqīḍī stated that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) divided up the spoils at al-Jīrānā, each warrior received four camels and forty sheep.

Salama quoted Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr to the effect that a man who took part in the Battle of Ḥunayn said, “I was riding along on my camel at the side of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I was wearing heavy boots. My camel bumped against that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and the toe of my boot struck and hurt his leg. He then tapped my foot with his whip, saying, ‘You hurt me! Go further away from me!’ So I moved off. Next day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to see me and I assumed this was
because I had struck his leg the day before. So I went to him, feeling apprehensive, but he said, 'You struck my leg yesterday and hurt me and I tapped your foot with my whip. I have called for you to give you compensation for that.' He then awarded me 80 ewes for the blow he had struck me.'"

The import of all of this is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave back the captives only after the division of the spoils, as this text and others show.

The clear text of the hadith of 'Amr b. Shu'ayb, who was quoted by Muhammad b. Ishaq, from his father and from his grandfather, is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned the captives to Hawazin before the division of spoils. This is why, when he mounted, that the bedouin crowded around him asking that the division of the spoils take place, forcing him over to a tree which tugged off his cloak, so that he said, "Please return my cloak to me. For I swear, by Him who has my soul in His hand, if I had as many camels as these thorny trees, I would distribute them among you. You know me not to be miserly, untruthful or cowardly."

This is also related in similar words by al-Bukhari, from Joubayr b. Mut'imin.

Since the men feared that Hawazin would have their possessions returned to them as their women and children had been, they asked him to divide it up at al-Jirayna, as God Almighty and Glorious is He, had ordered him. He gave preference and priority to some persons and some of the tribal leaders in this distribution and some of the ansar complained to him until he addressed them and explained the wisdom of his actions, in order to placate them.

Some foolish and ignorant persons, including some from the khawarij, such as Dhul-Khuwaysira, may God rebuke him, and the like, made certain criticisms, as will be related and explained in detail in a hadith relating thereto. And help is to be sought from God.

Imam Ahmad stated, "'Arim related to us, quoting Mu'tamir b. Sulaymân, quoting his father, quoting al-Sumayt al-Sadusi, to the effect that Anas b. Malik said, 'Having conquered Mecca, we sent an expedition to Hijranya. The polytheists advanced in the most impressive lines I had ever seen. First came the lines of cavalry, then the fighters, then the women and children, then the sheep and goats, then the camels. We were a large force, some 6,000 strong, and Khalid b. al-Walid was in command of our vanguard of cavalry. Our cavalry began to take shelter behind us but they left themselves open. It was not long before the bedouin forces along with others we know fled. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called out, 'O muhajirun! O ansar! Where are you now?'"

148. The so-named "Kharjites" (khawarij) were the first group to dissent on doctrinal reasons from orthodox Islam. They were active in the last two years of the Caliphate of 'Ali b. Abi Talib and engaged in sporadic uprisings throughout the Arab-Islamic empire thereafter. The Ibadiyya of North Africa and the lower Arabian (Persian) Gulf consider themselves heirs to the early khawarij. See also pp. hereafter.

149. For reference to the bedouin Dhul-Khuwaysira see hereafter.
Anas explained that this was according to an account of his aunt. He then went on, "We said, Labbayka! At your service, Messenger of God!" The Messenger of God (SAAS) then advanced and by the time we came to them God had already defeated them.

"We seized their property and went on to al-Ṭa‘if which we besieged for 40 nights before returning to Mecca. There we stayed, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was awarding some men 100 (camels) while to another he would give 200. "The ānṣār were saying among themselves, 'He gives to those who fought him in the battles, but not to those who did not!'"

"This talk was reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he ordered the muḥājirūn and the ānṣār leaders to come in to see him. Then he said, 'Let none but an āqāri' (or he used the word the āqār, plural) 'come in to me.' So we entered his pavilion, which we filled. The Prophet (SAAS) then addressed us, saying, 'Āqār!' or something to that effect — 'What is this that has reached me?' 'What is it that you have heard, Messenger of God?' He asked, '(You tell me) what talk it is I have heard!' 'Well, what have you heard, Messenger of God?' they asked.

"He then asked, 'Are you not content that others receive material goods while you go off with the Messenger of God, whom you have enter your homes?' They replied, 'We are content, Messenger of God.' And they were satisfied."

This is related thus by Muslim, from a hadith of Muṭamir b. Sulaymān.

There are strange aspects to this. (For example) His statement that they were 6,000 at the battle with Hawzīn, whereas they were 12,000 strong. Also his statement that they besieged al-Ṭa‘if for 40 days, whereas they did so for a month, or even less than 20 days. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muhammad, quoting Ḥishām, quoting Māʿmar, from al-Zuhri, who said that Anas b. Mālik stated to him, "Some of the ānṣār began talking when God gave to His messenger the spoils from Hawzīn and he began awarding some men 100 camels. They were saying, 'May God forgive the Messenger of God! He is giving to Quraysh but not us, even though our swords drip with their blood!'

Anas b. Mālik went on, "What they were saying was reported to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he sent for the ānṣār whom he gathered in a leather pavilion, allowing entry to no one else at the time. When they were assembled, the Prophet (SAAS) arose and said, 'What is this talk that has reached me?' The ānṣār elders replied, 'Our leaders, Messenger of God, have said nothing. Some of our young men, however, have been saying, "God forgive the Messenger of God! He is giving to Quraysh but not to us, even though our swords drip with their blood."'"

The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'I am giving to these men who were so recently polytheists in order to establish good will with them. Are you not

150. The Arabic text indicates a footnote relating to this woman; however there is no accompanying material in the footnote.

151. By giving to the Meccans and not to the ānṣār.
content they go off with material things, while you take the Prophet to your homes? I swear by God, what you take home is far better than what they do.’ They responded, ‘We are content, Messenger of God.’ He then told them, ‘You will find others much advantaged. But be patient until you meet God and His messenger; for I will be there at the al-hawd,1st the pool’.”

Anas concluded, “But they were not patient.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving it from this line.

Al-Bukhārī went on to relate, as did Muslim, from a hadith of Ibn ‘Awf, quoting Hishām b. Zayd, from his grandfather Anas b. Mālik, who said, “At the battle of Hunayn, Hawāzīn attacked. With the Prophet (SAAS) there were 10,000 warriors, along with some Meccans who had joined them. They (the Muslims) drew back, and so he called out, ‘Anšār!’ And they responded, ‘Labbayka, ya rasīl Allāh, wa sa'day! Labbayka! Nahnu bayna yadayak!’152 ‘At your service, Messenger of God, and at your assistance! We are here before you!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then dismounted and said, ‘I am the servant and Messenger of God!’ After that the polytheists were defeated and he gave both to those who had joined at Mecca and to those who were muhājīrūn; he gave nothing to the anšār. They began talking and he summoned them to his pavilion. He asked them, ‘Are you not content to have them take away sheep and camels, while you go back with the Messenger of God?’ He went on, ‘If the rest were to enter some valley, while the anšār climbed up a mountain defile, I would take the path of the anšār!’

In another narration from al-Bukhārī on this subject, he (Anas b. Mālik) stated, “At the battle of Hunayn, Hawāzīn, Ghatafān and others advanced, along with their livestock and families. With the Messenger of God (SAAS) there were 10,000 warriors and some men who had joined him at Mecca. They (the Muslims) withdrew, so that he was left alone. He made two calls to them, each call separate from the other. Turning to his right, he called, ‘Anšār!’ They responded, ‘At your service, Messenger of God! Be content, we are with you!’ At the time he was riding his white mule. He dismounted and said, ‘I am the servant and Messenger of God!’

“The polytheists were defeated and he won much booty that day and he divided it between the muhājīrūn and the Meccans who had joined the Muslims (after the conquest). However, he gave the anšār nothing. The anšār said, ‘If difficulties arise, we are summoned, but the spoils are given to others!’

“When news of this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS) he assembled them in a pavilion and asked them, ‘Anšār, what is this report that has reached me?’ They were silent and he asked, ‘Anšār, are you not content that others have worldly goods while you go away with the Messenger of God, having him for yourselves in your own homes?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. Then he said, ‘If the men

152. That sweet-water source in paradise where, at resurrection, the Prophet (SAAS) will meet his community.
153. Their response is both rhythmic and rhymed.
were to make their way through a valley and the ānṣār were to take a route through a mountain defile, I would follow them.’ Hishām asked, ‘Abū Hamza’ (i.e. Anas b. Mālik), ‘did you actually witness that?’ He replied, ‘Where would I have been, away from him?’”

Al-Bukhārī then related it — as also did Muslim — from a hadith of Shu‘bā, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) assembled the ānṣār and said, ‘Quraysh were still recently in the jahiliyya and have greatly suffered. I wanted to aid them and to establish goodwill with them. Are you not content for others to return with worldly goods, while you go to your homes with the Messenger of God?’ ‘Yes,’ they agreed. He then said, ‘If the men were to make their way into a valley while the ānṣār followed a route into a mountain defile, I would follow the valley — or the defile — of the ānṣār.’”

They also gave it from a hadith of Shu‘bā, from Abū al-Tayyāḥ Yazīd b. Hamīd, from Anas in similar form. In that version they (the ānṣār) had exclaimed, “By God, that’s very strange! While our swords still drip with their blood, the spoils are divided up among them.” He then addressed them in the words similar to those given above.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Affān related to us, quoting Hammād, quoting Thabit, from Anas b. Mālik, to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave from the spoils at Hunayn to Abī Sufyān, ‘Uyayna, al-Aqrā’, Suhayl b. ‘Amr and others. The ānṣār then said, ‘Our swords drip with their blood, yet they go off with the spoils!’ News of this reached the Prophet (SAAS) and he assembled the ānṣār in a pavilion of his until it was filled. He asked, ‘Is there anyone here who is not of you?’ They replied, ‘No one except our cousin.’ He commented, ‘A cousin is of one’s own people.’ He then asked, ‘Have you said such—and—such?’ ‘Yes,’ they agreed. He observed, ‘You are the shahr, “the under-garments”, while the people are the al-dīhr, “the outer-wear.”’ Are you content to have the others receive the sheep and camels while you take the Messenger of God to your homes?’ ‘Yes,’ they agreed. He went on, ‘The ānṣār are my karsh, “my very insides”, and ‘aybatī, “my closest family”. If the men were to take a path through a valley and the ānṣār were to take a mountain defile, I would follow along the defile. Had it not been for the hijra, I would have been one of the ānṣār.’ Hammād said, ‘He gave out 100 camels (to the foregoing persons). He then named each one of those.””

Ahmād is alone in giving this with this line of transmission. And the hadith meets the criteria set by Muslim.

Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Ibn Abī ‘Adi, from Humayd, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “O ānṣār, did I not come to you when you were lost and did not God then give you guidance through me?  

154. Al-shahr refers to the clothing directly touching the body, while al-dīhr is the clothing that covers the undergarments and does not contact the body. The comment is to emphasize the degree of closeness to the Prophet.

155. The translation of these two terms is conjectural.
Did I not come to you when you were scattered, and did not God unite you through me? Did I not come to you when you were enemies (to one another) and did not God then place goodwill in your hearts?” “Yes, Messenger of God,” they agreed. He asked, “Do you not say, ‘You came to us in fear and we made you secure, in flight and we gave you sanctuary, in failure and we gave you aid?’” They replied, “Indeed yes; God has credit for His favour to us and to His messenger.”

The chain of authorities for this hadith is tripartite and it meets the criteria established by the sahihayn, the two canonical collections.

This hadith from Anas b. Malik is tantamount to mutawāwarī.156

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musa b. Ismā‘īl related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting ‘Ammar b. Ya‘āqūb, from ‘Abbād b. Tamīm, from Ṭābāt b. Zayd b. ‘Āṣim, who said, “When God gave booty to His messenger (SAAS) at the battle of Ḥunayn, he made distributions to those recently reconciled (to Islam) but gave nothing to the ansār. They seem to have been upset at not having received as had the others, and so he addressed them as follows, ‘Anṣār, did I not find you astray and did not then God guide you to me? Were you not divided, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not unite you through me? Were you not poor, and did God not enrich you through me?’ As he asked each of these, they replied, ‘God and His messenger give many favours.’

“He went on, ‘If you had wished, you could have said, ‘You came to us so-on-and-so-forth.’ Are you not content to have others go off with the sheep and camels, while you take the Messenger of God away to your homes? Had it not been for the hijra I would have been one of the ṣaqr. If the people were to take a path into a valley and a mountain defile, I would follow into the valley and defile taken by the ṣaqr. The ṣaqr are shīr, while the people are dīthar.157’ After me you will notice others given preference; be patient until you meet me at al-ḥawd, the pool before paradise.’”

Muslim related it from a hadith of ‘Amr b. Ya‘āqūb al-Māzini.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as saying, “It was related to me by ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda, from Maḥmūd b. Ḭabbādī that Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudārī said, ‘When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had won the spoils at the battle of Ḥunayn and had divided these up as he did to those Meccans of goodwill and to others of the Arabs, but had given none of it whatsoever to the ansār, the latter men were resentful. They said, “So the Messenger of God (SAAS) has met with his own!” Sa‘īd b. ‘Ubāda went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, “O Messenger of God, this tribe of ansār feel resentment towards you.” “Why?” he asked. Sa‘īd explained, “Because you have been distributing booty to your own people and others but giving them, the ansār, nothing.” The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, “And where do you stand in that, Sa‘īd?” “Well”, he replied,

156. That is, the information it contains is affirmed by so many trustworthy persons as to exclude doubt over its veracity.
“I’m just one man of my own people.” The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, “Assemble your people for me in this enclosure and when they are gathered, let me know.” Sa’d then left, called out to them and they assembled in that enclosure. One of the muhajirin also came; he was allowed entry and went in. Others who came were sent away. Eventually all the ansār, without exception, were gathered for him. Sa’d then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, “Messenger of God, this tribe of ansār are now assembled where you told me to gather them.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went and stood among them to address them. He gave fitting praise and thanks to God and went on to say, “Ansār, did I not come to you when you were astray, and did not God then guide you? (Were you not) poor and did God not enrich you? Were you not enemies and did not God create good will between you?” “Yes,” they agreed. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, “Can you not give me response, O ansār?” They replied, “What should we say, Messenger of God? How should we answer you? Our favours are due to God and to His messenger.” He replied, “I swear by God, had you wished you could have said, ‘You spoke the truth, again and again.’ And ‘You came to us an outcast and we sheltered you. You came in distress and we comforted you. You were fearful and we made you secure, failing and we gave you aid.’” They responded, “Our favours are due to God and to His messenger.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, “Do you find within you, O ansār, a lust for those worldly things whereby I reconciled a people who had accepted Islam, while I entrusted you with that of Islam which God had allotted to you? Are you resentful, for the others to take sheep and camels to their homes, while you return with the Messenger of God to yours? I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, that if the people were to follow one mountain defile while the ansār followed another, I would make my way through the defile of the ansār. Had it not been for the hijra, I would have been a man of the ansār. O God, have mercy on the ansār, their children and their children’s children!”

“They wept at this until their beards were wet and said, “We are content with God as our Lord and His messenger as distributor.”

“He then left and they dispersed.”

Imām Ahmad related it thus from a ḥadīth of Ibn Ishāq. None of the compilers of the canonical collections gave it with this line of transmission. It is (to be considered) sahih, “authentic”.

Imām Ahmad related it also from Yahyā b. Bukayr, from al-Faḍl b. Marzūq, from ʿĀṭiya b. Saʿd al-ʿAwfī, from Abū Saʿd al-Khudari, who quoted one of the ansār as having said, to his friends, “I swear, I told you, didn’t I, that once things settled down, he would give preference to others over you?” They replied to him rudely and that reached the Messenger of God (SAAS). He then came to them and said some things the narrator said he did not recall. They replied, “Yes, Messenger of God.” He told them, “You used not to ride horses” and every time he said something to them, they replied, “Yes, Messenger of God.”
He then related the rest of the *hadith* as above. Āḥmad was also alone in giving this.

Imām Āḥmad was also alone in relating it from a *hadith* of al-ʿAqmash, from Abū Sāliḥ, from Abū Saʿīd, in similar words. He related it as well from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Ibn Lahīfa, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, in an abbreviated form.

Sufyān b. ʿUyayna stated, from ʿUmar b. Saʿīd b. Masrūq, from his father, from ʿĪbāya b. Rāfiʿ b. Khadij, from his grandfather Rāfiʿ b. Khadij, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to each of those whose goodwill he sought 100 camels from the spoils at Ḥunayn. He gave 100 to each of Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ṣafwān b. ʿUmayya, ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn, al-ʿAqrāʾ b. Ḥābīs, ʿAlqama b. ʿAlatha, and Mālik b. ʿAwf. To al-ʿAbbās b. Mīrđās he gave less than 100, less than to the others, and so he recited the verses,

"Would you divide my share and that of (my horse) al-ʿUbayd between ʿUyayna and al-ʿAqrāʾ?

(Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābīs were not above (my father) Mīrđās in the assembly.

I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and whomever you demean today will never be raised.

I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given nothing, nor was I defended."

The account concludes, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then awarded him more camels to bring his share up to 100."

Muslim related this from a *hadith* of Ibn ʿUyayna in similar terms, and this is (also) the version given by al-Bayhaqi.

There is another version given by Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Ibn Ishāq. That quoted al-ʿAbbās as reciting,

"Those were the spoils I gained by charging on my colt into the plain

And by keeping the tribe alert so that they not doze; and when they slept, I did not.

But my share and that of (my horse) al-ʿUbayd went to ʿUyayna and al-ʿAqrāʾ.

I was fully active in the warfare, yet I was given nothing, nor was I defended,

Given only some weak camels, to the number of their four legs!

(Their fathers) Ḥiṣn and Ḥābīs were not above (my father) Mīrđās in the assembly

And I was not (considered) beneath either of them; and whomever you put down today will never be raised."
Wrwa and Masa b. Wqba quoted al-Zubri as saying, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) heard these verses, he asked al-‘Abbās, ‘Are you the one who said, ‘But my share and that of al-Wbayd went to al-Aqra‘ and ‘Uyaynā?’’”

“Abū Bakr observed, ‘That’s not what he said, Messenger of God. I swear by God, you were never a poet; that would not be fitting for you.’”158 “Well, what were his words?” asked the Messenger of God (SAAS). Abū Bakr then recited the line (reversing the order of the names) and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Well, they’re the same; it doesn’t matter which you put first!’

“He then said, ‘Cut out his tongue for me!’ Some people feared that he meant for him (al-‘Abbās b. Mirdās) to be mutilated, but the Prophet (SAAS) only wanted payment made to him. And he added, ‘And also a share for ‘Ubayd, his horse!’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥḥammad b. al-‘Abbās related to him, quoting Usāma, from Burayd b. ‘Abd Allah, from Abī Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who said, “I was with the Prophet (SAAS) while he was encamped at al-Jīrāna, between Mecca and al-Medina, Bilāl being there with him. A bedouin came up to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and demanded, ‘Well, aren’t you going to fulfil your promise to me?’ ‘Abshir! Rejoice!’ The bedouin insisted, ‘You’ve told me that abshir too often already!’”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then went over to Abū Mūsā and Bilāl, looking angry and said, “The bushrā, the rejoicing, has been given back; you two have it!” He then asked for a bowl of water in which he washed his hands and face. He then took a mouthful and spat it back in it, saying, “Now, you two drink it and pour the rest over your faces and necks and you two ‘rejoice’.” They took the bowl and did as he asked. Umm Salama called out from behind the curtain, “Keep some for your mother!” And they did leave some for her.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Yahyah b. Bukayr related to him, quoting Mālik, from Isḥaqq b. ‘Abd Allah, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “I was walking with the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was wearing a mantle from Najmān that had a rough hem. A bedouin came up to him and pulled on the mantle so roughly that I saw that its hem had made a mark on his shoulder. The bedouin said, ‘Order a payment to me from God’s property you have!’ He turned to him, laughed and then ordered that a payment be made to him.”

Ibn Ishāq recorded the names of those to each of whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) distributed 100 camels that day. These were: Abū Sufyān Sakkhr b. Ḥarb; his son Muṣāwiya; Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām; al-Ḥārith b. Kalda, a brother of Banū ‘Abd al-Dār; ‘Alqama b. ‘Alā‘a; al-‘Alā‘ b. Ḥāritha al-Thaqāfī, ally of Banū Zuhra; al-Ḥārith b. Ḥishām; Jumayr b. Muṣṭim; Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī; Suhayl b.

158. C.f. sūra Yāsin; XXXVI, v.69; “And We have not taught him poetry; that would not be fitting for him.”
Ibn Ishāq stated that it was related to him by Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Hārith al-Taymi, that one of his companions asked the Messenger of God (SAAS), “Messenger of God, since you gave 100 camels to each of ‘Uyayna and al-Aqra’, why did you not do so to Ju’ayl b. Suraqa al-Damri?” He replied, “By Him who holds the soul of Muhammad in his hand, Ju’ayl is better than the very best of all those on earth who are like ‘Uyayna and al-Aqra! But I wanted to establish goodwill with them for them to accept Islam; I placed the trust of Ju’ayl b. Suraqa in his Islam.”

Ibn Ishāq went on to mention those to whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) distributed less than 100 camels. It would be too lengthy to relate these.

In the authentic hadith of Sāfwan b. Umayya, he is quoted as saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) kept on making distributions to me from the spoils of Hunayn; he was previously the most hated person to me, but he gave until he became, for me, the most loved thing that God had created.”

An Account of the arrival of Mālik b. ‘Awf al-Naṣrī to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Ibn Ishāq stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke with a delegation from Hawāzin and asked them what had happened to Mālik b. ‘Awf. They replied that he was in al-Ṭa’if with Bānū Thaqīf. He told them, “Inform him that if he comes to me as a Muslim, I will return to him his people and their belongings and will award him 100 camels.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “When Mālik heard this, he slipped away from Thaqīf and went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at al-Jīrānā – or in Mecca – accepted Islam and became a good Muslim. He then restored to Mālik both his people and their belongings. When he also gave him 100 camels, Mālik b. ‘Awf, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses,

‘Never have I seen nor heard of the like of Muhammad among all mankind.
He gives in good faith and generously when requested
and if you wish he will foretell what is to come.
When the squadron goes into action with its lances and
strikes hard with its Indian-steel swords
He is like a lion crouching over its cubs within its den.’”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed him in command over those of his people who had accepted Islam, those tribes being Thumāl, Salima and Fahm. He (Mālik) had those do battle against Thaqīf; whenever they brought their flocks out, he would attack, thus causing them great difficulty.”
Al-Bukhārī stated that Musā b. Ismā‘īl related to him quoting Jarir b. Ḥāzim, quoting al-Ḥasan, who stated that ‘Amr b. Ṭhaʿlab related to him as follows, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made distribution to some and did not to others. It seems that some complained to him and he responded, ‘I give to those people I fear will be impatient and resentful; and to those who are self-sufficient and whose goodness is inspired in them by God, I give not. Of them is ‘Amr b. Ṭagḥlib.’

‘Amr went on, ‘I would rather have such words about me said by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than have the most choice animals of the herd!’”

Abū ʿAṣim added to this, quoting Jarir as saying, “I heard al-Ḥasan quote ‘Amr b. Ṭagḥlib as saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then brought property—or captives—and distributed it in this way.”

In an account from al-Bukhārī he is quoted as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought some property—or something—and gave to some men but not to others. It reached him that those who had been left out were complaining and so he made an address to them. He gave praise and thanks to God, then said, ‘And further ...’ He then related it as above.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Ibn Hishām quoted Ḥassān b. Thābit as having recited these verses about the anṣār having been delayed in receiving distributions from the spoils:

“Sadness grew and water from the eyes fell copiously, teardrops streaming,
In pain for Shammas who is young and slender, blameless and healthy.
But forget Shammas, for her passion has faded; and bad it is to meet a love now past.
Go to the Messenger and say, ‘O most trustworthy of all men for Believers, if all men be counted,
Why were Sulaym called, though they are to leave, in preference to those who gave refuge and aid?
God named them anṣār for their nasr, “aid”, to the true faith, while warfare dragged on.
They sped to God’s cause, exposing themselves to dangers, never betraying nor complaining.
When people banded against us over you, and our sole defence was our swords and spear points
We battled them and spared none, ignoring nothing that the sūras revealed.
Those loving war do not dislike meeting us; when its fire flares, we kindle it even more!
As when we repelled at Badr, before they achieved their goal, those hypocrites, victory alighting upon us.
We were your troops at the battle on the slopes of Uhud when Muṣṭar insolently assembled their clans.”
An Account of the dissatisfaction of some who were ignorant, divisive and hypocritical towards the Messenger of God (SAAS) concerning the just distributions he made by agreement.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qabīṣa related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-A‘mash, from Abū Wāṣīl, from ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “When the Prophet (SAAS) divided up the spoils of Hunayn, one of the ansār said, ‘By doing this, he was not seeking to serve God!’ I then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and informed him of this. His face darkened and he exclaimed, ‘May God have mercy on Moses! He was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!’”

Muslim related this from a hadith of al-A‘mash.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Qutayba b. Sa‘īd related to him, quoting Jarir, from Mansūr, from Abū Wāṣīl, who quoted ʿAbd Allāh as saying, “At Ḥunayn the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave preferable treatment to some persons. He gave 100 camels to each of al-Aqraī b. Ḥābīs and Uuyayna and also made distributions to others. One man said, ‘By this division, service to God was not intended!’ I said, ‘Well, I’m going to report this to the Messenger of God.’

“He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) exclaimed, ‘May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!’”

He also related it thus from a hadith of Mansūr, from al-Mu‘tamīr.

In one account given by al-Bukhārī, the wording is, “By God, this is a distribution that is devoid of justice; service to God was not intended.” So I said, “I will inform the Messenger of God (SAAS) of this!” When I went to him and told him, he exclaimed, “And who will ever be just, if it not be God and His messenger! May God have mercy on Moses; he was made to suffer even more than this but remained patient!”

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated that it was related to him by Abū Ubayda b. Muhammad b. ʿAmmār b. Yaṣīr, from Miqṣam Abū al-Qāsim, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfal, who said, “I and Talīd b. Kilāb al-Laythī came to ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ while he was circumambulating the kubba, his sandals hanging from his hand. We asked him, ‘Were you present with the Messenger of God (SAAS) when the man from Banī Tamīm spoke to him at the battle of Ḥunayn?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘A man of Banī Tamīm named Dhū al-Khuwaysīrā came and stood nearby while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was distributing the spoils. Dhū al-Khuwaysīrā told him, ‘Muḥammad, I have been watching what you have been doing today.’ ‘Yes’, asked the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘and what have you thought?’ ‘I do not think you have been acting justly.’ The Prophet (SAAS) was very angry and said, ‘Confound you! If justice is not to be found with me, then with whom is it!’”
“Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then asked, ‘Should we not kill him?’ He replied, ‘No; leave him alone. He shall lead a faction who will go deeply into the faith and emerge as an arrow does from its target. When its head is examined, nothing will be seen upon it. Also, its shaft and its notch will have nothing upon them. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood.’”

Al-Layth b. Sa‘d quoted from Yaḥyā b. Sa‘d, from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Jābīr b. ‘Abd Allāh as saying, “A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Jīrāna while he was making distributions from the spoils of Ḥunayn. There was silver in Bilāl’s cloak which he was taking and handing to people. The man said, ‘Muḥammad, be just!’ He responded, ‘Confound you, who will be just if not me? Otherwise I would have disappointed and failed.’ Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, ‘Will you permit me, Messenger of God, to kill this hypocrite?’ He replied, ‘God forbid that people say of me that I kill my men! (When) this fellow and his friends recite the Qur’ān, it doesn’t emerge out of their throats; they have it pass straight on through, like an arrow exiting its target!”’

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Rumḥ, from al-Layth.

Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Abū ‘Amir, quoting Qurra, from ‘Amr b. Du‘ār, from Jābīr, who said, “While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was distributing the spoils of Ḥumayn, a man went up to him and said, ‘Do be just!’ He responded, ‘I will be made to suffer if I am not just!’”

Al-Bukhrā‘i related this from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Qurra b. Khālid al-Sadūs.

In both sāḥīḥ collections, it is related from a ḥadīth of al-Zuhrī, from Abū Salāma, from Abū Sa‘d, who said, “While we were with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was making distributions of the spoils, Dhūt al-Khuwayṣir, a man of Bantī Tamīm, came over to him and said, ‘Messenger of God, be just!’ He responded, ‘Confound you, who would be just if I were not? Then I would have disappointed and failed. If I were not just, who would be?’ Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, ‘Messenger of God, will you give me permission to behead him?’ ‘Leave him alone,’ he replied. ‘He has friends. One of you would feel contempt for his prayer and their prayer, his fasting and their fasting. They recite the Qur’ān, but their incantations do not come forth. They slip on through Islam as an arrow slips on through a target. If you examine its head, you’ll see nothing on it; then its head binding, you’ll see nothing; then its shaft, and you’ll see nothing; then its feathers, you’ll see nothing. It will have outstripped the insides and the blood. Their sign is that they will have among them a black man, one of whose upper arms reminds you of a woman’s breasts, or like a piece of fat meat vibrating; they will appear at a time when people are disunited.’”

159. This hadīth suggests foreknowledge on the part of the Prophet (ṢAAS) concerning the schism in Islam resulting from the activities of the khawārij of later years. The text of this hadīth twice employs the word kharaja, to go out or secede, from which the name of the movement is derived.
"Abū Saʿīd stated, 'I testify that I heard this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and I also testify that 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalib fought them while I was present. He gave orders and that man was searched out and brought. I saw him to be as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had described him."

Muslim also related this from a ḥadīth of al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥaḍl from Abū Nadrā, from Abū Saʿīd in similar words.

An Account of the arrival of the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he was at al-Ḥirāna; her name was al-Shaymā'.

Ibn Ishaq stated that a man of Banū Saʿīd related to him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said at the battle with Hawāzin, "If you capture Nījād - a man of Banū Saʿīd b. Bakr - don't let him escape you." (He had done something serious.) "When the Muslims took him, they led him and his family away. With him they took al-Shaymā', daughter of al-Ḥārith b. 'Abd al-Uzzā, the foster-sister of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"They treated her roughly as they took her away and she said to the Muslims, 'You should know, I swear by God, that I am the foster-sister of your leader.' They did not believe her until they brought her to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"Yazid b. Wbāyd al-Ṣaʿdī - he being Abū Wajzā - said, 'When she was brought to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) she said, 'Messenger of God, I am your foster-sister.' "How can you prove that?" he asked. She replied, 'There is the mark of the bite you gave me on my back when I carried you on my hip.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recognized the mark and spread out his cloak for her, sat her down on it and treated her well. He told her, 'If you wish, you may live with me in honour and affection. If you wish for me to provide for you and to let you return to your people, I will do so.' She replied, 'Yes, do provide for me and return me to my people.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave her presents and returned her to her people. Banū Saʿīd claim that he gave her a slave called Makhūl and a slave-girl, that she married them to one another and that descendants of that union still survive.'"

Al-Bayhaqi related from a ḥadīth of al-Ḥakam b. 'Abd al-Malik, from Qatāda, who said, "On the day of the conquest of Hawāzin, a slave-girl came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, 'Messenger of God, I am your sister! I am Shaymā', daughter of al-Ḥārith.' He asked her, 'If you are telling the truth, then you have a mark I made that would not wear away.' She then exposed her upper arm and said, 'Yes, Messenger of God. When you were small, you gave me this bite.' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then spread out his cloak for her and said, 'Ask and it will be given; intercede for someone and you will be interceded for.'"

Al-Bayhaqi also stated that he was informed by Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda, quoting 'Amr b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Sulāmī, quoting Muslim, quoting Abū Ḥāsim, quoting
Ja'far b. Yahyā b. Thawbān, who said, “My uncle Umara b. Thawbān informed me that Abū al-Tufayl told him, ‘I was a slave who used to care for the camel hides, and I witnessed the Messenger of God (SAAS) distributing the camels at al-Jīrāna.

“A woman came up to him and he spread out his cloak for her. I asked who she was and they told me she was his foster-mother.’”

This is a strange hadith; perhaps he meant his foster-sister, who was nursed together with him by her mother, Ḥalima al-Sa'idiyya. If this tradition, as given above, is correct, Ḥalima would have been very old; the time elapsed between her having suckled the Messenger of God (SAAS) (and their being at) al-Jīrāna was over 60 years. The youngest she could have been when she suckled him was 30 years of age. Moreover, God knows best how long she lived after that.

A hadith mursal exists which relates that both his foster-parents came up to him. But God knows best how true this is.

Abū Dā’ūd stated in al-Marāṣil that ʿAbd mabd b. Saʿd b. al-Hamdānī related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said that) ʿUmar b. al-Saʿīb related to him that he was informed that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was one day seated when his foster-father came up to him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) spread out part of his cloak for him and he sat upon it. Then his mother came and he laid out another part of his cloak, on his other side, for her to sit upon. His foster-brother next arrived and the Messenger of God (SAAS) arose and sat him down before him.

It is explained above that all Hawāzin are connected to him due to his having been suckled by Banū Saʿd b. Bakr, who are a clan of Hawāzin. Their spokesman, Zuhayr b. ʿSurad, stated, “O Messenger of God, those in the enclosures for the captives are nothing but your own maternal aunts and nursemamaids, so be kind to us, may God be kind to you.” He then recited, in part,

“Be kind to womenfolk from whom you sucked, your mouth filled with pearl-like drops of their pure milk.

Be kind to women from whom you sucked, for them your actions will adorn you and not be wasted”

This, then, was the reason why Bakra’s father was set free; by so doing, he restored to them all their previous and present rights and privileges, as individuals and as a group.

Al-Waqāḍī related from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Shuraḥbil, from his father, who said, “Al-Nādir b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada was one of the most handsome of men. He used to say, ‘Praise be to God who was kind enough to award us Islam and Muḥammad (SAAS). And we will not die with the same (belief system) of our fathers, and that in which our brothers and cousins were killed.’”

He then went on to relate his enmity for the Prophet (SAAS) and the fact that he went out with his people of Quraysh to Ḥunayn still believing in their old faith. He said, “If there were to be a defeat for Muḥammad, we were prepared
to attack him. But we were not able to accomplish that. When he was at al-Jīrāna, I was still unchanged. Then I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘Is that Nadīr?’ ‘Labbayk! ‘At your service,’ I replied. He asked, ‘Would you now like something better than what God prevented you from achieving at Ḥunayn?’ I went quickly over to him and he said, ‘It is now time for you to recognize how wrong you were.’ I said, ‘I realize that had there been any other (god) than God, he would have helped. I testify that there is no god but God alone and without associate!’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘O God, make him ever more firm!’ Al-Nadīr then said, ‘By Him who sent him with the truth, it was as though my heart was as firm as a rock in the faith and in enlightenment into the truth.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘Praise be to God Who gave him guidance!’”

THE ‘UMRA OF AL-JĪRĀNA IN DHŪ AL-QA‘DA.

Imām Ahmad stated that Bahz and ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Ma‘nī both quoted Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā as having quoted Qatada as saying, “I asked Anas b. Mzlik the following, ‘How many pilgrimages did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make?’ ‘One full hijja and four lesser ‘umra pilgrimages. There was one (umra at the time of al-Hudaybiyya truce, another in Dhū al-Qa‘da from Medina, another in Dhū al-Qa‘da from al-Jīrāna, where he distributed the spoils of Hunayn, and then the ‘umra he performed when he also performed the full hijja pilgrimage.’”

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Da‘ūd and al-Tirmidhi all related this with various lines of transmission, from Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā. Al-Tirmidhi characterized it as hasan ṣaḥīḥ, “good and authentic”.

Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Nadr, quoting Dā‘ūd – meaning al-ʿAttār – from ‘Amr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ‘umra four times: that of al-Hudaybiyya, the ‘umrat al-qadr, the third from al-Jīrāna, and the fourth at the time of his full hijja.”


Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. Zakariyya b. Abū Za‘fida, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Artāt, from ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿΑs, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed three ‘umra. All were in Dhū al-Qa‘da. He would (continue to) make the call Labbayka! until he saluted the (Black) Stone.”

This tradition is gharīb, “unilateral”, from this source.

These are the three ‘umra that occurred during Dhū al-Qa‘da; these are apart from the one that coincided with his full hijja, which took place in Dhu al-Hijja. If this source suggests the commencement of his Ḥijrām, state of ritual consecration, through them in Dhū al-Qa‘da, it could be because he did not include that of
al-Ḥudaybiyya, since he was blocked from it and did not actually accomplish it. But God knows best.

I observe that Nāfi’ and his master Ibn ‘Umar denied that the Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) fully accomplished the ūmra from al-Jīfānā. This is according to the account given by al-Bukhārī. He stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Nu‘mān, quoting Hammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi’, from Ibn ‘Umar, who quoted ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as having asked, “Messenger of God, (what should I do about) the vow I made before the coming of Islam to spend a day in ṣīkāf, prayer in seclusion?” He ordered him to fulfil the vow.

(The narrator went on) “‘Umar received two slave-girls from the captives taken at Ḥunayn and he accommodated them in a house in Mecca. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) released the Ḥunayn captives and they began to run in the streets. ‘Umar asked (his son), ‘Abd Allāh, what’s this you see happening?’ He replied, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) has released the captives.’ ‘Umar then said, ‘Go and send the two slave-girls away.’”

Nāfi’ went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) did not make the ūmra from al-Jīfānā. Had he done so, this fact would not have been unknown to ‘Abd Allāh (b. ‘Umar).”

Muslim related this from a ḥadīth of Ayyūb al-Sukhtiyānī, from Nāfi’, from (‘Abd Allāh) Ibn ‘Umar.

Muslim also related it from Aḥmad b. ‘Abda al-Dabbī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi’, who said, “Reference was made in the presence of (‘Abd Allāh) Ibn ‘Umar to the ūmra made by the Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) from al-Jīfānā. Ibn ‘Umar commented, ‘He did not make an ūmra from there.’”

This is very ghariḥ, strange, to be reported of Ibn ‘Umar by his freed-man Nāfi’, both of them thereby denying his having made an ūmra from there. The transmitters of aḥādīth other than them do maintain that he did so, as is shown by reports given from them in the mass of authoritative collections of aḥādīth of all kinds, including the military chronicles.

This is also established in both saḥīḥ collections in a ḥadīth of ʿAṭā b. Abū Rabah from Urwa, from ʿAḥīsha, who contradicted Ibn ‘Umar’s statement that “The Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) performed the ūmra in Ṣa’d.” She stated, “May God forgive ‘Abd al-Rahmān’s father! (‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, that is.) The Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) never performed the ūmra other than in his presence, and he never did so in Ṣa’d.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting al-A’mash, from Mūjāhid, who said, “Urwa b. al-Zubayr asked Ibn ‘Umar in what month the Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) performed the ūmra. He replied, ‘In Ṣa’d.’ ʿAḥīsha was listening to us. Ibn al-Zubayr referred to what Ibn ‘Umar had said and asked her to comment. She replied, ‘May God have mercy on Abū Abū al-Rahmān! The Messenger of God (ṢAʿAS) never made an ūmra that Ibn ‘Umar did not witness, and he never made any ūmra that was not in Dhū al-Qaʿda.”
Al-Bukhari and Muslim quoted this from a *hadith* of Jarir, from Mansur, from Mujahid, in similar terms. Abd ar-Rahman and al-Nasafi also related this from a *hadith* of Zuhayr, from Abu Ishak, from Mujahid, to the effect that Ibn 'Umar was asked how many times the Messenger of God (SAAS) had made the *umra*. He replied that he had done so twice. Aisha then commented, "Ibn Umar knows well that the Messenger of God (SAAS) made the *umra* three times, apart from the one he combined with the *hijjat al-wadat*, the 'farewell pilgrimage'."

Imam Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Yahya b. Adam, quoting Mufaddal, from Mansur, from Mujahid, who said, "I went inside the mosque with Urwa b. al-Zubayr and there we saw Ibn Umar leaning against Aisha's compartment while people there were performing the *al-duha* prayer. Urwa asked him, 'Abu 'Abd al-Rahman, what is this prayer?' 'It is a *bid'a*,' he replied. Urwa asked, 'Abu 'Abd al-Rahman, how many times did the Messenger of God (SAAS) perform the *umra*?' He replied, 'Four times; one of them was during Rajab.' We then heard Aisha picking her teeth inside her compartment. Urwa asked her, 'Is it then as Abu 'Abd al-Rahman says, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *umra* four times, one of which was in Rajab?' She replied, 'May God have mercy on Abu 'Abd al-Rahman! The Prophet (SAAS) never performed the *umra* without him being present, and he never did so in Rajab.'"

Al-Tirmidhi related it thus from Ahmad b. Muni', from al-Hasan b. Musa, from Shaybani, from Mansur. He categorized it as *hasan sahih gharib*, 'good, authentic, (yet) unilateral'.

Imam Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Rawh, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who stated that he was informed by Muzahim b. Abu Muzahim, from 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd Allah, from Mukharrish al-Kabi, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) left al-Jirana one evening to make the *umra*, entered Mecca and did so, then travelled that same night back to al-Jirana, being back there by morning, as if he had spent the night there. After sunset that day, he left from al-Jirana along the Sarif valley, joining the route to Medina there in Sarif. Mukharrish concluded, "That is why his *umra* remained unknown to many people."

Imam Ahmad related this similarly from Yahya b. Sa'id, from Ibn Jurayj; this *hadith* is one of those that only the latter gave.

The significance of this is that (the fact of) the *umra* from al-Jirana is well established from authentic sources that cannot be refuted or denied. Those who deny this can have no argument to compare with those who affirm it. But God knows best.

160. While later this word became associated with heretical dissent and unacceptable change from established precedent, its use here, and Ibn 'Umar's presence along with Aisha at the prayer, seem to provide an example of a more favourable connotation implying a praiseworthy new practice.
They are, moreover, essentially unanimous that it took place in Dhū al-Qa‘da after the attack upon al-Ta‘if and the division of the spoils of Ḥumayn.

The treatment of this by the ḥāfiz Abū al-Qasim al-Ṭabarānī in his great compendium is as follows, “Al-Ḥasan b. ʿIṣḥāq al-Tusturi related to us, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿAbū Shayba, quoting Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadi, quoting ʿIbrāhīm b. ʿAṭā‘, quoted by ʿUmar b. ʿAṭā‘, from Ḥan al-Zuhayr, from ʿUmayr, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdās, from Ibn ʿAbdās, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from al-Ta‘if, he made camp at al-Jīrānā where he distributed the spoils. He then made the ʿumra pilgrimage from there, two days before the end of Shawwāl.’”

This is very ghārib, strange; its chain of authorities is controversial. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Ya‘qūb b. ʿIbrāhīm, quoting Ismāʿil, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who said that ʿAṭā‘ informed him that Ṣafwān b. Ya‘lā b. ʿUmayya told him that Ya‘lā used to say, “I wish I could see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while he is receiving divine revelation. While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at al-Jīrānā being sheltered from the sun by a cloth, along with some of his Companions came a bedouin wearing a cloak and heavily perfumed. He approached him and asked, (‘Messenger of God, what is your view of a man who adopts the state of ḫaṭām for the ʿumra and puts on a cloak, after having applied perfume to himself?’) ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then signalled to Ya‘lā to approach. When Ya‘lā did so and placed his head inside (beneath the sunshade) he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to be very red in the face. He was immersed in this (divine revelation) for some time and then he was relieved of it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, ‘Where is that person who earlier asked me about the ʿumra?’ The bedouin was searched out and brought and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘Regarding the perfume you have on, wash it off three times. Also remove your cloak. Behave on the ʿumra just as you would on the ḥajj.’”

Muslim related this from a ḥadīth of Ibn Jurayj. They (also) gave it from another route, from ʿAṭā‘, both attributing it to Ṣafwān b. Ya‘lā b. ʿUmayya.

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū Usāma related to him quoting Ḥishām, from his father, from ʿAṭīṣa, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came in at the time of the conquest from Kūdā, from the heights of Mecca. And he also came in for the ʿumra from Kūdā.”

Abū Dāwūd stated that Musā Abū Salama related to him, from Ḥammād, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khūthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions performed the ʿumra from al-Jīrānā. They jogged around the kaʿba three times, then walked around for four times. They tucked one end of their cloaks beneath their armpits, then tossed them over their left shoulders.

161. This sentence, necessary for the sequence of the narrative, is given in al-Bukhārī’s text but omitted from the edited printed version of Ibn Kathīr’s work.

162. That is, while receiving divine revelation.
Abū Dā'ūd is alone in giving this. Ibn Majah also related it, from a *hadith* of Ibn Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ʿAbbās, but in abbreviated form.

Imām Ṭāhir Ṭāhir stated that it was related to him by Yahyā b. Saʿīd, from Ibn Jurayj, who said that al-Ḥasan b. Muslim related to him, from Ṭawus, that Ibn ʿAbbās informed him that Muʿāwiya told him, “I missed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with an arrow head.” Or else the words he spoke were, “I saw him missed by an iron arrowhead (shot at him) at al-Marwa.”

Both authors of the *sahīḥ* collections gave it from a *hadith* of Ibn Jurayj. Muslim also related it, from a *hadith* of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Hishām b. ʿUrayj, from Ṭawus, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Muʿāwiya.

Abū Dā'ūd and al-Nasaʾī also related it from a *hadith* of ʿAbd al-Razzaq, from Maʿmar, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from his father.

ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Imām Ṭāhir stated that it was related to him by ʿAmr b. Muḥammad al-Naqīd, quoting Abū Ḥamīd al-Zubayrī, quoting Sufyān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Muʿāwiya, who said, “I missed (the arrow I fired at the) head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa.”

What is implied above is that it is inferred that this was at the ʿumra from al-Jīrānā.

This is because on the ʿumra at al-Ḥudaybiyya, he did not enter Mecca but was prevented from so doing, as has been explained heretofore. Regarding the ʿumrat al-yadā, Abū Sufyān had not yet accepted Islam and none of the Meccans remained there when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered it, having preferred to leave for that three-day period of his stay. As for the ʿumra that was performed in conjunction with his yadāʾ, it is unanimously accepted that he did not free himself thereof. And so it is obvious that the mistake committed by Muʿāwiya, son of Abū Sufyān, may God be pleased with them both, when he shot close to the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at al-Marwa, could only have occurred during the ʿumra from al-Jīrānā, as we have stated. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ishaq, may God have mercy upon him, stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left al-Jīrānā to perform the ʿumra and gave orders that the battle spoils be kept at Majanna, near Marr al-Zahrān.”

I observe that it is clear that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had retained some of the spoils to employ it to gain goodwill with those bedouin he might meet between Mecca and Medina.

Ibn Ishaq went on, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed this ʿumra he headed back to Medina, leaving ʿAttāb b. Asid as his deputy over Mecca. He also left with him Muʿadh b. Jabal to instruct the people in the faith and to teach them the Qurʾān.”

ʿUrwā and Mūsā b. ʿUqba relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had left Muʿadh and ʿAttāb as his deputies in Mecca before he had gone out to battle Hawāzin, and then reappointed them when he returned to Medina.
Ibn Hishām stated that he was informed that Zayd b. Aslam stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed ‘Attāb b. Asid in charge of Mecca, he awarded him payment of one dirham per day. ‘Attāb arose and gave the following address, ‘May God make hungry indeed the liver of one who still hungers on a dirham! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) has awarded me one dirham every day; I have need of no one!’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “The ‘umra of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took place in Dhū al-Qa‘da and he arrived in Medina at the end of that month or early in Dhū al-‘Hijja.”

Ibn Hishām stated that he arrived there six days before the end of Dhū al-Qa‘da, according to Abū ‘Amr al-Madini.

“That year the people performed the hajj in the same manner as the Arabs had previously. That year, 8 AH, ‘Attāb b. Asid performed the hajj along with the Muslims.

“The people of al-Ṭa‘if continued their polytheism and their abstention (from Islam) in their own city for the period between Dhī al-Qa‘da and Ramadān of 9 AH.”

THE ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM BY KA‘B B. ZUHAYR B. ABŪ SULMA.

His father, a poet and son of a poet, was an author of one of the Seven Mu‘allaqāt verses. His qaṣida, his ode, known by its opening words, Bānat Su‘ād ..., “Su‘ād has moved away”, was heard by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned (to Medina) after his departure from al-Ṭa‘if, Bujayr b. Zuhayr b. Abū Sulmā wrote to his full brother Ka‘b b. Zuhayr to inform him that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had executed at Mecca some of the men who had satirized and harmed him with their poetry. He also told him how the remaining Quraysh poets – Ibn al-Zibāyra and Hubayra b. Abū Wahb – had fled in disarray. He advised him, ‘If you value your life, then hurry to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for he does not execute anyone who comes to him in repentance. If you do not do this, then flee far away.’ Ka‘b had previously spoken the lines,

‘Transmit to Bujayr a message from me: “Confound you for what you said!
Can you explain to us, since you have not yet, for what other reason did he lead you
To a religion which I find none of his ancestors
followed, nor you find yours to have done.
If you do not accept it, I’ll not be sorry nor merely
say, if you stumble, ‘Good luck!’

“Al-Ma’mūn” has given you to drink by it a full cup; and after the first, ‘al-Ma’mūn’ has also given you a second drink.”

Ibn Hishām stated that a scholar in the poetry also quoted to him the following verses,

“Who will deliver a message from me to Bujayr: ‘Do you agree with what I told you at the mountain slope? You have drunk a full cup with “al-Ma’mūn”, and after the first draught he also gave you a second. You abandoned good guidance by following him; to what is it, damned that you are, that he has led you? Into a religion you’ll find no man nor woman ever served, nor any brother of yours. If you do not do as I say, I’ll not be sad; though I’m not one merely to say, “Good luck!” if you stumble.’”

He dispatched this to Bujayr who was reluctant to keep it from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and finally recited it to him. When he heard the words, saqā biḥā al-Ma’mūn, “al-Ma’mūn has given you to drink” he commented, “He speaks the truth here, terrible liar though he is. I am the ‘A-Ma’mm’, the ‘trustworthy one’.” When he heard the words, “Into a religion you’ll find no man nor woman ever served” he commented, “That’s right; you’ll not find his father or mother in it.” (Ibn Ishaq narrated) Bujayr then wrote back to Ka‘b the following verses,

‘Who will inform Ka‘b, “Would you blame me for serving something foolish when it is very serious? It is to God, alone, not to al-‘Uzza or to al-Lāt you should flee, while flight and safety are still possible, At a time when none shall slip away and escape except those who are Muslim, pure of heart. For the religion of Zuhayr is nothing, and that of Abū Sulmā is forbidden to me.’”

(Ibn Ishaq went on) “When this message reached Ka‘b, he was very apprehensive and those about him who were his enemies spread false rumours about him, saying, ‘He’s as good as dead!’

“When he could see no alternative, he recited his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). In it he referred to his fear and to the slander being spread by his enemies. He then left and went to Medina and stayed with a man he knew of Juhayna, so I have been told. That man took him next morning to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as he was performing the morning prayer and prayed with him. The man of Juhayna then pointed out to him the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), saying, ‘That is he. Go over to him and ask him for your safety.’

164. “The trustworthy”, the Prophet (ṢAAS), that is.
"I have been told that Ka'b did approach the Messenger of God (SAAS), sat down beside him and placed his own hand in his. The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not know who he was. Ka'b then said, 'Messenger of God, Ka'b b. Zuhayr has come to ask you to guarantee his safety as a Muslim who is repentant. Would you accept this from him if he were to approach you with this request?' 'Yes, I would,' the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him. 'Then,' said Ka'b, 'I am Ka'b b. Zuhayr!'

Ibn Ishq continued, "'Aśim b. Umar b. Qatāda related to me that one of the anṣār then jumped on him, saying, 'Messenger of God, let me execute the enemy of God!' He replied, 'Leave him alone! He has come expressing regret and repentance.'

"Ka'b b. Zuhayr was enraged at the anṣār for how one of them had treated him; this was because none of the muhājirūn spoke anything but good about him. In the ode that he delivered when he came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) he said,

'Su'ād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to her, unransomable, and chain-bound;
And Su'ād, the day of departure, when they left, was like a gazelle, her eyes down-cast and black-rimmed
Slender as she approaches, full of rear when she turns her back; she could not be faulted for being short or tall.

When she smiles, she reveals gleaming teeth, sweet as though bathed repeatedly in fine wine,
Wine mixed with ice-cold water from a pure pool on a valley bend cooled by a north wind,
All dirt kept from it by the breeze, its sides brimming over with white torrents stemming from a morning rain-cloud.
What a friend she would be if only she kept her promise, or would accept advice!
But she is a friend whose blood is a mix of lust and desire with deceit and changeability.
She never stays in one state but resembles a genie, ever-changing its guise.
She only keeps promises made to the degree that a sieve can hold water!
Be not deceived by her kindness and promises; one's hopes and expectations can lead astray.
The false promises of al-'Urqub are her model and her vows are mere foolishness.
How I hope and long for her intimate love; yet I think women are never prepared for this.
Su'ād is in some land so far off that only fine, swift, full-bloodied camels could reach,
Where only a big, strong she-camel, swift and sure-footed, though tired, could attain her,
A camel whose ear-bone would stream with sweat, heading into unknown featureless wastes.
She scans into the distance with the eyes of a lone white bull in broiling rocky terrain
Stout her neck, full-fleshed her ankles, superior to all others of the stallion's foals.
Strong her brother, her father from high-bred stock, her uncles all swift and strong-necked.
When insects walk upon her, she shakes them off her smooth chest and sides.
(Like a) wild ass with heavy flesh on her flanks, her knee-joints set well away from her ribs
Her nostrils prominent; breeding is evident in her ears, her cheeks smooth.
Her muzzle, jutting out past her eyes and neck and jawbones, prominent like axe heads.
(HER tail) hanging down like a leafless palm frond with hairy tufts over her udder, its teats unsucked.
Though merely playing, she flies on light, spear-like feet that brush lightly on the ground.
On a hot day when the chameleon leaves a part of him exposed to bake it in the sun,
A day when the guide tells his group to siesta, as the ash-coloured locusts move over the pebbles,
Like the hand-clapping of a grey-haired woman rising in mourning, while other childless women respond.
One wails, her muscles limp, senseless at the news of her first-born's death when the mourners report it.
She tears at her breasts, her dress torn in shreds from her shoulders.
Fools surround my mount, saying, "You're as good as dead, Ibn Abū Sulma!"
While every trusted friend responded, "I can't help you - just too busy!"
"Then out of my way, confound you", I told them, "for whatever the Most Merciful decrees is done!"
And everyone born to woman, even if safe for long, is one day borne upon his funeral bier.
I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me, yet one hopes for forgiveness from the Messenger of God.
Go easy - may He guide you Who gave you that gift of the Qur'an in which there are exhortations and explanations.
Do not punish me for slanderers' reports, for I have not sinned, despite all the rumours.

Standing where I am, I see and hear what would, if he stood and so heard, make an elephant tremble, unless there came to him from the Messenger, with God's permission, some pardon.

(I will travel) until I place my right hand, never to withdraw it, in that of him who takes revenge, he whose word is final.

I am more afraid to speak with him — though people call me of fine lineage and responsible —

Than with a lion in the jungle in the lowlands of "Aththār, deep within its thickets,

That each morning feeds two cubs, their meat human flesh thrown down and ripped apart.

When he falls on his prey, he cannot conceive of leaving it any other way but prostrate.

From him the wild asses flee in terror, and no men may walk in his valley.

But in his vale there is man of trust, already eaten, his weapons stained, in rags.

The Messenger is a light-giving illumination, an unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel

Amidst a band of Quraysh whose spokesman said in Mecca's valley, when they accepted Islam — “Go away!”

They left, but not from cowardice in battle, nor without shields or weapons.

They walk like proud camels, striking out in defence when the short, black men take flight,

Proud chiefs, dressed for battle in chain-mail made by Dānūd,

Shining and full, its rings joined together like those of the qaṣṣ plant.

They do not exult if their lances strike home, nor are they despairing if themselves struck.

Enemy thrusts only ever strike their throats, and they are not afraid of the pools of death.”

Ibn Hishām stated that in quoting the poem as above Muhammad b. ʾIṣḥāq gave no chain of transmission.

both sons of Zuhayr, travelled out as far as Abraq al-ʿAzzāf. There Bujayr told Kaʿb, “Stay here until I go to this man” — meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) — “and hear what he says.” Kaʿb did remain there, while Bujayr went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who offered Islam to him and he accepted it. When news of this reached Kaʿb, he spoke the following,

“Send from me a message to Bujayr: ‘To what — confound the rest — is it he is leading you? To a faith you’ll find no one — mother, father or brother of yours — ever belonged.

Abū Bakr poured out a full cup of it for you, while al-Maʿmūn refilled it again and again.’”

“When these verses reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) he made permissible the execution of Kaʿb, he said, ‘Whoever encounters Kaʿb should kill him!’

“Bujayr wrote to his brother telling him this and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had authorized his execution. He told him to escape while he could. Thereafter he again wrote him saying, “You should know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepts when anyone comes and makes an affirmation of his faith in Islam and considers the past over and done with. If this note of mine reaches you, do come and accept Islam.””

The quoted source went on, “And so Kaʿb did accept Islam and composed his ode praising the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He came and made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and entered it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there with his Companions, like a food-table, with ring after ring of people seated around it, looking first towards one group and talking with them, next to another and talking with them.”

Kaʿb stated, “So I made my mount kneel at the mosque door. I recognized the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from his description and went and sat down near him. I then affirmed my acceptance of Islam, saying, ‘I bear witness that there is no god but God and that you are Muhammad, the Messenger of God. Safety, Messenger of God!’ ‘And who are you?’ he asked. ‘Kaʿb b. Zuhayr,’ I replied. ‘That fellow who recited ...?’ asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He then turned and asked, ‘What was it he recited, Abū Bakr?’ Abū Bakr then recited,

‘Al-Maʿmūn has given you to drink by it a full cup; after the first, al-Maʿmūn has also given you a second drink.’

“Kaʿb said, ‘Messenger of God, I did not recite like that.’ ‘How did you speak, then?’ he asked. Kaʿb said that what he had said was,

‘Al-Maʿmūn has given you to drink by it a full cup; after the first al-Maʿmūn has also given you a second drink.’

165. In this version the name given al-Maʿmūr means “the one given orders”; al-Maʿmūn means “the one who is trusted”.
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, 'Yes indeed, Ma'mūn, "trustworthy"'.

"Ka'b then recited to him the entire ode, to its end."

This was the poem that begins,

"Su'ād has gone away and my heart is sad, enslaved to her, unransomable and chain-bound ..."

We have referred above to those phrases which differ in the versions of Ibn Ishāq and al-Bayhaqi, may God, Almighty and Glorious is He, have mercy upon them both.

Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr stated in his book al-Istibāb that when Ka'b had completed the verses,

"The Messenger is a light giving illumination, an unsheathed sword of God, of fine Indian steel ...

I was told that the Messenger of God threatened me; yet one hopes for pardon from the Messenger of God."

Abū 'Umar went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) gestured to those with him to listen well."

Mūsā b. Uqba preceded Abū 'Umar in stating this, in the former's military chronicles. To God belong all praise, all credit.

I observe that it is given in some accounts that the Messenger of God (SAAS) presented Ka'b with his cloak when he recited the ode. Al-Šarṣāri wrote a verse on this in some of his maddā'āb, "poems of praise". The Ḥāfiẓ Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Āthir gave a similar account in his work al-Ghāba. He stated, "It is this cloak that is in the possession of the Caliphs."

I note that this matter is very broadly known. However, I do not see in any of these well-known written accounts any chain of authorities that I find satisfactory. But God knows best.

It is related that when Ka'b recited the line, "Su'ād has gone away ..." the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, "And who is Su'ād?" "My wife, Messenger of God," responded Ka'b. "Nay, she did not!" he then said.

However, that is not true. It seems to imply that he imagined that his wife had gone away because of his acceptance of Islam. But it is obvious that what he was referring to was an emotional distancing, not a juridical one.

But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Ašim b. Umar b. Qatāda said, 'When Ka'b, in his poem, spoke the words, "when the short black men take flight" he could only have been referring to the ansār because of how one of us had treated him, whereas he had singled out the Quraysh muḥājirīn for his praise. Since the ansār were therefore angry at him, he recited the following verses after he had accepted Islam. In them he praised the ansār and referred to the suffering they had undergone with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and to their success:"
"Let those who love a noble life remain in the cavalry of the fine ānṣār.

They inherited noble qualities from father to son; the finest of men are they, sons of the finest,

Men who hurl from their arms strong spears, long like Indian swords.

And they stare ahead, their eyes red as embers but their sight untired.

Men who expend their souls for their Prophet by death in battles of hand and horse,

They cleanse themselves with piety by the blood of the unbelievers they spill.

They act like fierce, strong-necked lions used to hunting in secluded valleys.

If you go to them so they may protect you, you'll feel as safe as if in the haunts of young mountain goats.

At the battle of Badr they struck 'Ali such a blow as to bring down all of Nizār.

If the tribes had my knowledge of them, those whom I oppose would believe me.

(They are) a people who, at times when the stars have given no rain, will still feed well their guests."

Ibn Hishām stated, "It is said that when Ka'b recited to him his poem, 'Su'ad has gone away' the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Even though you have not spoken well of the ānṣār, don't they still deserve that?' And so Ka'b spoke these verses which are included in a qaṣida of his."

He went on, "I learned on the authority of 'Ali b. Zayd b. Jad'ān that Ka'b b. Zuhayr recited the verses of 'Su'ād has gone away' to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the mosque."

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī related it, with its chain of authorities given above, back to Ibrahim b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī (who said), "Ma'an b. Ẓār related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Aftas, from Ibn Jad'an, who gave it." This chain of transmission is mursal, incomplete.

Sheikh Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr, God have mercy upon him, stated in his book al-İstıfa' fi Ma'rifat al-Āshab after having given some biographical details about Ka'b b. Zuhayr, "Ka'b b. Zuhayr was a prolific poet considered pre-eminent in his class, along with his brother Bujayr. Ka'b was the better poet of the two, while their father Zuhayr was superior to both. Among the fine poetry of Ka'b b. Zuhayr are the lines,

'Were I surprised by anything, it would be how a young man goes forward though his fate is hidden from him.

He will strive to achieve what he cannot attain; the soul is one, while worry is all-encompassing.
As long as a man lives, hope extends before him; the sight goes out as far as the full extent of space.”

Thereafter Ibn 'Abd al-Barr gave other verses too numerous to mention. He did not record the date of his death. Similarly, Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athīr, in his book al-Ghāba fi Ma‘rifat al-Ṣahāba did not give this information. However, it is related that his father died one year before the mission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī stated, “Among the finest verses of Ka‘b b. Zuhayr are those he spoke in praise of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

‘The brown she-camel carries him on, wrapped in his cloak, like the full moon shining bright on a dark night.
Inside his wrappings or folds of his cloak there is such religion and such nobility that God well knows.”

Chapter: Concerning those well-known events and deaths that occurred in 8 AH.

In Jumādā that year the battle of al-Mu‘tā took place. In Ramaḍān there was the expedition resulting in the conquest of Mecca. Thereafter, in Shawwāl, there was the conflict with Hawāzin at Ḥunayn which was followed by the siege of al-Ta‘if. In Dhu al-‘Iṣrā‘ the ‘umra was performed from al-Ji‘rma and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Medina for the remainder of that year.

Al-Waqīdī stated that his return to Medina from that journey came six days prior to the end of Dhu al-Ḥijja.

Al-Waqīdī went on, “That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ to Ja‘far and ‘Amr, sons of al-Julundū, of Banū Azd; the jīzā tax was taken from the maghūs, ‘the Magians’, of the country of these two men and from the bedouins in the areas around there.

“That year the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Fātimah, daughter of al-Dāḥik b. Suyyān al-Kilābī, in Dhu al-Qa‘da. She, however, spoke a plea of refuge in God from him,166 and so he forsook her. It is also said that he gave her the choice and that she chose the worldly life and so he left her.

“In Dhu al-Ḥijja that year, Ibrrāhim, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Māriyā, the Copt, was born. The envy of his other wives, the ummahāt al-mu‘minīn, was aroused when she bore him a male child. The midwife was Salmā, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She came out and informed Abū Rāfī, who went and delivered the good tidings to the Messenger

166. She invoked the istidāla when he first walked into his apartment where she was. Sources suggest that she had been tricked into saying this by the other wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who were envious of her beauty.

That year there occurred the deaths in military engagements of those martyrs to whom we made reference above.

We earlier referred to the destruction by Khalid b. al-Walid of the temple where al-Uzza was worshipped at Nakha, between Mecca and al-Tā’if. That was five days prior to the end of Ramadān that year.

Al-Waqidi stated, “That year the destruction was carried out of Suwār, (the idol) at Rahāt that Hudhayl had worshipped. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it, but he found nothing in its treasury. (The idol) Manāt was also destroyed at al-Mushallal; it had formerly been venerated by Aws and Khazraj, the anṣār tribes. Sa’b b. Zayd al-Ashhali, may God be pleased with him, destroyed it.”

We referred to this event in a useful and full section of our exegesis of surat al-Najm, with reference to the words of the Almighty, “and have you considered al-Lat, al-Uzza and Manāt, the third, the last?” (surat al-Najm; LIII, v.19–20).

Al-Bukhāri made reference, after the material relating to the conquest of Mecca, to Banū Khath‘am’s destruction of the temple where they used to worship, and which they called the “Yemeni”, the “southern” or “Yemen”, Ra‘ba, in imitation of the ka‘ba at Mecca. The latter they knew as the “Shami”, the “northern” or “Syrian”, ka‘ba.

Al-Bukhāri stated: “Yusuf b. Miisa related to us, quoting Abī Usnma, from Ismā‘il b. Abū Khalid, from Qays, from Jarir, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked me, “Will you not relieve me of Dhū al-Khalasa?” “Yes indeed!” I replied. So I set off with a force of 150 cavalry from (Banī) Ahmas, who were good horsemen. I used not to feel secure on horses and I told this to the Prophet (SAAS). He hit me on the chest with his hand so that I could see its imprint and said, “O God, set him firmly, and make him a guide who is rightly led.” And I never fell off a horse thereafter.’”

Dhū al-Khalasa was a temple in Yemen belonging to Banū Khath‘am and Banū Bajayla which contained idols they worshipped.

Al-Bukhāri’s account continued, “Jarir went there and destroyed it. When he arrived he found a man who foretold using divining arrows. He was told, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) is here! If he gets hold of you he will behead you!’

“While one day he was using his divining arrows, Jarir came and stood over the man and said, ‘You had better break them up and testify that there is no god but God! Otherwise, I’ll strike your neck!’ The fortune teller broke them and so testified.

“Then Jarir sent one of the Banū Ahmas men, called Abū Arjāt to the Prophet (SAAS) to inform him of the good news. When the man reached him, he said, ‘Messenger of God, by him who sent you with the truth, by the time I left it
(the temple) it was like nothing but a scabby camel!' Thereat the Messenger of God (SAAS) blessed the horses and men of Banu Ahmas five times."

Muslim related this with various lines, from Isma'il b. Abi Khalid, from Qays b. Abi Hazim, from Jarir b. Abd Allah al-Bajalti, in similar words.
GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abi when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭalib would mean Ṭalib’s father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abi, and so Ibn Abi Ṭalib, would mean ‘the son of Ṭalib’s father’. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters ‘al-’ before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, ‘the’.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word ‘Ibn’, ‘son’. Thus, the name ‘Ya‘qūb b. ‘Utba’ means ‘Ya‘qūb, son of ‘Utba’. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as ‘Ya‘qūb b. ʿUtba b. al-Mughira b. al-Akhnas’ the names of Ya‘qūb’s father, grandfather, and great grand-father are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic bint, indicates ‘girl’ or ‘daughter’. Thus the name ʿA‘isha bt. Aba Bakr refers to ʿA‘isha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters SAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words sallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as ‘May God’s peace and blessings be upon him’.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādīḥ: plural of fākhādīḥ (q.v.).

ahādīṭ: plural of ḥadīṭh (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father’s side.

ʿalim (pl. ʿulamāʾ): scholars or theologians of Islam.

ansār: the plural of nāṣir, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who
officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

‘arab al-ṣāriba: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥтан.

‘arab al-mustaʿriba: ‘the arabized Arabs’, initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Hijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

‘Arafat (also ‘Arafa): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *hajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

‘ashira (pl. ‘ashāʾīr): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An ‘ashira is composed of several *afkhadh* (q.v.), while several ‘ašāʾīr form a single *qabila* (q.v.).

*badana*: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *hajj* (q.v.).

*baraka*: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believed suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *bakā*, he wept, applied to Adam’s sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

*bāsn* (pl. *buṭān*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabila* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhād* (q.v.).

*daf*: the word used to denote the act of departure from ‘Arafat during the pilgrimage rites.

*fakhād* (pl. *afkhādūh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

*al-fajr*: the dawn; also the superrogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.
fasila (pl. fasā'ila): an agnostic group consisting of the nearest members of one's 'ashira (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. ghazawat): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muhammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as sarāyā (pl. of sariyya).

hadith (pl. aḥādīth): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muhammad. An isnād (q.v.) precedes the hadith and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

hadith marfuʿ: a hadith related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see saḥib) and quoted directly from the latter.

hafiz (pl. hufaz): a person who has memorized the entire Qurān. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

haj: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of Dhū al-Hijja.

banī: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

hantūya: the religion of Abraham and the banī.

haram (or ḥarām): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

hijāba: the office of the custodian of the ka'ba; he is known as the ḥājib.

hiṣra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muhammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a hadith and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

isfāda: the movement or departure of pilgrims from 'Arafat following their performance of the wuqāf, 'the standing'.

ihrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the ihrām state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.
isnād: the prefatory material to a hadith (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muhammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of ihram.

jahiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. jamrāt): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as jamrāt.

ka'ba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring zamzam (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see qibla).

al-Khalil: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwā: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the ka'ba.

maqām Ibrahim: the ‘station’ of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the ka'ba where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three rakāt; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to 'Arafāt.

hadith mursal: a hadith which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and 'Arafāt. It is there that pilgrims returning from 'Arafāt spend the night.
nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the *ka'ba*.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a *farsakh*. One parasang equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabila (pl. *qabîlî*): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A *qabila* is larger than an *'ashira* (q.v.) but smaller than a *sha'b* (q.v.).

qādi: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

gībla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muḥammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the *ka'ba* there.

rak'a (pl. *rak'ât*): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These rak'ât total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-rahîm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-rahmân: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramaḍân: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during *Ramaḍân* that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muḥammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridâ: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the *ihram* state.

risāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-sa'î: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafâ and al-Marwa.

saba': the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad.

sâhib (pl. *ashâb, sahâba*): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muḥammad during his mission.
sahih: a ḥadīth (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such ahādīth.

samān: the receipt of a ḥadīth (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a ḥadīth was considered the most trustworthy of all.

shāb (pl. shuʿāb): a tribal group larger than a qabila (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: ‘There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger’.

shaykh (pl. shuyūkh): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shī'a: the doctrine and its adherent, a shī'a, that considers ʿAli, son of Abū Ṭalib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter Fāṭima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurʾān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, sunan, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsir: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurʾān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: ‘In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate’ prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

tawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the kaʾba.

tubbaʿ (pl. tabābīʿa): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wuduʿ: the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the kaʾba (q.v.) within the ḥaram al-sharif, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham’s wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.
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The Life
OF THE
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Muhammad

Volume IV
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The Life
OF THE
Prophet Muhammad

VOLUME IV

Al-Sīra al-Nabawīyya

Ibn Kathīr

Translated by Professor Trevor Le Gassick
Reviewed by Dr Muneer Fareed

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FOREWORD

The interrelationship and interaction of human cultures and civilisations has made the contributions of each the common heritage of men in all ages and all places. Early Muslim scholars were able to communicate with their Western counterparts through contacts made during the Crusades; at Muslim universities and centres of learning in Muslim Spain (al-Andalus, or Andalusia) and Sicily to which many European students went for education; and at the universities and centres of learning in Europe itself (such as Salerno, Padua, Montpellier, Paris, and Oxford), where Islamic works were taught in Latin translations. Among the Muslim scholars well-known in the centres of learning throughout the world were al-Rāzī (Rhazes), Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), al Khwārizmī and Ibn Khaldūn. Muslim scholars such as these and others produced original works in many fields. Many of them possessed encyclopaedic knowledge and distinguished themselves in many disparate fields of knowledge.

In view of this, the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization was established in order to acquaint non-Muslims with the contributions Islam has given to human civilisation as a whole. The Great Books of Islamic Civilization Project attempts to cover the first 800 years of Islam, or what may be called Islam’s Classical Period. This project aims at making available in English a wide selection of works representative of Islamic civilisation in all its diversity. It is made up of translations of original Arabic works that were produced in the formative centuries of Islam, and is meant to serve the needs of a potentially large readership. Not only the specialist and scholar, but the non-specialist with an interest in Islam and its cultural heritage will be able to benefit from the series. Together, the works should serve as a rich source for the study of the early periods of Islamic thought.

In selecting the books for the series, the Center took into account all major areas of Islamic intellectual pursuit that could be represented. Thus the series includes works not only on better-known subjects such as law, theology, jurisprudence, history and politics, but also on subjects such as literature, medicine, astronomy, optics and geography. The specific criteria, used to select individual books, were these: that a book should give a faithful and comprehensive account of its field; and that it should be an authoritative source. The reader thus has at his disposal virtually a whole library of informative and enlightening works.

Each book in the series has been translated by a qualified scholar and reviewed by another expert. While the style of one translation will naturally differ from another, the translators have endeavoured, to the extent it was possible, to make
the works accessible to the common reader. As a rule, the use of footnotes has been kept to a minimum, though a more extensive use of them was necessitated in some cases.

This series is presented in the hope that it will contribute to a greater understanding in the West of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Islam and will therefore provide an important means towards greater understanding of today's world.

May God Help Us!

Muhammad bin Hamad Al-Thani

Chairman of the Board of Trustees
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This series of Arabic works, made available in English translation, represents an outstanding selection of important Islamic studies in a variety of fields of knowledge. The works selected for inclusion in this series meet specific criteria. They are recognized by Muslim scholars as being early and important in their fields, as works whose importance is broadly recognized by international scholars, and as having had a genuinely significant impact on the development of human culture.

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The work of translating these texts has been entrusted to a group of professors in the Islamic and Western worlds who are recognized authorities in their fields. It has been deemed appropriate, in order to ensure accuracy and fluency, that two persons, one with Arabic as his mother tongue and another with English as his mother tongue, should participate together in the translation and revision of each text.

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This series is published by the Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, which serves as a research centre under the patronage of H.H. Sheikh Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, Amir of Qatar. It is directed by a Board of Trustees chaired by H.E. Sheikh Muhammad bin Hamad al-Thani, the former Minister of Education of Qatar. The Board is comprised of a group of prominent scholars. These include H.E. Dr Abul-Wafa al-Taftazani*, Deputy Rector of Cairo University, and Dr Yusuf al-Qaradhawi, Director of the Sira and Sunna Research Center. At its inception the Center was directed by the late Dr Muhammad Ibrahim Kazim, former Rector of Qatar University, who established its initial objectives.

The Center was until recently directed by Dr Kamal Nagi, the Foreign Cultural Relations Advisor of the Ministry of Education of Qatar. He was assisted by a Board comprising a number of academicians of Qatar University, in addition to

* Died 1994, may Allah have mercy on him.
a consultative committee chaired by Dr Ezzeddin Ibrahim, former Rector of the University of the United Arab Emirates. A further committee acting on behalf of the Center has been the prominent university professors who act under the chairmanship of Dr Raji Rammuny, Professor of Arabic at the University of Michigan. This committee is charged with making known, in Europe and in America, the books selected for translation, and in selecting and enlisting properly qualified university professors, orientalists and students of Islamic studies to undertake the work of translation and revision, as well as overseeing the publication process.
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1. Dr Kamal Naji, former General Supervisor, Center for Muslim Contribution to Civilization, Qatar (7 October 1997).
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INTRODUCTION

The work at hand in its original Arabic is, in a sense, the product of two minds: the author himself, Abu al-Fida' ʿImad al-Din Ismaʿil b. Umar b. Kathir, and, to a lesser extent, its editor, Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. In his introduction to the Arabic, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid points out that this work is in fact the culmination of a search for a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad to which Ibn Kathir makes reference in his celebrated exegesis of the Qur’an. There is, however, no extant copy of any such independent biographical study traceable to Ibn Kathir. That such a study did exist is questionable, notwithstanding Ibn Kathir’s own allusion thereto. Given the unavailability of this particular work, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid offers the theory that the biography in question is none other than that which appears in Ibn Kathir’s chief work, his opus on history, the al-Bidaya wa al-Nihāya. He argues that the sira section of the latter work is so comprehensive in its analysis of the life and times of the Prophet Muḥammad as to almost obviate the need for any independent study of the same topic. The biography at hand, therefore, is the same as found in the al-Bidaya. Nevertheless, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid must be commended for the not inconsiderable task of editing and publishing this particular section as an independent unit, and appropriately titling it al-Sira al-Nabawiyya li Ibn Kathir.

Ibn Kathir, whose ancestors are said to have been from Iraq, was himself born around the year 1313 CE/700 AH in the Boesra district of eastern Damascus. He died 74 years later, shortly after suffering a total loss of vision. He counts as his tutors such illustrious personages as the eminent historian Shams al-Din al-Dhahabi, the Miḥlī jurist Abū Musa al-Qarafi, and the celebrated Damascene polemicist and jurist Ibn Taṭimyya al-Ḥarrānī. Ibn Kathir’s was an era of the great political and social upheavals that posed many challenges to the Muslim world at large, and in particular, to its scholars. What with the scourge of the Tartars threatening the very existence of Islam as a socio-political entity from the outside and the sectarian and ethnic strife created by the Mamluk revolution doing much the same from within, Ibn Kathir and his


2. According to C. Brockelman in his Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur ii. 49, this historical work of Ibn Kathir is itself based on al-Birzali’s chronicle. For more information see also, Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asqalānī, al-Durar al-Kāmina (Cod. Vienna, no. 1172).
colleagues, no doubt, had huge challenges with which to contend. In addition, the unrelenting pestilence and drought that had plagued the Levant and areas east thereof, made their burden all the more unwieldy. He died in 1387 CE/775 AH and lies buried in Damascus next to his master, Ibn Taymiyyah. He was mourned by his wife Zaynab, the daughter of his teacher, al-Mizzi, who, according to some reports, was an accomplished scholar in her own right. She bore him four sons, one of whom succeeded his father to the post of principal of the teaching academy al-Madrasa al-Ṣāliḥiyya. 

Ibn Kathir, true to the pre-eminent tendencies of the academic milieu within which he functioned, brings to his study of the Prophet of Islam the method of the muḥaddith, the scholar of hadith traditions, more assiduously than he does that of the traditional historian. In doing so, however, he has, I believe, substantially succeeded in combining two of the three sources available for the pursuit of the historical Muhammad: the hadith literature and the sira; the Qurʾān, being the third such source, features less prominently, if not altogether rarely, in his study. Given the very extensive usage of hadith material in this particular work, a word about the classical nature of such material and its contemporaneous validity would be appropriate at this point.

Early historical studies of Muslim society and culture, as A. A. Duri points out, “followed broadly two lines that were distinct from each other – that of hadīth, and that of the tribes (i.e. the ayyām anecdotes as narrated by the akhbāris and the ruwāt), which is in a sense a continuation of pre-Islamic activities.” “These two lines”, he explains, “reflect the two major currents in early Islamic society – the Islamic and the tribal lines which influenced all aspects of life.” According to Muslim tradition, the learning and transmission of the sayings and actions of Muhammad, his tacit approvals and disapprovals of the actions of others, and his general behaviour had religious significance second only to that of the Qurʾān. To that end Muslim scholars began the collection of such data as was related to the Prophet and his era even while he was still alive. At first, the system of oral retention was popular, but by the middle of the first century of the Muslim era, written compilations of hadith traditions began to appear. By the end of the third quarter of that century, “a pattern was fixed for the learning and teaching of the hadith which flourished in the second and third centuries.” A system of sorts for verifying the authenticity of such prophetic traditions was allegedly extant from the earliest of times – albeit in a

3. Curtis, 23.
4. Professor Duri’s article is in large measure an elucidation of what he calls “the tribal type of history.” See in this regard “The Iraq School of History to the Ninth Century”, in Historians of the Middle East, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962).
rather rudimentary manner. That system, however, was neither systematized nor rigorously applied until the advent of the civil wars (fitna), whereupon sources were no longer regarded, prima facie, as trustworthy, but were instead increasingly scrutinized to establish authenticity. Thus evolved the elaborate isnad system where every hadith was scrutinized from two perspectives: the text (matn) containing the information transmitted as such, and the chain of transmitters (sanad) giving the names of all those responsible for transmitting such information from the Prophet himself.

As indicated earlier, Ibn Kathir's method in this particular work is more that of the hadith scholars than it is of the historian; al-Bukhari, Muslim and more so, al-Bayhaqi, Ahmad b. Hanbal, and Abu Nu'aym thus feature more prominently as sources for his biography than do historians such as Ibn Ishaaq, Ibn Hisham or al-Tabari. But, as Abd al-Wahid rightly points out, Ibn Kathir, on occasion, is not averse to using some rather obscure historical works, some even that are no longer extant: the rare historical tractate of Musa b. Uqba, and the al-Rawd al-Anf of al-Suhayli are examples thereof.

True to tradition, if not quite on the same scale as, for instance, Ibn Hisham, are Ibn Kathir's copious citations of poetry, almost all of which seem to have been taken from Muhammad b. Ishaaq's biography of the Prophet. The poems deal with a variety of themes and styles: there is, for instance, the unmistakable sarcasm of Ka'ab b. Zuhayr as reflected in his lampooning of the Prophet, followed by his subsequent retraction and apology as in the much celebrated poem, Banat Su'ad; there is also the occasional celebration of pre-Islamic Arabian chivalry, as in the haunting ode of Abu al-Bakhtari b. Hisham, when he speaks so movingly of his virtual self-immolation for the love of a friend. Then, of course, there are the evocative panegyrics of Hassan b. Thabit in defence of Islam, its Prophet, and his Companions.

Ibn Kathir, oddly enough for someone who has plumbed the depths of hadith methodology, frequently paraphrases, not just the many references to scholars such as Ibn Ishaaq, but also, at times, the very hadith material he so often quotes. He thus takes almost the same liberties with such material as he does with works on history, and the reader, particularly of the Arabic text, sometimes searches in vain for all but the gist of the traditions that he ascribes to, say, the sahih of Bukhari or that of Muslim. Abd al-Wahid offers two possible reasons for this anomaly; the one I believe to be somewhat more plausible than the other. It may well be, he suggests, that Ibn Kathir was simply quoting from memory, seeing no need for any further textual verification, or it may also be that he is, in fact, using sources unavailable to us today. This latter hypothesis is, I believe, somewhat unconvincing for it requires, amongst other things, that Ibn Kathir possessed not one, but an entire set of hadith works unique to his library alone!
The text itself suffers from a singular lack of the literary cadence that makes the historical works of al-Tabari, for instance, more of a pleasure to read. This seems to result from Ibn Kathir's efforts to present an authentic description of the life and times of the Prophet of Islam, and to submit such data as is found in the popular biographical works to the scrutiny of hadith literature. The flow of his text is, without question, a casualty of this exercise. But, as has been pointed out by a scholar of the Bible, “If we read biblical narrative (or in this case the sira material) as a story, we abandon its historical truth. If we read it as literature, we will often find literary art in it, but this art takes us further from truth.”

Not that the method of Ibn Kathir is altogether without its redeeming features: it certainly provides useful information to scholars, particularly those of the traditional schools, who would prefer to have the classical sources for sira studies close at hand.

The contents of works such as Ibn Kathir's sira are today regarded by many scholars of Islam as largely proto-historical, focusing, that is, on an era whose source documentation falls short of contemporary historiographical standards. It is, some say, the stuff of myth and legend, entwined in places with real historical data. For modern historians of Islam and the Middle East such as Maxime Rodinson, Patricia Crone et al., sira material contains, in the first instance, virtually “nothing of which we can say for certain that it incontestably dates back to the time of the Prophet”. And so, “when doing research about the life and work of the Prophet Muḥammad”, Rudi Paret warns, “we on principle distrust the traditional statement and explanation of facts given by later generations, in so far as they cannot be verified by internal evidence or in some other way.”

In addition, the work at hand may be seen by some to be no more than the product of one who had a variety of interests in the topic: one who was, at one and the same time, a historian, a scribe of “sacred biography”, and also a devotee; the results of an endeavour such as Ibn Kathir’s, therefore, risk being perceived as less than the product of dispassionate scholarship.

This critical approach to Islamic historiography emerged gradually in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was, understandably, only a matter of time before Albert Schweitzer’s “quest of the historical Christ” would be appropriated by

scholars of Islamic history in their search of the demythologized Muḥammad; 
after all, this kind of appropriation of the analytical tools indigenous to studies of 
Christianity for the unravelling of the Islamic historical experience has become 
almost a convention in Islamic and Middle Eastern studies. Yet the entire 
process is, I believe, fraught with questionable hypotheses, broad generalizations 
and a certain disregard for the spatio-temporal factors that shape ostensibly sim­
ilar events. The application of New Testament heuristic tools such as Form and 
Redaction criticism to the corpus of information pertaining to the sīra seems to 
betray a casual disregard for the Sitz im Leben of that very corpus. The life and 
work of Jesus is clearly different from that of Muḥammad; the former’s mission 
— if it can be described as such — is, for example, singularly devoid of the political 
and socio-economic objectives that informed that of the latter. It is, therefore, 
hardly surprising, as F. E. Peters in his recent article “The Quest of the 
Historical Muhammad” points out, that “even though a great deal of effort has 
been invested in research into the life and times of Muḥammad, the results do 
not seem at all comparable to those achieved in research on Jesus, and the reasons 
are not at all clear.”

Ever since Gustav Weil presented his Mohammad der Prophet, sein Leben und 
seine Lehre in 1843, scholars have endeavoured to unravel the historical 
Muḥammad using a variety of tools and strategems. Initially the material 
offered by Muslim historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Hishām and more, import­
antly, al-Tabarī was used almost unquestioningly by Christian scholars who, as 
Holt characterizes them, belonged mainly to “holy orders”. Their primary 
purpose, it would seem, was to provide a spirited defence of Christian theology 
and dogma against the claims of Islam and its adherents. The polemics that 
ensued were, in the main, reflective of the attitude that there was “not any 
rational inducement in all (that Muslims) believe or practice; insomuch that 
common sense must be discarded in order to embrace their system.” As for 
Muḥammad, he was for many in that era “so coarse and barbarous an imposter, 
that there is not a man, who does not or cannot perceive plainly his cheating 
and corruption.” Humphrey Prideaux, the 17th-century lecturer in Hebrew 
at Oxford, captured rather succinctly the disposition of scholars vis-à-vis the 
study of Muḥammad, in the rather long-winded title of his work, The true 
nature of imposture fully display’d in the life of Mahomet. With a discourse annex’d

10. F. E. Peters, “The Quest of the Historical Muhammad”, in International Journal of Middle 
11. See P. M. Holt, “The Treatment of Arab Historians by Prideaux, Ockley, and Sale,” in 
Historians of the Middle East, ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (Oxford University Press, 1962), 
290–302.
12. Ibid., 300. 
13. Ibid., 300.
for the vindication of Christianity from this charge. Offered to the consideration of the Deists of the present age. Later Simon Ockley, the somewhat less acerbic and brusque vicar of Swavesey in Cambridgeshire, authored The History of the Saracens, a “much more solid contribution to historical knowledge” as Holt puts it, but one that nonetheless did “not fail to follow common form by stigmatizing Mu‘ammad in his first line, as ‘the great Imposter’ and then describing the Arab conquests as ‘that grievous calamity’.” The liberalism that swept across Europe in the 18th century helped create a relatively less hostile attitude among European scholars towards Islam and its leader. We thus find during that era scholars such as Henri de Boulainvillier emerging. Boulainvillier, his theological affinities notwithstanding, assumed a decidedly more conciliatory tone in his biography of Mu‘ammad, La vie de Mahomet. For him, Christianity is undoubtedly superior to Islam but he is, none the less, quite charitable in his evaluation of his subject, and says: “With respect to the essential doctrines of religion, all that (Mu‘ammad) has laid down is true; but he has not laid down all that is true; and that is the whole difference between our religion and his.”

The quest itself began in earnest in the writings of the Belgian Jesuit, Henri Lammens. Whereas Theodor Noeldeke, prior to him, had largely failed in his attempts to unravel “the historical person of Muhammad”, Lammens plodded on, and succeeded to some extent, in demonstrating “the possibility of the critical analysis of the sira”. Lammens’ efforts, however, were directed, not at a biographical study of Mu‘ammad per se, but rather on the search for the secret of his personal appeal and the rapid expansion of his message. “Muhammad to him, was a historical problem as well as a symbol of Islam’s obstinacy and insensitiveness to the missionary influence.”

Lammens also happened to be among the first to argue, with some conviction, that the hadith traditions as well as the sira material on the Prophet are, on the whole, fictitious. This inaugurated a new perspective on Islamic history: the emphasis shifted from a critique of the actors in that history to the questioning of the source material itself.

In the 19th century, the Hungarian scholar Ignaz Goldziher concluded that much of the hadith material was but a “pious fraud . . . invoked by every group (in early Islam) for every idea it evolved; . . . through solid chains (isnād) of tradition, all such matters acquired an unbroken tie to the ‘Companions’ who had heard those pronouncements and statutes from the Prophet or had seen him act

15. Ibid., 311.
in pertinent ways."18 Later Professor J. Schacht further explored the foregoing hypotheses by subjecting the *isnad* of a few legal traditions to an exhaustive scrutiny. He concluded that "hardly any of these traditions, as far as matters of religious law are concerned, can be considered authentic; they were put into circulation . . . from the first half of the second century onwards."19 From this others were quick to extrapolate that even the biographical material is fraudulent. Crone thus states: "that the bulk of the *sira* . . . consists of second century *hadiths* has not been disputed by any historian, and this point may be taken as conceded."20

Not all Western scholars, however were as eager to jettison the classical material. W. M. Watt, writing in his *Muhammad at Mecca*, is clearly more reluctant than Crone, for example, to reject out of hand all such material, simply on the strength of Schacht's conclusion. He thus maintains that "In the legal sphere there may have been some sheer invention of traditions, it would seem. But in the historical sphere, in so far as the two may be separated, and apart from some exceptional cases, the nearest to such invention in the best early historians appears to be a 'tendential shaping' of the material . . ."21

It must be remembered, however, that traditional Muslim scholars display little awareness of the foregoing conundrum. The classical methodology of *hadith* criticism as practised by early Muslim scholars, with its close scrutiny of the *isnad* and the *mutān* of prophetic traditions, has, in the main, not been discredited, or even questioned, by Muslim scholars. If anything, that methodology has today been given a new lease of life by scholars such as Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAlbānī, who, for example, regard the re-evaluation of the early sources as integral to what they call the Islamic renaissance (*al-Nahāj al-Islāmiyya*). Such a renaissance, ʿAlbānī argues, will fall far short of its goals, without a thoroughgoing purge of what remains of the spurious material that had crept into *hadith* and *sira* works during the turbulent epoch of early Islamic history.22 He thus set himself the task of appraising scholars and the Muslim laity alike to those traditions that were deemed spurious by the regimen of classical *hadith* studies. His findings, which were first published under the title "al-ʿAḥādīth al-Dāʾifah wa al-Mawdūʿah" in a weekly column in the magazine *al-Tamaddun al-Islāmi*, now comprise a multi-volume work, appropriately titled *Silsilaḥ al-ʿAḥādīth al-Dāʾifah wa al-Mawdūʿah*.23

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23. Ibid., 6.
Clearly not all contemporary scholars are as eager as Schacht et al. to ring the death knell on hadith literature as a tool for unravelling early Islamic history. Azami for one, in his studies on early hadith literature has attempted to show that hadith literature is indeed the richest source for the investigation of that era, for it provides, among other things, material for the understanding of the legal, cultural and religious ideas of those early centuries. He maintains that the theories of Margoliouth, Goldziher and more recently, Schacht can no longer be incontestably accepted given the recent discoveries of manuscripts or research. According to him:

"In the period referred to, works on the biography of the Prophet and on other historical topics were in a very advanced stage. We find that work on the biography of the Prophet was begun by the Companions. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-‘Āṣ recorded many historical events. It is possible still to trace his work in the ṣaḥāḥīth narrated by 'Āmir b. Shu‘ayb (d. 118 AH) as he utilized his great grandfather 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr’s books. Ḫurrah (d. 93 AH) in his biography of the Prophet names his authority and most probably he had obtained the information in writing. There are works mentioned here and there on a single topic of the Sīrah, e.g. Memorandum on the Servants of the Prophet, a book on the ambassadors of the Prophet to different rulers and chieftains with their negotiations. There are references to the collections of the Prophet’s letters in a very early period.”

But it is, in fact, these very sources that Azami cites that have, through the use of contemporary literary and hermeneutical tools, been relegated to no more than “the rubble of early Muslim history”. For Patricia Crone therefore, the “inertia” of material such as appears heretofore “comes across very strongly in modern scholarship on the first two centuries of Islam.” The bulk of it”, she argues, “has an alarming tendency to degenerate into mere rearrangements of the same old canon – Muslim chronicles in modern languages and graced with modern titles.”

Others, such as Juynboll, have strived to arrive at the inevitable solution intermédiaire, “a conceivable position that could be taken between the two points of view represented respectively by Muslim and Western scholarship.” For him therefore, the hadith traditions “taken as a whole” do provide a fairly reliable rendition of early Islamic history, and “a judiciously and cautiously formulated overall view of what all those early reports... collectively point to, may in all likelihood be taken to be not very far from the truth of ‘what really happened’.”

28. Ibid., 7.
Finally, the true value of this particular work probably resides outside the context of the foregoing academic debate, for as Gadamer explains in *Truth and Method*, "The meaning of a literary work is never exhausted by the intentions of its author; as the work passes from one cultural or historical context to another, new meanings may be culled from it which were perhaps never anticipated by its author or contemporary audience."  

Muneer Fareed  
Reviewer of Volumes II–IV

30. This is in fact an interpretation of Gadamer's thoughts as espoused by T. Eagleton in his study, *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983), 71.
TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

As has often been observed, translation is impossible, since the associations and emotive content of words in one language and culture differ from those of all others. Attempts at translation, therefore, inevitably represent strivings for compromise. While accuracy and precision are prime objectives, the ultimately necessary requirements for clarity and comprehension in the host language may require simplification or even omission from the original text. The dilemmas inherent in these conflicting objectives are at times irreconcilable, and this is particularly true when one is dealing, as here, with languages and cultures so far removed as ancient Arabic and modern English. This translation, composed in everyday, contemporary English, gives no impression of the ubiquitous rarities, oddities and archaisms of vocabulary and syntax that make the original extremely challenging to comprehend. It is hoped, of course, that the innumerable compromises that this translation represents will be accepted as good-faith attempts to convey the spirit and purpose of the original in a form that readers of English will not find impossibly daunting.

In some instances Ibn Kathir repeats anecdotal al\ad\ith with differing chains of authority that are almost identical in content; often, as will be seen, the accounts differ in only very few of their words and these are typically vocabulary rarities. While such variations between accounts may seem of scant interest to the Western reader, they have nevertheless been left complete and intact in this translation. Including them in full, as in the original work, gives a strong impression of the care with which these anecdotes have been handed down and the impression of their likely authenticity is therefore enhanced. This seems especially the case where the discrepancies involve vocabulary rarities that are synonymous. It seems that it would be just such words that would have been subjected to dispute, change or loss from memory.

Ibn Kathir's objective was to appear authoritative and discriminating in his choices of inclusion and discussion of specific al\ad\ith; to him the listing of all the names of his authorities and his comments on their reputations was an essential component of this lectures. The give-and-take of oral lecturing -- of which this work is essentially a record -- would have enabled immediate verbal clarification. Our English text, in contrast, has to stand by itself, and to present an inherent and visible logic and clarity; it must also give some impression of the reliability of the Arabic text that is indicated by its complexity, and by the care with which the names of quoted sources are given and at times evaluated.

A perpetual challenge in presenting this text has therefore been to leave the essential narratives clear and succinct while including yet simplifying the lines of authority on which their authenticity is based. The names of authorities quoted
have been included in full, since their identities were of prime importance for
the initial ‘readership’ of this work as well as to students and researchers today.
However, the exact nature and relative value of the means of transmission from
authority to authority and the suggestions implied of Ibn Kathir’s preference for
certain sources over others, have not been conveyed with exactitude, since com­
mon English vocabulary is unable to convey some of the subtleties of the Arabic
technical terms employed for this purpose. The essential completeness of the
original text in this translation does, however, enable serious students of early
Islamic materials to bring their own differentiation to bear by their knowledge of
the reputations of the persons quoted.

Certain words common in this text – such as Abū and surat – change in their
form in Arabic to accord with basic grammatical rules. Here, however, to avoid
confusion for those readers who do not know Arabic, they have been left in the
form in which they are most commonly met. Initial hamza, moreover, has been
omitted. Since early Arabic manuscripts, like the Arabic printed version of this
text, are devoid of quotation marks, the identity of the narrator is sometimes
unclear. Similarly, it is occasionally difficult to discern whether comments at the
end of an account are those of the transmitting authority or of Ibn Kathir him­
self. Footnotes referring to these and similar textual difficulties have been kept
to a minimum, while brief parenthetical explanatory comments have sometimes
been inserted to aid the general reader.

Discriminating and knowledgeable readers and reviewers will no doubt find
discrepancies and perhaps inaccuracies in this lengthy and demanding text,
especially in the extensive poems quoted. For these the translator – and his
reviewers, text editors and typesetters – apologize. But since this work offers
intimate details not elsewhere available in English about Arabian history and the
inspiration and leadership of Islam in its earliest formative period, it would seem
unsatisfactory to leave it in a language and form accessible only to a small coterie
of scholars. The evident religious historical and philosophical interest of this
text suggests that all those associated with its production may properly take
refuge and find consolation from criticism in the knowledge that ‘to err is
human’. To attempt the impossible, moreover, while perhaps foolhardy, is
surely more laudable than to make no attempt at all.

Trevor Le Gassick
Ann Arbor, 2000
An Account of the Expedition to Tabuk in Rajab of 9 AH.

God Almighty stated, "O you who believe, the polytheists are nothing but unclean; and so they shall not come near the Sacred Mosque after this year. If you should fear poverty, (then remember that) God will enrich you from His bounty, if He so wishes. God is Omniscient, Wise. Battle against those who do not believe in God or in the Last Day, who do not prohibit what God and His Messenger prohibited and who do not follow the religion of the truth. (Battle against) those to whom the (Holy) Book was brought until they pay the jizya tax 'an yadin, 'being in a state of submission'" (sūrat al-Tawba, (or al-Barā'a); IX, v.28–29).

It is related from Ibn 'Abbās, Mujāhid, Ḥkritā, Sa'īd b. Jubayr, Qatāda, al-Ḍahhāk and others that when God Almighty decreed that the polytheists should be prevented from approaching the Sacred Mosque, whether in the pilgrimage or at other times, that Quraysh said they would be deprived of the commercial activity that took place during the pilgrimage, and that they would therefore suffer financial loss. And so God compensated them for that by ordering them to battle the people of the scriptures so that they either accepted Islam or paid the jizya tax 'an yadin, "being in a state of submission".

I comment that the Messenger of God (SAAS) therefore decided to battle the Byzantines. This was because they were the people nearest to him and those most appropriate to invite to the truth because of their proximity to Islam and to those who believed in it. God Almighty had stated, "O you who believe, fight those unbelievers who are near you. Let them see severity in you; and know that God is with those who are pious" (sūrat al-Tawba (or al-Barā'a); IX, v.123).

When the Messenger of God (SAAS) determined to send an expedition against the Byzantines – this being the time of the battle of Tabuk – it was at a period of extreme heat and discomfort. He explained the expedition to people and invited the bedouin tribes around him to go forth with him and a large force of, as we shall see, some 30,000 men did join him. Others, however, held back, and God criticized those who were hypocritical and neglectful. He expressed His extreme displeasure and censure to them and brought them great disgrace, giving revelation of verses for recitation about them. It was in sūrat al-Tawba.

1. 'an yadin, lit. "from a hand", has been variously interpreted as "in acknowledgement of Your power", or "obediently", or "with ready money".
IX (or al-Bara’a) that He made clear reference to them; we explained this at length in our Tafsir (Exegesis). He ordered the Muslims to go forth no matter how, saying, “Proceed forth, whether light or heavy, and put your possessions and your persons vigorously to work in God’s cause. That is best for you, if you but know it. Had it been an objective close by and a short journey, they would have followed you. But the long journey was too far for them. (Yet) they will swear by God, ‘Had we been able, we would have departed with you!’ They destroy themselves; God knows that they are liars!” (sūrat al-Tawba: IX, v.41, 2) and other verses follow these.

The Almighty went on to state, “It was not for the believers to proceed forth all together. Why then should not a group from every party among them go forth to seek expertise in the faith and to warn their people when they return to them, so that they may be on their guard?” (sūrat al-Tawba: IX, v.122).

It is said by some that this verse abrogates the former; others say not. God knows best.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Thereafter the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Medina between the months of Dhū al-Ḥijja and Rajab – of year 9 AH that is – and then ordered the men to prepare for an expedition against the Byzantines.

“Al-Zuhri, Yazid b. Ruman, ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, ‘Asim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda and others of our scholars relate as follows of what was told them concerning the expedition to Tabūk; some give information not presented by others.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered his men to make an expedition against the Byzantines. This was at a time when there was considerable suffering from poverty, extreme heat and drought. The fruit was now ripe and people wanted to enjoy it in the shade; they hated the idea of leaving right away at that season.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) rarely went forth on an expedition without disguising its purpose. The expedition to Tabūk, however, he explained fully because of the great distance, the severity of the season and the large size of the enemy force he intended to battle; he gave this explanation so that his men could make proper preparations. He ordered them to ready their equipment, telling them he was going to attack the Byzantines.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS), while readying his own equipment, asked Jadd b. Qays, a man of Banū Salama, ‘Jadd, would you like now to attack the banū asfār, the “yellow skins”? He replied, ‘Messenger of God, do excuse me and not tempt me; I swear by God, my people well know there’s not a man more attracted to women than myself. I fear that if I saw the banū asfār women, I’d not be able to restrain myself!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) turned away from him, saying, ‘I excuse you then’.

2. An epithet referring to the light skin coloration of the Byzantines.
"It was about Jadd that God revealed the verse, ‘Among them are those who will say, ‘Do not tempt me!’. But they have already fallen to temptation. Hell encompasses those who disbelieve’ (ṣūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.29).

"The hypocrites told one another, ‘Don’t go forth in the heat’. They did this to avoid the warfare and doubting the truth and discrediting the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And so God revealed about them, ‘They say, “Don’t go forth in the heat!” Say: “The heat of the fires of hell is more severe!” If only they understood! Let them laugh a little and weep a lot for the punishment they have earned’" (ṣūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.81).

Ibn Hishām stated, “A reliable source quoted someone as quoting Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥa b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥarītha, from his father, who quoted his father as saying, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was informed that some hypocrites were meeting in the home of Suwaylim the Jew – his dwelling being at Jāsūm – and that they were dissuading people from accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on his expedition to Taḥbūk. The latter then dispatched Ṭalḥa b. Ḫubayd Allāh and some men with orders to burn down Suwaylim’s house about them. Ṭalḥa did this. Al-Ḍahhāk b. Khālīfa jumped down from the roof of the house, breaking his leg. His companions leaped down too, but escaped. Al-Ḍahhāk spoke the following verses about this:

"By God’s house, Muḥammad’s fire almost burned al-Oa)tkand Ibn Ubayriq!
Having climbed atop Suwaylim’s house, I crawled away on a broken leg and an elbow.
Greetings to you! I’ll not do the same again. I am afraid; he whom fire encompasses is burned.’”

Ibn Islāq continued, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made energetic preparations for his trip, ordering the men to get ready quickly. He urged the wealthy to provide funds and mounts for God’s cause. Some of them did so and thus stored away (later reward) for themselves. ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān made a greater outlay than anyone had done.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “Someone I trust related to me that ʿUṯmān paid out 1,000 dinārs for the army going on the al-ʿusra expedition to Taḥbūk. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘O God be pleased with ʿUṯmān, for I am pleased with him.’”

Imām ʿAbd al-Muḥsin stated that Ḥārūn b. Maʿrūf related to him, quoting Dāmra b. Shawkhāb, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Qāsim, from Kaththā, the freed-men of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samrā, who said, “ʿUṯmān b. ʿAffān took 1,000 dinārs to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in his clothing when the latter was preparing the army for the al-ʿusra expedition. He poured out the money into the lap of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who began turning the coins over in his hand, saying, ‘Affān’s son can do no wrong, after what he has done today!’"
Al-Tirmidhi related this from Muhammad b. Isma'il, from al-I'asan b. Waqi', from Dama. He categorized it as *hasan gharib*, “good but unilateral”.

'Abd Allah b. Ahmad stated, in his father’s *hadith* collection, “Abū Mūsā al-Anazi related to me, quoting Abū al-Šamad b. Abū al-Warith, quoting Sākin b. al-Mughīrā, quoting al-Walīd b. Abū Hishām, from Farqad Abū Ţalha, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khabbāb al-Sulāmi, who said, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) made an address urging support for the army for the *al-‘usra* expedition and ‘Uthmān b. ʻAffān said, “I take responsibility for providing 100 baggage camels with their saddle blankets and pack-saddles.” He (the Prophet (SAAS)) then came down one step on the *minbar*, the pulpit, and again urged support. At this ‘Uthmān said, “I take responsibility for another 100 baggage camels complete with their blankets and pack-saddles.”’”

'Abd al-Rahmān b. Khabbāb al-Sulāmi went on, “I then saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) use his hand to speak with, moving it thus.” And Abū Mūsā al-Anazi stated that ‘Abd al-Šamad put out his hand and moved it as though in delight (and saying), “For what he has done, ‘Uthmān has no more responsibility hereafter.”

Al-Tirmidhi related this from Muhammad b. Bashshār, from Abū Da‘ūd al-Tayalisī, from Sākan b. al-Mughīrā Abu Mūsā Muhammad, the freed-man of ‘Uthmān’s family. Al-Tirmidhi categorized the *hadith* as *gharib min hadāh al-wujh*, “unique from this line”.

Al-Bayhaqi related it through ʻAmīd b. Marzūq, from Sākan b. al-Mughīra. He said it happened three times and that ‘Uthmān took responsibility for providing 300 baggage camels with their blankets and saddles.

‘Abd al-Rahmān stated, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (SAAS) say while he was upon the *minbar*, ‘‘Uthmān did no wrong after this’. Or he may have said, . . . ‘after today’.”

Abū Da‘ūd al-Tayalisī stated, “Abū ʻAwānā related to us, from Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, from Šamī b. Jāwān, from al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, who said, ‘I heard ‘Uthmān b. ʻAffān say to Sa‘īd b. Abū Waqqās, ʻAši, al-Zubayr and Ťalḥa, ‘I adjure you by God to say whether you know that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Whoever equipped the army for the *al-‘usra* expedition has been forgiven by God’, and that I equipped them so that they did not lack so much as a halter or a headband?’ They responded, “Yes, indeed, by God!”’”

Al-Nasai related this from a *hadith* of Ḥusayn.

**THOSE WHO WEPT AND ALSO THOSE WHO MADE EXCUSES TO REMAIN BEHIND.**

God Almighty stated, “And when a chapter (of the Qur’ān) is revealed saying, ‘Believe in God and strive along with His Messenger’, those among them of ample means seek your permission (to remain) saying, ‘Leave us behind with those who remain.’ They are pleased to be with those who stay back; their hearts
have been sealed over, and they do not comprehend. However, the Messenger and those who believe with him dedicate fully their property and themselves. These persons shall have the benefits, and it is they who shall succeed. God has prepared for them gardens beneath which rivers flow; they shall rest therein for eternity. That is the great success. Then the excuse-makers from among the bedouin came seeking permission (to stay behind) and those who denied the veracity of God and His Messenger also stayed. Those of them who disbelieved shall suffer painful punishment. There shall be no blame for the weak and the sick or those without the means to expend, provided that they are sincere with God and His Messenger; there is no cause to blame those who do good. And God is Forgiving and Beneficent. Nor is there blame upon those who, coming to you for mounts, have you tell them, 'I have nothing on which to transport you', with the result that they turn away, their eyes welling tears of regret that they do not have the means to expend. Cause for blame rests with those who seek your permission to stay back even though they are wealthy, preferring to be with those who remain behind. God has placed a seal over their hearts, and they do not know" (suratal-Tawba; IX,v. 86–93).

We have provided sufficient interpretation of this in our Tafsir (Exegesis); and to God is due all praise and credit.

What is referred to here is those who wept when they came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to provide them transportation to accompany him on this expedition of his but found him without mounts for them. They then retired weeping, sad at their inability to participate in, or contribute to, the fighting for God's cause.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "These totalled seven persons, consisting of anṣār and others. Of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf there were: Sālim b. Ṭāmayr; ʿUlba b. Zayd, brother of Banū Ḥarītha; Abu Layla ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Kaʿb, brother of Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār; ʿAmr b. al-Ḥumām b. al-Jumāḥ, brother of Banū Salama; ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mughaṣṣal al-Muzanī. Some maintain that this last-mentioned was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr al-Muzanī. (They also include) Haramī b. ʿAbd Allāh, brother of Banū Waqīf and Irbāq b. Sāriya al-Fazzārī. Ibn Ishāq went on, "I have been told that Ibn Yāmīn b. Ṭāmayr b. Kaʿb al-Nadrī met Abū Layla and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh who were both weeping. Ibn Yāmīn asked them, 'What is making you weep?' They replied, 'We have been to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to provide us mounts but he had none to carry us. And we lack the means to proceed out with him.' So he (Ibn Yāmīn) gave them a water-transport camel he owned and they saddled it. He also provided them with some dates and so they proceeded forth with the Prophet (SAAS)."

Yūnus b. Bukayr added the following from Ibn Ishāq, "Ulba b. Zayd went outside at night, spending that part of it in prayer that God wished. He then wept and said, 'O God, You have ordered to battle and inspired enthusiasm for
it, but then not provided me with the means for it, not given to Your Messenger
a mount to transport me. I wish to donate to all Muslims (the compensation
I received for) whatever wrongs may have befallen me, whether in money, in
bodily harm or in honour.'

"Next morning he arose with the rest and the Messenger of God (SAAS)
asked, 'Where is he who spent the night making donation?' No one got up. He
next said, 'Let the man who made the donation get up now.' He ('Ulba) then
went over to him and told him and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Rejoice!
By Him in whose hand is my soul, you have been inscribed among those having
made a zakāt donation that is found acceptable (by God)!'

At this point the ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī gave the hadith of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'ārī, stating,
"Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ḥāfīz related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b.
Yaʿqūb, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Māzhīnī, quoting Abū Usāma, from
Buraydī, from Abū Burdā, from Abū Mūsā, who said, 'My companions sent me
to the Messenger of God (SAAS), to ask him for mounts for them to accompany
him with the army for the al-ʿusra expedition to Taḥbūk. I said, "Prophet of God,
my companions have sent me to you to provide them mounts." He replied, "By
God, I won't mount you on anything." I had happened to go to him, without
realizing it, when he was in an angry mood.

"'So I left, sad that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had rejected me and
fearful that he bore me some ill-will. When I returned to my friends, I told them
what he had said. Very soon after that, I heard Bilāl calling out, "Where is ʿAbd
Allāh b. Qays?" When I responded, he said, "Make answer to the Messenger of
God (SAAS) who is calling for you." When I went to the Messenger of God
(SAAS) he said, "Take these two camels tied together, and these two and these
two." He was referring to six baggage camels he had just bought from Saʿd. Then
he said, "Take these to your companions and say, 'God' (or 'the Messenger of
God') 'will mount you upon these'."

"'So (I went to them and) I said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) mounts
you upon these. But, I swear by God, I'll not allow you this until some of you
accompany me to someone who heard what the Messenger of God (SAAS) said
when I asked him on your behalf and how he at first refused, then later gave
gave them to me. I don't want you to think I reported to you something he did not
say." They replied, "By God, we consider you entirely credible; but we'll do
whatever you wish.'"

"Abū Mūsā then left with a group of them and they went to those who had
heard what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said — how he had at first refused
and then had given to them. They confirmed to them exactly what Abū Mūsā
had said."

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Usāma.
In one account of theirs they both quote Abū Mūsā as saying, "I went to the
Messenger of God (SAAS) along with a group of Ash'āris to provide us mounts
and he replied, 'I swear by God, I'll not give you mounts; I have none on which
to transport you.'"

He went on, "Some camels taken as booty were then brought to him, and he
ordered that we be given six young ones. We took them, but then we said, 'We
causedithe Messenger of God (SAAS) to break his oath, and God will not bless
us.' So we went back to him and told him this. He replied, 'It is not I who gave
you mounts; it is God who did so.' He then said, 'I swear by God, if God wills
it, I will never swear an oath then find that its opposite is better without then
nullifying that first oath.'"

Ibn Ishāq went on, "There were a number of Muslims whom absence delayed
and so they lagged behind the Messenger of God (SAAS), but not because of any
doubt or indecision on their part.

"Among these were Ka'b b. Malik b. Abū Ka'b, a brother of Banū Salama;
Marāra b. Rabī', brother of Banū 'Amr b. 'Awf; Hilāl b. Umayya, brother of Banū
Waqif, and Abū Khaythama, brother of Banū Sālim b. 'Awf. These were men of
high honour against whose adherence to Islam no one could make any charge."

I note that the story of the first three of these men will be related at length
shortly hereafter, if God Almighty wills it. It is these men about whom God gave
the following revelation: "As for the three who were left behind so that the earth
became constricted for them, though it was spacious. And their spirits also felt
constrained, and they thought there to be no refuge from God, except in Him"
(sūrat al-Tawbah; IX, v.118).

Abū Khaythama changed his mind and determined to catch up with the
Messenger of God (SAAS), as will be shown.

DIVISION

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, "Having made his arrangements,
the Messenger of God (SAAS) decided to set off. When, on a Thursday, he
departed, he made camp at Thaniyyat al-Waḍā'; with him there were more than
30,000 men. That enemy of God Ṣabd Allah b. Ubayy pitched his camp lower
down, his being, so they say, no smaller in number. When the Messenger of God
(SAAS) set forth again, Ṣabd Allāh b. Ubayy remained behind, along with a
group of the hypocrites and doubt-mongers."

Ibn Hishām stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) placed Muḥammad
b. Maslama, the anṣāri, in command of Medina. Al-Darāwirdi related that it
was Sībā'ī b. 'Urfa ṭa whom he left in command at the time of the expedition
to Tabūk."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) left Ṣalāḥ b. Abū Ṭalāb
behind to care for his family, ordering him to stay with them. The hypocrites
spread lies about Ṣalāḥ, maintaining that the Messenger of God (SAAS) found his
presence onerous and wished to alleviate this.
"When they said this, 'Ali took up his weapons and proceeded forth, catching up with the Messenger of God (SAAS) while the latter was making a halt at al-Jurf. 'Ali told him what people were saying and he responded, 'They lie; I left you there to care for those I have left behind. Go back and act on my behalf with my family as well as your own. Are you not content, 'Ali, to have the same status with me as Aaron had with Moses? There will, however, be no prophet after myself.'

"'Ali did return and the Messenger of God (SAAS) departed on his journey."

Ibn Isḥaq went on, "Muḥammad b. Ṭaḥṭa b. Yazid b. Rukāna related to me, from Ibrahim b. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, from his father Sa'd, (who said) that he heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) make this comment to 'Ali."

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim both related this through Shu'ba, from Sa'd b. Ibrahim, from Ibrahim b. Sa'd b. Abū Waqqāṣ, from his father. Abū Da'ūd al-Tayalisi stated in his hadith compendium, "Shu'ba related to us, from al-Ḥakam, from Musa'b b. Sa'd, from his father, who said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) left 'Ali b. Abū Ṭālib behind from the expedition to Tabuk. 'Ali then asked him, "Messenger of God, would you leave me behind with the women and children?" He replied, "Are you not content to have with me the status Aaron had with Moses! Although there will be no prophet after myself.'"

Both authorities gave this on lines of transmission from Shu'ba in similar form. Al-Bukhārī also gave it on a line from Abū Da'ūd, from Shu'ba.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Qutayba b. Sa'd related to him, quoting Ḥātim b. Isma'il, from Bukayr b. Mismār, from ʿAmir b. Sa'd, from his father, who quoted the Messenger of God (SAAS) as follows, 'Ali, having been left behind by him at one of his expeditions asked, "Messenger of God, would you leave me behind with the women and children?" He replied, "'Ali, are you not content that you have the same status with me that Aaron had with Moses? However, there will be no prophet after myself.'"

Muslim and al-Tirmidhi related this from Qutayba. Muslim and Muḥammad b. Ṣāib both added to this, quoting Ḥātim b. Isma'il. Al-Tirmidhi categorized it as being hasan, sahih, gharib, good and authentic, and unique from this line.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, "Abū Khaythama returned on a hot day to his family several days after the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He found two wives he had each in a bower in his garden; each one had sprinkled and cooled her bower with cold water and had prepared him food.

"When he entered, Abū Khaythama stood at the door of a bower, gazed at his two wives and at what they had done, and said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) is out there in the sun, wind and heat, while Abū Khaythama is in the cool shade with food prepared for him with beautiful women and on his own property! This is not fair. By God, I swear I'll not enter the bower of either one of you before joining up with the Messenger of God (SAAS)! Prepare provisions for me!' And they both did so."
“He then brought up his camel, saddled it, and left to seek the Messenger of God (SAAS). He reached him after he had encamped at Tabuk. Umaýr b. Wahb al-Jumahî, himself heading for the Messenger of God (SAAS), had overtaken Abû Khaythama on the way and they had travelled on together until they neared Tabuk. Abû Khaythama then said to Umaýr b. Wahb, ‘I am at fault. Best for you to stay back from me until I go on to the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ And he did so.

“When Abû Khaythama approached the Messenger of God (SAAS), people told the latter, ‘There’s a rider approaching along the road.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, ‘That will be Abû Khaythama!’ They commented, ‘By God, Messenger of God, it is indeed Abû Khaythama!’

“When he arrived, he came up and greeted the Messenger of God (SAAS) who responded, ‘Woe upon you, Abû Khaythama!’ He then explained to the Messenger of God (SAAS) what had happened and the latter blessed him.”

‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Musa b. ‘Uqba related this story about Abû Khaythama in a similar though more simple form than that of Mu‘ammas b. Isâq. Their account states that the departure of the Prophet (SAAS) took place in the autumn. But God knows best.

Ibn Hishâm stated, “Abû Khaythama – his given name being Malik b. Qays – spoke the following verses on this.

‘Having seen how people were hypocritical in their faith, I kept to what was more fine and noble. I gave forth my hand in fealty to Muhammad and did no wrong nor committed any sin.

I left a woman wearing make-up inside the bower, amidst the palms, along with a feast of ripened dates.

While the hypocrites were in doubt, my soul flowed onwards to the faith, its path wheresoever that would lead.’”

Yunus b. Bukayr stated that Muhammad b. Isâq quoted from Burayda, from Sufyân, from Muhammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraşî, from ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ûd, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) left for Tabuk, whenever anyone fell behind people would tell him, ‘Messenger of God, so-and-so has stayed back.’ He would then say, ‘Oh leave him alone. If there is any good in him, then God will bring him up to join you. Otherwise, it is God who will have relieved you of him!’

“Eventually he was told, ‘Messenger of God, Abû Dharr has fallen behind, his camel having slowed him down.’ He replied, ‘Leave him; if there is good in him, God will have him catch up with you. If otherwise, then God will have relieved you of him.’

“Abû Dharr gave his camel time to recover, but when it still moved only slowly, he took from it his equipment, placed it on his own back and walked on
after the Messenger of God (SAAS). The latter made one of his halts and a Muslim on look-out said, 'Messenger of God, I can see this man walking along the road.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'That will be Abu Dharr.' When they had observed him closely, people said, 'Messenger of God, it is Abū Dharr, by God!' At this, the Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, 'May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone and will be resurrected alone!'

"And fate did strike its blow at him. Abū Dharr was (ultimately) sent to al-Rabda. When his death was near, he gave instructions to his wife and a slave, saying, 'When I die, wash me and wind me in my shroud at night, then lay me on the crest of the road and tell the first passer-by that this is Abū Dharr.'

"When he died, they did this. Riders came along and unwittingly trod him underfoot. When Ibn Mas'ūd came past in a group of men of Kūfah, he asked 'What is this?' He was told it was the bier of Abū Dharr. Ibn Mas'ūd began weeping upon hearing this and said, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke the truth! He said, "May God have mercy on Abū Dharr! He walks alone, will die alone and will be resurrected alone!"'

"He then dismounted and he himself buried him."

The line of authorities for this is good; but they (the authors of the canonical collections of the traditions) did not give it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqlī, who said with reference to the words of the Almighty, "who followed him at the time of al-ʿūṣra" (ṣūrat al-Tawbah; IX, v.117). "These men went forth on the expedition to Tabuk; there were two and three to the single camel. They travelled at a time of severe heat and eventually began slaughtering their camels to split open their stomachs to drink the liquid inside them. That was a time of ʿūṣra, 'great difficulty', over water, over the expenses and over the transport."

ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb stated that he was informed by ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, from Saʿīd b. Abū Hilāl, from ʿUtba b. Abū Ṭūba, from Nāfiʿ b. Jūbair, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, that someone asked ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to tell about the saḥārat al-ʿūṣra, "the time of great difficulty". ʿUmar replied, "We went out to Tabuk when the weather was extremely hot. At one stop we made, we suffered such severe thirst that we feared our necks would come off! Whenever one of us went out to locate his baggage, he'd come back fearing his neck would come off! Men would slaughter their camels and compress the contents of their stomachs to drink, then place the remainder over their livers. Abū Bakr, 'the trusting', asked, 'Messenger of God, God responds favourably to your prayers. Pray to God for us.' 'You would like that?' he asked. 'Yes,' he replied. The Messenger of God

3. The text of Ibn Ishaq as translated by Guillaume, op. cit., quotes sources saying that he was exiled there by ʿUthmān.
(SAAS) then raised up his hands towards heaven and did not bring them back down until it had prepared to give rain. A drizzle fell and then a torrent, and everyone filled everything available. We then went out and discovered that the rain had not fallen beyond our camp!

The line of transmission for this is excellent. But the authorities did not give it from this line.

Ibn Ishraq narrated from ʿAṣim b. ʿUmar b. Qatada, from some men of his tribe, that this incident related to when they were at al-Ḥijr. They had then asked a man accompanying them who was a hypocrite, "Well, do you want still more (proof) after this?" He replied, "It was just a passing cloud!"

Ibn Ishraq also narrated that the she-camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS) had strayed and men went off to search for it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told ʿUmara b. Ḥazm al-anṣārī, who was there with him, "A man said, ‘This Muḥammad tells you he is a prophet and gives you news of heaven, but he doesn’t even know the whereabouts of his camel!’ I swear by God, all I do know is what God tells me. And God has directed me to her; she is in a gully where her halter has caught on a tree."

They then went off and retrieved her and ʿUmara went back to his camp. He told them how someone had made a comment (about the Prophet (SAAS)), and one of the men present said, "It was Zayd b. al-Luṣāyf who said this." This man had been there in ʿUmara’s camp before his return. He now went up to Zayd and poked him in the neck, saying, "There was a disaster right here in my camp without me knowing it! Clear off, you enemy of God! You’ll not accompany me!" Some say that Zayd repented, but others say he persisted in his error until he died.

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated that a similar account about the camel had been related to him from a hadith of Ibn Masʿūd. He then narrated from a hadith of al-Aʿmash, which Imām Al-Ḥamd also narrated, from Abū Muʿāwiyah, from al-Aʿmash, from Abū Șāliḥ, from Abū Hurayra – or from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudari, al-Aʿmash was not sure which – who said, "At the expedition to Tabuk, the men were greatly afflicted by hunger. They asked, ‘Messenger of God, with your permission, we would like to slaughter our water-transport camels; we could eat them and gain some weight.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) told them to do so.

"Then ʿUmar came and asked, ‘Messenger of God, if you do this, we’ll have a shortage of transport. Invite them instead to bring the remnants of their supplies, then pray to God to bless it for them; perhaps God will place His blessings in it.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Yes, I will.’ He then called for a leather coverlet, laid it out and called for the remnants of their food. One man would bring an ear of maize, another a handful of dates, a third a piece of bread. He made a small pile of this on the piece of leather and spoke a prayer blessing it. Then he told them, ‘Put this into your containers.’ They kept on doing
this until there was not a single container in the camp that was not filled with it. They also ate from it until satisfied and still some remained. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then called, out, ‘I testify that there is no god but God and that I am the Messenger of God! No doubt-free worshipper who addresses God with this shall be kept from paradise.’”

Muslim narrated this from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-ʿAʿmash. Imām Aḥmad narrated it from a ḥadīth of Suhayl, from his father, from Abū Hurayra. He did not make reference to the expedition to Tabūk, but said that it related to an expedition on which he went.

An Account of how, on his way to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by the dwellings of Thamūd and their fortifications at al-Ḥijr.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed al-Ḥijr, he made a halt there and the men took water from its well. When they left, he told them, ‘Do not drink at all from its waters; do not use its water for your ablutions. Any dough you have made using it you should give to the camels without eating any of it yourselves.’”

This is how Ibn Isḥāq related it, without any chain of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaʿmūr b. Bishr related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, who said, “Ṣālim b. ʿAbd Allāh quoted to me his father as having said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, he said, ‘Do not enter the houses of those who harmed themselves unless you do so weeping, lest there befall you what did them.’ And he masked himself with his cloak while he was on his mount.”

Al-Bukhārī related this from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak and ʿAbd al-Razzāq, both of whom cited Maʿmar and gave a similar line of transmission.

Mālik stated, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told his Companions, “Do not enter upon these persons who suffered punishment unless you are weeping; if you do not weep, then do not enter upon them, otherwise there will afflict you what afflicted them.”

Al-Bukhārī related this from a ḥadīth of Mālik, and from a ḥadīth of Sulaymān b. Bilāl, both of whom quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār. Muslim related it from another line from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār in similar form.

Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, quoting Ṣakhr – Ibn Juwayriyya, that is – from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “At the time of the expedition to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his men made a halt at al-Ḥijr, at the dwellings of Thamūd. The men drew water from the wells from which Thamūd used to drink, made dough and set up cooking pots with meat. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to empty out the pots and to feed the dough to the camels. He then left with them and
proceeded on, making another halt at the well from which the camel used to drink. He forbad them entering the dwellings of those who had been afflicted with punishment, saying, 'I fear that there will befall you what befell them; do not enter in upon them.'"

This hadith with this line of transmission conforms with the criteria set in both canonical collections, but they did not include it. However, both al-Bukhārī and Muslim did give it from a hadith of Anas b. ʿIyyād, from Abū ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mālikī, from ʿAbd al-Latīf b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿUmar, from ʿAbd al-Salām b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿUmar.

Al-Bukhārī stated, "Usāma traced it from ʿUbayd Allāh." Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Shuʿayb b. ʿAbdullāh, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ.

Imām ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū ʿAlī al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, he said, 'Do not ask for signs. Ṣāliḥ’s people asked for them and they would come from this cleft.' They disobeyed the order of their Lord and hamstrung it (the holy camel). It would one day drink their water and on another they would drink its milk; God destroyed every one of them beneath the surface of the sky, except for one man who was inside God's temple."

"Someone asked, 'And who was he, Messenger of God?' 'That was Abū Righāl,' he replied. 'And when he left the temple, he was struck down as his people had been.'"

The chain of authorities for this is ṣaḥīḥ, "authentic"; (but) they (the compilers of the canonical collections of traditions) do not promulgate it.

Imām ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting al-Maṣṣūdī, from Ismāʿīl b. Wāsīt, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbd al-Razzāq b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, from his father as saying, "On the expedition to Tabūk, the men raced off to visit the people of al-Ḥijr, to enter their dwellings. This reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he had a call made for a general assembly for prayer.

"I came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as he was there holding his camel, saying, 'What? Would you enter in upon a people with whom God was angry?' One man called out, 'We’re curious about them.' 'Do I not tell you of matters more curious than that? A man from among yourselves informs you of what happened before you and what will be after you? Be righteous, and see clearly; God cares nothing for your punishment. A people will come who will not be able to protect themselves at all.'"

4. A reference to the pregnant camel the Qur’ān tells us that the virtuous Thamūd leader Ṣāliḥ conjured up from the rock. Ṣāliḥ’s ungodly opponents cut the tendons of the holy camel, thus causing God’s retribution that was expressed in the destruction of all Thamūd.

5. An alternate reading in a different manuscript substitutes wajh, ‘direction’, for fajj, “cleft”, in its first use here.

6. A different, and perhaps similarly mythical, Abū Righāl is mentioned elsewhere in this work.
The chain of authorities for this is good; they (the compilers of the canonical collections of traditions) did not promulgate it.

Yunus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, "Abd Allah b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazam related to me, from al-ʿAbbas b. Sahl b. Saʿd al-Saʿīdī – or from al-ʿAbbas b. Saʿd, I am not sure which – who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by al-Ḥijr, where he made a halt, the men took its water. And when they left there, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told them, 'Do not drink any of their water, nor use it for ablutions before the prayer. Feed the dough you have prepared to the camels, eating none of it yourselves. And let none of you go out this night unless accompanied by another.'

"They did as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had ordered them, except for two men of Banū Saʿīda. One of them went out to relieve himself and the other went to look for a camel of his. The man who relieved himself was choked at the place where he had gone. The one searching for his camel was carried away by the wind and thrown up on Mt. Ṭayyī. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was told of this and commented, 'Didn't I tell them not to go out unless accompanied by another?'

"He then spoke a prayer for the man who had been afflicted at the place where he relieved himself, and the man was cured. The other man reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (on his return) from Tabuk."

In one account there is additional information given from Ibn Ishāq to the effect that a man of Banū Ṭayyī presented him (the second man) to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) when he returned to Medina.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "Abd Allah b. Abū Bakr related to me that al-ʿAbbas b. Sahl named these two men to him but in confidence and so he did not tell me who they were."

Imām ʿAḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Wahib b. Khālid, quoting Amr b. Yāḥyā, from al-ʿAbbas b. Sahl b. Saʿd al-Saʿīdī, from Abū Ḥumayd al-Saʿīdī, who said, "We left with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the Tabuk expedition and travelled to Wādī al-Quṭr. There we came across a woman in a garden. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to his Companions, 'Guess!' The men made their guesses, as did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he guessed that the produce from the garden would equal ten ansāq, ten camel loads. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the woman, 'Keep a total of the produce that comes from it until, if God wills it, I come back.'

"He then travelled on to Tabuk. There he told the men, 'Tonight there will be a severe gale. No one should get up during it. Those of you with camels should fasten down their halters.'

"Abū Ḥaṃdāl said, 'We did and during the night a severe gale swept over us. One of our men did get up and it carried him away on to Mt. Ṭayyī.'

"Then the Governor of Ayla came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and presented to him a white mule. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), presented him with a robe of honour and wrote a document for him giving them protection.
"He then went on, as did we with him, and eventually we were back in Wadi al-Qurā. He asked the woman, ‘How much did your garden produce?’ ‘Ten camel loads,’ she replied. He had guessed correctly.

‘He then announced, ‘I am in a hurry. Any of you who want to hurry too can do so.’ He then left, and we accompanied him. When he looked down upon Medina, he commented, ‘That is Tāba.’ When he sighted Mt. Uḥud, he commented, ‘That is Mt. Uḥud; it loves us and we love it. Shall I tell you which are the best houses of the ansār?’ ‘Please do, Messenger of God,’ we replied.

‘The best houses of the ansār are those of Banū al-Najjaw, then that of Banū ‘Abd al-Ashhal, then that of Banū Sā‘īda; and moreover, there is good in all the houses of the ansār.’"

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave this from another line, from ‘Amr b. Yahyā in similar form.

Imām Malik, may God have mercy on him, stated from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū al-Tufayl ‘Amir b. Wāthila, that Mu‘ādhd b. Jabal informed him that they went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the Tabuk expedition. (Mu‘ādhd stated), ‘He would combine together the prayers of the al-ṣuhr, ‘noon’, and the al-‘asr, ‘late afternoon’, and those of the al-maghrib, ‘early evening’, and the al-‘isha, ‘late evening’. One day he postponed the prayer and came out and prayed the al-ṣuhr and the al-‘asr together. He then went back in and came out again and prayed the al-maghrib and the al-‘isha together. He then said, ‘Tomorrow, if God wills it, you will arrive at the spring at Tabuk. You’ll not reach it until forenoon. Those who reach there should not touch any of its water before I arrive.’

‘When we arrived there, we had been preceded by two men. The well looked like skirak, ‘sandal straps’, just oozing a little water. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked the two men, ‘Did you touch any of the water?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. He berated them and said to them what God wished him to speak. They then little by little scooped out water from the spring and put it all in a water-skin. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) washed in it his face and hands then poured it back into the spring. Now the spring produced much water and the men drew from it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said, ‘Mu‘ādhd, if you live long enough, you’ll see that what’s here will be enough to fill several gardens!’"

Muslim did include this in a ḥadīth from Malik.

An Account of the address the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave at Tabuk at a palm tree there.

Imām Ahmad narrated from Abū al-Nadr Hashim b. al-Qāsim, Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mu‘āddib and Ḥajjaj b. Muḥammad, all three quoting al-Layth

7. The image is unclear. The word is obscure, suggesting: ‘sandal straps’, ‘a thin planting of palm saplings’, or ‘light shadows’.
b. Sa‘d, from Yazid b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Abū al-Khayr, from Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, from Abū Sa‘d al-Khudari, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave an address at Tabuk while leaning his back against a palm tree. He spoke as follows: ‘Shall I tell you who is the best of men and who is the worst? Of the best of men is one who works in God’s cause on the back of his horse and on the back of his mule and on his two feet until death comes to him. Of the worst of men is one who is profligate and insolent, a man who recites God’s Book but pays no attention to any of it.’”

Al-Nasa‘ī narrated this from Qutayba, from al-Layth. Concerning Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, he commented, “I do not know of him.”

Al-Bayhaqi narrated through Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad al-Zuhri, from ʿAbd al-ʿAziz b. ʿUmran, that Muṣ‘ab b. ʿAbd Allah related to him, from Manzūr b. Jamil b. Sinān, who quoted his father as saying to him, “I heard ‘Uqba b. ʿAmir al-Juhānī relate as follows, ‘We went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS), on the expedition to Tabuk. (One night) the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in bed without waking up until the sun had risen a spear’s length high. He called, ‘Bilal, did I not tell you to announce dawn to us?’ He replied, ‘Messenger of God, He who bore you away in sleep bore me also!’”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) moved a little away from his tent and prayed. He travelled on the rest of that day and night and arrived next morning in Tabuk. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God, then said, ‘People, the most truthful speech is that of God’s Book. The firmest of bonds is the word “piety”. The best of religions is that of Abraham. The best of ways of life is the sunna, the practice of Muḥammad. The most noble of speech is mention of God. The finest of narratives is this Qurān. The best of practices are those sanctioned by God; the worst of practices are those innovated. The best guidance is that of the prophets. The most noble of deaths is being killed as a martyr. The most blind thing of all is going astray after guidance. The best of deeds are those that are beneficial. The best guidance is that which is followed. The worst blindness is that of the heart. The upper hand is better than the lower hand. That which is little yet suffices is better than that which is much but wasteful. The worst apology is that when death is at hand. The worst repentance is that on Judgement Day. There are those people who only attend the jumā, the Friday prayers, at the end. There are those people who only mention God in vain. The worst of sins is a lying tongue. The best riches are those of the soul. The best of qualities is piety. The pinnacle of wisdom is fear of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. The best quality within the heart is that of certainty. Doubting is from disbelief. Wailing in mourning is an act from the jāhiliyya. Fraud is of the soil spread in hell. Poetry comes from Satan. Wine is the aggregate of sin. Women are the snares of Satan. Youth is an offshoot of madness. The worst income is that from interest. The worst food is consuming the wealth of orphans. The happy man is he who is warned by (the actions of) others. The most naughty is he who misbehaves within his mother’s womb. One of you has only to move four arm
lengths away for the matter to lead on to the hereafter. The fundamental of an action is determined by its results. The worst of narratives are those of untruth. All that is to come is near at hand. To swear at a believer is an outrage. To fight a believer is disbelief. To eat his flesh is disobedience of God. The sanctity of his property is as the sanctity of his blood. Whoever takes an oath by God gives the lie to Him. Whoever seeks His forgiveness shall be forgiven. Whoever gives pardon, God will pardon. Whoever supresses anger, God will reward. Whoever remains firm against calamity, God will compensate. He who desires fame, God will discredit. He who remains firm, God will doubly reward. He who disobeys God, God will punish. O God, forgive me and my people! O God, forgive me and my people! O God, forgive me and my people! He spoke this three times, then added, 'I seek God's forgiveness for myself and for you.'"

This hadith is gharib, unilateral, and it has some objectionable aspects; and there is some weakness in its line of transmission. God knows best what is right. Abū Da'ūd stated that both Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Hamadānī and Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Mu'āwīya, from Sa'īd b. Ghazwān, from his father (who said) that he passed the night at Tabuk while on his way to the pilgrimage. There he noticed a cripple. (Ghazwān's account goes on), "I asked him about himself and he replied, 'I will give you an account, but don't tell anyone of it for so long as I live. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was encamped at Tabuk near a palm tree. He said, 'This is our qibla.' He then performed the prayer towards it. I, a youth at the time, came running along and passed between him and the tree. He then said, 'He has severed our connection! May God cut out his footprint!' And I've not stood up on it to this very day!'"

Abū Da'ūd then related it from a hadith of Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Tanukhī, from a freed-man of Yazīd b. Nimrān, from Yazīd b. Nimrān, who said, "At Tabuk, I saw a cripple. He told me, 'While riding my donkey, I passed in front of the Messenger of God (SAAS) as he was praying. He said, 'O God, cut off his footprint!' And I have not been able to walk on it ever since.'"

In another account, the words are, "He cut off our connection! May God cut out his footprint!"

An Account of the prayer spoken for Mu'āwīya b. Abū Mu'āwīya — if indeed authentic.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated from a hadith of Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting al-ʿAla' Abū Muhammad al-Thaqafī, who quoted Anas b. Malik as saying, "We were with the Messenger of God (SAAS), at Tabuk. The sun came up with a brightness and with rays of light such as I had never seen before. Gabriel came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who asked, 'Gabriel, why do I see the sun today with a brightness and rays of light such as I never before saw it arise?' He replied, 'That is because Mu'āwīya b. Mu'āwīya al-Laythī died today in Medina. God sent to him 70,000
angels to pray over him.' ‘And why was that?’ he asked. ‘It was due to the frequency of his reciting the words: “Say: He is God, One” (sūrat al-‘Ikhlas; CXII, v.1). He did so by night and by day, when walking and upon rising or sitting down. Would you like me, Messenger of God, to take hold of the earth for you so you can pray for him?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. And he then prayed for him and returned.’

This hadith is extremely strange and objectionable. People base it upon this al-‘Alī b. Zayd, but he is the object of controversy.

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, ‘‘Ali b. Ahmad b. Abdān related to us, quoting Ahmad b. Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Hishām b. ‘Alī, quoting Uthmān b. al-Haytham, quoting Mādhūb b. Hilal, from ‘Aṭā’ b. Abū Maymūna, from Anas, who said, ‘Gabriel came and said, “Muḥammad, Muḥāwiya b. Abū Muḥāwiya al-Mazānī has died. Would you like to pray for him?” “Yes,” he replied. Gabriel flapped his wings and every tree and mountain top bent over in submission. He then prayed while behind him there stretched two columns of angels in each of which there were 70,000 angels. I (the Prophet (SAAS)) then asked, “Gabriel, how did he achieve this status with God?” He replied, “By his love for the words, ‘Say: He is God, One.’ He would recite it standing or sitting, going or coming, and at all times.’”

‘Uthmān went on, “I asked my father where the Prophet was at the time. He replied that he was on the expedition to Tabuk in Syria, that Muḥāwiya had died in Medina and that his bed had been raised up so he could see it and pray for him.”

This too is objectionable from this line.

**THE ARRIVAL OF THE MESSENGER FROM CAESAR TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) AT TABŪK.**

Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Ishāq b. ʿIṣa, quoting Yahyā b. Salīm, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Abū Rāshid, who said, “In Ḥims I met al-Tanūkhi, the envoy of Heraclius to the Messenger of God (SAAS); he was a neighbour of mine and a very old man who had reached 90 or so. I asked, ‘Won’t you tell me about the message of Heraclius to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and of his message to Heraclius?’ ‘Certainly,’ he replied.

(He narrated) The Messenger of God (SAAS) reached Tabūk and sent Dihiya al-Kalbi to Heraclius. When the message from the Messenger of God (SAAS) reached him, Heraclius summoned the priests and patriarchs of Rome and locked himself and them inside a building. He told them, ‘This man is encamped where you are aware, and he has sent me offering me three alternatives. He invites me to follow him in his religion, or that we give him what we have on this our land, this land remaining ours, or that we go to war with him. By God, you well know from what you read in the books that he will definitely
take our land, so let us either follow him in his faith or give him what we have on our land.'

"They snorted in disgust as one man so hard as almost to burst from their hooded gowns, saying, 'You are inviting us to abandon Christianity or have us be slaves to a bedouin from Hijaz?"

"When he realized that when they left him they would turn the Byzantines against him, he made peace with them immediately, saying, 'I only said that to find out how dedicated you are.'"

"He then summoned an Arab of Tajib who had power over the Christian Arabs and said, 'Find me some man who can well remember speech and whose native tongue is Arabic whom I can send to this man with a reply to his message.'"

"He brought me to him and Heraclius gave me a letter, saying, 'Take this letter of mine to this man. Commit to memory what he says and note three specifics: take note of any comment he makes about the letter he wrote me; observe whether he reads my letter and whether he makes mention of "night" and observe whether there is anything you find curious about his back.'

"So I set off with his letter and reached Tabuk where I found him seated among his men, his legs drawn up and wrapped in his garment, over near the spring. I asked, 'Where is your leader?' 'This is he,' I was told.

"I went over and sat down before him, handed him my letter which he placed on his lap. He then asked, 'From whom have you come?' 'I am a brother of Tanukh,' I answered. He asked, 'Would you like to join Islam, the hanafi faith of your father Abraham?' I replied, 'I am the messenger of my people and belong to the faith of my people; I cannot turn from it before I return to them!' He laughed and said, 'You cannot lead aright whomever you wish; but God leads aright whomever He wishes; He knows best those who will be led aright' (koran al-Qa'a, XXVIII, v.56). Brother of Tanukh, I wrote a message to Chosroe (and he tore it up) and God will tear him up and tear up his realm. I wrote a letter to the Negus and he burned it; and God will burn him up along with his realm. I wrote a letter to your leader and he kept it; the people will continue to experience courage from him so long as there remains goodness in life.'

"I told myself that this was one of the three things my master had advised me about. So I took an arrow from my quiver and used it to write on the side of my sword. He then took the letter and gave it to a man on his left. I asked, 'Who is the man with your letter who reads to you?' 'That is Mu'awiya,' they replied. In my master's letter it said, 'You invite me to a paradise as big as the sky and the earth that is prepared for the pious; then where is hell-fire?' The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'Glory be to God! And where is night when daytime comes?'

"I took an arrow from my quiver and noted this on the leather scabbard of my sword.

"When he had finished reading my letter, he said, 'You are right; you are indeed a messenger. If I had some reward, I would give it to you. We are travellers out
of supplies.' One of the group of men then called out to him, 'I will give him a reward.' And he opened his pack and brought me a gold-threaded garment which he placed in my lap. I asked who was the donor of the reward, and I was told it was ʿUthmān.

'The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then asked, 'Which of you will accommodate this man?' One of the young Ḥāḍirīs said, 'I will.' The ʿāsirī got up and I arose with him. When I had left the group of men, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out to me, 'Come here, brother of Tanikīh!' I hurried over to where I had been sitting in front of him and he lifted off the shirt from his back and said, 'Over here; carry on and do as you were ordered.' I looked over at his back and saw a seal in the place of the fold of his shoulder blades, like a large mole.'

This is a ḥadīth that is ghārib, unilateral; its line of authorities is not bad. Imām Ḥāmid is alone in giving it.

THE PEACE PACT THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) MADE WITH THE GOVERNOR OF AYLA AND THE PEOPLE OF JARBAʾ AND ADHRUḤ WHILE HE WAS ENCAMPED AT TABŪK, BEFORE HIS RETURN.

Ibn Isḥāq stated, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had reached Tabūk, Yūḥanna b. Rūḥa, the Governor of Ayla came to him. He made peace with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and paid him the jīzāa, the alms-tax. People also came from Jarbāʾ and Adhrūḥ and also gave him the jīzāa."

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote a document for them which they retain. He wrote the following to Yūḥanna b. Rūḥa and the people of Ayla: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This is a guarantee of safe passage from God and Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to Yūḥanna b. Rūḥa and the people of Ayla and their transports by land and sea. They have the protection of God and that of Muḥammad, the Prophet and those with him, of the people of Syria, Yemen and the sea. Those of them who cause any incident (breaking this treaty) shall not find that their wealth protects them; (their property) shall be fair game for whoever seizes it. It shall not be permissible to prevent their passage to any well to which they go or any path they take, whether by land or sea.'"

Yunus b. Bukayr added the following from Ibn Isḥāq: "This is the document of Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt and Shuraḥbīl b. Ḥasāna, (made) by permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)."

"Yunus quoted Ibn Isḥāq as stating, 'He also wrote to the people of Jarbāʾ and Adhrūḥ, as follows, 'In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent; this is a document from Muḥammad the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the people of Jarbāʾ and Adhrūḥ: that they are secure under the protection of God and Muḥammad. That they shall pay 100 dinārs each Rajab and 100 awqīyya weight of ṭība, fine perfume. Moreover, God holds them responsible for providing friendship and kindness to Muslims, and to any Muslims who might seek refuge with them.'"
"The Prophet (SAAS) awarded the people of Ayla his cloak, along with his treaty for them."

He went on, "Abū al-'Abbas 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad purchased it (the cloak) thereafter for 300 dinārs.

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**THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) OF KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD TO UKAYDIR DUMA.**

Ibn Isḥaq stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) then called for Khalid b. al-Walīd and dispatched him to Ukaydir Dūma, he being Ukaydir b. 'Abd al-Malik, a man of Banū Kinda who had been their king; he was a Christian. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told Khalid, ‘You will find him hunting for cattle.’

"Khalid travelled until Ukaydir’s fortress was in sight. It was a summer’s night with a full moon, and Ukaydir was on the roof of his fortress with his wife. Cattle spent the night rubbing their horns against the door of the fortress and his wife asked him, ‘Have you never seen anything like that before?’ ‘No, by God, I have not,’ he replied. ‘Who could let this go on?’ she said. ‘No one could,’ he replied.

"He then went down and ordered that his horse be brought. It was saddled for him. A number of his family then rode out with him, including a brother of his named Hassān. They all left on the hunt.

"When they came out, the cavalry of the Prophet (SAAS) engaged them, capturing Ukaydir and killing his brother. He (Ukaydir) was wearing a brocade gown embroidered with gold. Khalid appropriated this and sent it to the Messenger of God (SAAS) before his own arrival back to him."

Ibn Isḥaq went on, "Aṣīm b. 'Umar b. Qatāda related to me, quoting Anas b. Malik, as having said, ‘I saw the gown of Ukaydir when it was brought in to the Messenger of God (SAAS). The Muslims began feeling it in admiration. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘Do you so admire this! Why, I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand, the kerchiefs of Sa‘d b. Mu‘adh in paradise are finer than this!’’"

Ibn Isḥaq continued, "When Khalid brought Ukaydir to the Messenger of God (SAAS), the latter spared his blood and made a treaty with him on condition that he pay the jizya. He then released him and Ukaydir returned to his village.

A man of Banū 'Ṭayī named Bujayr b. Bujara spoke the following verses on this:

'Blessed be He who led the cattle! I have seen that God leads all who guide.
Let whoever wishes turn from Tabūk; we have been ordered to engage in the fight.'"

Al-Bayhaqī narrated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to this poet, "May God not close your mouth!" He lived on for 70 years, during which he never lost a molar or any other tooth.
Ibn Lahi‘a narrated from Abū al-Aswad, from ‘Urwa, that, upon his return from Tabūk, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent forth Khālid against Ukaydir Dūma with a cavalry force of 420 men. His account is similar to the above, except that he stated that he tricked him into descending from his fortress. He said that he brought Ukaydir along with 800 prisoners and 1,000 camels, 400 coats of mail and 400 lances. He related that when the Governor of Ayla, Yuhanna b. Ru‘uba heard the story of Ukaydir Dūma, he came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to make peace with him, and that they both met with the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Tabūk. But God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated, from Sa‘d b. Aws, from Bilal b. Yahya, that Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, was in command of the muhajirin on the expedition to Dumat al-Jandal, while Khalid b. al-Walid commanded the bedouin in that expedition. But God knows best.

**Division**

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed there for some ten days, but not longer, and then left to return to Medina.

“On that route there was a spring that oozed from a rock in a valley that could give enough water for one, two or three riders; the valley was known as Wādī al-Mushaqqaq. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Those who reach there before us should not take any of that water, but should await our arrival.’

“A number of hypocrites did precede him there and took its water. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived, he stopped there but found nothing and asked, ‘Who preceded us here?’ He was told, ‘Messenger of God, it was so-and-so and so-and-so.’ He then said, ‘Did I not forbid them to take its water till I arrived?’ He then cursed them and spoke a prayer against them.

“He then dismounted and placed his hand beneath the rock and there began to flow into it that amount of water that God determined. He then splashed the water over the rock and stroked it with his hand, praying as God wished him to do. At that there came forth from the water — as those say who heard it — a sound like that of a thunder-clap. The men went on to drink from it and to satisfy all their needs from it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, ‘If you live on — or those of you who do — will hear of this valley as more fertile than any other either before or beyond it.’”

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥarīth al-Taymi related to me that ‘Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd used to relate as follows, ‘While I was on the expedition to Tabūk with the Messenger of God (SAAS), I happened to get up in the middle of the night and saw a faint light over towards the camp. I went to see what it was. I found it to be the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. ‘Abd Allah Dhūt al-Bijādayn had died, and they had dug a grave for him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was in the grave, while Abū Bakr and ‘Umar were lowering the body to him. As they did so, the Messenger of God (SAAS)
was saying, “Let down your brother close to me!” And they did so. When he placed him in position into his niche, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “O God, I was pleased with him; may You be pleased with him!”

“And 'Abd Allah b. Mas‘ūd would say, “How I wish that grave had been my own!””

Ibn Hishām stated, “The reason he was known as ‘Dhū al-Bijādayn’, ‘he of the two pieces of coarse cloth’, is because when he wanted to accept Islam, his people prevented him. They persecuted him, and when he eventually escaped them, all he had on was one piece of bijād, ‘coarse cloth’. He ripped it into two pieces and used one as a waist-wrapper and the other as a shirt. He then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and became known as Dhū al-Bijādayn.”

Ibn Isḥaq continued, “Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri related, from Ibn Ukayma al-Laythi, from his nephew Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī, who stated he heard Abū Ruhm Kūthām b. al-Husayn, who was one of those who pledged allegiance at the tree, say, ‘I went on the expedition to Tabūk with the Messenger of God (SAAS). One night I was travelling with him at al-Akhdār, when God sent sleep down upon me. I awoke to find that my mount was very close to that of the Prophet (SAAS). I was shocked to find it so close to him, afraid I might strike against his leg in the stirrup. I therefore set about moving my mount away from him. Eventually, some distance further on, my eyes were again overcome and my mount approached him and his leg in the stirrup. This time I only awoke when he shouted, ‘Husl!’, ‘careful!’ I exclaimed, ‘Please forgive me, Messenger of God!’ He replied, ‘Ride on!’

“He then began asking me about those men of Banū Ghifār who had fallen behind, and I told him. He then asked me, ‘What happened to those men with long, red, thin beards who had no other facial hair?’ I told him they had dropped behind.

“He went on, “And what about those men with short, black, curly hair?” I replied, “By God, I don’t know any like that among us.” “Yes,” he insisted, “they’re the ones who own camels at Shabakat Shadakh.” I then remembered them to have been among the Banū Ghifār, but I could not identify them until I recalled them to have been a clan of Aslam who were allied to us. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, “What prevented one of them, when he fell behind, from giving transport on one of his mounts, to some man eager to participate in God’s cause? It troubles me greatly to have muhājirūn and anṣār, along with men of Ghifār and Aslam, fall behind.””

Ibn Lahi‘a quoted Abu al-Aswād as telling him that ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) set out to return from Tabūk to Medina, a group of hypocrites plotted to assassinate him by casting him down from a steep ridge on to the path below. He was informed of this and ordered the men

8. A well in Hijāz belonging to Banū Aslām.
to pass through the valley while he mounted the ridge. Those who had plotted accompanied him, having muffled their faces. The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered 'Amr b. Yasir and Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yaman to proceed along with him, 'Amr holding the bridle of his camel, while Ḥudhayfa urged it forward.

"While they were proceeding, they heard the group (of assassins) descending upon them. The Messenger of God (SAAS) became angry and when Ḥudhayfa saw this, he went back towards the assassins carrying a bent cudgel that he waved in the faces of their mounts. When they saw Ḥudhayfa, they realized that the terrible deed they planned had been discovered, so they hurried away and mingled with the rest of the force.

"Ḥudhayfa returned and caught up with the Messenger of God (SAAS). He ordered his two guides to hurry ahead and they traversed the ridge trail and halted, waiting for the others. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked Ḥudhayfa, 'Did you recognize those men?' 'No,' he replied, 'all I could see was their mounts as I came down at them in the dark of night.' He then asked, 'And do you two men know anything about what these men were doing?' 'No,' they replied. And he told them both of what they had conspired to do to him; he named them, and asked the two men to keep this confidential.

"They asked, 'Messenger of God, won't you order us to kill them?' He replied, 'I dislike to have people say that Muhammad kills his own men.'"

Ibn Isḥāq gave this account, except for relating that the Messenger of God (SAAS) told the names of the conspirators only to Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yaman. This is more likely; but God knows best.

Evidence for this is in the words of Abu al-Dardā' to 'Alqama, the friend of Ibn Mas'ūd: "Do you not have among you" – meaning the people of Kūfah – “the sahib al-sawād wa al-wisād?” (By this he meant Ibn Mas'ūd.) “And do you not have among you the sahib al-sirr, 'he in charge of the secret?'” (By this he meant Ḥudhayfa.) “And do you not have among you he whom God protected from the devil through the tongue of Muhammad?” (By this, he meant 'Ammār.)

And the Commander of the Believers, Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, has been quoted as having said to Ḥudhayfa, “I adjure you by God to say whether I was one of them!” “No,” he replied, “But I’ll not declare innocent anyone else after you!” Meaning, in order not to disclose the secret of the Prophet (SAAS).

I observe that they were 14 men, though some say they were 12. Ibn Isḥāq stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yaman to assemble them and that the former then told them what they had conspired to do. Ibn Isḥāq proceeded to list their names and said, “And it was about them that God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the words, ‘And they set out to do what they did not accomplish.’ (ṣūrat al-Tawbah; X, v.74)."

9. Lord of the fertile plains and of the hills.
Al-Bayhaqi related through Muḥammad b. Salama, from Abū Ishāq, from al-‘Aṣmash, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtari, from Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, who said, “I was holding the halter of the camel of the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) and leading it ahead, while Ammār drove it” — or his words were, “I was driving it while Ammār was leading it”. “Suddenly, there on the ridge trail were 12 men blocking our way along it. The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) was startled at this and shouted out at them, and they turned and went back.

“He then asked us, ‘Did you recognize them?’ We replied, ‘Messenger of God, they were muffled. We did recognize their mounts, however.’ The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) went on, ‘Those are men who will be hypocrites right on until Judgement Day! Do you know what they intended?’ ‘No,’ we replied. ‘They wanted to crowd out the Messenger of God, on the trail, to cast him down from it!’

“We asked him, ‘Messenger of God, would you not have us contact their tribes to have each one send us the head of their man?’ ‘No,’ he replied. ‘I dislike having the Arabs discuss how Muḥammad had his people fight with him until God gave him victory, and that he then turned on them and killed them.”

“He proceeded to say, ‘O God, cast al-dubayla at them!’ We asked, ‘Messenger of God, what is this al-dubayla? He replied, ‘It is a flame that strikes a person’s aorta and kills him.’”

In the saḥīḥ collection of Muslim, it is stated, on a line of authority through Shu’bā, from Qatada, from Abū Naďra, from Qays b. ‘Ubayda, who stated, “I said to Ammār, ‘Do you regard this action of yours — relating to ‘Alī, that is — to be an opinion you hold, or something that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) enjoined upon you?’ He replied, ‘The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) never enjoined upon us anything he did not require of the people as a whole. Except that Ḥudhayfa quoted the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) as having said, “Among my men there are twelve hypocrites; of these, eight will not enter paradise until camels pass through the eyes of needles!”’

In an account on a different line of transmission from Qatada, he is quoted as having stated, “In my nation there are twelve hypocrites who will not enter paradise until camels go through the eyes of needles! And al-dubayla will take care of eight of them for you — a glowing fire that will appear between their shoulders and pass on through them to emerge from their chests.”

The ḥāfuṣ al-Bayhaqi stated, “It was related to us by Ḥudhayfa that they were fourteen — or fifteen — and that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) swore by God that twelve of them would make war against God and His Messenger here on earth and on the day when the witnesses stand and testify. He forgave three of them who said, ‘We did not hear anyone make the announcement and did not know what was wanted of us.’”

This ḥadīth was related by Imām Aḥmad in his compendium. He stated, “Yazid related to us, he being Ibn Ḥārūn, quoting al-Walid b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Jami’, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) was
coming back from the expedition to Tabuk, he ordered a crier to announce, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) is going along the ridge trail and no one should take that route."

"While the Messenger of God (SAAS) was being led by ɭudhayfa and urged forward by ‘Ammār, a group of men, muffled and on mounts appeared. They descended upon ‘Ammār, who was urging ahead the Messenger of God (SAAS) and ‘Ammār advanced at them, striking at the heads of their mounts. The Messenger of God (SAAS) called to ɭudhayfa, ‘Qadin! Qadin!’ ‘Lead on! Lead on!’

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) went on down from the gully and when he had done so, and ‘Ammār had returned, the former asked the latter, ‘Ammār, did you recognize those men?’ He replied, ‘I recognized most of their mounts, but the men were muffled.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, ‘Do you know what they intended?’ ‘God and His Messenger know best,’ ‘Ammār replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) explained, ‘They intended to crowd out the Messenger of God and cast him down.’

‘Ammār later spoke in confidence to one of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), asking him, ‘I adjure you by God, how many do you know the group on the ridge trail to have been?’ ‘Fourteen men,’ he replied. ‘Ammār commented, ‘If you were among them, that would have meant fifteen!’

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) forgave three, who said, ‘We did not hear the crier of the Messenger of God, and had no idea what they intended.’ ‘Ammār stated, ‘I declare that the remaining twelve will make war against God and His Messenger here on earth and the day the witnesses stand and testify.’"

An Account of the al-Dirār Mosque.

God Almighty stated, “Those who built a mosque ԁιɾɑɾɑn, to do harm, in unbelief, to disperse the believers and to subvert those who formerly had fought God and His Messenger. And they will surely insist, ‘It was only good we sought.’ But God will declare that they are surely liars. Never stand inside it. A mosque built on piety from its first day is more fit to have men stand within it who like to purify themselves; and God loves those who are pure. Is he who founded his building on fear of God and pleasing Him better, or is he who built his structure upon the side of an undercut bank, which will collapse with him into the fires of hell? God does not guide a people who are unjust. Their structure they built will continue to give them discontent in their hearts, unless their hearts are cut to pieces! God is All-Knowing, Wise” (sūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.107–10).

We have discussed interpretation of matters relating to these verses sufficiently heretofore in our Tafsīr (Exegesis). And all praise be to God!

Ibn Ishaq discussed how this mosque came to be built, and its evil people, and how the Messenger of God (SAAS), upon his return from Tabuk and before he entered Medina, ordered its destruction.
The gist of this is that a group of hypocrites built a replica of a mosque near that at Quba. They wished for the Messenger of God (SAAS) to pray for them in it in order to further their purposes of corruption, disbelief and obstinacy.

God forbad His Messenger from praying in it. This was because he was in the process of travelling to Tabuk. When he returned from there, he stopped at Dhu Awân – a place an hour’s travel from Medina. It was while he was there that revelation came to him about that mosque – namely, the Almighty’s words, “Those who built a mosque to do harm...” (surat al-Tawba; IX, v.107).

As for the word ḥārār, “harm”, used here, it related to their wish to imitate the mosque at Quba and did so in ʿufr, “disbelief”, in God, not in belief in Him, and also as a means of ʿafrq, “causing separation”, of the congregation from the mosque at Quba.

And they acted ṭanadān, “in order to subvert”, those who had formerly fought God and His Messenger. This referred to ʿAbū ʿAmīr, the immoral monk, may God rebuke him. What had happened earlier was that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) had invited him to accept Islam, he refused and went to Mecca and incited them to war. Then they attacked at Uhud, with the outcome we have given above. Having failed in his purpose, he went to the king of the Byzantines seeking his help against the Messenger of God (SAAS). ʿAbū ʿAmīr followed the same faith as Heraclius, along with those other Arabs who had become Christians. He would write to his brothers who were acting in hypocrisy, making promises to them and raising their hopes, Satan merely increasing their delusion. His messages and letters kept coming to them constantly.

And so they constructed this overtly as a mosque, while secretly it was a place of war, and a centre for those who came from ʿAbū ʿAmīr, the monk, and a meeting place for those who were hypocrites like themselves. This is why the Almighty stated, “... to subvert those who formerly had fought God and His Messenger”.

He then stated, “And they will definitely insist,” that is, those who built it, “it was only good we sought.” That is, “We only wanted good in building it.” And God further stated, “But God will declare that they are surely liars.”

God then told His Messenger, “Never stand inside it.” He forbade standing in it in order not to endorse its cause. He went on to order and encourage him to stand in the mosque that had been established in piety from the very first, this being the mosque at Quba, for the text and reports that exist praise the purity of its congregation, while making reference to it.

The evidence given in the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī that the mosque (referred to here) is that of the Messenger of God (SAAS) does not refute the above comment. For even if the Quba mosque were founded in piety from its very first day, then that applies even more appropriately to the mosque of the Messenger of God (SAAS); the virtue of the latter is even stronger and firmer.

We have commented exhaustively on this in our Tafsīr (Exegesis). And all praise be to God.
The outcome was that when the Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) halted at Dhū Awān, he called for Mālik b. al-Dukhshum and Māʾān b. ʿAdī— or his brother ʿAṣim b. ʿAdī— may God be pleased with them both— and told them to go to that mosque whose people were evil and to burn it. They did then proceed there and burnt it down, and those who had attended it left it.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Those who had built it were 12 men. These were Khīdām b. Khālid, next to whose home it was built. Then there were Thaʿlabā b. Ḥāṭīb, Muʿattīb b. Qushyār, Abū Ḥābihā b. al-Azʿār, ʿAbbād b. Ḥunayf (a brother of Sahl b. Ḥunayf), Jāriyya b. ʿĀmir and his two sons Mūjammī and Zayd, Nabtal b. al-Ḥārīth, Bāḥzaj (who belonged to Banū Dūbayʿa), Bījād b. Uthmān (of Banū Dūbayʿa) and Wadīṣa b. Thābit (who was of Banū Umayya).

I note that on this expedition to Tabūk, the Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) prayed the al-fajr, “the dawn prayer”, behind ʿAbd al- Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, joining him in the second rakʿa. This was because the Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) had gone to make his ablutions in the company of al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, and was late in arriving. And so the prayer began with ʿAbd al- Raḥmān b. ʿAwf leading it. When they made their greetings, the congregation attributed much importance to what had happened. The Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) told them, however, “You have done extremely well, and acted correctly.” This is according to what al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy on him, related.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, quoting Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) returned from the Tabūk expedition and approached Medina, he said, “In Medina there are people who, whatever distance you covered, whatever valleys you crossed, were always there with you.” They asked him, “While they were still there in Medina, Messenger of God?” He replied, “Yes, while there (valid) excuses kept them confined to Medina.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Khālid b. Makhlad related to him, quoting Sulaymān, quoting ʿAmr b. Yahyā, from al-ʿAbbās b. Sahl b. Saʿd, from Abū Ḥumayd, who said, “We returned with the Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) from the expedition to Tabūk and eventually saw Medina below us. The Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) then said, This is Ṭāba (Medina); and that is Uḥud, a mountain that loves us and that we love.”

Muslim related this from a ḥadīth of Sulaymān b. Bilāl in similar terms.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Zuḥrī, from al-Saʿīb b. Yazīd, who said, “I remember going out to Thaniyyat al-Wādāʾ with the boys to meet the Messenger of God (ṣAṣAṣ) on his arrival from the expedition to Tabūk.”

Abū Dāʾūd and al-Tirmidhī related this from a ḥadīth of Sufyān b. Uyyayna. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as ḥasan, saḥīḥ, “good and authentic.”
Al-Bayhaqi stated, “Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda quoted Abū ʿAmr b. Māṭar (as having said), ‘I heard Abū Khalīfa say, ‘I heard Ibn ʿAʿisha say, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived back in Medina, the women and the boys and girls began calling out, ‘The full moon has come out for us over Thaniyyat al-Wadāʾ! We owe our thanks to one who only invited towards God.””

Al-Bayhaqi commented, “Our scholars relate that this is what was said when he arrived in Medina from Mecca, not when he arrived there from Thaniyyat al-Wadāʾ on his return from Tabūk; God knows best. We have, in any case, made reference to it here as well.”

THE HADITH OF KĀʾB B. MĀLIK, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, AS QUOTED BY AL-BUKHĀRĪ, MAY GOD HAVE MERCY UPON HIM.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaḥyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from ʿAqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb b. Mālik, who said that ʿAbd Allāh, son of Kaʿb b. Mālik, who was one of the sons of Kaʿb and acted as the latter’s guide when he became blind, said, “I heard (my father) Kaʿb b. Mālik relate the story of the expedition to Tabūk from which he remained behind, as follows, ‘The only expedition in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took part in which I did not participate was that to Tabūk. Except, that is, for the battle of Badr. And God did not censure anyone who had not taken part in it because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had actually gone out on that occasion to seek the Quraysh caravan. And then God brought them (the Muslims) and their enemy together without any prior expectation of that. I was present the night of the pledge at al-ʿAqaba when we made our commitment for Islam; and I would not prefer to have attended Badr instead of it, even though people consider that more worthy of prestige.

“‘The fact was that I had never been stronger nor wealthier than I was when I remained behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he went on that expedition. I swear, never before that had I owned two riding camels, as I acquired from that expedition. Whenever the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intended to send out an expedition, he would talk of one to a different destination. Except for that one. That one he was to make at a time of extreme heat and by travelling very far against a numerous enemy. And so he announced this clearly to the Muslims, so that they could make appropriate arrangements for the expedition. He informed them of the destination for which he was heading. The Muslims accompanying the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) were many in number; such that a single kitāb ḥāfīz (by which he meant a diwān, “a register”) would not have contained them.’

‘Kaʿb went on, ‘Every man wishing to be absent from it thought it would remain undisclosed, provided that God did not give any revelation about it. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed on that expedition at a time when the fruits and the shade were very alluring.
The Messenger of God (SAAS) made his preparations, as did the Muslims accompanying him. I also began hurrying to prepare, but I would retire without accomplishing anything. I would then tell myself, "I can do it!" I kept delaying, while the others were making serious efforts. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims with him departed, I had completed none of my preparations. I said, "I'll get ready in a day or two and then catch up with them." The morning after they left, I went off to get ready, but came back again having accomplished nothing. Again next morning I did the same, but returned having done nothing. And so it continued with me while they hurried on and the expedition came to an end. I constantly intended to leave and overtake them — how I wish I had! But that was not fated for me.

"Whenever I went out and mixed with people after the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS), it grieved me that the only men I saw were persons suspected of hypocrisy or those excused by the Messenger of God (SAAS), because they were in poor health.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) made no mention of me until after he arrived at Tabuk. Then, while sitting there with his men, he asked, "What happened to Ka'b?" A man of Banu Salama replied, "Messenger of God, he has been detained by his two cloaks, and by his gazing at his own two flanks!" Mu'adh b. Jabal commented, "That's a rotten thing to say! By God, Messenger of God, we know nothing of him but good!" The Messenger of God (SAAS) remained silent.

"Ka'b b. Malik went on, 'When I learned that he had begun his return journey, I began to feel anxious. I began thinking up excuses, wondering how I would be able to avoid incurring his anger. I sought the help of everyone of wisdom in my family. When it was said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was close at hand, all this silliness left me, and I knew I could never extricate myself using any deception; I decided to tell him the truth.

"One morning he arrived back. Whenever he returned from a journey he would first go to the mosque, where he would perform a prayer of two rak'at and he would then sit down with the congregation. And so when he had done this, those who had remained behind began coming and offering excuses and declaring oaths to him. There were some 80 such men. He accepted from them the statements they made and their pledges of allegiance and then he sought forgiveness for them, relying upon God, Almighty and Glorious is He, to determine their inner thoughts.

"Then I came to him. When I greeted him, he gave me a smile, but it was that of someone made angry. He said, "Come over here." I walked over and sat before him. He then asked, "What kept you back? Had you not already purchased a mount?" I replied, "Yes, I had. If I were sitting before anyone else in the world than yourself, I would decide to escape his anger by making up some excuse. And I have been gifted with eloquence. But, I swear by God, I am sure that if I were to tell you lies to please you, God would surely soon thereafter make you
angry with me. Whereas if I tell you the truth, though you will be angry with me, I will hope for God's pardon. Actually, I swear by God, I had no excuse; I had never been stronger or more wealthy than when I remained behind.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, "Well, this man has told the truth. Get up until God makes his decision about you."

"I arose, as did those men there of Banu Salama, and they followed me outside, saying, "By God, we never before knew you to commit such a sin! You are at fault. Could you not have made excuses to the Messenger of God (SAAS), as the others did who stayed behind? The request for forgiveness that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would have made for you would have been enough for you." They kept on blaming me, so that I thought seriously of going back and denying what I had previously said.

"But then I asked them, "Has anyone other than myself received the same response?" They replied, "Yes; two men. They said as you did, and his response to them was as to yourself."

"Who are they?" I asked. "Marara b. al-Rabi' al-A'mri and Hilal b. Umayya al-Waqifi," they replied. Those they mentioned were fine men who had been present at Badr – exemplary men. When they told me their names, I went on my way."

"Ka'b b. Malik continued, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) banned Muslims from speaking with all three of us who had remained behind. People avoided us, and so changed their relationships with us that the very land itself seemed unfamiliar to me. We stayed in this state for 50 nights.

"The other two men simply remained inside their homes, weeping. I was the youngest and most resilient. I continued to go out and to participate in the prayers with other Muslims and walked in the markets; no one spoke to me. I would still go to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and greet him while seated in his assemblies following the prayers, and I would ask myself whether or not he had moved his lips in response. I would pray close by him and look at him stealthily. As I prayed, he would look over at me, but when I turned towards him, he would look away.

"Finding this rejection by everyone to be onerous, I walked out and climbed over the wall of the garden of Abu Qiltada, my nephew of whom I was very fond. I greeted him, but, I swear by God, he did not even return my greeting. I asked, "Abu Qiltada, I appeal to you by God! Do you not know that I love God and His Messenger?" He remained silent. I appealed to him again, but he made no reply. Again I appealed and now he said, "God and His Messenger know best." At that my eyes streamed tears, and I turned away and climbed back over the wall.

"While one day I was walking in the market of Medina, I saw a Nabati from Syria who had come to sell his produce in Medina. He was asking, "Who will direct me to Ka'b b. Malik?" People began pointing to me, and he came over and

10. A word apparently used here to indicate a Christian farmer. The Nabateans were centred in S. Jordan, in the neighbourhood of Petra, a mountainous city with its many splendid edifices carved from rock.
gave me a letter from the King of Ghassân enclosed in a silken envelope. The letter stated, “I have been informed that your master has behaved harshly to you. God will not make you stay in a place where you are despised and ill-treated. So join with us. We will relieve you.” When I read this, I said, “This also is a trial!” I took it to an oven where I burned it.

“Things went on as before until 40 of the 50 nights had passed. Then an envoy from the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to me and said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS), orders you to keep away from your wife.” “Should I divorce her, or what?” I asked. “No,” he replied, “just keep away from her; do not go near her.” He sent similar messages to each of the other two men. I told my wife, “Go and join your family. Stay with them until God decides this matter.”

“Then the wife of Hilal b. Umayya went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and said, “Messenger of God, Hilal b. Umayya is a needy old man who has no servant. Do you dislike my serving him?” He replied, “No; but he should not come near you.” She asked, “I swear by God, he has no desire for anything. He has not stopped weeping since this began, right on up to the present.”

“After that some of my family asked me, “Why don’t you ask the Messenger of God (SAAS) permission for your wife, as Hilal b. Umayya asked, that his wife could serve him?” I replied, “I swear by God, I’ll not ask his permission about that! How do I know what he might say if I asked him this, since I am still a young man?”

“Ten more days went by as before until we had gone through fifty since the Messenger of God (SAAS) had forbidden people to speak to us. When I had performed the dawn prayer on the fiftieth night on the roof of one of our houses, sitting in that state that God, Almighty and Glorious is He, described, my spirit feeling constrained and “the earth constricted, though it was spacious . . .” (sūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.118). I heard the voice of someone who had climbed Mt. Salâ shouting at the top of his voice, “Rejoice, Ka‘b!”

“I prostrated before God, realizing that relief had come. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had, after he had performed the al-fajr, “pre-dawn prayer”, announced God’s forgiveness of us, and people had come out to tell us the good news. They had gone to the other two men to tell them and a man hurried up on a horse to inform me, while a man of Banû Aslam had climbed up the mountain; his voice had been quicker to reach me than the horse.

“When the man whose voice I heard came to me to inform me, I took off the two garments I was wearing and presented them to him for his having brought me such good news. And I swear to God, at that time those were the only clothes I owned! I borrowed two garments and put them on, then went off to see the Messenger of God (SAAS). The people began swarming in to see me, congratulating me on God’s forgiveness of me and expressing their delight at this.

“Then I went in to the mosque where the Messenger of God (SAAS) was seated, with people all around him. Talha b. Ubayd Allah hurried up to me,
shook hands and congratulated me. I swear, no others of the muhājirīn did so, and I will never forget Ṭālḥa’s action.

“When I greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he said, his face beaming with pleasure, “Rejoice at the best day you have ever had since your mother gave you birth!”

“I asked him, “Does this (forgiveness) come from you, Messenger of God, or from God?” He replied, “No; it is from God.” When he was pleased, his whole face would radiate as though a piece of the moon; we well knew this characteristic of his. When I sat down before him, I asked, “Messenger of God, in acknowledgement of God’s acceptance of my repentance, I will give up my property as a donation to God and to His Messenger.”

“He replied, “Keep some of what you own; that will be best for you.” I replied, “I will just keep my share of the booty from Khaybar.”

“I then said, “Messenger of God, it is only my honesty that saved me. It shall be part of my repentance that I will speak nothing but the truth for as long as I live.” And I swear by God, I know of no Muslim whom God has so helped for telling the truth, since I told him that truth, than He has helped myself. And since I made that pledge to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I have never intentionally told a lie. And I hope very much that God will preserve me from doing so for as long as I live.

“And then God revealed to His Messenger (ṢAAS) the verse: “God has forgiven the Prophet, the muhājirīn and the anjār” up to the words “and be with those who are truthful” (ṣūrah al-Tawba; IX, v.117–119).

“I swear by God, God never bestowed upon me any greater blessings, after he led me to Islam, than having me speak the truth to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that I did not lie to him and so suffer the same fate as those who had lied. For God Almighty spoke to those who lied more terrible things than He ever did to anyone. The Almighty said, “They will swear by God to you, when you turn away from them,” and on to the words, “God is surely not pleased with those who are immoral” (ṣūrah al-Tawba; IX, v.95–6).

“We three men were quite different from those who swore to him, so that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) accepted their excuses and their allegiance and forgave them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) postponed judgement over us until God decided the matter. Therefore God Almighty said, “and (forgiveness is) for those three who remained behind” (ṣūrah al-Tawba; IX, v.118). The reference made here by God is not to our having remained behind from the expedition, but to postponement by the Prophet (ṢAAS), of deciding our case, unlike that of those who swore to him and made excuses that he accepted.”

Muslim related this in similar form through al-Zuhri. Muhammad b. Ishāq related it from al-Zuhri in a text similar to that of al-Bukhārī. We quoted this in our Exegesis from the Musnad compendium of Imām ʿĀbd al-Rahmān ibn ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Saghrī; in that account there are minor additions. And all praise and credit are due to God.
REFERENCE TO DISOBEDIENT PERSONS OTHER THAN THOSE WHO HAD REMAINED BEHIND.

Regarding the words of the Almighty, “And others have confessed their sins, thus mixing a good deed with one that was bad; ’asā, ‘perhaps’, God will turn to them in forgiveness. God is very Forgiving, Beneficent” (ṣūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.102). Abü Talha al-Walībi quoted Ibn ‘Abbās as having said, “They were a group of ten men who remained behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the time of the expedition to Tabūk. When it came time for his return, seven of them attached themselves to pillars of the mosque.

“When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by them, he asked, ‘Who are these men?’ He was told, ‘They are Abū Lubābā and associates of his who remained behind you; (they intend to stay here) until you set them free and forgive them.’ He commented, ‘I swear by God, I’ll not release them, nor will I forgive them until God, the Almighty and Glorious, releases them! They disregarded me and remained behind from the expedition on which the other Muslims departed.’

“When they learned of this, the men said, ‘We will not release ourselves until God does so.’ And then God the Almighty and Glorious revealed the verse, ‘And others have confessed their sins . . .’. The word ’asā used in this verse has the power of certainty when applied to God. When it was revealed, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to them, and released and forgave them. They then brought their possessions to him, saying, ‘Messenger of God, these are what we own; take them as a donation from us and seek forgiveness from God for us.’ He replied, ‘I have not been ordered to take your possessions.’

“Then God revealed, ‘Take alms from their property; you will purify and cleanse them thereby. And pray for them. Your prayer is a relief for them. God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing . . .’ as far as the words ‘. . . and others are made to wait for God’s command; He would either punish them or turn to them in mercy’ (ṣūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.103–6).

“This referred to those who had not tied themselves to the pillars and about whom a decision was deferred until there came down the words of the Almighty, ‘God has forgiven the Prophet, the muhājirīn and the anṣār who followed him . . .’” (ṣūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.117).

‘Atiyiya b. Sa‘d quoted Ibn ‘Abbās in words similar to these.

Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab and Mujāhid b. Ishāq narrated the story of Abū Lubābā in respect to the battle with Banū Qurayza; they told of his attaching himself until he was granted forgiveness. And then he remained behind from the expedition to Tabūk and again tied himself up until God forgave him. He then wanted to give up all his possessions as a donation, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, “No; one-third of it will suffice.”

Mujāhid b. Ishāq stated, “And it was about him that there was revealed, ‘And others have confessed their sins’” (ṣūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.102).
Sa'id b. al-Musayyab stated, "And thereafter only good in Islam was seen of him; may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure."

I observe that perhaps the reference here is not to the three above as well as the rest. Perhaps they restricted reference to him (Abu Lubaba) because he was their leader, as the text of Ibn 'Abbas indicates. But God knows best.

The ḥāfīẓ al-Bayhaqi narrated through Abū ʿAbdAllāh b. al-Zubayrī, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from Ŷyāḏ b. Ŷyāḏ, from his father, from Ibn Masʿīd, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us. He said, ‘There are hypocrites among you. Let those I name arise. Get up, so-and-so! Get up, so-and-so! Get up, so-and-so!’ And he went on until he had given 36 names. He then said, ‘There are within you’ (or ‘there are among you’) ‘hypocrites. Ask for relief from God.’ ‘Umar passed by a man concealing his face. He had earlier been acquainted with him. ‘Umar asked, ‘What is the matter?’ He then related to him what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said. At this, he (‘Umar) said, ‘Keep away for the rest of the day.’"

I observe that those who remained behind the expedition to Tabūk consisted of four categories. Those who were ordered to do so and were rewarded, like ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib, Muhammad b. Maslama and Ibn Umm Maktūm. Those who were excused, such as the weak and the sick. Those who were muqillun, “ill-equipped”, such as those who wept. And there were those who were disobedient and were subject to criticism. These were the three men and Abū Lubaba and his companions mentioned above. There were also others who were blameworthy and were rebuked. These were the hypocrites.

An Account of the events after the return of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Tabūk to Medina.


“Previously, you were content in the shadows and in a storehouse where palm leaves are kept.
Then you came down into the land; you are no more human being, not droplet, no clot,
No; a droplet riding the flow, having bridled an eagle that loves to dive.
You were borne from loins to womb; when one person passed on, another vessel appeared. Until your guardian house encompassed Mt. Khindif, its heights towering above other peaks. When you were born, the earth grew bright and the horizon was illuminated with your light. We are now in that brightness and that light, and we pass on along the paths of righteousness.”

Al-Bayhaqi then related this from another line, from Abü al-Sakan Zakariyya b. Yahya al-Tanṭi. In one part of this line, the above is related from him.

Al-Bayhaqi went on, “He spoke further and then the Messenger of God (SAA) stated, ‘This is white al-Hira (I see) raised up (in a vision) for me. And this (I see) is al-Shayma’, daughter of Nufayla al-Azadiyya. She is riding a grey mule veiled in a black scarf.’ I asked, ‘Messenger of God, when we conquer al-Hira and I find her as you describe, may she be mine?’ ‘She will be yours,’ he said.

“The *ridda*, ‘apostacy’, wars then arose; no one from (Banu) al-Tanṭi apostatized. We were busy fighting the neighbouring Arabs over Islam. We battled against Qays, of whom was Uyayna b. Hiṣn. We also fought Banu Asad, of whom was Taḥfa b. Khawwaylid. Khalid b. al-Walid would give us praise, including the following verses he recited:

‘May God requite Taḥfa in their homes most handsomely for fighting like heroes.

They are worthy of the banners of nobility and magnanimity that flutter when the east wind blows through every tent.

They struck at Qays for the faith, after the latter had responded to the calls of darkness and blindness.’

“Khalid then went on to attack Muslaylima the Imposter and we accompanied him. When we had finished with Muslaylima, we proceeded on towards al-BAṣra. There we encountered Hurmuz at Kāzima with an army larger than our own.

“There was no Persian more strenuous in his antagonism to the Arabs and Islam than Hurmuz. Khalid proceeded out against him and challenged him to single combat. He accepted, and Khalid killed him. Khalid sent a dispatch to inform (the Caliph Abü Bakr) ‘the trusting’, and he (Abü Bakr) awarded the booty from Hurmuz to Khalid. The tall headgear of Hurmuz fetched 100,000...
dirhams; the Persians were accustomed to awarding headgear worth 100,000 dirhams to one of their number who acquired nobility.

“We then moved out along the al-Taff route to al-Htra. The first person to meet us there when we entered it was al-Shayma', daughter of Nufayla, just as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said; she was mounted on a grey mule and veiled with a black scarf. I took her prisoner, saying, ‘This woman was gifted to me by the Messenger of God (SAAS).’

“Khālid asked me to bring witnesses proving this, and so I did. The witnesses were Muḥammad b. Maslama and Muḥammad b. Bashir al-Anṣāri. Khālid then awarded her to me.

“After that her brother ‘Abd al-Masṭih came down to seek peace. He asked me to sell her to him. I replied, ‘I swear, I’ll not do so for less that 1,000 dirhams!’ He gave me 1,000 dirhams and I handed her over to him. People told me, ‘If you had demanded 100,000 dirhams, he would have paid it to you.’ I told them, ‘I could not figure any number larger than 1,000!’”

THE ARRIVAL OF A DELEGATION FROM THAQIF TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) IN RAMĀDĀN OF 9 AH.

It is told above how, when the Messenger of God (SAAS) left Thaqif he was asked to invoke God against them. But he spoke prayer seeking guidance for them.

It is similarly told above that when Malik b. ʿAwf al-Naṣri accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (SAAS) treated him with honour, made presents to him and placed him in command of those of his people who accepted Islam. Thereafter, Malik would make attacks into Thaqif territory and harass them until he had forced them into acceptance of Islam.

It is also related above by Abī Daʿūd about how Sakhr b. al-ʿAyla al-Aḥmas remained in Thaqif until he brought them down from their fortress under the control of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and led him to Medina, with the permission of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to do so.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived back in Medina from Tabūk in Ramādān, and that same month a delegation from Banī Thaqif arrived.

“It is told of Banū Thaqif, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) had left them, Urwa b. Masʿūd followed after him and caught him up before he arrived in Medina. Urwa accepted Islam and asked permission to return to his people to bring them into Islam.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him – so his people say – ‘They will fight you.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) knew of the strong feeling of resistance they would feel against one of their own. But Urwa said, ‘I am more beloved by them than their first-born!’ And he was indeed thus loved and obeyed among them."
“‘Urwa then left to call upon his people to join Islam, hoping that they would not oppose him because of his high status with them. But when he appeared on his high balcony, revealed his faith to them and called for them to join Islam, they cast arrows at him from every side. One struck him a mortal blow.

‘Banu Malik claim that it was one of their men, named Aws b. ‘Awf, a brother of Banū Salīm b. ‘Awf, who killed him. The Aḥlāf, however, claim that it was one of theirs, a man of Banū ‘Attāb called Wābb b. Jābir. ‘Urwa was asked what he thought about his (imminent) death, and he replied, ‘It is an honour that God has awarded me, a martyrdom God has given me. I am no different from those martyrs killed in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before he went from you. So bury me with them.’ And they did so.

“They claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of him, ‘His position among his people is like that of the hero of (ṣūrat) Yāsin (XXXVI, v.19) among his people.’”

Mūsā b. Uqba related similarly the story of ‘Urwa. However, he claimed that this occurred after the pilgrimage made by Ābū Bakr, “the trusting”. Ābū Bakr al-Bayhaqī agreed with this view.

But this is unlikely. What is authentic is that this came about before the pilgrimage of Ābū Bakr, as Ibn Iš̄āq related. But God knows best.

Ibn Iš̄āq went on, “Thaqīf remained thus for some months after the killing of ‘Urwa. They then conferred together and decided they lacked the power to fight all the Arabs around them, and so they pledged their allegiance and accepted Islam.


Mūsā b. Uqba stated, “They were a body of some ten men, including Qina‘a b. ‘Abd Yalīl – he being their leader. They also had with them Uthmān b. Ābū al-‘Āṣ, who was the youngest member of the delegation.”

Ibn Iš̄āq went on, “When they neared Medina, they halted at Qanāt. There they met al-Mughīra b. Shu‘bā, who was taking his turn to pasture the riding camels of the Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he sighted them, he hurried off to inform the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their arrival. Ābū Bakr, ‘the trusting’, met him and al-Mughīra told him of the men of Banū Thaqīf who were coming to pledge their allegiance and to accept Islam, provided that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) met some of their conditions and wrote a document treating their people. Ābū Bakr told al-Mughīra, ‘Please don’t go in before me to tell the Messenger of God; let me be the first to tell him.’ Al-Mughīra agreed and Ābū Bakr went in and told the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of their
arrival. Al-Mughira then went back to rejoin his companions, and with them brought in the camels.

He also instructed them how they should greet the Messenger of God (SAAS), since the only greeting they then used was still that of the *Jahiliyya*.

“When they came in to see the Messenger of God (SAAS), he had a tent pitched for them in the mosque. It was Khalid b. Sa’id b. al-As who walked (with messages) between them and the Messenger of God (SAAS). When he brought food for them from home, they refrained from eating until Khalid b. Sa’id did so first. It was he who wrote out their pact for them.

“One condition they proposed to the Messenger of God (SAAS) was that he allow them to keep their idol al-Lat for a period of three years. They kept on bargaining with him regarding the issues of time, with him constantly refusing until ultimately they asked for one month after their return so that the foolish people among them could become accustomed. He refused them any set period and insisted he was going to send Abü Sufyān b. Ḥarb and al-Mughira to destroy the Goddess.

“They also requested that they not perform the prayers and that they themselves should not have to destroy their idols. He said, ‘Regarding yourselves destroying your idols, this we will excuse you. But concerning the prayer, there is no good in a faith devoid of prayer.’ They said, ‘Then we will perform them, though it is demeaning.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Salama, from Ḥumayd, from al-Hasan, from ʿUthmān b. Abū al-As, who said that the delegation from Thaqīf came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and that he had them reside in the mosque to have it make an impression on them. They posed the condition that they not be required to take part in expeditions, that they not be required to pay a tithe, not be otherwise taxed, and that no others would be placed in command of them. The Messenger of God (SAAS) agreed, saying, ‘You will not be required to fight; you will not have to pay a tithe, and others will not have command over you. And there is no good in a religion without prayer prostrations.’

“ʿUthmān b. Abū al-As asked, ‘Messenger of God, teach me the Qurʾān and appoint me Imām for my people.’”

Abū Dāʾūd related this from a ḥadīth of Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālīṣī, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ḥumayd.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that al-Hasan b. al-Sabāḥ related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b.ʿAbd al-Karim, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿAqīl b. Maʿqīl b. Munabbih, from Wāḥib (who said), “I asked Jabir about what happened when Thaqīf pledged allegiance. He replied, ‘They proposed to the Messenger of God (SAAS) the condition that they should not have to give alms, nor do battle.’ Jabir also stated that he heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say thereafter, ‘They will give alms, and will do battle when they become Muslims.’”
Ibn Isḥaq stated, "When they accepted Islam and he had written a document for them, he appointed Uthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ as their commander; he was among their youngest. This was because (Abū Bakr) 'the trusting' told him, 'Messenger of God, I observe this young man to be the one of them most dedicated to Islam, and to learning the Qurʾān.'"

Mūsā b. ʿUqba related that when their delegation came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), they had left Uthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ behind with their camels, and that when they returned at midday, he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to ask him for information and about reciting the Qurʾān. Finding him to be asleep, he then went to Abū Bakr, "the trusting". His training lasted until he had become expert in Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to like him very much.

Ibn Isḥaq stated, "Saʿd b. Abū Hind related to me, from Muṭṭarīf b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Shikhkhīr, from Uthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said, 'One of the last things the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked of me was when he sent me to Thaqīf. He told me, "Uthmān, be concise in the prayer. Evaluate the people by their weakest member, for they will include the old, the young, the weak and those in need."'"

Imām ʿĀlī mad stated that it was related to him by ʿAffān, quoting ʿAbbās b. Salāma, quoting Saʿīd al-Jarrī, from Abū al-ʿAlī, from Muṭṭarīf, from Uthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, who said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), 'Appoint me as my people's Imām.' He replied, 'You are their Imām. Be guided by their weakest person. And appoint as your muʿazzīn, "prayer announcer", someone who will not accept payment for summoning to the prayer.?'"


ʿAbd Allāh related from ʿAffān, from Wahb and from Muḥāwiya b. ʿAmr, from Zaʿīda, both of these quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Uthmān b. Khathaym, from Daʿūd b. Abū ʿĀṣim, from Uthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ, that the last direction the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave to him when he appointed Uthmān as commander of al-Taʾif, was to say, "When you say the prayers with a group, take it easy on them." He told him further, "Recite: 'In the name of your Lord who created ... ' (ṣūrat al-ʿAlaq, XCVI, v.1) and similar passages from the Qurʾān."

ʿAbd Allāh stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Murra (who said), "I heard Saʿd b. al-Musayyab say, 'Uthmān b. Abū al-ʿĀṣ spoke as follows, "The last instruction the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave me was to say, 'When you act as Imām for a group, make the prayer easy for them.'"'"

Muslim related this from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā and from Bindār, both of whom quoted Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, from Ghundar. ʿAḥmad stated that Abū ʿAḥmad al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting
Abd Allah b. Abd al-Rahman b. Yaqa al-Taifi, from Abd Allah b. al-Hakam (who said) that he heard Uthman b. Abu al-As say, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) placed me in command of al-Ta’if, and the last instruction he gave me was to say, ‘Make the prayer easy for the people.’”

Muslim is alone in giving it with this line of transmission.

Ahmad stated that Yahya b. Sa’id related to him, quoting Amr b. Uthman, quoting Musa – he being Ibn Talha – to the effect that Uthman b. Abu al-As related to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed him Imam for his people and then said, “He who becomes an Imam for a people should be easy on them; they include those who are weak, elderly and in need. When he prays alone, he can pray however he wishes.”

Muslim related this from a hadith of Amr b. Uthman.

Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Muhammad b. Ja’far, quoting Shu’ba, from al-Nu’man b. Sallam (who said), “I heard some elders of Thaqif saying, Uthman b. Abu al-As told us, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to me, ‘Be your people’s Imam; and if you are a people’s Imam you should make the prayer easy for them. For among them there will stand the young and the old, the weak and the sick, and those who are in need.’’”

Ahmad also stated that Isma’il b. Ibrahim related to him, from al-Jurayri, from Abu al-As b. al-Shikhr, that Uthman said to the Messenger of God (SAAS), “Messenger of God, Satan came between me and my prayer and my recitation.” He replied, “That satan is named Khanzab; if you sense him, then seek refuge in God from him and spit three times on your left hand.” (Uthman said,) “I did this, and God sent him away from me.”

Muslim related this from a hadith of Sa’id al-Jariri.

Malik, Ahmad, Muslim and the orthodox scholars all related from various lines of transmission, from Nafi’ b. Jubayr b. Mut’im, from Uthman b. Abu al-As, that the latter complained to the Messenger of God (SAAS) about a pain he was experiencing in his body. He told him, “Place your hand over that part of your body that is hurting and say three times, ‘Hismi Allahi,’ ‘In the name of God!’” Then say, seven times, ‘a’udhu bi ‘izzat Allahi wa qudratihi min sharr ma ajidu wa ubadhir!, ‘I take refuge in the power and might of God against what I am experiencing, and I am on my guard!’”

In some accounts there is an addition in which Uthman goes on, “I did this and God cured what was wrong with me. And I have advised my own people and others about this.”

Abu ‘Abd Allah b. Maja stated that it was related to him by Muhammad b. Bashshar, quoting Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Ansari, quoting Umayya b. ‘Abd al-Rahman – he being Ibn Jawshin – quoting his father, who stated that Uthman b. Abu al-As said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed me in command of al-Ta’if, something was impeding my prayers, so that I did not know what it was I was praying. When I recognized this, I travelled to the
The Messenger of God (SAAS). He asked, ‘You are the son of Abū al-ʿĀṣ, aren’t you?’ ‘Yes, Messenger of God,’ I replied. ‘What brings you then?’ he asked. I replied, ‘Messenger of God, something is impeding my prayer so that I do not know what I am praying.’ He told me, ‘That is Satan. Come close.’ I went over close to him and squatted on the soles of my feet. He then slapped me on my chest with his hand and spat in my mouth, saying, ‘Begone, enemy of God!’ He did this three times. Then he said, ‘Get back to your work.’ And, by my life, I don’t think he ever interfered with me again.’

Ibn Maja is alone in giving this.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Īsā b. ‘Abd Allāh related to me, from Āṭiya b. Sufyān b. Rabīʿa al-Thaqafi, that one of their delegation said, ‘After we had become Muslims, while engaged in fasting along with the Messenger of God (SAAS) for the remainder of Ramadān, Bilal would come to us with our evening and pre-dawn meals. When he brought the pre-dawn meal, I would tell him, “So we see that dawn has broken?” He would say, “I left the Messenger of God (SAAS) still eating his meal, for the dawn meal can be eaten this late.” When he would bring us our evening meal, we would tell him, “But we don’t see that the sun has completely set yet.” He would say, “We have only come to you after the Messenger of God (SAAS) has eaten.” He would then take his hand to the dish and eat from it.’”

Imām Ahmad, Abū Daʿūd, and Ibn Maja all related from a ḥadith of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Ya‘la al-Ṭāʿifi, from ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aws, from his grandfather Aws b. ʿAbdullāh b. Ḥudhayfa, who said, “We came to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the delegation of Thaqīf. The ahlāf were given accommodation with al-Mughira b. Shuʿba, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) put up those from Banū Mālik in a tent of his. Every night he would come to us after the evening meal to talk with us, standing putting his weight alternately on each leg to rest them from standing so long. Mostly, he related to us what he had suffered from Quraysh. He would say, ‘There was no equivalence. We were treated arrogantly and demeaned in Mecca. After we left for Medina, the tides of war sometimes favoured us, sometimes them.’

“One night, when it was after the time when he usually came to us, we commented, when he arrived, on the fact that he was late. He replied, ‘It was my turn to read one-sixtieth part of the Qurʾān, and I hated to come before I had completed it.’”

Aws went on, “I asked the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘How is it you divide up the Qurʾān into parts?’ They replied, ‘Into three, five, seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, and hizb al-muṣafāt alone.’”

This is the text of Abū Daʿūd.

14. This is apparently a reference to the latter part of the Qurʾān, which it is recommended should be recited in the daily prayers.
Ibn Isḥaq stated, “When they had concluded the matter, they returned to their own territory. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Abū Sufyān b. ʿJarb and al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba with them to destroy the idol al-Lat.

“The two men continued on with the others until they arrived near al-Ṭāʾif. There al-Mughīra wished to send Abū Sufyān on ahead, but Abū Sufyān refused this. He responded, ‘You go on in to your people.’ And Abū Sufyān remained on a property he owned at Dhū al-Hadhām.15

“When al-Mughīra entered the town, he went up to the idol and struck it with a pickaxe. His people, Banū Muʿattib, stood in front of him fearing that arrows would be fired at him, or that he would be struck down, as happened to Urwa b. Masʿūd.

“The Thaqīf women came out with their heads bare, weeping for the idol and chanting,

‘We weep for a protector betrayed by those accursed
They have not done well in striking her.’

“While al-Mughīra struck her with the pickaxe, Abū Sufyān was saying, ‘Alas! Alas for you!’ When al-Mughīra had finished destroying her, he took all she had, including her jewels, and sent a message to Abū Sufyān. He also told him, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered us to settle with Urwa b. Masʿūd and his brother al-Aswād b. Masʿūd, father of Qārīb b. al-Aswād, for the debts owed them, using the money from the idol.’ And this they did.”

I note that al-Aswād had died a polytheist. However, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave the command for this in order to establish goodwill and to honour his son, Qārīb b. al-Aswād, may God be pleased with him.

Mūsā b. Uqba related that the Thaqīf delegation consisted of some ten men, and that when they arrived, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave them accommodation in the mosque so that they would hear the Qurʿān. They questioned him about the taking of interest, fornication and wine, and he forbade them all of these.

They asked him about the goddess and what he would do with her. He replied, “Destroy her!”

They responded, “How terrible! If the goddess knew that you intend to destroy her, she would execute her people!”

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb commented, “Really! Ibn ʿAbd Yalīl, how ignorant you are! The goddess is nothing but stone.” They replied, “We did not come here to see you, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb!”

They then said, “Messenger of God, you undertake destroying her. We’ll never do it.” He replied, “I’ll send someone to take care of her destruction for you.”

They gave him a document specifying this and asked him to permit them to arrive back home before his messengers arrived. When they reached their own people, they met with them and were asked what had happened.

15. A spring beyond Wādī al-Qura.
They expressed sadness, saying that they had just come from an uncouth and peculiar man who had appeared bearing a sword, and made whatever judgements he wished. Having dominated the Arabs, he had forbidden usury, fornication and wine. He had ordered the destruction of the goddess. Thaqif expressed their aversion, saying, “We'll never obey this!”

He then told them, “Then prepare for battle; prepare your weapons.” They did this for two or three days, and then God cast terror into their hearts. Once more they sent representatives, instructing them, “Go back to him and agree to his conditions; make peace with him.” The delegation members replied, “We have already done this! We find him to be the most God-fearing of men, very trustworthy, merciful and truthful. We were blessed in having gone to him and in having reached a settlement with him!” They then informed them of what had been agreed, and they accepted what God had favoured them with. They asked, “Why did you conceal this from us at first?” The delegation responded, “We wanted for God to remove Satan’s arrogance from your hearts!” They accepted Islam right then and there.

They remained thus for several days, and then the messengers of the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived. He had placed them under the command of Khalid b. al-Walid. Al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba was among them. They went to al-Lat; all Thaqif, their men, women and children, stood there watching, even the old men having emerged from their pavilions. Most of Thaqif did not believe that she was to be destroyed, thinking her invincible.

Al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba took up the al-karzin – meaning the mi‘wal, “the pickaxe”, and said to his companions, “I'm really going to make you laugh at al-Thaqif!” So he struck out with the pickaxe, then fell, his legs giving way. The people of al-Taqif were shaken by this, all crying out in one voice. They were delighted and said, “May God remove al-Mughira! The goddess has killed him! They then told the others, “Those of you who wish may go close up.”

Al-Mughira then arose, saying, “It's nothing but a pile of stone and clay! Accept God's munificence and worship Him!” He struck the door and broke it, then scaled its walls, as did other men with him, and they kept on destroying it stone by stone until they had levelled it to the ground.

Its guardian then began shouting, “Its foundations will still be angry! They will swallow them up!” When al-Mughira heard this, he said to Khalid, “Let me dig up its foundation!” So they dug it all up, collecting all its water and structures.

At this Thaqif were truly amazed.

Then they all returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he divided up the wealth from it, that very day. They gave praise to God Almighty for inspiring pride in His religion and for aid given to His Messenger.

Ibn Ishaq stated, “The document written for Thaqif by the Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, 'In the name of God the most Compassionate, the most Merciful, from Muhammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, to the believers. The
acacia trees of Wajjî and the game there are not to be harmed. Whoever is found doing this shall be whipped and his clothing shall be stripped from him. If he should do this a second time, he will be taken to the Prophet Muḥammad. This is the command of the Prophet, Muḥammad. Khalīl b. Sa’īd has written (this) by order of the Messenger, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah. Let no one transgress this; by so doing, he will harm himself in such as Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, has ordered.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith al-Makhzūmī, of Mecca, related to me, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ismā’īl — whom he praised highly — from his father, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who said, ‘We advanced with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from Mt. Liyya until we reached Mt. al-Sidrā. There he made a halt by the side of the peak, facing towards it. He directed his gaze towards a mabbas — a valley, that is. He stayed there until everyone arrived and then he said, “Hunting in Wajj or (cutting down) its trees is forbidden, made so by God.” This was prior to his arrival at al-Ta’if and his siege of Thaqif.”

Abū Da’ūd related this from a ḥadīth of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ismā’īl al-Ta’ifi. Ibn Hibban includes him among the reliable sources to whom he refers. Ibn Ma’in stated that there was nothing wrong with him (as a source). Some authorities, however, express their doubts about him.

Aḥmad, al-Bukhārī and other scholars classify this ḥadīth as ṣaḥīḥ, “authentic”, and stated that it was necessary to comply with it. But God knows best.

An Account of the Death of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, may God find him repulsive!

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Al-Zuhri related to me, from ‘Urwa, from Usama b. Zayd, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to visit ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy as he lay sick during the illness from which he died. When he saw him to be close to death, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to him, “Well, by God, I used to warn you against loving the Jews!” ‘Abd Allāh replied, “And yet did Ās’ād b. Zurārā not express his hatred of them?”’

Al-Waqīḍī stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy fell ill some days before the end of Shawwāl. He died in Dhū al-Qa’da. His illness lasted for 20 days. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would constantly visit him during it.

“The day of his death, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was being very generous to him with his time, came in to see ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and

16. A valley near al-Ta’if.
17. See the references above, for discussion of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy’s maintenance of his pact with the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā contrary to the wishes of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Also see earlier for reference to the death of Ās’ād b. Zurārā who had broken with the Jews, but died earlier.
commented, ‘I advised you against loving the Jews.’ He replied, ‘As‘ad b. Zurāra treated them as enemies; what good did it do him?’

“He then went on, ‘Messenger of God, this is no time for complaint; this is my death. Be present when my body is washed and give me your shirt damp from your own skin to wrap me in. And pray and seek forgiveness for me.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did all this for him.”


Ishaq b. Rahayyah stated, “I asked Abu Usāma, ‘What was it that Ubayd Allāh related to you from Nafi’, from Ibn ‘Umar?’ He replied, ‘When Ḥāfīz b. Ubayy b. Sulaymān died, his son Ḥāfīz related to me the account of his death; and asked him to give him his shirt to wrap his body in. He gave it to him. He then asked him to pray for him.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose to pray over him, but Ḥāfīz b. Ubayy al-Khattāb took hold of his gown, saying, ‘Messenger of God, are you going to pray for him even though God prohibited you from keeping company with him?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘My Lord gave me a choice: “Seek forgiveness for them or do not seek forgiveness for them. Even if you do seek forgiveness for them 70 times, God will still not forgive them.” I will do so more than 70 times.’

“He (Ḥāfīz) objected, ‘But he was a hypocrite! Will you really pray for him?’ Then God, Almighty and Glorious is He, revealed, ‘And never offer prayer for anyone of them who dies, and do not stand by their graves. They disbelieved in God and His Messenger’ (ṣūrat al-Tawbah; IX, v.84). Abu Usāma confirmed this, saying, ‘Yes.’”

They included this in both sahih collections, from a hadith of Abu Usāma.

In one account, given by al-Bukhārī and others, ‘Umar said, ‘So I asked, “Messengers of God, would you pray for him, though once he said this-and-that? And then on another occasion he said so-and-so-forth?”’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Leave me alone, ‘Umar. I have two choices. If I knew that forgiveness would be granted for him if I spoke more than 70 prayers, I would do so.’ He then did pray for him. And so God the Almighty and Glorious revealed, ‘And never offer prayer . . .’”

‘Umar went on, “I was myself surprised at my courage with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); God and His Messenger know best!”

Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna stated, from ‘Amr b. Dinar, who heard Jabir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to the grave of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy after he had been placed in it. He ordered that he be brought out and placed upon his knees or his thighs – and he then discharged some of his spittle upon him and dressed him in his own shirt. But God knows best.”

In the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī, this is given with the same chain of authorities. According to him, he only dressed him in his shirt in exchange for
'Abd Allah b. Ubayy having given al-'Abbas his shirt when he had come to Medina; the only shirt appropriate for him they could find was that of 'Abd Allah b. Ubayy.

Al-Bayhaqi related at this point the story of Thaqaba b. I:latib, and how he had been led into temptation by the excess of his wealth, and how he had refrained from giving alms. We have dealt with that in our Exegesis with regard to the words of the Almighty, “And there are those of them who made a pledge to God; ‘If he gives us of His favour ... ’” (sūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.75).

**DIVISION**

Ibn Ishāq stated, “The expedition to Tabuk was the last on which the Messenger of God (SAAS) went out.”  

“Hassān b. Thabit, may God be pleased with him, spoke the following verses enumerating the battles and expeditions in which the anṣār participated with the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Ibn Hishām attributed these verses to Hassān’s son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān:

> “Am I not the best of Ma‘ād in family and clan, if all were collected and brought together?
> These are men who all fought at Badr along with the Messenger and they did not disappoint or desert.
> They pledged allegiance to him and none of them reneged, and there was no falseness in their faith.
> That morning at the defile at Uhud hard blows fell on them like the burning heat of a fire.
> And that day at Dhū Qarah, when fighting arose while on their mounts, and they did not betray or abstain.
> And at Dhū al-‘Rusayra they charged ahead on their horses with the Messenger, armed with swords and lances.
> And at Waddan they drove its people out, their horses charging ahead until rugged ground and mountain intervened.
> And there was that night when they pursued their enemy for God; and God will reward them for their action!
> And that night at Hunayn they fought hard with him; that night he gave them new energy for fighting when they became tired.
> And the attack to Najd, where, with the Messenger, they gained booty and spoils.
> And at the expedition to al-Quds we scattered the enemy like camel herds to a water-hole.
> And that day when allegiance was pledged, it was they who agreed to go to war; they aided him, and did not retreat.
> And there was the Conquest wherein they were enrolled in his personal guard, and they were not reckless or hasty.
And at Khaybar they were in his squadron, all marching ahead, death-defying heroes,
Their bare swords brandished in their right hands,
brought down to strike, then raised again.
And that day the Messenger of God went forth to Tabuk,
willling to suffer for reward, they were his prime standard-bearers.
And leaders into battle when warfare faced them, either
advancing or withdrawing, as they thought best.
Those are they - the Prophet’s anşar; these are my
people, those to whom I refer in tracing my descent.
They die with nobility, and do not break their oaths;
if they are killed, it is in God’s cause.”

THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) OF ABU BAKR,
‘THE TRUSTING’, IN COMMAND OF THE PILGRIMAGE IN THE YEAR

Following his account of the arrival of the delegation from al-Ta'if in Ramadan,
as detailed above, Ibn Ishaq proceeded to state that the Messenger of God (SAAS)
remained there for the remainder of Ramadan, Shawwal and Dhul-Qa‘da. He
then dispatched Abu Bakr in command of the pilgrimage the Muslims could
undertake that year, 9 AH, while the polytheists were at the stations for their own
pilgrimage. The Muslims were no longer to be prevented access to the
ka'ba; some of them (the Arab tribes) had agreements with him (the Prophet (SAAS)),
for specific and temporary periods of time.

When Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and the Muslims with him
deptarted, and he departed from home, God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed
the following verses at the beginning of surat al-Barija (al-Tawba; IX): “(This is a declaration)
of immunity by God and His Messenger to those polytheists with whom you
made an agreement: move out into the countryside for four months . . .” to the
words “. . . and a declaration from God and His Messenger to the people at
the time of the Greater Pilgrimage, that God and His Messenger are free of
obligation to the polytheists” (surat al-Tawba; IX, v.1–3).

Ibn Ishaq went on to discuss these verses. We have expounded upon them at
length in our Exegesis; and to God belong all praise and credit.

What is referred to here is the dispatch of 'Ali following that of Abu Bakr
so that the former could himself make this declaration of immunity to the
polytheists on behalf of the Messenger of God (SAAS); he did this in his capacity
as his cousin and relative on his father’s side.

Ibn Ishaq went on, “Hakim b. Hakim b. Abbad b. Hunayf related to me, from
Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. 'Ali, who said, ‘When the surat al-Barâ’a (al-Tawba; IX)
was revealed to the Messenger of God (SAAS), after he had dispatched Abu Bakr to oversee the pilgrimage of the Muslims, he was asked, “Should you not
send news of the (revelation) to Abu Bakr?” He replied, “Only a man from my own family could transmit this for me.”

“He then summoned ‘Ali b. Abu Talib and told him, “Take this part from the beginning of surat al-Bara’iḥa, and announce it to the people when they gather on the day at Mina to make sacrifice there. Tell them (also) that no unbeliever will enter paradise, and that after this year no polytheist shall make the pilgrimage. Nor shall anyone circumambulate the ka’ba naked. Those with agreements made (individually) with the Messenger of God, can consider them valid until their term expires.”

“‘Ali b. Abu Talib therefore left on al-‘Adba’, the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and travelled to Abu Bakr, “the trusting”. When Abu Bakr saw him, he asked, “(Do you come) as a commander, or as one to be commanded?” ‘Ali replied, “The latter”.

“They proceeded on together and Abu Bakr maintained charge of the pilgrimage. That year the Arabs were keeping to their stations for the pilgrimage as they had previously done before the coming of Islam.

“When it was the day to make the sacrifices, ‘Ali b. Abu Talib arose and made the proclamation as ordered by the Messenger of God (SAAS). He gave them a period of four months from the day of that declaration for them all to return to some place of safety, or to their own lands. Thereafter there was to be no pact or protection for any polytheists, except for any individual who had a personal agreement with the Messenger of God (SAAS); that would remain in force until its expiration.

“After that year, no polytheist made the pilgrimage and no one circumambulated the ka’ba naked. Thereafter the two men returned to the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

This account is mursal, with the line of authorities as given.

Al-Bukhārī stated as follows in his section entitled: Chapter on the pilgrimage made by Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, with the men in the year 9 AH: “Sulaymān b. Da’ūd Abu al-Rabi’ related to me, quoting Fulayḥ, from al-Zuhri, from Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abu Hurayra, who said, ‘Abu Bakr, “the trusting”, was sent out by the Messenger of God (SAAS), in command of the pilgrimage that preceded the hijmat al-wadā’, “the farewell pilgrimage”. With him went a group who were to announce to everyone, “No polytheist shall make the pilgrimage after this year. And no one shall circumambulate the ka’ba naked.””

In another section, al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf, quoting al-Layth, quoting ʿAqil, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, “Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān informed me that Abu Hurayra stated, ‘On that pilgrimage, Abu Bakr, “the trusting”, sent me out along with those criers he dispatched on the day of the making of the sacrifice, to announce at Minā, “After this year no polytheist shall make the pilgrimage. And no one shall circumambulate the ka’ba naked.””
“Ḥumayd stated, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then sent ʿAli forth to make the declaration concerning the al-barāʾa, “the immunity”.’

ʿAbū Hurayra stated, ‘He sent out ʿAli along with us to make the announcement to those at Mina on the day of the sacrifice, concerning the declaration about the immunity, (and) that, “After this year no polytheists shall make the pilgrimage”, and “no person shall circumambulate the kaʿba naked”.’”

In his Kitāb al-Jīhād (Book of fighting in God’s Cause) he stated that Abū al-Yaman related to him, quoting Shuṣayb, from al-Zuhri, who said that he was told by Ḥumayd b. Abū al-Rahmān that Abū Hurayra said, “Abū Bakr, ‘the trusting’, sent me out among those to make an announcement on the day of the sacrifice at Mina, that after that year no polytheist would make the pilgrimage, and that no one should circumambulate the kaʿba naked.”

“The term yawm al-hajj al-akbar, ‘day of the greater pilgrimage’, refers to the day when sacrifice is made. It is called the al-akbar, ‘the greater’, because of people referring to the ‘umra as the al-hajj al-asghar, ‘the lesser pilgrimage’.

“Abū Bakr thus gave warning to everyone that year; in the (following) year of the hijjat al-wadaʾ, ‘the farewell pilgrimage’, performed by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), no polytheist took part.”

Muslim related this in similar form through al-Zuhri.

Imām ʿAḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuṣba, from Mughīrā, from al-Shābī, from Muḥriz b. Abū Hurayra, who quoted his father as saying, “I was with ʿAli b. Abū Ṭalib when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had dispatched him. ʿAli asked, ‘What was the announcement you were making?’

“He replied, ‘We would announce that no one but a believer would enter paradise, that no one naked should circumambulate the kaʿba, and that those having an agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have their pact valid for a term – or a period – of four months. After those four months were over, then God and His Messenger would have immunity from it. Also, that no polytheist would make the pilgrimage after this year.’ He added, ‘I kept making this announcement until my voice became hoarse.’”

This chain of transmission is excellent. However, there is some objection with regard to the narrator’s statement “... those having an agreement with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would have their pact valid for a term of four months”.

There are those who do not maintain this. However, what is correct is that those with a pact would have it last for its specified duration, even if for more than four months. Those with pacts devoid of a specified duration would have their pacts expire after four months.

There remains a third category – those with pacts terminating in less than four months, before the date being specified. Presumably these would be included
with the first category – that their duration would be for the term (originally) specified, even if less than four months. It could also be maintained that these should be extended to the four months, that being more appropriate than for those whose initial pacts had no specific terms. But God Almighty knows best.

Imam Aḥmad stated that ‘Aflān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Ṣimāk, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched his declaration of immunity with Abū Bakr, but that when the latter reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Only a man from my immediate family household should announce this.”

And so he dispatched ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib to make it.

Al-Tirmidhī related this from a ḥadīth of Ḥammād b. Salama and categorized it as ḥasan, “good”; and ghārib, “unique”, from the ḥadīth of Anas.

‘Abd Allah b. Aḥmad related, from Luwayn, from Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, from Simāk, from Ḥanāsh, from ʿAlī, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked ʿAlī to follow after Abū Bakr, the latter received the letter from him at al-Juḥfa. Abū Bakr then went back and asked, “Messenger of God, was anything revealed concerning myself?” He replied, “No; but Gabriel did come to me and told me, ‘No man but you yourself or one from your family should make this declaration.’”

This ḥadīth has a weak line of transmission and its content is somewhat objectionable. But God knows best.

Imam Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Abū Ishāq, from Zayd b. Athīr – a man of Ḥamdān – who said, “We asked ‘Alī what his mission had been when he was dispatched with Abū Bakr on the pilgrimage. He replied, ‘With four messages: that only a believing soul could enter paradise; that no one should circumambulate the qaʿba naked; that any pact a person had with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would remain valid until its term; and that polytheists would not be able to participate with Muslims in the pilgrimage after that year.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related it thus from a ḥadīth of Sufyān – he being Ibn ʿUyayna – from Abū Ishāq al-Sabīʿ, from Zayd b. Athīr, from ʿAlī. Al-Tirmidhī classified it as ḥasan al-sahīḥ, “good and authentic”.

He went on to state that Shuʿbā related it from Abū Ishāq, who quoted it from Zayd b. Athīl. Al-Thawrī related it from Abū Ishāq, one of his companions, from ʿAlī.

I note that Ibn Jarir related it from a ḥadīth of Maʿṣmar, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Ḥarīth, from ʿAlī.

then sent me as well bearing 40 verses of surat al-Bara'a. When he was at Mt. 'Arafat, he made a public address on the day of the assembly there. When he had completed his address, he turned to me and said, ‘Now you rise, 'Ali, and deliver the message of the Messenger of God (SAAS).’

‘‘I got up and recited to them the 4 verses from surat al-Bara'a. We then proceeded on up to Minā, where I cast stones and slaughtered a sacrificial camel. I then shaved my head. Having learned that not all those present had attended the address given on Mt. 'Arafat by Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, I went all around to the camps reciting the verses to them.’’

‘‘Ali went on, “From that, I believe you imagined it to have been the day when sacrifice is made, when in fact it was the day of Mt. 'Arafat.’’"

We have discussed this in detail in the Tafsir (Exegesis), reporting the lines of authority for the hadith and the various evidences relating to this at sufficient length. And to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Waqidi stated, “Three hundred of the men departed with Abu Bakr on this pilgrimage, including 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Awf. Abu Bakr took with him five camels for sacrifice. Along with him the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent twenty animals for sacrifice, then sent 'Ali out to follow him; he caught him up at al-'Arj. He made the announcement concerning bara'a, ‘immunity’, in the presence of those on the pilgrimage.”

EVENTS THAT OCCURRED IN THAT YEAR, 9 AH DURING RAJAB OF WHICH THE EXPEDITION TO TABUK TOOK PLACE.

Al-Waqidi stated that in Rajab of that year the Negus, the leader of Abyssinia, died and the Messenger of God (SAAS) made a public address in remembrance of him.

In Sha'ban that year Umm Kulthum, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS) died. Her body was washed by Asma', daughter of 'Umayr and by Safiyya, daughter of 'Abd al-Muttalib. It is also said that she was washed by Anbar wives, including Umm 'Atiyya.

I note that this is established in both sahih collections as well as in other hadith accounts, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed over her and was about to bury her, he said, “Let no one enter her grave who has tonight experienced desire for his family.” Her husband, 'Uthman, therefore abstained (from entering the grave) and she was buried by Abu Talha al-Ansari. May God be pleased with her.

It is likely that by making that comment he was referring to those companions, such as Abu Talha and others, who normally volunteered with burial duties. What he meant, then, was “Let no one from among these persons enter her grave except for whoever has not experienced desire for his family”. It is unlikely that 'Uthman had any other wife than Umm Kulthum, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS). That is unlikely. Though God knows best.
That year there was the peace made with the Governor of Ayla, the people of Jarbi and Adhrui, and the ruler of Dumat al-Jandal, as has been explained above, each in their appropriate places.

That year the Dirar mosque had been built by a group of hypocrites; it had the form of a mosque, but secretly was a house for war. The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave orders and it was burned down. In Ramaqan that year, a delegation came from Thaqif and made peace on behalf of their people, then returned with a security agreement. Also, al-Lat was destroyed, as has been related above.

At the end of that year ‘Abd Allah b. Ubayy b. Saalul, the chief hypocrite, may God curse him, died. A month prior to that occurred the death of Muawiya b. Muawiya al-Laythi – or al-Muzani. It was he for whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) spoke prayers while he was at Tabuk, if the report about that is true.

That year ‘Abd Bakr, may God be pleased with him, made a pilgrimage with some of the people with the permission of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

That year also there came delegations from various Arab tribes. The year 9 AH is therefore known as “the Year of the Delegations”. We will therefore now present a section under that heading in emulation of al-Bukhari and others.

THE BOOK OF DELEGATIONS THAT CAME TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS)

Ibn Ishaq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had conquered Mecca and completed the expedition to Tabuk, Thaqif accepted Islam and pledged allegiance, and delegations of Arabs came to him from all directions.”

Ibn Hisham stated, “Abu ‘Ubayda related to me that that occurred in the year 9 AH, which was known as the sanat al-wufud, ‘the year of the delegations’.”

Ibn Ishaq continued, “The Arabs had only been holding back their acceptance of Islam to observe what became of this tribe of Quraysh. Because it was Quraysh whom the others considered as their leaders and guides; they had charge of the ka’ba and the sacred area, and the pure line of descent from Isma’il, son of Abraham. And the leading Arabs did not dispute that.

“It was Quraysh who had set up the warfare and conflict with the Messenger of God (SAAS). When Mecca was conquered, Quraysh accepted his leadership. Islam having conquered them, the Arabs realized that they did not have the power either to go to war against the Messenger of God (SAAS) or to be antagonistic towards him. And so they entered into God’s faith, as God the Almighty and Glorious stated, afwajan, ‘in droves’, coming to him from every side.

“God Almighty stated to His Prophet (SAAS), ‘(Remember) when God’s aid came and the conquest. And you saw people entering in droves into God’s religion. And so celebrate in praise of your Lord and seek His forgiveness; He is
very ready to forgive’” (sūrat al-Naṣr; CX, v.1–3). That is, give praise to God for having given victory to your religion; and seek His forgiveness, for He is very ready to forgive.

We have narrated above the hadith of ‘Amr b. Salama” which states, “These Arabs were delaying their acceptance of Islam until the conquest. They would say, ‘Leave him for his own people to take care of him: if he does overcome them, then he will be a prophet speaking the truth. When the combat at the conquest occurred, each tribe hurried to accept Islam. My father accepted Islam before my tribe did. When he arrived back, he said, ‘I swear by God, that I have come to you from the Prophet, in truth! He (the Prophet (SAAS) said, ‘Perform such-and-such a prayer at such-and-such a time. And when the time for prayer comes, then one of you should call the adhan “the summons to prayer”. And then whichever one of you knows the Qur’an best should lead the prayer.’”

The hadith continues thereafter to its conclusion; it is included in the Sahih of al-Bukhari.

I note that Ibn Istāq, followed by al-Waqidi, al-Bukhari and then by al-Bayhaqi, makes reference to various delegations that came prior to those of 9 AH, and even prior to the conquest of Mecca.

God Almighty stated, “Not equal among you are those who spent before the conquest and did battle (and those who did not); they are higher in rank than those who spent and did battle only later. And to all God promises good” (sūrat al-lkhālid; LVII, v.10). Previous mention has been made above of the words of God Almighty on the day of the conquest, “There is no hijra, ‘hegira’, migration, (henceforth); but there is jihad and niyya, ‘striving in God’s service’ and ‘intent’.”

Distinction must be made between those in these two delegations who came at the time of the conquest and whose participation must be considered a Hijra, and those who joined them after the conquest. While these latter were promised good by God, this would not be like the former in time and an earlier (expression of) virtue; but God knows best.

While those imāms who concerned themselves with relating the arrival of the delegations have omitted referral to certain matters, we will give not only information they provided, but will also make special references where necessary to issues they omitted, if God so wills it. And in Him is all confidence and reliance.

Muḥammad b. Umar al-Waqidi stated, “Kathīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muẓār related to us, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, ‘The first delegation to come in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) from Muṣar were 400 men of Muzayna; this occurred in Rajab of 5 AH.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) declared the hijra as valid for them (while staying) in their own homes. He stated, ‘You are muḥājirūn where you were; and so return to your properties.’ And they went back home.’”

18. See Vol. III.
19. See Vol. III.
Al-Waqidi then recounted from Hisham b. al-Kalbi, with his chain of transmission, that the first person to arrive from Muzaynā was Khuza‘l b. ‘Abd Nahm, accompanied by others of his tribe of Muzaynā. He pledged to him the allegiance of his tribe, but when he returned to them he did not find them to be as he had thought; they put it off.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered I;lasb b. Thabit to make negative allusions to Khuza‘ā without actually satirizing him. He did speak some such verses and when they reached Khuza‘ā he complained of this to his people and they rallied around him and did accept Islam along with him. He then brought them to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

On the day of the conquest (of Mecca) the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave the banner of Muzaynā – a force of 1,000 men at that time – to this Khuza‘ā. He (al-Waqidi) also stated that Khuza‘ā was the brother of ‘Abd Allāh Dhū al-Bi‘jādayn.

Al-Bukhārī, may God forgive him, stated, in a section of his work entitled: Chapter on the Delegation of Banū Tamīm “Abū Nu‘aym related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Abū Ṣakhrā, from Ṣafwān b. Muḥrīz al-Māzīnī, from İmān b. Ḥuṣayn, who said, ‘A group of men came in from Banū Tamīm to the Prophet (SAAS), and he told them, “Accept the good tidings, Banū Tamīm!”’ They replied, “Messenger of God, you have already given it to us, so give us (something else now).” Displeasure was to be seen in his face. A group from Yemen then arrived, and he told them, “Accept the good tidings, for Banū Tamīm did not do so.” They replied, “We do accept them, Messenger of God.”’


Al-Bukhārī also related this from a different chain of authorities, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, and with different phraseology. We have made reference to this in our Taṣfīr (Exegesis) regarding the words of the Almighty, “Do not raise your voices above that of the Prophet (SAAS)” (surat al-Hujurāt; XLVIII, v.2).

"With them was 'Uyayna b. Ḥuṣn b. Ḥudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī. Al-Aqra' b. Ḥābis and 'Uyayna had been present with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) at the conquest of Mecca, and at the battles of Hunayn and al-Ṭā'īf. When the delegation of Bani Tamim arrived, these two men were with them.

"When all these men entered the mosque, they called out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from behind his apartments, saying, 'Come on out to us, Muḥammad!' This shouting of theirs disturbed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he came to them. They then said, 'Muḥammad, we have come to express our admiration for you; give permission to both our poet and our orator.' He replied, 'I give permission to your orator; he may speak.'

"'Utārid b. Ḥajib then arose and said, 'Praise be to God who provides us His grace and favour, for He is worthy of such praise. It is He who made us kings and awarded us great wealth which we donate to charity. It is He who made us the most powerful men of all the East, the greatest in number and equipment."

"'Who is our equal? Are we not at the leaders of the people, their very best? Any who would challenge us should enumerate their qualities, as we have done. We could, if we wished, speak at greater length, but we are reluctant to speak over much of what He has given us. We are well known for this (reluctance). I say this so that you may speak of similar or even better.' He then sat down.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then said to Thabit b. Qays b. Shammas, brother of Bani al-Ḥarith b. al-Khazraj, 'Arise and respond to this man's address.'

"Thabit got up and said, 'Praise be to God, Creator of both the heavens and the earth. In these He expressed His will; His throne encompasses all He knows. Nothing ever existed except by His favour.

"'It was, moreover, by His power that He made kings of us and chose as His Messenger the best of His creation, its most noble in lineage, its most truthful in speech and most respected man. It was to him that He revealed a book, entrusting it to him above all others of His creation. He is the best of God's creation in the worlds.

"'He then called upon the people to believe in him. And the muḥājiṣrūn from his tribe did so, along with his relatives, those most noble in line, those best of all in person and deed. It was we who were foremost in responding to God when the Messenger made his call. We are the ansār "the Helpers", of God and deputies of His Messenger. We will fight people until they believe. Whoever believes in God and His Messenger is also protecting his own possessions and life. Whoever disbelieves, we will battle for God for ever. And executing them will be a minor matter for us. In speaking this, I ask forgiveness for myself and for you all and for all believers. Peace be upon you.'

"Al-Zibriqān b. Badr arose and spoke the following verses:

'It is we who are the nobles; no clan can match us.
Kings come from us and among us places of worship are built.
IMÂM ABU AL-FIDÂ‘ ISMÂ‘IL IBN KATHîR

Many are the clans we have defeated, extracting plunder from all; and the benefits of might are to be pursued.

Even in famines we entertain, our food fine meat stew, even when no trace of a rain-cloud is visible.

And so you see chieftains arrive from all around, hurrying for us to serve them a banquet.

We slaughter large, fat, young camels for our guests; when they are accommodated, they are well satisfied.

You know that every tribe we challenge submits and becomes as though leaderless.

And whoever may challenge us, we know what will happen; his people will retreat and that news will spread abroad.

We may decline, but no one declines us; and so it is that we rise in pride."*"*"

Ibn Ishâq went on, "Since Hasân b. Thâbit was absent, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent for him. He (Hasân later) said, 'When I reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and their poet spoke as above, I challenged what he had said and spoke in the same manner as he had.'

"When al-Zibriqân had finished speaking, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told Hasân b. Thâbit, 'Get up and respond to the man.'

"Hasân then recited,

'The chieftains of Fihr and their brothers have clarified a way of life for the people that should be followed

Such as to please any man whose inner purpose is to fear God and who desires to do good,

A people who, when they fight, destroy their enemy, or, if seeking advantage to their allies, achieve this.

This is their natural disposition, no acquired trait; the worst of characteristics – you well know – are those innovated.

Even if, after they are gone, others surpass them, (it is true that) anyone who leads still follows those who preceded him.

Men cannot mend what their own hands have ruined in battle, nor could others ruin what they have mended.

When they seek to lead, their effort succeeds; if compared in generosity to other nobles, they tip the scales.

These are fine men, their purity mentioned in the revelation; no materialists, these, untainted by greed.

From their generosity to neighbours, they are no misers and they are untouched by any taint of ambition.

When we attack people, we do not crawl as does a wild calf to its mother;
We get right up when the talons of war attain us, though the riff-raff submit to its claws.

They are not boastful when they attain their enemy; and if overcome, they do not turn feeble or despair.

When engaged in battle, when death is close by, they are like lions of Halya, their claws bent and ready.

If they are angry, take whatever you can get submissively, and don’t worry after what they are refusing.

Do not seek their enmity, for in going to war with them you will have evil laced with poison.

Honour a people in whose party is the Messenger of God, at a time when ideas and sects are very diverse.

My heart awards them my praise, helped on in its favoured task by a creative and inventive tongue.

They are the best of all peoples, whether we talk of what is serious or what is light.”

Ibn Hishām stated, “A scholar of the poetry of Banū Tamīm told me that when al-Zibriqān came to the Messenger of God (ṣaas), with the delegation of Banū Tamīm, he arose and spoke the following verses:

‘We have come to you so that people may know our virtue when they mingle in attendance at the fairs,

And that we are the finest in any place, in all the land of Hijāz, none the like of Dārīm.

We put the medalled champions to flight when they boast, and strike the heads of warriors seeking fame.

To us goes the one-fourth share of every expedition we fight, whether in Najd or abroad.’

“Ḥassān then arose and responded to him as follows,

‘Is glory anything but repeated mastery and magnanimity, the glory of kings and the bearing of great responsibility?

We give aid and refuge to the Prophet, Muhammad, regardless of the resentment or pleasure of Ma‘ād.

In a unique tribe whose origins and wealth stem from a place in Jabīyyat al-Julān, amidst foreigners.

We gave aid when he came to live among us, using our swords against all the tyrants and aggressors.

We placed our sons and our daughters between us and him, and put him at ease regarding the spoils gained.

We strike at men with our fine, sharp swords until they follow into his faith.

20. A village near Damascus, Syria.
It was we who fathered the greatest man of Quraysh, we who fathered the Prophet of good from Hashim’s line.

Banu Darim, do not boast; your boasting seems shameful when noble deeds receive mention.

You are fools! Do you pride yourselves over us, when you are our vassals, somewhere between wet-nurses and slaves?

If you have come to us to save your blood and property, from being distributed as booty,

Then consider none a peer of God and accept Islam; and do not dress yourselves in such garb as foreigners wear.’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When Hassān b. Thabit had finished speaking, al-Aqrab. Ŧahās said, ‘By my father, this man is certainly well provided for! His orator is more eloquent than ours, and his poet more gifted. Their voices rise higher than ours.’

“Finally they accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (SAAS) presented valuable gifts to them. They had left Āmr b. al-Ahtam behind with their mounts, he being their youngest. Qays b. Āṣīm, who disliked Āmr b. al-Ahtam, said, ‘Messenger of God, we do still have one man, a young fellow, out with our mounts.’ And he went on to belittle him. However, the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave to Āmr what he had given to the others.

“Āmr b. al-Ahtam recited the following satirical verses when he learned what Qays had said:

‘You hurt me, you lazy, hairy dog, by slandering me to the Messenger; you were not truthful or accurate. We ruled you in broad authority, but your leadership merely consists of sitting on your tail and displaying your molars!’”


“He thus indicated that he already knew of Qays.

“‘Āmr responded, ‘He is obeyed by those closest to him, a good orator and very defensive of those in his care.’

“Al-Zibriqān commented, ‘He has spoken very well, knowing me to be better than what he has said!’

“‘Āmr responded, ‘I swear by God, all I know of you is that you are of little manliness, narrow-minded, that your father was a fool and your uncle a rogue!’ He then went on, ‘Messenger of God, I spoke the truth in both my characterizations of him. When he treated me well, I said of him the best I could, and when he angered me, I said the worst I know!’
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘Oratory has its own magic!’" This hadith is mursal, "incomplete", from this line of transmission.


“Al-Zibriqān commented, ‘I swear by God, Messenger of God, he knows of me other than what he has just said. It is merely his envy that prevents him speaking it.’"

“ʿAmr b. Ahtam asked, ‘What? Me envy you! I swear by God, your uncle is a rogue, only recently wealthy, your child is a fool, and you’re a nobody in the tribe! I swear by God, Messenger of God, I spoke the truth in what I first said and I’ve not lied in what I just said. However, I am a man who will speak the best he can if pleased, but the worst he can when angered. But I still tell the truth, both the former and the latter.’"

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘Oratory has its own magic!’"" This line of authorities is very gharib. Al-Waqiḍi explains the reason for their coming. They had unsheathed their swords against Khuzā‘a, and so the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent ʿUyayna b. Badr to them along with 50 men who included no ansār and no muhājirīn. This force had taken prisoner 11 of their men, 11 of their women and 30 children. Because of this capture, their leaders had arrived. Some say that they were 90 men all told – or 80 – and that ʿUtarīd, al-Zibriqān, Qays b. ʿAṣim, Qays b. al-Ḥārith, Nuʿaym b. Sa‘d, al-Aqrābī, ʿHabīs, Rabbāb b. al-Ḥārith, and ʿAmr b. al-Ahtam were among them. They came into the mosque after Bilāl had announced the al-ṣuḥr prayer, and the people were awaiting the Messenger of God (SAAS) to come out to them. These men hurried over and called out to him from behind his apartments. And then the revelation came down concerning them.

Al-Waqiḍi went on to make reference to their orator and to their poet, and to the fact that the Messenger of God (SAAS) presented to each of their men a gift of 12 awiqiyya and 20 dirhams in weight.

21. That is, in a fully complete line of transmission.
This did not include 'Amr b. al-Ahīm, to whom he gave five ḥawāqīya because of his youth. But God knows best.

Ibn ʿIsāq stated, “It was about them that the words of the Almighty were in the Qurʾān: ‘(As for) those who call out to you from behind the apartments, most of these do not understand; if they were patient until you came out to them, it would be better for them. But God is Forgiving, most Merciful’” (ṣūrat al-Hujūrāt; XLVIII, v. 4, 5).

Ibn Jarrīr stated that Abū ʿAmmār al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth al-Mawzūṭi related to him, quoting al-Ḥadīth Mūsa, from Abū ʿIsāq, from al-Ḥusayn b. Waqīqīd, from Abū ʿĪsāq, from al-Bārīʾ, who said, in reference to the verse, “(As for) those who call out...”, “A man came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Muḥammad, my praise is zayn, “beautiful”, and my blame is shayin, “ugly!”’. He responded, ‘That applies to God, the Almighty and Glorious.’”

The chain of authorities for this is musṭaṣṣīl, “complete and continuous”.

This ḥadīth is also related from al-Ḥasan al-Ḥaṣrī and Qatādah, mursalan, “incomplete in its line”, in both cases.

The name of this man has been omitted. ʿImām Aḥmad stated that Ṭāfān related to him, quoting Waḥīb, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Abū ʿSaʿlāma, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān, from al-Aqrāʾ b. Ḥabīb, (who said) that he called out to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “O Muḥammad! O Muḥammad!” In one version his words are related to have been, “O Messenger of God!” But he gave no reply. Al-Aqrāʾ then called out, “O Messenger of God, my praise is beautiful, and my blame is ugly!” He then responded, “That applies to God, Almighty and Glorious is He.”

Chapter: On the excellence of Banū Tamīm.

Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Jarrīr, from ʿUmārah b. al-ḤAQaṭī, from Abū Zurāʾ, from Abū Hurayrā, who said, “I have always loved Banū Tamīm since I heard three things that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said about them. These were, ‘They are the most severe of my people against al-Dajjal, “the imposter”, “Satan”. ‘Aʾisha had one of them as a slave-girl, and of her he said, ‘Free her, for she is of the progeny of Ismāʿīl.’ And when their charitable donations arrived, he said, ‘These donations are from a people – my people, that is.’”

Muslim also related this in similar form, from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb.

This ḥadīth offers a response to Qatādah regarding the poetry given by the author of the hamāsā22 and others, which is critical of them. A poem states,

“Tamīm are better guided than a sand-grouse along the paths of what is blameworthy; if they were to seek to follow the paths of virtue, they would go astray.

If there were a flea upon the back of a tick, Tamīm would see it from a distance and turn aside!”

22. Presumably a reference to the poetry anthology Kitāb al-Hamāsā of Abī Tamām.
THE DELEGATION FROM BANÜ ʿABD AL-QAYS.

Al-Bukhārī then proceeded to a section he entitled, Chapter on the delegation of ʿAbd al-Qays. He stated, “Abū Ishāq related to us, quoting Abū Ṭāmir al-ʿAqīl, quoting Qurra, from Abū Jamra, who said, ‘I told Ibn ʿAbbās, “I have a jar that produces wine for me that I drink when it is sweet. If I drink much of it and then sit down among the people, I fear I may be discovered.” He responded, “A delegation of Banū ʿAbd Qiys came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he told them, ‘Welcome! You will suffer no disgrace or regret!’ They replied, ‘Messenger of God, in the territory between you and ourselves there are the polytheists of Banū Muḍar and so we can only reach you during the sacred months. Could you kindly tell us of the actions in which we can engage to ensure our entry into paradise? We will tell those of us back home the same.’”

“He replied, ‘I order you to accomplish four things and to avoid four things. Faith in God. Do you know what faith in God means? It means to speak the shahada, “to say La Ilaha illa Allah wa Mubammad rasūl Allāh, ‘there is no god but God and Muḥammad is the Messenger of God’“. Also, perform the prayers, pay the zakāt, “alms tax”, fast for the month of Ramadaʿ, and give over the khums, “one-fifth of the spoils”. And I forbid you four things: the wine that is made in al-Dubbaʿ, al-Naqir, al-Bantam and al-Muzaffat.”

Muslim related it thus from a ḥadīth of Qurra b. Khalid, from Abū Jamra. And there are other lines of transmission for it in both ʿaʾbīb collections, from Abū Jamra.

Abū Daʿūd al-Ṭayalisi quoted in his musnad collection from Shuʿba, who quoted Abū Jamra as having said: “I heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, ‘When the delegation from ʿAbd Qays came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), he asked, ‘From which tribe do they come?’ ‘From Rabīʿa’, he was told. He then said, ‘Welcome to the delegation! You will suffer no disgrace nor regret.’ They then told him, ‘Messenger of God, we are a clan of Banū Rabīʿa, and we have travelled very far to be with you. Between you and us there is that tribe of unbelievers, Banū Muḍar. We can only reach you during a sacred month. Give us instructions for our conduct that we can also pass on to those back home to ensure our entry into paradise.’”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘I order you to do four things and forbid you from doing four things. I order you to have faith in God alone. Do you know what faith in God means? It means to state the shahāda, to perform the prayers, to pay the zakāt tax, to fast the month of Ramadaʿ, and to give over one-fifth of the booty you acquire. I also forbid you four things: (wine) from al-Dubbaʿ, al-Hantam, al-Naqir and al-Muzaffat.”” (And he may also have said . . . “and from al-Muqayyar”). “Observe these commandments, and so order those back home.”

Both authors of the ʿaʾbīb collections also gave this from a ḥadīth of Shuʿba in a similar form.
Muslim gave it from a *hadith* of Sa'īd b. Abū Urūba, from Qatāda, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Sa'īd, that account being similar to this text.

In his (Muslim's) account, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to Ashajj ʿAbd al-Qays, "You have two qualities that God, the Almighty and Glorious, much likes: discernment and perseverance." In one version, the words are "that God and His Messenger much like". Ashajj asked, "Messenger of God, was it I who developed these qualities, or God who brought me to them?" He replied, "It was God who brought you to them." Ashajj then said, "Then praise be to God who brought me to two qualities that God and His Messenger much like!"

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū Sa'īd, the freed-man of Banu Hashim related to him, quoting Māṭar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who said that he heard Hind, daughter of al-Wāzīr report that she heard al-Wāzīr say, "I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in the company of al-Ashajj al-Mundhir b. ʿAmīr" – "or ʿAmīr b. al-Mundhir. With their party there was a man who was much afflicted.

"Having reached and seen the Messenger of God (SAAS), they jumped down from their mounts. Then they went up to him and kissed his hand. Al-Ashajj also dismounted, hobbled his camel, took out and opened his baggage pack and extracted from it two white garments which he put on. He then went over to the other camels, hobbled them too and proceeded on to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who asked him, 'Ashajj, you have two qualities both God the Almighty and Glorious and His Messenger very much like – discernment and perseverance.' Al-Ashajj responded, 'Messenger of God, is it I who developed these, or did God bring them to me?' He replied, 'No, it was God who brought them to you.' Al-Ashajj commented, 'Praise be to God who brought to me two qualities that God the Almighty and Glorious and His Messenger both much like!' Al-Wāzīr then said, 'Messenger of God, I have with me an uncle who is much afflicted. Please pray to God for him.' 'Where is he?' he asked. 'Bring him to me.' Al-Wāzīr went on, 'I then did as al-Ashajj had done: I dressed him in two white garments and took him over to him. He took hold of his outer garment and lifted up both sides so that we could see the white of his armpits. He then struck the man on his back, saying, 'Get out, you enemy of God!' The man then turned around and he was seeing just as does a healthy man.'"

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī narrated through Hūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd, that the latter heard his grandfather Muzīda al-ʿAbdī say, "While the Messenger of God (SAAS) was engaged in speaking to his Companions, he told them, 'From over there riders are coming who are the best of the people of the East."

"ʿUmar arose and went out towards them and met 13 riders. When he asked who they were, they replied, 'We're from Banū ʿAbd al-Qays.' 'And what brings you to these parts; business?' 'No,' they replied. 'Well,' ʿUmar commented, 'The Prophet (SAAS) just made mention of you and spoke highly of you.'"
"They proceeded in with him to the Prophet (SAAS), and ‘Umar told them, ‘This is your master you seek.’ The riders threw themselves off their mounts and some walked while others jogged and ran towards him. When they reached him, they took his hand and kissed it. Al-Ashajj remained back until he had hobbled the camels and gathered some of the baggage of the group. He then walked over and took the hand of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and kissed it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, ‘You have two qualities that both God and His Messenger much like.’ He asked, ‘And is that a natural disposition created within me or something I myself have brought about? ‘It is a natural disposition,’ he replied. Al-Ashajj commented, ‘Then praise be to God who has created within me what both God and His Messenger much like!’”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Al-Jārūd b. ‘Amr b. Hanash, a brother of Banū ‘Abd al-Qays arrived to visit the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Ibn Hishām stated, “He was Al-Jārūd b. Bishr b. al-Mu‘allā, accompanying a delegation of ‘Abd Qiys; he was a Christian.”

Ibn Ishāq continued, “Someone I trust related to me that al-Hasan said, ‘When we reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), the latter explained Islam to him, invited him to accept it, and made him very enthusiastic about it. Al-Jārūd told him, “Muhammad, I used to follow a faith, but now I am leaving it for yours. Do you guarantee to me your faith?” He replied, “I do indeed guarantee to you that God has led you now to something better than it.” And so al-Jārūd accepted Islam, as did his companions.

“He then asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) for transport, but he replied, “I swear, I’ve nothing on which to mount you.” Al-Jārūd then asked, “Messenger of God, between here and our home there are stray mounts that have wandered away from their owners. May we use them to reach home?” “No,” he replied, “beware of them. They would mean the fires of hell.”

“Al-Jārūd left to return to his own people; he was a good Muslim and firm in his faith until he died. He lived on into the ridda, the wars of apostacy. When some of his people reverted to their former religions along with al-Ghārūr b. al-Mundhir b. al-Nu‘mān b. al-Mundhir, al-Jārūd arose and gave testimony to the true faith and called for them to join Islam. He said, “O people, I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is His servant and His Messenger. I consider unbelievers all who do not bear witness.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent al-‘Alā‘ b. al-Hadrami out before the conquest of Mecca to al-Mundhir b. Sāwi al-‘Abdī, and he became a good Muslim. Al-Mundhir died after the Messenger of God (SAAS), but before the apostacy of the people of al-Bahrayn; al-‘Alā‘ had remained with him as the Governor of al-Bahrayn on behalf of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Consequently al-Bukhārī narrated from a hadith of Ibrahim b. Tāhmān, from Abū Jamra, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The first jum‘a, Friday congregational,
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prayer to be performed after that held in the mosque of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was the one in the mosque at Jawāthī, in al-Bahrayn.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Umm Salama that the Messenger of God (SAAS) delayed performing the two rak‘āt prayers after the noon (prayer) because of the arrival of the delegation of ‘Abd Qays; he performed them later in her dwelling, following the al-ṣūr prayer.

I note, however, that there are suggestions in the text of Ibn ‘Abbas’s hadith that the arrival of the ‘Abd al-Qays delegation occurred before the conquest of Mecca. This relates to their having said, “Between you and us there is that tribe of unbelievers, Banū Muḍar. We can only reach you during a sacred month.” But God knows best.

The Story of Thumāma and the delegation from Banū Ḥanīfa, among whom was Musaylima, ‘The Imposter’, may God damn him!

Al-Bukhārī has a section under the heading, The delegation of Banū Ḥanīfa and the Story of Thumāma b. Uthāl. He stated, “‘Abd Allāh b. Yusuf related to us, quoting al-Layth b. Sa‘d, quoting Sa‘d b. Abu Sa‘d, who heard Abu Hurayra say, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) dispatched some cavalry to Najd. They brought back a man of Banū Ḥanīfa named Thumāma b. Uthāl. They bound him to one of the pillars of the mosque. The Messenger of God (SAAS) went to him and asked, “Well, Thumāma, what do you have (in mind I should do with you)”? He replied, “Muḥammad, I have (a) good (idea). If you kill me, you’ll (only) kill a man who has killed others. But if you act kindly, you will be doing so to someone who will be grateful. If it’s money you want, just ask for it.”

“He left him there till the next day, when again he asked, “Well, Thumāma, what do you have (in mind)?” “I have what I told you; if you act kindly, you’ll do so to a man who will be grateful.” Again he left him, until the following day, when he again asked, “What do you have (in mind), Thumāma?” “Just as I told you before,” he replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said “Release Thumāma.”

“At that the man hurried over to a garden of date-palms near the mosque, washed himself and entered the mosque. He then announced, “I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God! Muḥammad, I swear, formerly there was no one on earth I hated more than you. Now I love you best of all men. And, I swear, there was no faith more hateful to me than yours. Now your faith has become the one I love best. Moreover, there used to be no land more hated by me than your land; now your land has become the one I love best. Your cavalry captured me while I was on my way to make the al-ṣumra pilgrimage; what do you think (about it now)?”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) congratulated him and told him to proceed on the ‘umra. When Thumāma reached Mecca, someone asked him, “Have you adopted the Sabian faith, then?” He responded, “No, but I have accepted Islam
with Muḥammad (ṢAAS). And I swear, you’ll not receive a single grain of wheat from Yamāma until he gives his permission for that!"

Al-Bukhārī also related this in another place, as did Muslim and Abū Dā'ūd al-Naṣā'ī, from Qutayba, from al-Layth.

Al-Bukhārī’s having given this story in his section on delegations is controversial. This is because Thumāmah did not come in by himself, but was brought in bonds and was tied up to one of the pillars of the mosque.

It is also questionable whether he should be referred to among the delegations occurring in 9 AH. This is because it is evident from the text of his story that it relates to prior to the conquest of Mecca. This is because the Meccans rebuke him over his acceptance of Islam and ask him whether he has adopted the Sabian faith. He went on to warn them that not a grain of wheat would reach them from al-Yamāma until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave his permission. This shows that at that time Mecca was considered enemy territory, its population not yet having accepted Islam. But God knows best.

This is why the hāfīz al-Bayhaqī narrates the story of Thumāmah b. Uthāl before the conquest of Mecca; this is most likely to have been the case. However, we have given it here in deference to al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Abū al-Yāmān, quoting Shu‘ayb, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Ḥusayn, quoting Nāfi’ b. Ḥubayr, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, ‘During the lifetime of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Musaylima, the imposter, arrived and began saying, ‘If Muḥammad appoints me to rule after him, I will follow him.’ He had arrived in the company of a great number of his people.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), holding a stick of date-palm wood in his hand, went out to him, accompanied by Thabit b. Qays. Coming to a stop near Musaylima and his men, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘If you had asked me for it, I’d not even give you this stick! You will not avoid God’s order concerning you. If you do not turn away, God will destroy you. I believe you to be the person I saw in a dream. This man is Thabit, and he will answer your questions about me.’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) then left him.

“Ibn ‘Abbās stated, ‘I asked about the statement of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “I believe you to be the person I saw in a dream.” Abū Hurayra told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “While I slept, I saw on my hand two gold bracelets. This disturbed me. Then I received revelation, in my sleep, that I should blow upon them. I did so, and they disappeared. I interpreted them to be representing two imposters who would emerge after me, one of them being al-Aswad al-Anṣārī, the other Musaylima.”’”

23. Ayyala b. Ka'b, of the Madhhij tribe of Ans, known as "al-Aswad", led a successful revolt in Yemen both against the authority of the Persians and that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). His assassination at the hand of former allies came shortly before the death of the latter. See the Encyclopedia of Islam, under the heading “al-Aswad".
Al-Bukhari went on to state that Isâq b. Naṣr related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzaq, who said, “Maʿmar informed me that Hammām b. Munabbih told him that he heard Abū Hurayra say that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘While I slept, I was brought treasures from the earth and two gold bracelets were placed on my palm. They disturbed me, and revelation came to me that I should blow upon them. I did so, and they disappeared. I interpreted them as the two imposters between whom I am – the ruler of Sanʿāʾ and the ruler of al-Yamāmah.’”

Al-Bukhari continued to state that it was related to him by Saʿd b. Muḥammad al-Jarrah, quoting Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhim, quoting his father, from ʿAlī, from Ibn ʿUbaydā b. Nashīṭ – his name is given elsewhere as ʿAbd Allāh – who said that ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭūbā said, “We learned that Musaylima, ‘the imposter’, had arrived in Medina and was staying in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith. His wife was the daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Kurayz, and she was the mother of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmīr b. Kurayz. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to him, accompanied by Ṭhābit b. Qays b. Shammās; it was he who was known as the orator of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter had a stick in his hand. He stood before Musaylima and spoke to him and Musaylima told him, ‘If you wish, we will leave the way clear for you to rule, provided that you make me your successor.’”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘If you were to ask me for this stick, I’d not give it to you. I believe you are the one about whom I had a dream. This is Ṭhābit b. Qays; he will answer any questions on my behalf.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then left.”

ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh continued, “I asked Ibn ʿAbbās about the vision he had mentioned. Ibn ʿAbbās replied, ‘I was told that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘While I slept, I was given a vision in which two gold bracelets were placed on my hand. I was disturbed by these and disliked them. Then I was given permission to blow on them and when I did so, they disappeared. I interpreted them to represent two imposters who would appear.’’”

ʿUbayd Allāh stated, “One of these was al-ʿAnṣi, who was killed by Fayruz in Yemen; the other was Musaylima, ‘the imposter.’”

Muḥammad b. Isâq stated, “The delegation of Banū Ḥantīfa came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and with them was Musaylima b. Ḥabīb, ‘the imposter.’”

Ibn Ḥishām stated, “His name was Musaylima b. Thumāma b. Kathīr b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Ḥārith b. Ḥaffān b. Dḥahl b. al-Dūl b. Ḥanīfa; he was known as Abū Thumāma, and also as Abū Ḥārūn. He was also referred to as ‘al-Raḥmān’ and as ‘Raḥmān of al-Yamāmah’. He was 150 years old at the time of his execution. He knew various forms of magic. He knew how to insert an egg into a long-necked bottle and was the first to do this. He would cut off a bird’s wing, then reattach it. It is said that there was a gazelle that would come down from the mountain and he would drink its milk.”
Ibn Isḥaq went on, “They went into residence in the home of the daughter of al-Ḥārith, an ḥusnī woman of Banū al-Najjar.”

Al-Suhaylī stated, “She was Zaynab; some say her name was Kaysa, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Kurayz b. Ḥabīb b. ʿAbd Shams. Musaylima had married her long before, but then separated from her. This is why they stayed in her home.”

Ibn Isḥaq continued, “One of our scholars of Medina related to me that Banū Ḥanīfah hid him in some clothing and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was sitting among his Companions, holding a palm frond. When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having been completely concealed by the clothes, and began to make requests, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘If you were to ask me for this palm frond, I’d not give it to you!’

“A sheikh of Banū Ḥanīfah from al-Yamāma related to me that the incident concerning him was quite different. He claimed that the delegation from Banū Ḥanīfah came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having left Musaylima with their mounts. Having accepted Islam, they remembered him and asked, ‘Messenger of God, we have left a companion of ours with our mounts and baggage to care for them for us.’

“And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered that what had been given to the men of Banū Ḥanīfah should be given to him too, saying, ‘His status is no worse than yours.’ That is, due to his having looked after his companions’ property. That is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted to imply.

“They then all left and took to Musaylima what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had given to each one of them. When they reached Yamāma that enemy of God apostatized, proclaimed himself a prophet and told them many lies. He said, ‘I have been made his partner in this matter.’

“He then told his delegation, who were with him, ‘Did he not say to you, “His status is no worse than yours”? The only reason he said this was from his knowledge that I had been made his partner in the matter.’

“Thereafter he began to recite doggerel verse to them and to imitate the Qurʾān, saying, ‘God has bestowed His favour on the pregnant woman; he has extracted from her a being that moves, from between the skin on her womb and her intestines.’

“He made wine and fornication permissible for them and abolished the need for prayer. He nevertheless testified for the Messenger of God, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, being a prophet. And Banū Ḥanīfah was in agreement with him on that.”

This is what Ibn Isḥaq stated. But God knows best.

Al-Suhaylī and others related the following about al-Rahbāl b. Unfiwā - his other name being Nahār b. Unfiwā; he had accepted Islam and learned some of the Qurʾān and spent a period as a Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter once passed by while al-Rahbāl was seated with ʿAbū Hurayra and commented, “One of you has his molar in hell-fire like Mt. Ḫud!”
Both men remained apprehensive until eventually al-Raḥīl apostatized with Musaylima. He falsely testified that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had made Musaylima his partner in his activities and attributed to the latter some part of the Qurʾān he had learned; this Musaylima claimed for himself. All this resulted in great confusion for Banū Ḥantāfī. Al-Raḥīl was killed by Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb at the battle of al-Yamāma.

Al-Suḥayl stated that the muʿazzin employed by Musaylima was named Hujayr; and the one of his men who most directed the warfare on his behalf was Muḥkam b. al-Ṭufayl. To these should be added Sajaiṭ, known as Umm Sadir. This was a woman Musaylima married, and there are various shameful reports about his relationship with her. The name of her muʿazzin was Zuhayr b. Ḥamr, or alternatively Janba b. Ṭāriq. It is also said that Sabath b. Ribḥ also acted as her muʿazzin and then later became a Muslim. She too accepted Islam during the reign of Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and became a good Muslim.

Yunus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as having stated, “Musaylima b. Iḥābīb wrote to the Messenger of God (SAAS) as follows, “From Musaylima, Messenger of God, to Muḥammad, Messenger of God. Peace be upon you. To proceed: I have been appointed as your partner in the task, along with you. Half the authority is ours, the other half that of Quraysh. However, Quraysh are an aggressive people.” Two messengers brought this document and the Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote back to him. He stated, “In the name of God, the most Merciful, most Beneficent. From Muḥammad, Messenger of God, to Musaylima, ‘the imposter’. Peace be upon him who follows the guidance. To proceed: the earth belongs to God. He entrusts it to whomever of His servants He wishes. The outcome will favour the pious.”

This — the receipt of this message — was at the end of 10 AH. Al-Bukhārī relates the story of this message in his saḥīḥ collection. Yunus b. Bukayr stated, quoting Ibn Ishāq, “Sa’d b. Ṭāriq related to me, from Salama b. Nuṣaym b. Maṣʿūd, from his father, who said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say to the two messengers of Musaylima when they brought the letter from him, ‘Do you agree with what he said?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. ‘I swear by God’, he told them, ‘that if it were not for the fact that messengers are not to be executed, I would strike off the heads of you both!’”

‘Abd Allah b. Maṣʿūd al-Ṭayalīsī stated that al-Maṣʿūdī related to him, from ‘Āṣim, from Abū Wāsīl, from ‘Abd Allah b. Maṣʿūd, who said, “Ibn al-Nawāḥa and Ibn Uthāl came as messengers to the Messenger of God (SAAS), on behalf of Musaylima, ‘the imposter’, and he asked them, ‘Do you testify that I am the Messenger of God?’ They replied, ‘We testify that Musaylima is the Messenger of God!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then exclaimed, ‘I proclaim my belief in God and in His Messengers! If I were someone who executed messengers, I would execute both of you!’” ‘Abd Allah b. Maṣʿūd went on, “And so the practice was instituted that messengers would not be executed.”
He continued, “Regarding Ibn Uthāl, God ultimately gave him his reward. As for Ibn al-Nawāḥa, I continued to feel much anger against him until God took possession of him.”

The ḥāṣīṣ al-Bayhaqi stated that Usāma b. Uthāl accepted Islam. And we referred to this above.

Regarding Ibn al-Nawāḥa, Abū Zakariyyā b. Abū Isḥāq al-Muzani, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allah Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Walāḥ, quoting Jaʿfar b. ʿAwn, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, who said that a man came to ʿAbd Allah b. Masʿūd and said, ‘I passed by a mosque of Bānt Ḥanifa while they were making a recitation of something God did not reveal to Muḥammad (ṣa). It was, ‘By those women who mill flour; by those women who knead dough; by those women who bake bread; by those women who concoct stew; by those women who swallow morsels . . .’

“ʿAbd Allāh then sent for them; they were 70 men in number, and their leader was ʿAbd Allah b. al-Nawāḥa. ʿAbd Allah gave orders and he was executed. He then said, ‘We’ll never acquire Satan out of these; however, we can drive them off to Syria, so that God may take care of them for us!’”

Al-Wāqīḍi stated, “The delegation from Bānt Ḥanifa consisted of approximately ten men, under the leadership of Sulma b. Ḥanḍala. They included al-Raḥīl b. ʿUnfuwa, Taqī b. ʿAlī, ʿAlī b. Sinān, and Musaylima b. Ḥabbā biʾis, ‘the imposter’. They were accommodated in the home of Maslama, daughter of al-Ḥārith, and they were given full hospitality. They were given lunch and dinner – at times consisting of bread and meat, at others of bread and yoghurt, bread and meat fat, and dates, during their stay.

“When they came to the mosque, they accepted Islam. They had left Musaylima with their mounts and when they wanted to depart, the Messenger of God (ṣa) gave them each five awqiyā weight of silver. He also ordered the same gift for Musaylima, and when they said he was with their mounts, he commented, ‘His status is no worse than yours.’

“When they returned to Musaylima and told him what the Messenger of God (ṣa) had said, he commented, ‘He only said that because he knows that power will come to me after him.’

“Having said this, Musaylima, may God abhore him, persisted and made claim to the prophethood.”

Al-Wāqīḍi stated, “The Messenger of God (ṣa) had sent out with them a vessel containing the remainder of water he had used for cleansing himself. Musaylima ordered his men to revoke their pledge of allegiance to the Messenger of God (ṣa) to pour the water over his dwelling, and to adopt it as a masjid, a place of prayer. This they did.”

Hereafter we will recount the death of al-Aswād al-ʿAnṣārī at the end of the life of the Messenger of God (ṣa). Musaylima was killed during the caliphate of Abū Bakr, ‘the trusting’.
THE DELEGATION FROM THE PEOPLE OF NAJRĀN.

Al-Bukhari stated that it was related to him by ‘Abbās b. al-Husayn, quoting Yahya b. Adam, from ʿIrṣālīl, from Abū Isḥāq, from ʿIyād b. Zufar, from Ḥudhayfah, who said, “Al-ʿAqib and al-Sayyad, rulers of Najrān, came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), intending to engage in the ḫān ceremony.

“One man said to the other, ‘Let’s not do this. If he is a prophet, and we engage him in this ḫān, neither we nor our descendants will have success.’ They both then said (to the Prophet (ṢAAS)), ‘We will give you whatever you want. Send a trustworthy man out with us, but do not send anyone who is not worthy of trust.’ He responded, ‘I will send with you a man who is truly trustworthy.’

“The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) competed to have this honour, and he ultimately said, ‘Stand up, Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ.’ And when he did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘This is the (most) trustworthy man of this nation.’”

Al-Bukhari also related this, as did Muslim, from a ḥadīth of Shuʿbā, from Abū Isḥāq.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiz and Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Mūsā ibn al-Fadl, both of whom said, “Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to us, quoting Ṭāhir b. Abī ʿAbd al-Jabbar, quoting Yiʿnūs b. Bukayr, from Salama b. ʿAbd Yasīr, from his father, from his grandfather. Yiʿnūs, who had been a Christian and had accepted Islam, said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote to Najrān before the (sūrat) Taʿ sinful of Sulaymān (Solomon) had been revealed to him, ‘In the name of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, from Muḥammad, the Prophet, to the bishop of Najrān. Are you peaceable? I praise to you the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. To proceed: I summon you to the worship of God, away from worshipping servants of God. If you should refuse, then you will have to pay the jizya. If you refuse, I am warning you of warfare. Peace.’

“When this letter reached the bishop, he was shocked and astounded by it. He sent for a man of Najrān named Shuraḥbīl b. Wadaʾa, who was originally from Hamdān. No one would be consulted in preference to him in the case of some problem – not al-Abham, nor al-Sayyid, nor al-ʿAqib.24

“The bishop gave this letter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Shuraḥbīl. When he had read it, they asked him, ‘Abū Maryam, what do you think?’ Shuraḥbīl replied, ‘You well know how God promised Abraham that prophethood would pass on through the progeny of Ismāʿil; don’t you believe that this could

24. A practice in which two contending groups attended a remote area to pray to God to punish whichever of their two parties had engaged in lying. See also footnote 27, p. 73 hereafter.
25. Tūs (Ta Sin), the two opening letters of sūrat al-Nāṣīr (or sūrat Ta Sin).
26. The other leaders of the tribe.
refer to this man? I have no personal opinion about the prophethood question. If this were a worldly matter, I would give you my views on it, and would do my very best for you.' The bishop told him, 'Come aside and take a seat.' Shura'b then went aside and sat down near him.

"The bishop sent to a man of Najrân named ʻAbd Allâh b. Shura'bîl, a man of Dhû Asbah, from Himyar. He had him read the letter and asked him his opinion. This man spoke as Shura'bîl and the bishop told him, 'Come aside and take a seat,' and the man did so and sat near him.

"Next the bishop sent for a man of Najrân named Jabbar b. Fayd, of Banû al-Ĥarîth, son of Ka'b, a man of Banû al-Ĥimâs. He asked this man to read the letter and to give his opinion of it. Jabbar replied as had Shura'bîl and ʻAbd Allâh. The bishop then told him to go aside and sit, which he did.

"When they had all agreed on the same statement, the bishop gave orders that the bell be struck and lighted lanterns and hair shirts were lifted up into the monks' cells; they would do this if there were an alarm during the day, but if the alarm were by night, they would merely strike the bell and lift up the lights into the cells.

"When the bell was struck, they assembled and the people of the valley, both in its upper and its lower parts, raised the hair shirts; the valley was the length of a day's journey for a fast rider. It consisted of 73 villages and had 100,000 warriors. The letter of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was read to them and the bishop sought their opinion of it. Their leaders agreed that they should send Shura'bîl b. Wada'a al-Hamadani, ʻAbd Allâh b. Shura'bîl and Jabbar b. Fayd al-Ĥarîthî to seek information about the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"The delegation travelled to Medina and when they arrived there, they took off their travel garments and dressed in fine robes of striped cloth and put on gold rings. They then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS). They greeted him, but he did not respond. They waited there all day long for him to speak to them, but he did not, since they were wearing those garments and gold rings.

"The delegation went to find ʻUthmân b. ʻAffân and ʻAbd al-Rahmân b. ʻAwf, whom they had known previously; they found them in an assembly, meeting with ansâr and muhâjirîn. They asked them, 'Uthmân and Abd al-Rahmân, your Prophet wrote us a letter and we have come in response to it. We have greeted him, but he has not returned our greeting. We waited patiently all day long, but failed to get him to speak to us. What do you both think; do you consider we should return home?'

"They also asked ʻAlî b. Abû Talib who was also there in the group. He said to ʻUthmân and Abd al-Rahmân, 'I think they should take off these fine robes and rings, dress in their travel garments and then return to him.'

"They did this and when they greeted him, he responded. He then told them, 'By Him who sent me with the truth, when you first came to me, Ibîs (Satan) was certainly with you.' He then asked them questions, as they did him. This
session of questioning continued and they eventually asked, 'What do you say about Jesus? Although we will go back to our people as Christians, it would please us, if you are a prophet, we could hear what you say of him.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'I don't have anything to say about him today; stay here until I tell you what it is God says about Jesus.'

"By next morning God, the Almighty and Glorious, had revealed this verse, 'God considers Jesus to be the like of Adam; He created him from earth, then said to him: "Be!" And he was. The truth is from your Lord; and so do not be of those who make disputes. To those who could dispute with you, after the knowledge that has come to you, say, "Come, let us call our sons and (you) your sons, we our wives and (you) your wives and we our ownselves and (you) yourselves, and then let us make our appeals to God, and pray that God places his curse upon those who lie' (sūrat Al 'Imrān; III, v. 58-60).

"They refused to agree to this.

"On the next morning following that when he had told them of this, he arrived for a mulā'ama,27 'an oath-taking competition', accompanied by al-Hasan and al-Husayn. He was dressed in a khamil, 'a coarse-fibred garment', and Fatima walked at his back; that day he was also accompanied by several of his womenfolk.

"Shurabīl told his two companions, ‘You both well know that the upper and lower parts of our valley join in accepting my views and I have, I swear, reached a weighty conclusion. Given that this man is a powerful leader, if we were the first of the Arabs to spite him and to reject his orders, he and his men would maintain such ill-will for us that they would eventually do us great harm. We are the Arabs who are his closest neighbours, and if this man is truly a prophet, and we challenge him as a liar, then every hide and hair of us is sure to perish!'

"His companions then asked him, ‘Well, Abu Maryam, what should we do?’ He replied, ‘My opinion is that I should recognize his authority. He is, I think, not a man who would ever make an over-harsh judgement.’

Shurabīl then met with the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, ‘I have something better to suggest than an oath-taking competition with you.’ ‘And what is that?’ he asked. ‘Spend this day till tonight and tonight till tomorrow reaching your judgement and whatever you decide concerning us will be acceptable.’

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘Is there anyone else back home behind you who will contradict you?’ Shurabīl replied, ‘Ask my two companions.’ They said, ‘Our whole valley will accept his decision.’

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then returned home without making oaths regarding them. When they went to him next day, he wrote for them the following document, ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent. This is written by Muhammad, the Prophet, the untutored, the

27. A procedure in which contending parties would call down oaths upon their various family members and invoke God's aid to determine which side had been speaking the truth. This practice is inferred in the Qur'ān verse quoted in the previous paragraph.
Messenger of God, to Najrān. It is his judgement regarding all their produce and all their assets in gold, silver and slaves to be generous to them and to leave them all this in consideration of a payment of 2,000 sets of garments. Of these 1,000 shall be paid each Rajab, and another 1,000 each Šafar.' He then went on to give the rest of the conditions. The document ends, 'Witnessed by Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb, Ghaylān b. ʿAmr, Mālik b. ʿAwf, of Banū Nasr, and al-ʿAqrāʾ b. Ḥabis al-Ḥanzali, and al-Mughira.' And he (so) wrote it.

"When they received this document, they left for Najrān. With the bishop there was a brother of his, on his mother's side, he being his uncle's son, a man named Bishr b. Muʿāwiyah, known as Abū ʿAlqama. The delegation gave the letter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the bishop. While he was reading it, in the company of Abū ʿAlqama, while they were both riding, Bishr's camel stumbled. Bishr swore an oath, although he did not make reference to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

"The bishop told him, 'You might have spoken a curse against a prophet who has been sent.' Bishr replied, 'Certainly; and I swear I'll not nullify it until I go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).'

"He then directed his camel back towards Medina, but the bishop positioned his own in his way and told him, 'Understand from me, that I only said that so that the Arabs have that reported to them of me, fearing that they might consider that we had accepted his authenticity, or been swayed by his voice, or agreed to something this man wanted to which the Arabs did not comply, even though we are the most powerful and numerous of all.' Bishr replied, 'No; I swear, I'll never accept this attitude of yours.'

"Bishr then spurred his mount into motion, turning his back to the bishop. He also spoke the following doggerel verse:

'To you (my camel) anxiously turns her flank
Though a foal inside her belly objects,
For her religion opposes that of the Christians.'

"When he reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he accepted Islam and stayed on with him until he was eventually killed."

"The delegation entered Najrān and went to the monk Ibn Abū Shamar al-Zubayydi while he was high up in his cell, telling him, 'A prophet has been given a mission in Tihāma!' They narrated how the Najrān delegation had gone to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and how he had suggested an oath-swearing competition to them, which they had refused, and how Bishr b. Muʿāwiyah had hurried off to him and had accepted Islam.

"The monk replied, 'Bring me down, or else I'll cast myself from this cell!' They did so; he brought with him a present which he took with him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Part of it is that cloak that the caliphs wear, along with a wooden cup and a staff."
"He remained for some time with the Messenger of God (SAAS), listening to the revelation, then returned to his own people. He is not credited with having accepted Islam. He promised to come back but this was not to be until the Messenger of God (SAAS) had died.

"The bishop, Abu al-Harith, went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), along with al-Sayyid, al-Aqib and important persons from their people. They stayed with him, hearing what God revealed to him. He wrote the document for the bishop and those bishops to come after him: 'In the name of God, the most Merciful, the most Beneficent. From Muhammad, the Prophet, to Bishop Abu al-Harith and the bishops of Najran, and its priests and monks, including all those under their control, few or many. (This gives) protection of God and of His Messenger, which shall not be changed for any of its bishops, monks or priests. Nor shall any of their rights or powers or former practices be changed. The protection of God and His Messenger is for ever, so long as they remain peaceful and sincere and are not subjected to wrongdoing or engage in it.' 'Written by al-Mughira b. Shu'ba.'

Muhammad b. Ishāq related that the delegation of Christians of Najran included 60 riders, of whom 14 were leaders. These latter consisted of al-Aqib, whose name was 'Abd al-Masiḥ, and al-Sayyid, whose name was al-Abḥam. Abu Khariṣa b. Alqama, Aws b. al-Harith, Zayd, Qays, Nubayh, Khuwaylid, Amr, Khalid, Abd Allah and Yahlus.

Leadership of these 14 men devolved upon 3 of them. These were al-Aqib, their leader, opinion-maker and council-leader, whose decision no one would oppose; al-Sayyid, their protector, and camel-master; Abu Ḥarīṭa b. Alqama, their bishop and pontiff. The last-mentioned was an Arab of Banū Bakr b. Wa'il. He had entered the religion of Christianity, and the Byzantines had promoted and honoured him, built churches for him and given him power and authority because of the firmness they knew of his faith. He was nevertheless fully aware of the mission of the Messenger of God (SAAS), but (his love for) honour and prestige prevented him from following the truth.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Ibn Ishāq as stating, "Burayda b. Sufyān related to me, from Ibn al-Baylamānī, from Kurz b. Alqama, who said, 'A delegation of Christians of Najran arrived, consisting of 60 mounted men, 14 of whom were their leaders. And there were 24 of them . . . ' Three of them were in charge - al-Aqib, al-Sayyid and Abu Ḥarīṭa, one of the Banū Bakr b. Wa'il, their bishop, and their sabib midrās." This last man they had awarded great honour, power and privileges, and had built him churches because of what they had heard of his great knowledge and zeal for their faith.

28. Titles of authority.
29. Incomplete in the Arabic printed text.
30. Perhaps the guardian of their Midrash, an early Jewish interpretation of the Old Testament.
When they left Najrán, Abū Ḥaritha was mounted on a mule and by his side rode a brother of his named Kurz b. Ṣaqama. The mule of Abū Ḥaritha stumbled and Kurz said, ‘May al-Ab’ad, “the one far away”, (meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) stumble!’ Abū Ḥaritha commented, ‘No; it’s you who may stumble!’ Kurz asked him, ‘Why, brother?’ He replied, ‘I swear by God, he is certainly the prophet whom we have been awaiting!’

‘Kurz asked, ‘Well, what is holding you back, when you know that?’ He replied, ‘It’s because of what these people have done for us. They have honoured us, made payments to us, and given us authority. But they adamantly oppose him; if I were to take action, they would take everything away from us.’

‘His brother Kurz gave much thought to what he had said and eventually accepted Islam.’

Ibn Isḥaq went on to relate that when they entered the mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS), they were dressed in finery. It was time for the al-‘aṣr prayer, and they got up and prayed towards the east. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Let them do so.”

Their spokesman was Abū Ḥaritha b. Ṣaqama and (their other leaders were) al-Sayyid and al-Ṣaqib. Eventually the major part of surat Al ‘Imrān and verses about the oath-taking competition were revealed concerning them. But they refused the latter. They asked that a fully trustworthy man be sent out with them. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did dispatch Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, as is related above in the account of al-Bukhārī.

We have discussed this in detail in our Tafsīr (Exegesis) of surat Al ‘Imrān. And to God be all praise and credit.

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THE DELEGATION OF BANU ẒÂ‘IR AND THE STORY OF ẒÂ‘IR B. AL-ṬUFAYL AND ARBAD B. QAYS, MAY GOD DAMN THEM BOTH!


“When that enemy of God Ẓâ‘ir b. al-Ṭufayl came to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), it was with the intent of betraying him. His people had told him, ‘Abū Ẓâ‘ir, others have accepted Islam, you do so too.’ But he replied, ‘I swear by God, I made a vow I would never cease striving to get the Arabs to follow me; should I now follow this Quraish fellow?’

“Al-Arbad then said, ‘When we go to see this man, I will get him to turn his face away from you. When I do this, you strike him with your sword!’

“When they reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), Ẓâ‘ir b. al-Ṭufayl said, ‘Muḥammad, will you come aside with me?’ He replied, ‘No, by God, not until

31. To act as an arbitrator to settle an internal financial dispute, according to the sources.
you believe in God alone!' ‘Amir repeated, ‘Please, just come aside with me, Muhammad,’ and he began talking to him, waiting for Arbad to act. Arbad, however, did nothing. When ‘Amir saw that Arbad was taking no action, he again said, ‘Muhammad, do come aside with me,’ but he again replied, ‘No, not until you believe in God alone Who has no partner.’

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) thus rejected him, ‘Amir said, ‘Then, by God, I’ll fill this place with horses and men to fight you!’ When ‘Amir had turned away to leave, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘O God, take care of ‘Amir b. al-‘Tufayl for me!’

“When they had left the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘Amir b. al-‘Tufayl asked Arbad, ‘Had I not ordered you what to do? I swear by God, there was no man on earth I considered more fearsome than you! I swear, I’ll never fear you again, after today!’

“He replied, ‘I pray you, don’t blame me too hastily. Whenever I was about to do as you had asked, you got in the man’s way so all I could see was you. Should I have struck you with my sword?’

“They headed back home and when they had gone part way, God, the Almighty and Glorious, afflicted ‘Amir b. al-‘Tufayl with a growth in his neck. And God killed him in the home of a woman of Banu Salil. He exclaimed, ‘O Banu ‘Amir, shall (my death) be from a growth like that on a young camel in the home of a woman of Banu Salil?”’

Ibn Hisham stated, “The words are also quoted as, ‘... a growth like that of a camel and a death in the house of a Salilite woman?”’

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi narrated through al-Zubayr b. Bakkar, quoting Fāṭima, daughter of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Mawzala, from her father, from her grandfather, Mawzala b. Humayl, who said, “‘Amir b. al-‘Tufayl came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who told him, ‘‘Amir, accept Islam!’ He replied, ‘I will do so on condition that I control al-mabar, “the nomads”, while you control al-madar, “the villages”.’ He refused.

“Again the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Accept Islam!’ And again ‘Amir replied, ‘On condition I control the nomads, while you control the villages.’ ‘No,’ replied the Messenger of God (SAAS). ‘Amir then turned away, saying, ‘I swear by God, Muhammad, I’ll fill this place with horses like locusts and men like breadcrumbs; I’ll tether a horse to every palm tree!’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘O God, rid me of ‘Amir and give his people guidance!’

“‘Amir then left and when he reached the outskirts of Medina, he happened to meet a woman of his tribe called Salilyya. He dismounted from his horse and slept in her house. He was then afflicted by a growth in his throat. He mounted his horse and, levelling his lance, he rode away, saying, ‘A growth like that on a young camel and a death in the house of Salilyya!’ He kept this up until he fell dead from his horse.”
Abū 'Amr b. 'Abd al-Barr stated in his work *al-Isṭāb fī Ṣmāʾ al-Ṣaḥāba (A Study of the Names of the Companions)* concerning (a man named) Maw'ala: “He was Maw'ala b. Kuthayf b. Ḍāḥibī b. Ṣā'īr b. ‘Amir b. ‘Sa’sā‘a. He went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam when a young man of 20, and he lived on in the faith for 100 years. He was known as ‘he of the two tongues’ because of his eloquence. His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz related materials from him. It was he who recounted the story of ʿAmir b. al-Ṭūfayl and the line, ‘... a growth like that of a baggage camel and a death in the house of Ṣa‘īr so-and-so? Bring me my horse!’”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār stated, “Zamya', daughter of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Maw'ala b. Kuthayf b. Ḥamīl b. Khālid b. ʿAmr b. Muṭāwiya, he being al-Ḍabbāb b. Kīlāb b. Rābi'a b. ʿAmir b. ʿSa’sā‘a, said, ‘My father related to me, quoting his father, quoted Maw'ala as having recounted that he went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and accepted Islam when he was 20 years old. He pledged him his allegiance, wiped his right arm (in deference to him), and led his camel to him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave him a two-year-old she-camel. After the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), he became a companion of Abū Hurayra and lived on for 100 years into Islam. He was nicknamed “he of the two tongues” because of his eloquence.’”

I note that it is evident that the story of ʿAmir b. al-Ṭūfayl related to a period prior to the conquest of Mecca, even though Ibn Ḳisāʾ and al-Bayhaqī include mention of it thereafter.

When al-Bayhaqī gave it, he did so from al-Ḥakīm, from al-Asamm, quoting Muhammad b. Ḳisāʾ, quoting Muṭāwiya b. Ṣamīr, quoting Abū Ḳisāʾ al-Ḥaẓārī, from al-Awzāʾī, from Ḳisāʾ b. Abū ʿAlāʾ b. ‘Abū Ṣalāḥ, from Anas, in the account of the expedition to Biʿr Maʿṣūma and the killing by ʿAmir b. Ṭūfayl of Ḥarām b. Māliḥ, the uncle of Anas b. Ṭalḥa, and his treachery against the men there that resulted in the killing of them all except ʿAmr b. Umayyā, as is given above.

Al-Awzāʾī stated that Yahyā said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke prayers against ʿAmir b. Ṭūfayl for 30 mornings, saying, ‘O God, rid me of ʿAmir b. al-Ṭūfayl however You wish, and send upon him what will kill him.’ And God did infect him with a malignancy.”

It is related from Hammām, from Ḳisāʾ b. Abū Ṣalāḥ, from Anas, in the story relating to Ḥarām b. Māliḥ. Anas stated, “ʿAmir b. al-Ṭūfayl went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and told him, ‘I give you to choose between three options: you shall govern the people on the plains, while I the nomads, or I shall be your successor after you, or I will attack you with Banū Ṭaḥāfūn and 1,000 stallions and 1,000 mares.’”

He went on, “He was then, while staying in a woman’s house, afflicted with a malignant growth. At this, he exclaimed, ‘Shall it be a growth like that on a camel and death in the house of a woman of Banū so-and-so? Bring me my horse!’ He rode away and died upon his horse.”
Ibn Ishāq stated, “His companions went out and buried him, then proceeded on to Banū ‘Amir territory to spend the winter. When they arrived there, their people came to them and asked, ‘Arbad, how was it back behind you?’ ‘It was nothing,’ they replied. ‘I swear, all he did was invite us to worship something or other. I wish he were here now; I’d kill him with an arrow, right on the spot!’

“A day or two after his having made that comment, he went out with a camel he had to sell and God sent down upon him and it a thunderbolt that burned them both up.”

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Arbad b. Qays was a brother of Labīd b. Rabī’a on his mother’s side. Labīd said, mourning Arbad,

‘Death spares no one – not a kindly father, nor a son.
I fear much that death of Arbad more than I do the influence of Pisces or Leo.
Eye, why weep for Arbad, now that both we and the women have stood in mourning?
If others threatened, he ignored their threats; if they were reasoned in judgement, so was he.
A sweet and clever man, though with some bitterness in his sweetness; a man of calm and healthy constitution.
Eye, would you weep for Arbad now that the winter winds sweep the bare trees
And they have become wind-tossed and fruitless, their remnants of fruit revealed?
He was braver than a meat-eating forest-lion, staring forth and determined to prevail.
The eye does not see to its full extent on a night when horses return frail and worn.
He inspired the mourning women to attend his wake, (as evident) as young gazelles on barren terrain.
The lightning and thunderbolt terrified me when they struck this bold warrior that terrible day.
He took from those who robbed and gave back to their victims; if they came in distress, he gave them again and again.
He was generous in bad times, as when spring rain produces growth.
All the sons of a free-born woman must diminish in number, no matter how many they were.
Even though once envied, all shall be brought down; though once leaders, all shall perish and fade.”

Ibn Ishāq quoted many further lines from Labīd in mourning for Arbad b. Qays, his brother on his mother’s side. We have omitted them here for brevity’s sake, thinking the verses we have given sufficient. And it is God who leads to what is right.
Ibn Hisham stated that Zayd b. Aslam recounted, from ʿAtṣr b. Yasār, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “And God, the Almighty and Glorious, revealed the following concerning ʿAmir and Arbad: ‘God knows what every female bears and what falls short and what comes to fruition in the womb. And with Him everything has its measure. (He it is who is) Knowledgeable of the unseen and what is witnessed; He is the Great, the Most High. Alike (for Him) are those of you who conceal their words and those who speak openly, those who hide by night, and those who go forth by day. He has those (Helpers) who proceed forth on his behalf, both ahead and behind him, who protect him, by God’s command’ (ṣūrat al-Raʿād; XIII, v.9–11). By this latter wording, He is referring to Muḥammad (ṣa).”

“He proceeded to make reference to Arbad and to his execution. God Almighty stated, ‘And when God intends harm for a people there is no averting it and from Him they have no protector. He it is who shows you lightning bringing fear and expectation, He who summons the heavy clouds. The thunder proclaims His praise and the angels too are in awe of Him. He sends the thunderbolts and uses them to strike whomever He wishes. Yet they dispute concerning God, and He is Mighty in power’” (ṣūrat al-Raʿād; XIII, v.11–13).

We have discussed these honoured verses in our exegesis of ṣūrat al-Raʿād. And to God goes all praise and credit.

Ibn Hisham, may God have mercy on him, did provide a chain of authorities for this additional comment he made.

We are also given an account by the ḥāfiz Abū al-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Ahmad al-Ṭabarānī in his great compendium of ḥadīth in which he states, “Masʿāda b. Saʿd al-ʿAṭṭār related to us, quoting Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-ʿIḥīāmī, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUmrān, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān and ʿAbd Allāh, two sons of Zayd b. Aslam, from their father, from ʿAtṣr b. Yasār, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who recounted that Arbad b. Qays b. Jarīʾ b. Khalīd b. Jaʿfar b. Kilāb and ʿAmir b. al-Tufayl b. Mālik came to see the Messenger of God (ṣa) in Medina. When they reached him, he was seated and they both sat down in front of him. ʿAmir b. al-Tufayl asked him, ‘Muḥammad, what will you do for me if I accept Islam?’ The Messenger of God (ṣa) replied, ‘You will receive the same as the other Muslims and have the same obligations.’ ʿAmir then asked, ‘If I accept Islam, will you ensure that I become leader after you?’ The Messenger of God (ṣa) replied, ‘That shall not be for you or for your tribe. But you may have command over the cavalry.’ ʿAmir responded, ‘I already now have control over all the cavalry of Najd. Give me control over the nomads, and you control the villages.’ ʿAmir said, ‘I am coming to fill up this place with horses and men to fight you.’ The Messenger of God (ṣa) responded, ‘God will prevent you.’ ʿAmir left, the latter suggested, ‘Arbad, I’ll distract Muḥammad from you by talking to him, and then you strike him with your sword. If you do kill Muḥammad, they’ll want no more than to be satisfied by
payment of the blood-wit. They dislike warfare. You'll just give them the blood-wit.' Arbad replied, 'I'll do it.'

"They proceeded back to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and 'Amir addressed him, 'Muḥammad, get up and come with me so I can talk to you.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) arose and went alone with him towards the wall where he stopped to talk to him. Arbad went to draw his sword, but when he touched it, his hand lost its grip on the sword's hilt and he could not unsheathe it. Arbad was unable to strike him sufficiently quickly for 'Amir, because the Messenger of God (SAAS) turned and, seeing Arbad and what he intended, walked away from them both.

"When Arbad and 'Amir left the presence of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and reached the lava plain of Wāqīm, they halted. But Sa'd b. Mu'ādh and Usayd b. al-Ḥudayr went out after them and said, 'Clear off, you enemies of God! God damn you both!' 'Amir responded, 'Who is that, Sa'd?' 'That is Usayd b. Ḥudayr, of the cavalry squadrons,' he replied.

"They left, and while they were at al-Raqm, God sent a thunderbolt down on Arbad and killed him. 'Arnir then left, and when he was in the lava field, God sent a malignant growth to afflict him. That night he spent in the house of a woman of Bani Ṣa'd. He began feeling the growth on his neck and said, 'A growth like that of a camel, in the house of a woman of Bani Ṣa'd!' He loathed the idea of dying in her house.

"He then rode off on his horse, made it gallop, then died on it as he returned. God revealed about them both, 'God knows what every female . . .' and so on, to the words, 'He has those (Helpers) who proceed forth on his behalf . . .' By this, He was making reference to Muhammad (SAAS). He then made a reference to Arbad and how God had killed him, then quoted the verse, 'He sends the thunderbolts and uses them . . .'

This account suggests the early time frame of this incident concerning 'Amir and Arbad; this is because it mentions Sa'd b. Mu'ādh in it. But God knows best.

The arrival of the delegations of al-Tufayl b. 'Amir al-Dawsī, may God be pleased with him, to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Mecca and his acceptance of Islam have been treated above," and also how God placed a light between his eyes and he made a request to God, who removed it on to the end of his whip. We have detailed that above and have no need to repeat it here, as did al-Bayhaqī and others.

THE ARRIVAL OF Dimām B. Tha'Laba TO SEE THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS), ON BEHALF OF HIS TRIBE OF BANU Sa'D B. BAKR.


When he arrived, he made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque, hobbled it and entered the mosque while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was seated inside with his men. Đimām was a burly and hairy man who had two pigtails.

He advanced, stood over the Messenger of God (SAAS) and asked, ‘Which one of you is ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib’s son?’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘I am ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib’s son.’

‘Đimām then asked, “Muḥammad?” “Yes?” he asked. “Son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, I’ve got some tough questions to put to you; don’t be offended.”

‘“I’ll not be offended,” he replied. “Ask what you want.”

‘“I adjure you by God, your God, and the God of those who came before you, and the God of those who will come after you, is it God who orders you that we worship Him alone, and associate none other with Him, and that we take down those idols that our fathers worshipped?” “Yes, by God,” he replied.

‘“I again adjure you by God, your God, and the God of those before and after you, is it God who ordered you that we pray those five prayers?” “Yes,” he replied.

‘Đimām then began referring to the religious duties of Islam, one by one – alms-giving, fasting, the pilgrimage and all the other ordinances of Islam. He went on to refer to each one specifically. When he had finished, he said, “I testify that there is no god but God, and I testify that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. And I shall perform these duties and shall abstain from all that you prohibit. And I shall not add nor subtract anything.”

‘He then went to his camel to go home. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “If that man with the two pigtails spoke the truth, he will enter paradise!”

‘When Đimām reached his camel, he untied it and travelled home. His people gathered to meet him and the first thing he said was, “Al-Lat and al-ʿUzza are evil!” They told him, “Take care, Đimām! You might get leprosy! You might get elephantiasis! You might go crazy!”

‘He replied, ‘Confound you all! Those two can do no harm nor good. God has sent a Messenger and revealed to him a book with which I will try to save you from your former error. I testify that there is no god but God alone who has no partner, and that Muḥammad is His servant and His Messenger. I have come to you from him with orders for what you should do and what he forbids you from doing.”

‘And by God, that night and by next morning every man and woman there had become Muslims. And Ibn ʿAbbās said, “We never heard of anyone who came as a finer representative of any tribe than Đimām b. Thaʿlabab.”

Imām Āḥmad related this similarly, from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhri, from his father, from Ibn Isḥāq.

In this text there is evidence of his having returned to his people before the conquest of Mecca, since Khalid b. al-Walid destroyed al-Uzza during the days of that conquest.

Al-Waqidi stated that Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Sabrā related to him, from Shurayk b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Nimr, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “In Rajab, 5 AH Banū Saʿd b. Bakr sent Dimām b. Thaʿlabā out in a delegation to meet with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS); he was a burly, thick-haired man with two pigtails.

“When he arrived, he stood over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him questions, doing so brusquely, about who had sent him, what he was sent with, and about the required duties of Islam. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded to him concerning all this and he went back to his people as a Muslim. He took down the idols and told them what orders he had received and what he had been forbidden from doing. And by the next morning, every single man and woman of them had become Muslims. They built mosques and instituted the call for prayer.”

Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Sūlāmān—meaning Ibn al-Mughīrā—from Thābit, from Anas b. Malik, who said, “We had been forbidden to pose any questions to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and it would amaze us to have some intelligent man come in from the desert and ask him questions while we listened.

“One man arrived from the desert and asked, ‘Muḥammad, your messenger came to us and claimed that you claim that God sent you.’ ‘He spoke the truth,’ he replied.

“‘So who created the sky?’ he asked. ‘God.’ ‘And who created the earth?’ ‘God.’ ‘And who set up these mountains and placed things upon them?’

“He went on, ‘By Him who created the sky and the earth and set up these mountains, was it God who sent you?’ ‘Yes.’

“‘Your messenger claimed that we are required to perform five prayers each day and night.’ ‘He spoke the truth.’ ‘By Him who sent you, was it God who gave you this order?’ ‘Yes.’

“‘Your messenger claimed that we are to give zakāt payments from our assets.’ ‘He spoke the truth.’ ‘By Him who sent you with the truth, did He really give you this order?’ ‘Yes.’

“‘Your messenger claimed that we are required to fast for one month each year.’ ‘He spoke the truth.’ ‘By Him who sent you, was it God who gave you this order?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“‘And your messenger claimed that everyone with the necessary means is required to make a pilgrimage to the kaʿba.’ ‘He spoke the truth.’

“The man then turned aside, saying, ‘By Him who sent you with the truth, I will not add to nor subtract from these at all.’

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘If he has spoken the truth, he will enter paradise.’”
This hadith is included in both sahih collections, as well as in other compendia, with various phraseology and lines of transmission, from Anas b. Malik, may God be pleased with him. Muslim related it from a hadith of Abū al-Naḍr Hāshim b. al-Qāṣim, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughra. Al-Bukhrāʾi also gave this hadith from this source.

It is also given in similar form from another line. Imam Ahmad stated, “Al-Ḥāḏrāj related to us, quoting Layth, quoting Saʿd b. Abū Saʿd, from Shurayk b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Nimr, who stated that he heard Anas b. Malik say, ‘While we were seated in the mosque with the Messenger of God Ḥaṃs, a man arrived on a camel that he made kneel and hobbled it there. He then asked, ‘Which of you is Muḥammad?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was there, resting among his Companions. We told him, ‘He is this white-skinned man, the one reclining.’”

“The man addressed him, ‘Son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib . . .’” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “I will respond to you.” The man went on, “Muḥammad, I want to ask you some tough questions; don’t be offended at me.” “Ask whatever you see fit.” The man went on, “I adjure you by your Lord and the Lord of those who came before you, did God send you to all the people?” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “Yes, by God.”

“‘Again, I adjure you by God, was it God who gave you the order that we perform the five prayers each day and night?’ ‘By God, yes,’ he affirmed.

“‘Then, I adjure you by God, was it God who ordered you that we fast this month each year?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “Yes, by God!”

“‘I adjure you by God, was it God who ordered you to take these alms from our wealthy and to distribute them to our poor?’ “Yes, by God,” responded the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“The man went on, “Then I believe the message you bring. I am an envoy on behalf of my people back home; my name is ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaqīb, a brother of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr.’”


Abū Daʾūd, al-Naṣāʾi and Ibn Māja related this from al-Layth.

It is curious that al-Naṣāʾi related it from a line other than through al-Layth. He stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaqīb, a brother of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr, related it to me from Saʿd b. al-Maqbūrī, from Shurayk, from Anas b. Malik . . .” and he then gave the hadith. Al-Naṣāʾi also related it from a hadith of ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿUmārī, from Saʿd b. al-Maqbūrī, from Abū Hurayra. Perhaps it was derived from Saʿd b. al-Maqbūrī from both of these other sources. God knows best.

**DIVISION**

We have given above the account related by Imām Ahmad, from Yahyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Thaqīb, a brother of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr, from al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Saʿd b. al-Maqbūrī.

See Vol. II.
from Ibn ‘Abbās, relating to the arrival of ʿImām al-Azdi to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Mecca before the Hijra and of the acceptance of Islam by the former and by his people. Our previous account is of sufficient detail to need no repetition here. And to God be all praise and credit.

THE DELEGATION OF TAYYYP WITH ‘ZAYD OF THE HORSES’ MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

This man was Zayd b. Muhallīl b. Zayd b. Manhib, known as Abū Muknīf al-Ṭāṭ. He was one of the finest of the Arabs, and one of their tallest. He was called, “Zayd of the horses” because of five mares he owned.

Al-Suhaylī noted, “Each of these horses had a name, but these at present escape me.”

Ibn Isāq stated, “A delegation from Banū Taʿī, led by ‘Zayd of the horses’, came to visit the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When they reached him, they spoke with him, and he explained Islam to them which they accepted; they became good Muslims.

“A man of Taʿī whom I trust told me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, ‘I have never met an Arab previously referred to me as of high reputation whom I have not found, on meeting him, to fall short of what is ascribed to him. Except for ‘Zayd of the horses’; his reputation did not do justice to him.’

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then renamed him Zayd al-Khayr, ‘Zayd the good’, instead of Zayd al-Khayl, ‘Zayd of the horses’. He then deeded to him Faydī and two properties along with it, giving him a document to that effect.

“Zayd then left to travel back to his people; as he did so, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Let’s hope Zayd avoids catching the Medina fever.’

“The source for this report said that he did not actually use the term zummā, ‘fever’, nor did he use its commonly used nickname Umm Maldam; however, my source did not actually give the term he used.”

Ibn Isāq continued, “When Zayd travelled on and reached one of the wells in Najd called Farda, he was fatally stricken by the fever. As he sensed the approach of death, he said,

‘Shall my people move on in the morning to the East while I am left in a house in Farda in Nejd? Many was the day that women would visit with me, even when sick, or tired but not exhausted by journeying.’

“After his death, his wife, due to her ignorance and the scant nature of both her intellect and her faith, took all the documents Zayd had with him and burned them.”

34. Land to the east of Salmā, a mountain in Banū Taʿī territory.
35. The Arabic printed text quotes al-Suhaylī as stating that the word used was Umm Kalba.
It is established in both *ṣaḥiḥ* collections from Abū Sa‘īd, that ‘All b. Abū Ṭālib sent a nugget of gold to the value of a *dhahabiyya* from Yemen to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who distributed it between four persons: Zayd al-Khayl, ‘Alqama b. ‘Udynamic. al-Aqrab, Ḥabīb and ‘Uyyaṇa b. Badr; this *ḥadīth* is similar to that given above. An account of this will be given hereafter, relating to the dispatch of ‘All to Yemen, if God Almighty so wills it.

The Story of ‘Adī b. Ḥātim al-Tā’ī.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his *ṣaḥiḥ* collection under a section headed: *The Delegation from Banū al-Tayy (Tā’ī)* and the *ḥadīth of ‘Adī b. Ḥātim.* Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl related to us, as did Abū ‘Awāna and ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḫumayr, from ‘Āmir b. Hurayth, from ‘Adī b. Ḥātim, who said, “We came to Ḫumayr b. al-Khaṭṭāb in a delegation and he began calling out to us by name, one by one. I asked, ‘Don’t you know me, Commander of the Believers?’ ‘O yes,’ he replied, ‘you accepted Islam when others disbelieved. You advanced when they retreated. You were true when they betrayed. You recognized when they denied.’”

‘Adī said, “So I responded, ‘Well, I don’t mind’ then!”’

Ibn Ishāq stated, “‘Adī b. Ḥātim, so I have been told, used to say, ‘No Arab more disliked the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he first heard of him than did I. Of high birth, I was also a Christian. I used to move among my people collecting my fourth share. I was content about my religion and was treated by my subjects like a king.

“When I heard about the Messenger of God (SAAS), I hated him. I told an Arab slave of mine who was herdsman for my camels, “Get some of my camels well trained and fattened and keep them close by me. If you hear of Muḥammad’s army setting foot in this area, then warn me.” And he did so.

“‘He came to me one morning and said, “‘Adī, do now whatever you intended if Muḥammad’s cavalry were to come; I’ve seen banners, and when I asked about them I was told they were Muḥammad’s armies.” I told him, “Bring up my camels!” And he did so. Having mounted up my family, I announced, “I’m going to join my fellow Christians in Syria.”

“I travelled to al-Jawshiyah, at which town I left a daughter of (my father) Ḥātim. When I reached Syria, I took up residence there. Muḥammad’s cavalry came on after me and among the prisoners they took was Ḥātim’s daughter. She was conducted in to the Messenger of God (SAAS), along with other prisoners of Banū Ṭā’ī; he had heard of my flight to Syria.

“‘Ḥātim’s daughter was placed in an enclosure near the door of the mosque where prisoners were kept. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) happened to pass by there, Ḥātim’s daughter, a woman of fine intellect, arose to greet him and

36. The caliph’s evident high regard for ‘Adī has removed the latter’s sense of offence at not having been called upon earlier.
IMAM ABU AL-FIDA' ISMA'IL IBN KATHIR

said, 'Messenger of God, my father is dead and my wâfid," 'guardian', has gone. So please spare me - and may God spare you!"

"He asked, 'And who is your guardian?" Adî b. Ḥâtîm," she replied. 'The one who fled from God and His Messenger?" he asked.

"She (later) stated, 'He then went away, leaving me there. Next morning, he again passed by; I said as I had before, and he made the same response as the previous day.

"The following morning, he again passed and I was in despair. A man following behind him gestured to me to get up and speak to him. I did so, saying, 'Messenger of God, my father is dead and my guardian absent; please spare me. And may God spare you!"

"He responded, 'So be it. But do not hasten to leave before you find someone of your people whom you trust who can conduct you home. Let me know.' I asked about the man who had gestured to me to speak to him and I was told that he was Ali b. Abu Talib.'

"She went on, 'I remained until riders came from Balî or Quqâ'a. All I wanted was to go to my brother in Syria. So I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) and told him, 'Messenger of God, a group of my people have arrived and I consider them trustworthy.' She went on, 'He gave me clothing and a mount and expense money; I then left with them and arrived in Syria.'"

'Adî went on, 'There I was, I swear, sitting with my family when I saw a howdah heading for our people. I said, 'That will be Ḥâtîm's daughter.' And there she was! When she stood there before me, she burst out, 'You absolute villain! You carried off your wife and family, yet left your father's daughter unprotected!' I responded, 'Come on now, sister; speak only good! I swear, I have no excuse. I did just as you say.'

"She then dismounted and remained there with me. I asked her, knowing her to be a sensible woman, 'What is your view of this man?' She replied, 'In my opinion you should join him quickly. If the man is a prophet, then all the more virtue to those who go to him first. If he is a king, then you'll not be bringing any shame to the glory of Yemen, being who you are.'

"I said, 'By God, that's good advice.' I then left and went to the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Medina. I went to him in his mosque and greeted him. He asked, 'Who is this man?' I replied, 'Adî b. Ḥâtîm.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) arose and took me home with him. On the way with me there an infirm old woman came up and stopped him. He stood there talking with her for a long time about her problem. I told myself, 'By God, this is no king!'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then took me to his home. When I went inside, he picked up a leather cushion stuffed with palm leaves and threw it to

37. An obscure word; the context here seems to require "guardian" as its translation, since her comment refers to her near relative, the narrator.
me, saying, ‘Here, sit down on this.’ I replied, ‘No, you sit on it.’ ‘No, you,’ he insisted.

“So I did sit, while he seated himself on the floor. Again I told myself, ‘This is not the action of a king!’

“He then said, ‘Well then, ‘Adl b. Ḥātim, so you’re a rakūṣī,38 right?’ ‘That’s right,’ I agreed.

“‘You’ve been taking a quarter share from your people, haven’t you?’ he asked. ‘Yes,’ I agreed. ‘But that’s not appropriate for you in your religion,’ he commented. ‘I swear, you’re quite right,’ I said, conscious of him being a prophet, aware of things not well known.

“He then said, ‘Maybe ‘Adl, the only thing preventing you joining the faith is the poverty of our people. I swear by God, wealth is about to flood over them so that there won’t be enough to take it! Or perhaps you don’t enter the faith because of the large number of our enemies. I swear by God, you’ll soon be hearing of women who come riding camels from Qādīsīyā39 to visit this house, and without being afraid. Or maybe what’s holding you back is your seeing that others have control and sovereignty over them. I swear by God, you’ll soon hear of the white castles of Babylon being conquered by them.’

‘‘Adl concluded, “At that I accepted Islam.”

Ibn Isḥaq’s account continues, “‘Adl used to say, ‘Two of these (predictions) came to pass, but the third remained unfulfilled. But, I swear, it too was to be fulfilled! I did see the white castles of Babylon conquered. And I also saw women borne on ḥowdāḥs from al-Qādīsīyā and make pilgrimage to the ka’ba without fear. And, I swear, the third will happen too; wealth will flood in until there won’t be those to take it!’”

This is how Ibn Isḥaq, may God have mercy on him, gave this text – without a chain of transmission. But there are witnesses to this hadith from other sources.

Imām Āḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muhammad b. Ja‘far, quoting Shu‘ba, quoting Simāk b. Ḥarb, quoting ‘Abdād b. Ḥubaysh, who related the following hadith from ‘Adl b. Ḥātim, who said, “The cavalry of the Messenger of God (SAA) arrived while I was at ‘Aqrab.” They took prisoner my aunt and others. When these were later lined up before the Messenger of God (SAA), she said, ‘Messenger of God, my guardian is far away, and I am separated from my children. I’m just an elderly woman with no servants. Spare me – and may God spare you!’

“He asked her, ‘Who is your guardian?’ ‘‘Adl b. Ḥātim,’ she replied.

38. A religion considered to share elements of Christianity with those of Sabianism.
39. An ancient city in Iraq, the site of the famous battle in the caliphate of Ĕumar. By “this house”, the ka’ba is presumably implied. The comment suggests that Islam would establish an empire in which security would prevail.
40. A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that this might be a mistake for ‘Aqrab, a town in Jūlān, near Damascus.
“He asked, ‘The man who fled from God and His Messenger?’

‘Spare me,’ she asked.

“When he next came back, there was another man at his side who I think to have been ‘Ali, who said, ‘Ask him for a howdah. She did so, and he ordered one.’”

‘Adi went on, “Then she came to me and said, ‘Your father would never have done as you have! Go to him, whether hoping for gain or pity. So-and-so went and were rewarded, as others have been.’

“I did go to him and he had with him a woman with two children and another boy. He mentioned their relationship to him. I then knew that this was not the domain of some Chosroe or Caesar.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, ‘Adi b. Ḥātim, what made you flee? Was it having the words, “There is no god but God” spoken? Is there any god but God? What made you flee? Was it due to the words, “Allāhu Akbar! God is most Great!” spoken? Is there anything greater than God, Almighty and Glorious is He?’ So I accepted Islam and saw his face rejoice. He then said, “The ones al-maght/ūb‘alayhim, ‘who have incurred (God’s) wrath’, refers to the Jews; the al-t/ālin, ‘those who are straying’ refers to the Christians.”

“Then questions were asked of him, and he gave praise and thanks to God. He went on to say, ‘To proceed: people, it is up to you to give from (your) surplus. Give a man (the measure of) a sā‘; or one part of a sā‘; or a handful; or part of a handful. (Shu’ba stated, ‘As far as I know, he also said, “or a date; or half a date” .’)

“(The Prophet (SAAS) went on) ‘Each of you will meet God, saying as I am, “Did I not make you hearing and seeing? Did I not give you wealth and children? Yet what have you offered?” Each person will then look before and behind him, to his right and to his left and find nothing but hell-fire wherever he looks. Fear the fire, even if by giving only half a date! And if you do not possess that, then give a kind word. I fear not poverty for you. God will certainly aid you until a howdah-borne woman can travel between al-Ḥira and Yathrib (Medina) with the worst fear she has being to be robbed while travelling.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related it from a ḥadīth of Shu’ba and ‘Amr b. Abū Qays, both of them quoting Simak. He then said, “This is ḥasan, gharib; ‘good’ and ‘unilateral’; we know it only from the ḥadīth of Simak.”

Imām ʿAbd Allāh also stated, “Yazid related to us, quoting Ḥishām b. Ḥassān, from Muḥammad b. Sirīn, from Abū Ubayda – he being Ḥudhayfa’s son – from a man who said, ‘I told ‘Adī b. Ḥātim, ‘I’ve heard a ḥadīth attributed to you that I would like to hear from you.’ “Certainly,” he replied. “When I learned that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had come forth (with his mission) I very much hated his having done so. I left and travelled into Byzantine territory” – in one version the wording is, “until I reached Caesar” – “but I hated my being there even more than I did his having come forth (with his mission).”

41. The Arabic phrases given here are from the surat al-Fatīḥa; I, v.7.
“So I told myself, ‘If I go to this man, it will not harm me if he is a liar; and if he is being truthful, then I will have learned.’ So I did go to him and when I arrived, people said, ‘It’s ‘Adi b. Ḥātim!’

“When I went in to see the Messenger of God (SAAS), he asked me, ‘Adi b. Ḥātim, aslim, taslim!, ‘accept Islam and be safe!’ He said this three times.

“I replied, ‘But I already have a faith.’ He commented, ‘I know more about your faith than you do!’

“You know more of my faith than I?’ I asked. ‘Yes,’ he said. ‘Aren’t you of the al-rakiisiyya? And yet you take a fourth of your people’s produce?’ ‘Yes,’ I acknowledged. ‘Well,’ he commented, ‘that’s not permissible for you in your faith.’ ‘Yes,’ I agreed. And as soon as he said this, I came to agree about it.

“He went on, ‘And I know what is keeping you from Islam. You say, “It’s only those with the least power who follow him, those with no power, and the Arabs attack them.” Do you know al-ljira?’ ‘I’ve not seen it; but I have heard of it,’ I replied. ‘I swear by Him who holds my soul in His hand,’ he went on, ‘God will so conclude all this that women borne on howdahs will come out of al-ljira and circumambulate the ka’ba without having any to protect them! And He will conquer the treasuries of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz! The treasures of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz, and the money will be distributed bountifully until there will be no one to accept it!’

“And, ‘Adi b. Ḥāzim went on, ‘these women borne on camels did come and circumambulate the ka’ba without (needing) any to protect them. Moreover, I was one of those who conquered the treasures of Chosroe and the third prediction will come about because it was the Messenger of God (SAAS) who said it!’”

(Imām) Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi stated that he was informed by Abū ‘Amr al-Adib, quoting Abū Bakr al-Isma’īlī, quoting al-‘Iṣāṣī b. Sufyān, quoting Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, quoting al-Nadr b. Shumayl, quoting Isra’il, quoting Sa’d al-Taḥtā, quoting Maḥī b. Khalīfa, from ‘Adi b. Ḥātim, who said, “While I was with the Prophet (SAAS), a man came in to see him, and complained about his poverty. Then another man came to him and complained to him about highway robbery.

“He then asked, ‘Adi b. Ḥātim, have you seen al-Ḥira? I replied, ‘I’ve not seen it, but I’ve been told about it,’ ‘Well,’ he said, ‘if you live long enough, you’ll see women borne in howdahs ride in from al-Ḥira and circumambulate the ka’ba fearing no one except God, Almighty and Glorious is He.’

42. A derogatory term applied to a faith said to combine the beliefs of Christians and Sabians.
"I asked myself, ‘So where are those toughs of Tayyi who set the country afire?’

“He went on, ‘And if your life continues long enough, the treasures of Chosroe, son of Hurmuz will be conquered.’ ‘What? Chosroe, son of Hurmuz?’ I asked. ‘Yes, Chosroe, son of Hurmuz. And if your life continues long enough, you’ll see a man come along bearing a palm full of gold or silver who asks everyone he meets to accept it, and he’ll find no one. And on the day you each meet with God, you’ll find you have no intermediary between yourself and Him, and that you’ll see only hell-fire if you look to the right and only hell-fire if you look to the left.’”

‘Adl went on, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, ‘Fear the fire, even if (by donating) only half a date. And if you can’t find half a date, then (speak) a kind word.’

“And I did see howdahs arriving from al-Kufa so their women could circumambulate the ka’ba and having fear only of God the Almighty and Glorious. I was one of those who conquered the treasures of Chosroe b. Hurmuz; and if you live long enough, you’ll see (fulfilled) all that Abu al-Qasim, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, spoke.”

Al-Bukhārī related this from Muhammad b. al-Ḥakam, from al-Nadr b. Shumayl, in full. He also related it on a different line of transmission, from Sa’dan b. Bishr, from Sa’id Abū Mujahid al-Ṭārī, from Mahall b. Khalīfa, from ‘Adī. Imām Ahmad and al-Nasā’ī related it from a hadith of Shu’ba, from Sa’d Abū Mujahid al-Ṭārī.

‘Amīr b. Shurabīl al-Shāblī is also one of those who narrated this, and he did so in similar words. His version has the wording, “. . . having fear only of God and of wolves attacking their sheep.”

It is related in the sahih collection of al-Bukhārī, from a hadith of Shu’ba, and by Muslim, from a hadith of Zuhayr b. Mu’awiyah, both of them quoting Ibn Ishaq, from ‘Abd Allah b. Ma’qil al-Muzantī, from ‘Adī b. Ḥātim, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Fear hell-fire, even if only on account of half a date!’”

The phrase given by Muslim is, “Whoever among you can shield himself from hell-fire by means of half a date should do so.”

There are other lines of transmission also that testify to the above.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Ḥāfiz, quoting Abū Bakr b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Yūsuf, quoting Abū Sa’īd, ‘Ubayd b. Kathīr b. ‘Abd al-Wahīd al-Kūfī, quoting Dirār b. Shūrād, quoting ‘Aṣīm b. Ḥāmid, from Abū Hamza al-Thumālī, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Jundab, from Kumayl b. Ziyād al-Nakha’ī, who said, “‘Ali b. Abī Ṭalīb stated, ‘Glory be to God! How many a man who acts pious for gain! How strange is someone who is approached by his Muslim brother in need yet does not see his way to doing good. For even if he did not hope for reward or fear punishment, he ought to make haste in acting with nobility, for it is such deeds that lead to success.’
“A man thereupon arose to ask him, ‘0 Commander of the Believers, I pledge you my father and my mother, did you hear that from the Messenger of God (SAAS)?’ ‘Ali replied, ‘Yes. And I have a tale even better than that. When the Tayy women were brought in as captives, one of them was red-haired, cherry-lipped, smooth-skinned, slender-nosed, with an erect figure, raised head, full ankles, plump legs, rounded thighs, slim waist, slender sides and well-shaped body. I was much struck by her when I saw her and said I would request the Messenger of God (SAAS), to award her to me in my portion of the booty. But when she spoke, I forgot her beauty for the eloquence I heard. She said, ‘O Muhammad, will you not release me and spare me the malicious gloating of the Arab tribes, for I am the daughter of the leader of my people. My father was guardian of our sacred objects; he relieved the distressed, fed the hungry, clothed the naked, gave generous hospitality, provided the best of food, spread peace abroad, and never refused the request of the needy. I am the daughter of Ḥātim al-Ṭā’ī.’

‘The Prophet (SAAS) replied, ‘O girl, all that truly describes the Believers. Had your father been a believer, we would certainly have been merciful to him. Release her, for her father was a man who loved noble character traits, and God Almighty loves noble character traits.’

‘At that Abū Burdā b. Niyār arose and asked, ‘Messenger of God, does God really love noble character?’

‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘By Him in whose hand is my soul, no one will enter heaven except by noble character.’

This hadith is hasan, “good”, in its content, but very gharib, “unique”, in its line of transmission. Its mukhrij, “narrator”, is highly esteemed.

We have reviewed the biography of Ḥātim al-Ṭā’ī in the jāhiliyya period in reference to those men of fame who died during that time. Therein we commented upon those qualities of goodness and kindness that made him believed by people. However, (we showed that) the extent of the advantage to him of these qualities was dependent upon his faith; he was of those who never spoke the words, ‘O God, forgive me my sins on the Day of Judgement.’

Al-Waqīdī claimed that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent ʿĀli b. Abū Ṭalīb in Rabi’ al-Ākhir of 9 AH into Tayy territory and brought back prisoners who included the sister of ʿAdi b. Ḥātim. With him he also brought two swords that had been in the temple for the idols; one of them was called al-rasūb, “the deep-cutter”, the other al-mikhdam, “the sharp-slicer”. Al-Ḥārith b. Abū Shamar had presented them as an offering to the idol there.

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, also gave a section under the heading, The Story of (Banū) Daws and al-ʿRufayl b. ʿAmr.

He stated that it was related to him by Abū Nuʿaym, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Dhakwān – he being ʿAbd Allah b. Ziyād – from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAraj, from

43. This hadith is also given above: Vol I. pages 152-4.
Abū Hurayra, who said, "Al-Tufayl b. 'Amr came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and told him, '(Bantu) Daws are done for; they have been disobedient and have refused (Islam); so pray to God against them.'

"However, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'O God, give Daws guidance and bring them.'"

AI-Bukhari is alone in giving this with this line of transmission.

He then went on, "Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ related to us, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Ismāʿīl, from Qays, from Abū Hurayra, who said, 'As I made my way to the Messenger of God (SAAS), I recited to myself, "O night, how long and difficult you are; however, you have freed me from the abode of disbelief.""

"On the way, a slave of mine escaped and, having reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), and pledged my allegiance to him, I was still there with him when the slave suddenly appeared. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, "Abū Hurayra, this is your slave." I replied, "He is freed for God's sake." And I manumitted him.'"

AI-Bukhari is alone in giving this hadith, from a hadith of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khalid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim.

The arrival of al-Tufayl b. 'Amr, to which al-Bukhari refers here, occurred before the Hijra. Moreover, even if his arrival is calculated as after the Hijra, it came before the conquest of Mecca. This is because Daws brought Abū Hurayra when they came. And his arrival coincided with the siege of Khaybar by the Messenger of God (SAAS). Abū Hurayra then left again and came back to the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Khaybar after the conquest and some of the spoils (of Khaybar) were awarded to them. We have covered all this at appropriate length in its appropriate place.

AI-Bukhari, may God have mercy upon him, gives a further section entitled, The Arrival of the Ashʿarīs and the people of Yemen.

He then proceeded to relate from a hadith of Shu'ba, from Sulaymān b. Mahran al-A'mash, from Dhakwan Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Samman, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (SAAS), who said, "The people of Yemen have come to you. They are most gentle and kind. Faith is (a characteristic) of Yemen; wisdom is of Yemen. Pride and arrogance reside in those with camels, while tranquillity and seriousness resides in those with sheep."

Muslim related this from a hadith of Shu'ba.

AI-Bukhari then related it from Abū al-Yamān, from Shu'ayb, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-ʿArāj, from Abū Hurayra, from the Prophet (SAAS), who said, "The people of Yemen have come to you. They are most kind and sensitive. Understanding the faith and wisdom are (characteristics) of Yemen."

He then related, from Ismāʿīl, from Sulaymān, from Thawr, from Abū al-Mughith, from Abū Hurayra (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Belief is of Yemen, while al-fitna, 'trouble', is over here. It is over here that Satan's horn appears."

44. The word bears connotations of dissension and civil unrest.
Muslim related it from Shu'ayb, from al-Zuhri, fromSa'îd b. al-Musayyab, from Abû Hurayra.

Al-Bukhârî then went on to relate from a hadîth of Shu'ba, from Ismâ'îl, from Qays, from Abû Mas'ûd, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Faith is over here” - gesturing towards Yemen - “while insensitivity and harshness of heart are qualities of those concerned only with their camels; and from them the two horns of Satan will emerge. (They are the tribes of) Rabî'î and Muḍăr.”

Thus do al-Bukhârî and also Muslim relate it, from a hadîth of Ismâ'îl b. Abû Khalij, from Qays b. Abû Hâzim, from Abû Mas'ûd 'Uqba b. 'Amr.

Al-Bukhârî proceeded to relate a hadîth of Sufyan al-Thawri, from Abû Ṣâ'khrâ Jāmî b. Shaddâd, quoting Ṣâfîn b. Muḥriz, from 'Imrân b. Ḥusayn, who said, “Banû Tamîm came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he told them, ‘Accept my good tidings, Banû Tamîm!’ They replied, ‘Having now awarded you your good tidings, how about you also giving us something?’ At that the expression of the Messenger of God (SAAS) changed. Some people from Yemen then came in and he told them, ‘You accept my good tidings; Banû Tamîm have not done so.’ They responded, ‘We do accept them, Messenger of God.’”

Al-Tirmidhi and al-Nâsâ'î related it from a hadîth of al-Thawri.

All of this goes to show the superiority of the delegations from the people of Yemen, regardless of the lateness of their arrival. The lateness of the arrival of the Banû Tamîm delegation need not necessarily be placed in comparison with the arrival of the Ash'ârs. Indeed, the arrival of the delegation of the Ash'ârs preceded this. They came in the company of Abû Mûsâ al-Ash'ârî, accompanied by Ja'far b. Abû Ṭalîb and his fellow muḥâjirîn who had been in Abyssinia. And this all happened while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was engaged in the conquest of Khaybar, as we have detailed in its appropriate place above. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had then made his statement, “I swear by God, I don't know which makes me happier; the arrival of Ja'far, or the conquest of Khaybar!” But God, Almighty and Glorious is He, knows best.

Al-Bukhârî then proceeded with his section on The Story of ‘Umar and al-Bahrîyin. He stated that Qutayba b. Sa'îd related to him, quoting Sufyan, quoting Muḥâammad b. al-Munkâdîr, quoting Ja'far b. ‘Abd Allah, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) told me, ‘When the money arrives from al-Bahrîyin, I'll give you so-much and so-much and so-much.’” He gave three figures. But the money from al-Bahrîyin did not arrive before the Messenger of God (SAAS) died.

“When it came in for (the Caliph) Abû Bakr, he ordered a crier to announce, ‘Anyone having an outstanding debt or payment due him from the Messenger of God (SAAS) should come to me.”’

Ja'far went on, “So I went to Abû Bakr and told him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said, ‘When the money arrives from Bahrîyin, I'll give you so-much and so-much,’ mentioning three figures. But he turned away from me.

“So thereafter I again met Abū Bakr and asked him, but again he gave me nothing. Once more I went and he still did not give to me. And I did this yet a third time, with him still not giving to me. I then told him, ‘I have repeatedly come to you and asked you to give me payment but you have not done so. Either you pay me, or you will be treating me in a miserly manner. Are you being a miser?’ He replied, ‘What curse would be worse than miserliness!’ He said this three times, then went on, ‘Every time I refused you, I really did want to give to you.’”

Al-Bukhari related this here in this way. Muslim related it from ‘Amr al-Naqid, from Sufyān b. Uyayna.

Al-Bukhari proceeded to state, “And from ‘Amr, from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. Jabir b. ‘Abd Allah is quoted as having said, ‘I went to him and Abū Bakr (gave me the money and) said, “So count it.” I did so and found it to be 500 dirhams. I then said, “Now, take the same, twice over.”’”

Al-Bukhari also related it from ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī, from Sufyān – he being Ibn Uyayna – from ‘Amr b. Dinār, from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Abū Ja‘far al-Ba‘qir, from Jabir. This account is similar to that from Qutayba. Both he and Muslim also related it through other lines of transmission, from Sufyān b. Uyayna, from ‘Amr, from Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, from Jabir in similar form. In another account he is said to have given orders and his hands were piled high with coins which he counted; they amounted to 500 dirhams. He then doubled it twice – that is, the total he gave him was 1,500 dirhams.

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THE DELEGATION OF FARWA B. MUSAYK AL-MURĀDI, ONE OF HIS PEOPLE’S LEADERS, TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS).


“A conflict had arisen between his people of Murād and (Bānū) Hamdān. In that engagement, known as the battle of Radm, Hamdān had severely beaten his people; the leader of the Hamdān force had been al-Ajda‘ b. Mālik.”

Ibn Hishām stated that he is also said to have been Mālik b. Kharīm al-Hamdānī.

Ibn Iṣḥāq stated, “Farwa b. Musayk spoke the following verses on that day:

“They passed by Lāfāt, their eyes fatigued, pulling at their reins, turning aside.

Should we be conquered, well, we were conquerors once, and if (now) conquered, then by others than those we conquered.

It is not our way to be cowards, but our fate and the wishes of others (influence the outcome).

Thus it is that fate revolves, its revolutions going around and around.

We may be pleased and contented with our lot and may have enjoyed its bounties for years.
The cycles of fate may reverse their course and those formerly envied are suddenly crushed. Those who are envied for bounty from fate may find the turns of time treacherous. If kings were immortal, so would we be; and if men of nobility lived for ever, so would we. The leaders of my people pass away, just as have those of former times.”

Ibn Ishāq went on, “And as Farwa left the kings of Kinda on his way to the Messenger of God (SAAS), he said:

‘Having seen how the kings of Kinda went astray, like a man betrayed by his thigh joints, I brought up my mount to head for Muḥammad, hoping for his favours and all they entail.’

“When Farwa reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), the latter asked him, so I have been told, ‘Farwa, did what befell your people at the battle of al-Radīm truly upset you?’

“He replied, ‘Messenger of God, what man would not be upset to have happen to his people what happened to mine?’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told him, ‘That can only compound for your people the benefit Islam will bring them.’ He then appointed Farwa as governor over Murād, all of Zubayd and Mādhīj, sending out with him Khalīd b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Ās to collect the alms; he remained there with him in his territory until the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

THE ARRIVAL OF ‘AMR B. MA‘DI KARIB WITH PERSONS FROM (BANU) ZABID.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “When news of the Messenger of God (SAAS) had reached them, ‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib had said to Qays b. Mākhṣūl al-Murādī, ‘Qays, you are your people’s leader; we have been told that a man of Quraysh named Muḥammad has come forth in Hijāz saying that he is a prophet. Let’s go to him and gain knowledge of him. If a prophet, as he says, we’ll find out, and if we decide him to be one, we’ll follow him. If not, we’ll know that too.’ But Qays refused to do this and ridiculed his view.

“When ‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib then left and rode to the Messenger of God (SAAS); he accepted Islam, believing and having faith in him. When news of that reached Qays b. Mākhshuḥ, he made threats against ‘Amr for having acted against his own wishes and views.

“On that subject, ‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib spoke the following verses:

‘I advised you on that day at Ṣan‘a in a manner that was plainly wise
I advised you to fear God, to act with charity and to subject yourself to Him.

But you went off out of your lust, like an ass led on by his member!

He wanted me to be on a horse, seated on it like a lion.

Dressed in a coat of mail (shining) like a pool of water, its water clear, lying on rocky, flat ground.

Armor that will fend off lances having bent their heads, making them fly off in pieces.

Had you met me in battle, you would have found me like a lion with a towering mane,

A fierce lion, its claws raised about its shoulders

Facing its opponent; if his rival makes for him, he throws him over,

Grips him, raises him, brings him down and kills him,

Crushing his brains, smashing him, biting him and devouring him,

Refusing to share what his own fangs and claws grip fast.'"

Ibn Ishāq proceeded, “‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib remained there among his people of Banū Zubayd while Farwa b. Musayk was their governor. Following the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib apostatized along with the others and spoke the following verses satirizing Farwa b. Musayk:

‘We found the rule of Farwa the worst ever — an ass, his nose sniffing at a female organ!

When one looks at Abu Umayr, one is reminded of the disgusting afterbirth from a camel!’”

I note that he returned to Islam thereafter and was a good Muslim. He participated in many of the conquests made during the rule of Abu Bakr and that of Umar, may God be pleased with them both.

He was a brave and renowned warrior and hero, as well as a fine poet. He died in 21 AH after having taken part in the battle of Nahawand; it is alternatively said that he took part in the battle of al-Qadisiyya and was killed on that day.

Abū ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated, “His arrival to the Messenger of God (SAAS) occurred in 9 AH. However, according to what is related by Ibn Ishāq and al-Waqidi, this took place in 10 AH.”

I note that al-Shafī‘i gives evidence in support of this. But God knows best.

Yūnus stated, quoting from Ibn Ishāq, who said, “It has been said that ‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib did not actually go to see the Prophet (SAAS). On that subject he (‘Amr b. Ma‘di Karib) is quoted as having spoken the following verses:
‘I am in myself fully convinced by the Prophet, even if I have not seen him with my own eyes.

He is the master of all men, and the closest to God when his stature became manifest.

He brought the law from the presence of God, and he was *al-Amin*, ‘the trustworthy’, given help thereby.

In wisdom after wisdom and in light by which we were led aright out of our blindness.

We rode along the (right) path when we rode with him, new in both what we dislike and liked.

We worshipped God in truth, whereas before having worshipped idols, in our ignorance,

We became allied with him, whereas we had been enemies, and we came back with him, as friends.

Peace be upon him, and peace from us (to him) wherever we were and wherever he be.

Even if we did not see the Prophet, we followed his path in faith.’”

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**THE ARRIVAL OF AL-ASH`ATH B. QAYS IN A DELEGATION FROM KINDA.**


‘Al-Zuhri related to me that he came as one of a party of 80 riders from Kinda. They went in to the Messenger of God (SAA) in his mosque, having curled their long hair, put *kulh*, ‘mascara’, around their eyes and dressed in multi-coloured robes with silken edges.

“When they entered in to the Messenger of God (SAA), he asked them, ‘Would you not accept Islam?’ ‘Why yes,’ they replied. ‘Then why is there this silk around your necks?’ They ripped it off and discarded it.

“Al-Ash‘ath b. Qays then told him, ‘Messengers of God, we are, just as you are yourself, from the tribe of the ‘Akil al-Murār, ‘the one who ate bitter herbs’.’

“The Messenger of God (SAA) smiled and said, ‘People do ascribe this ancestry to al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith.’

“These two men referred to were merchants and when they travelled out among the Arabs and were asked who they were, they would reply, ‘We are sons of ‘Akil al-Murār’, that is, they would attribute their ancestry to Kinda to acquire prestige. This is because Kinda had been kings. And Kinda considered that Quraysh were their descendants, because of this comment made by ‘Abbās and Rabī‘a. The full name of this ‘Akil al-Murār was al-Ḥārith b. ‘Amr b. Ḥijr b. ‘Amr b. Mu‘awiya b. al-Ḥārith b. Mu‘awiya b. Thawr b. Murti‘ b. Mu‘awiya b. Kindi, also known as Ibn Kinda.
"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told them, 'But really we are descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we don't cast aspersions on our mothers, nor do we deny our fathers.'

"Al-As̱haṭ b. Qays then told his companions, 'By God, people of Kinda, any man I hear say that in future I'll give 80 lashes!'

This hadith is also narrated from a different and unbroken line of authorities. Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Bāhāz and ʿAffān, both of whom said that it was related to them by ʿUthmān b. Saʿlām, quoting Ṭalḥa b. Aqīl. In his hadith, ʿAffān said that he had been informed by Ṭalḥa b. Aqīl, from Muslim b. Ḥayṣam, from al-As̱haṭ b. Qays, who is quoted as saying, "I came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), in a delegation from Kinda" - ʿUthmān added the words "... and they did not consider me the best man among them" - "and I told the Messenger of God (SAAS), 'I am a cousin; you are one of us.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, 'We are of Banū al-Naḍr b. Kināna; we neither cast aspersions on our mother, nor do we deny out father.'

"Al-As̱haṭ then said, 'I swear by God, anyone I hear denying that Quraysh is descended from al-Naḍr b. Kināna, I'll whip to the limit.'"

Ibn Maja related it from Abī Bakr b. Abī Shayb, from Yazīd b. Hārūn; from Muḥammad b. Yāhiya, from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Hārūn b. Ḥayyān, from 'Abd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Mughira. All three lines give their source as ʿUthmān b. Saʿlām.

Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Shurayh b. al-Nūmān, quoting Hushain, quoting Mūjālid, from al-Shaft, quoting al-As̱haṭ b. Qays as saying, "I went to see the Messenger of God (SAAS), in a delegation from Kinda and he asked me, 'Do you have children?' 'A son was born to me as I was leaving to come to you, her mother being the daughter of Jamād. I want his role to be that of our people's provider.'

"He responded, 'Don't say that; they will be made content and given reward, if they should die. And if you say as you have, then they will become cowardly and pitiable; yes, cowardly and pitiable!'"

Ahmad is alone in giving this; it is a hadith that is hasan, "good", and it has a fine line of transmission.

THE ARRIVAL OF AṢHA B. MĀZIN TO THE PROPHET (SAAS).

ʿAbd Allāh, son of Imām Ahmad, stated that it was related to him by al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Anbārī, quoting Abū Salām ʿUbayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanāfī, who said, "Al-Junayd b. Amin b. Dhirwa b. Naḍla b. ʿAmr b. Naḥṣil al-Ḥirmilāzī related to me, quoting Abū Amin, quoting his father Dhirwa, from his father Naḍla, that one of their men, called al-Aṣha, his actual name being ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAmmār, had a wife named Muʿāṣīda. He went forth in Rajab to seek supplies from his family from Hijr. After he had left, his wife fled, in
defiance of him, and took refuge with a man of their tribe called Muṭṭarif b. Nahshāl b. Nāf b. Qumaythā b. Dūlāf b. Ahqām b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥīrmāz who hid her. When al-ʿAʾšā returned home and did not find his wife there, he was told that she had left him and had sought refuge with Muṭṭarif b. Nahshāl. Al-ʿAʾšā went to this man and asked him, ‘Cousin, if my wife Muʿādhā is with you, hand her over to me.’ ‘She is not here,’ he replied. ‘And even if she were, I’d not give her over to you!’

“Now Muṭṭarif was more powerful than him. So al-ʿAʾšā went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), to seek his help and recited the following verses:

‘Lord of men, he who gives religion to the Arabs, I complain to you about someone sharp of tongue Like a long-haired female wolf in the shade of her lair; I went out to find food for her in Rajab She left me in dispute and fled; she broke the promise and hid in disgrace. She defamed me among the crowd of impure lineage. And women can be overwhelmingly evil to those they overcome.’

“At this the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘They can be overwhelmingly evil for those (evil spirits) who control them.’

“Al-ʿAʾšā went on to complain to him about his wife’s behaviour and how she had gone off to a man of their tribe named Muṭṭarif b. Nahshāl. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then wrote a letter to this Muṭṭarif saying, ‘As for Muʿādhā, the wife of this man; return her to him!’

“When he received this note and it was read to him, he told her, ‘Muʿādhā, this is a letter from the Prophet (ṢAAS) about you. I’m giving you over to him.’ She replied, ‘Get a firm pact from him and the protection from his prophet that he will not punish me for what I did.’ He obtained this commitment and Muṭṭarif gave her back to him, whereupon he (al-ʿAʾšā) spoke the following verses:

Neither my love for Muʿādhā, I swear, nor time itself, will bring change to the slanderer The evil she wrought is nothing, made trivial by the lustful calls of men (to her) after me.’”

THE ARRIVAL OF SURAD B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-ʿAZDĪ AMONG SOME MEN OF HIS TRIBE, AND THEN AFTER THEM THE DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE OF JURASH.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Surad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAzdī then came in to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), among a delegation of Banū al-ʿAzdī. He accepted Islam and was a good Muslim. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) appointed him as governor

46. The comment of the Prophet (ṢAAS), despite his use of the same words as the poet, seems to require the interpretation given here.
The arrival of a messenger from the kings of Ḥimyar to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

According to al-Waqtî, this took place in Ramaḍān, 9 AH.

Ibn Ṭāʾīṣ stated, “Following his return from Tabūk, a document was brought by messengers on behalf of the kings of Ḥimyar announcing their acceptance of Islam. Their names were al-Ḥārith b. (ʿAbd) Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, al-Nuʿmān, the prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Maṣʿīr and Hamdān. Zurʿa Dhū Yazan sent to him Mālik b. Murrāt al-Rahāwī with news of their acceptance of Islam and their abandonment of polytheism and those accepting it.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote them the following document: ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, the Prophet, to al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Kulāl, Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Kulāl, al-Nuʿmān, prince of Dhū Ruʿayn, Maṣʿīr and Hamdān. To proceed: to you I give praise to God, the One and only God. Your Messenger came to us upon our return from Byzantine territory. We met in Medina; he informed us of
your message, of your wishes, of your acceptance of Islam, of your battling against the polytheists, and of your having been given guidance by God. If you have indeed reformed and have given obedience to God and to His Messenger, then perform the prayers and give the alms. You must also give one-fifth of booty to God, along with the share due to the Prophet (SAAS), that portion he selects, along with the charitable donation required of Muslims. (This consists of) one-tenth of the produce of land watered by wells or rain and one-twentieth of that watered by bucket. For every forty camels you must give one young female foal of a milch-camel and for every thirty camels you must give one young male born to a milch-camel. For every five camels you must give one sheep; for every ten camels, two sheep. For every forty cattle, you must give one cow. For every thirty cattle you must provide a calf that can be either a male or a female. For every forty goats (or sheep) at pasture, you must give one sheep. This donation is a requirement God has made incumbent upon believers; those who do even greater good will benefit thereby.

"Those who fulfil all this, give testimony to their acceptance of Islam, and assist Muslims against polytheists, shall be considered Muslims with all the attendant rights and obligations they have. They shall have the protection of God and that of His Messenger. Those Jews and Christians who accept Islam become Muslims with all the rights and obligations due them.

"Those who remain within Judaism or Christianity shall not be turned away from either, but they must pay the jizya, ‘the poll-tax’, for each adult, whether male or female, free or slave, one full dinar by the value of (gold) dust, or its equivalent value in clothing. Those who pay this to the Messenger of God (SAAS) shall have the protection of God and of His Messenger; those who refuse it will be enemies of God and of His Messenger.

"Further, the Messenger of God, Muhammad, the Prophet, has sent to Zur'a Dhul Yazan the following: "When my envoys, Mu'adh b. Jabal, 'Abd Allah b. Zayd, Malik b. Ubada, Uqba b. Nimr, Malik b. Murra and their men come to you, I require you to treat them well. Collect the alms and the poll-tax from your territories and deliver all this to my envoys. Their commander is Mu'adh b. Jabal; he is not to return until fully satisfied."

"To proceed further, Muhammad testifies that there is no god but God and that he is His servant and His Messenger. Moreover, Malik b. Murrat al-Rahawi has told me that you are the first men of Himyar to have accepted Islam, and to have fought against the polytheists. I commend you and command you to treat Himyar well; do not betray or forsake them. The Messenger of God (SAAS) is the ally of your rich and of your poor. The alms payments may not legally go to Muhammad or to his household; they are alms payable to poor Muslims and to wayfarers. Malik delivers information and withholds what is confidential. I order you to treat him well. I have dispatched to you some of my finest people, most religious and learned men; I order you to treat them well. They are being watched over. May peace be upon you along with the mercy and blessings of God."
Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥasan related to him, quoting ʿUmāra, from Thābit, from Anas b. Malik, that Mālik Dhu Yazan presented to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a ceremonial robe for which he had paid either 33 baggage camels or 33 riding camels.

Abū Dāʿūd related it from ʿAmr b. ʿAwn al-Wāsīṭī, from ʿUmāra b. Zādhān al-Šaydālānī, from Thābit al-Bunānī.

The ḥāfīẓ al-Bayhaqī related at this point the story of the letter of ʿAmr b. Ḥazam. He stated, “Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz related to us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-ʿAṣamm, quoting Ḥaḍām b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnus b. Bukāyr, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from his father Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazam, who said, ‘The following is the letter we have that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wrote for ʿAmr b. Ḥazam when he sent him to Yemen to give religious instruction to its people, to teach them the sunna, the orthodox practices of Islam, and to collect their alms payments. The letter he wrote for him gives his appointment and his instructions.

‘‘He wrote, “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This is a document from God and His Messenger. ‘O you who believe, keep to your agreements! (This represents) a commission from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to ʿAmr b. Ḥazam upon his being sent to Yemen.

‘‘‘He commands him to fear God in all he does, for God stays with those who fear Him and who do good. He orders him to act in accord with the truth as God so commanded it, and to give people glad tidings of what is good and to tell them to act in accord with it. He shall teach people the Qurʾān and give them religious instruction. He must warn people that no one may touch the Qurʾān unless that person is undefiled. He shall inform people of their rights and of their obligations. He shall treat them with liberality in matters relating to good, but with severity in cases of injustice; for God proscribed and forbade injustice, saying, “The curse of God shall be upon the unjust, those who turn others aside from the path of God” (sūrat Ḥud; XI, v.18, 19).

‘‘‘He shall tell people the good tidings of paradise and what happens there, and will warn people of hell-fire and what happens there. He will court people’s friendship so that they acquire knowledge of the faith. He will teach them about the conduct and practices and obligations required by God that relate to the ḥajj, “the pilgrimage”, and it consists of al-ḥajj al-akbar, “the greater pilgrimage”, and the al-ḥajj al-ṣaḥār, “the lesser pilgrimage”, which is known as the al-ʿumra.

‘‘‘He shall order people that a man should not pray in one flimsy garment unless it be loose-fitting and hangs down over both shoulders between both sides. He will forbid a person from sitting in a single garment with his legs drawn up, thus exposing his private parts to the sky. And a person’s hair should not be plaited if it hangs over the neck. He is to forbid people from calling upon clans or tribes in the case of conflict; their call should be directed solely to God alone Who has no associate. Those who do not call to God but call instead to clans or tribes are to be put to the sword until their calls are to God alone Who has no associate.
"""He shall command people to perform the ablutions properly, washing their faces, their hands up to their elbows and their feet up to their ankles. And they shall wipe over their heads just as God the Almighty and Glorious, commanded. They are commanded to say the prayers at the correct times and to perform properly the bowings and the prostrations at them. They are to arise for the al-ṣubh, ‘pre-dawn’, prayer while it is still dark, pray at midday until the sun is past its zenith, pray the al-ṣaṣr, ‘the late afternoon’, prayer while the sun is hurrying towards earth, and thereafter the al-maghrib, ‘the post-sunset prayer’, as night approaches, but it should not be delayed until when the stars appear in the sky. And then is the al-‘ishā, ‘the evening prayer’, at the first part of the night.

"""He is ordered to take God’s share of the booty as alms as is required from Muslims. From the produce of land watered by springs, the alms payments shall be one-fifth. From land watered by rain, it shall be one-tenth. From land watered by the bucket, it shall be one-twentieth. For every ten camels, two sheep shall be paid, and for twenty camels, the payment shall be four sheep. For every forty cattle, one cow. For every thirty cattle, whether male or female, one calf, whether male or female. For every forty sheep (or goats) at pasture, one sheep shall be paid. This is all an obligation made incumbent by God upon Muslims. Anyone paying more will gain benefit thereby.

"""Any Jew or Christian who genuinely accepts Islam and properly performs in accord with the faith of Islam shall be (considered) a believer, and shall enjoy all the rights and obligations they have. Those who remain in their Judaism or Christianity shall not be made to change their faith. But each of their adults, whether male or female, free or slave, shall pay one full dinar, or clothing in value thereto. Those who fulfil this shall have the protection of God and His Messenger; those who refuse shall be considered the enemies of God, of His messenger and of all believers.

"""May the prayers of God be upon Muḥammad. And may the peace and the mercy of God and His blessings be upon him."""

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqi went on to state that Sulaymān b. Dāʿūd related in this ḥadīth from al-Zuhrī, from Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather, with a full chain of transmission and including many additions, as well as omissions of some details he may have given above relating to the alms and the compensations payable and other matters.

I note that the ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nasāʾī related it from this same chain of transmission at length in his sunan; Abū Dāʿūd also did so in his work Kitāb al-Marāṣil. I have made reference to that in including his chains of authorities and his phraseology in my al-sunan. And all praise and credit belong to God.

Following the account of the delegations, we will make reference to the dispatch by the Messenger of God (SAAS) of his commanders into Yemen to teach people and to collect from them their one-fifth payments (of booty) and

47. A work listing mursal traditions.
their alms donations. Those he dispatched were Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, Abū Mūsā, Khalid b. al-Walid and ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib. May God be pleased with them all.

THE ARRIVAL OF JARIR B. ʿABD ALLĀH AL-BĀJALĪ AND HIS ACCEPTANCE OF ISLAM.

Imām Aḥmad stated that it was related to him by Abū Qatān, quoting Yūnus, from al-Mughīra b. Shibl, who quoted Jarīr as saying, “When I approached Medina, I made my camel kneel, untied my leather bag, put on my ceremonial garments and went inside. There I found the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) making an address. The people present stared hard at me and I asked the person sitting next to me, ‘ʿAbd Allāh, did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) make some reference to me?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘he did make a very nice reference to you while he was making his address. He said, “There will come in to you through this door” – or this opening – “one of the finest men of Yemen. On his face, however, will be an expression of authority.’”

Jarīr went on, “So I gave praise to God, the Almighty and Glorious, for the esteem he had expressed for me.”

Abū Qatān stated, “So I asked him (Yūnus), ‘Did you hear this from him, or from al-Mughīra b. Shibl?’ ‘Yes,’ (from him), he replied.

Imām Aḥmad then narrated it from Abū Nuʿaym and Ishaq b. Yasuf. Al-Nāṣāʾī gave it from a ḥadīth of al-Fadl b. Mūsā, all three of them quoting Yūnus, from Abū Ishaq al-Sabīqī, from al-Mughīra b. Shibl – also known as Ibn Shubayl – from ʿAwf al-Bajali al-Kūfī, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh; he gave no other line of transmission.

Al-Nāṣāʾī related this from Qurayba, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khalīd, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr. His text stated, “Through this door there will enter in to you a man on whose face there is an expression of authority.”

This ḥadīth meets the criteria of the two ṣaḥīḥ collections.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, from Qays, from Jarīr, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) never ignored me after I had accepted Islam. Whenever he saw me, he would smile directly at me.”

The community of scholars except Abū Dāʿūd related this, through various lines of transmission, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khalīd, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim.

In both ṣaḥīḥ collections there is additional wording: “I complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that I could not keep my seat on a horse, and he slapped me in the chest, saying, ‘O God, set him firmly and make him a guide who is rightly led.’”

Al-Nāṣāʾī related this, from Qurayba, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ismāʿīl, from Qays, and his account gives the alternative wording, ‘... and there will
enter among you from this door a man upon whose face is an expression of authority.’ The rest of this account is as above.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated that he was informed by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz, quoting Abū ʿAmr and ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sammāk, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Sallām al-Sawwāq, quoting Muḥammad b. Muqāṭīl al-Khurasānī, quoting Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿĀlī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Khālid, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢĀAS) sent for me and said, ‘Jarīr, why have you come?’ I replied, ‘To accept Islam at your hands, Messenger of God.’” Jarīr went on, “He then threw a mantle over me and went to his men, saying, ‘When a people’s (most) noble man comes to you, then honour him.’”

He went on, “Jarīr, I invite you to testify that there is no god but God, that I am God’s Messenger, that you believe in God and in the last day, in fate, both its good and its evil, that you will perform the prayers as written, and that you will pay the alms that are required.”

Jarīr said, “I did all that; and thereafter, whenever he saw me, he would smile at me.”

This ḥadīth must be classified as gharīb, “unique”, with this chain of transmission.

Imām ʿAbd Allāh al-Sammāk related to us, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘I pledged to the Messenger of God (ṢĀAS) to perform the prayer, to pay the alms and to be loyal to all Muslims.”

Both compilers of the ṣaḥīḥ collections gave this from a ḥadīth of Ismāʿīl b. Abū Ḥāzim. It is (also) given in both from a ḥadīth of Ziyād b. ʿUṯlāth, from Jarīr.

Imām ʿAbd Allāh al-Sammāk stated that it was related to him by Abū Saʿd, quoting Zāʿida, quoting ʿĀṣim, from Sufyān – Abū Wāʾil, that is – from Jarīr – who said, ‘I asked, ‘Messenger of God, make stipulations; you know best what they should be.’

“He replied, ‘I ask you to pledge that you will worship God alone and that you will not associate any other with Him; that you will perform the prayers, pay the alms, be loyal to Muslims and disavow idolatry.’”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated this from a ḥadīth of Shuʿba, from al-ʿAʾmash, from Abū Wāʾil, from Jarīr. He also gave it with another line, from al-ʿAʾmash, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil, from Abū Nukhayla, from Jarīr. But God knows best.

He also related it from Muḥammad b. Qudāma, from Jarīr, from Muḥīr, from Abū Wāʾil and al-Shaḥīb, quoting Jarīr. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmayra also related it from Jarīr. ʿAbd Allāh alone gives his specific text; he is also alone in giving it through Jarīr’s son ʿUbayd Allāh. One source quoted above is also known as “Abū Jamīl”, which name should be Abū Nukhayla. ʿAbd Allāh and al-Nasāʾī also gave it from this line.

ʿAbd Allāh also related it from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from Manṣūr, from Abū Wāʾil, from “a man” who quoted Jarīr.
It seems apparent that the “man” referred to here would be Abū Nukhayla al-Bajali. But God knows best.

We have referred previously to how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him, following his acceptance of Islam, out to Dhū Khalaṣa, the temple where (Banū) Khaṭ’am and (Banū) Bajila would worship. That was known as the “Southern ka’ba” with which they would rival the ka’ba in Mecca. The ka’ba at Mecca they would refer to as the “Northern ka’ba”. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked Jarīr, “Will you not relieve me of Dhū al-Khalaṣa?”

Jarīr then complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that he had difficulty in keeping his seat on horses. At this, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) struck him in the chest so hard as to make a mark there and said, “O God, seat him firmly and make him a guide who is well guided.” Thereafter he never fell from a horse.

Jarīr then went to Dhū al-Khalaṣa with a force of 150 cavalry of his own clan of Aḥmas and destroyed and burned that temple, leaving it looking like a mangy camel! He sent back a messenger named Abū Arṭat to tell him this good news. Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) five times spoke blessings upon the horses and men of Aḥmas.

This hadīth is given in full in both sahih collections and elsewhere, as we have given above in the materials relating to the period following the conquest of Mecca, narrating it after reference to the destruction by Khalīd b. al-Walīd, may God be pleased with him, of the temple of al-ʿUzza.

It is clear that the acceptance of Islam by Jarīr, may God be pleased with him, came substantially after the conquest.

Imām Ahmed stated that Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim related to him, quoting Ziyād b. `Abd Allāh b. Ulātha, from `Abd al-Karīm b. Mālik al-Jazari, from Mujāhid, from Jarīr b. `Abd Allāh al-Bajali, who said, “I only accepted Islam after the revelation of surat al-Mā’īda. I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wipe (his socks) after I had accepted Islam.”

Ahmad is alone in giving this. This chain of transmission is fine, except for the fact that there is a break in it between Mujāhid and Jarīr.

It is established in both sahih collections that the companions of `Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd were much struck by Jarīr’s reference to wiping (his socks), because the acceptance of Islam by Jarīr came only following the revelation of the surat al-Mā’īda. It will be related in the section of the hijāj of the companions that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told Jarīr, “Hearken to the people, Jarīr.” He only told him to do this because he was very highly regarded.

48. Presumably because Mujāhid and Jarīr were not contemporaries or because there is a lack of evidence that they met or could have done so.

49. This chapter of the Qurʾān contains the injunctions pertaining to the manner of performing al-wuḍūʿ, the ritual ablution. The wiping (of the socks), which is a modification of those injunctions, would only have legal effect if it were known to have been instituted subsequent to the revelation of the said chapter.
Jarir was a man of very large stature. His feet were the length of a fore-arm. His face was also unusually handsome. Despite this, he was the most modest of men. Thus, it is related of him in the traditions considered authentic that he said, “I asked the Messenger of God (SAAS), about glancing inadvertently (at the opposite sex), and he replied, ‘Turn your gaze away!’”

**THE ARRIVAL TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS), OF WA’IL B. HUJR B. RABI’A B. WĀ’IL B. YA’MUR AL-HADRAMĪ B. HUNAYDA, ONE OF THE KINGS OF YEMEN.**

Abū Umar b. ‘Abd al-Barr stated, “He was one of the princes of Ḥadramawt, his father having been one of their kings. It is said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) announced the news of his coming before his actual arrival, saying, ‘A son of a line of kings is coming to you.’ When Wa’il entered, he welcomed him heartily, positioned him to sit close to himself and spread out his cloak for him, saying, ‘O God, bless Wa’il and his sons and the sons of his sons!’

“He then placed him in command of the princes of Ḥadramawt, sending three letters home with him. One was a letter to al-Muhājir b. Abū Umayya. There was also a letter to the princes and (another) to the hereditary rulers. The Messenger of God (SAAS) assigned him control over a specific territory and dispatched Mu’āwiya b. Abū Sufyān along with him on foot. The latter complained to him at the heat of the ground and Wa’il responded, ‘Well, step in the shadow of the camel!’ Mu’āwiya asked, ‘What good will that do? Could you not let me ride behind you?’ Wa’il replied, ‘Be silent! You’re not such as to ride behind kings!’

“Wa’il b. Ḥujr lived on to later go to see Mu’āwiya when he had become Commander of the Believers. Mu’āwiya recognized him, welcomed him and invited him to come close to himself. He then reminded Wa’il of what he had said and offered him an official gift. Wa’il refused it saying, ‘Give it to someone more needy of it than myself.’”

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi gave some of the above and pointed to the fact that al-Bukhārī in his History related it in part.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Ḥajjāj related to us, quoting Shu’ba, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from ‘Alqama b. Wa’il, from his father, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) assigned me control over a specific territory. And he sent with me Mu’āwiya for me to give it’ – the land or its revenues – ‘over to him’ (or his words were ‘... to acquaint him with it’ (the land). Mu’āwiya asked, ‘Let me ride behind you.’ I replied, ‘You’re not such as to ride behind kings!’ He then asked, ‘Then give me your shoes.’ I replied, ‘Step in the camel’s shade.’”

Wa’il went on, “After Mu’āwiya had become caliph, I went to visit him; he seated me next to him on his couch and reminded me of our conversation.”

Simāk continued, “Wa’il then commented, ‘I wished I had in fact borne him in front of myself!’”
Abū Daʻud related this, as did al-Tirmidhī, from a *hadith* of Shuʻba. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this *hadith* as *sahih*.

THE ARRIVAL OF LAQİT B. ʻÂMIR B. AL-MUNTAFIQ B. ABU RAZÎN AL-ʻAQİLĪ TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Imām Aḥmad stated that his father related to him, quoting ʻAbd Allāh, who said, “Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. Muṣṭab b. al-Zubayr al-Zubayrī wrote to me as follows, ‘I am writing to you with this *hadith*; it was delivered to me, and I heard it just as I have written it to you. Relate it thus as a *hadith* from myself: ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mughīra al-Hizāmī related to me, quoting ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ayyāsh al-Samāʻ al-Anṣārī al-Qubāṣī, of Banū ʻAmr b. Aṣwād b. ʻAbd Allāh b. Ḥājjīb b. ʻĀmir b. al-Muntafīq al-ʻAqīlī, from his father, from his uncle Laqīt b. ʻĀmir. Dalham stated, “My father al-Aswād related to me from ʻĀṣim b. Laqīt that the father of the latter, Laqīt, went to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the company of a friend of his named Nahīk b. ʻĀṣim b. Mālik b. al-Muntafīq.

“‘Laqīt stated, ‘I and my friend travelled until we reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in Medina at the end of Rajab. We came to him and expressed our allegiance to him as he was leaving the noon prayer meeting. He then stood to address the people and said, “The only reason I have been refraining from addressing you for the past four days was in order to listen to you. Is there any man among you sent out by his people?”

“‘People were saying (to one another), “Tell me what the Messenger of God, is saying!” He then said, “What if a person is misled by what he tells himself, or what his friend tells him, or what he is told in error; am I not responsible for delivering my message? Listen carefully, and you will live. Sit down all of you.”

“‘The people sat down. I and my friend stood, and when he had turned his attention to us entirely, I asked, “Messenger of God, what knowledge do you possess of al-ghayb?”

“‘He laughed, I swear by God, and shook his head, realizing that I was seeking to trip him up. He replied, “Your Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, kept concealed five keys to the future that only God knows.” And he made a gesture with his hand.

“‘I asked, “And what are those?” He replied, “Knowledge of death; He knows when the death of each of you will occur, though you do not. And (He has) knowledge of the sperm when it is inside the womb; he knows of it, though you do not. And knowledge of what tomorrow will bring and what your sustenance will be. Though you have no sense or knowledge of tomorrow. He

50. The word, from the verb ghāba, to be absent or to vanish, carries many associations. It may imply what is invisible, secret, supernatural or transcendental; it can also connote “the future”.
knows when heavy rain will fall, and when you will suffer severe drought. And He continues laughing, knowing that your fate is close at hand.'"

Laqi stated, "We'll never lack from a Lord who laughs in benevolence. And Who knows yawm al-sa'a, the day of the (judgement) hour.

"We then said, 'Messenger of God, teach us what people do not know but that you do know. We are of a tribe who never gives credence to anyone; we are a group from (Banu) Madhhij who lead us, from Khath'am who are allied to us, and we ourselves, from our own tribe.'

"He replied, 'You will continue on for some time as now, and then your Prophet will die. Again you will continue as before for a time and then the day of lamentation will be sent. By the life of your God, I swear every single thing on earth will die, as well as the angels who are with your Lord. Your Lord, the Almighty and Glorious, will then pass over the earth, alone, over all its parts. Your Lord will have sent down a deluge from His throne. And, by the life of your Lord, every single place on earth where warriors have fallen or the dead have been buried will be split open, revealing them. The dead will be recreated from the head (down) and each one will sit up straight. Your Lord, the Almighty and Glorious, will ask them, "Mayham? 'What did you do?'" – concerning what each had done. Each will reply, "O Lord, it all happened shortly before today." And from his knowledge of life, he will consider it (his death) to have been a recent event for his family.'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, how will He join us back together again once the winds, decay and wild beasts will have scattered our remains?'

"He replied, 'I remind you of such similar favours of God; you have looked down at the earth and found clods of soil empty of life and have said, "It will never live again. But then your Lord sends rain from the sky and soon you will look down at it again and see a plant sprouting. By the life of your God, it is easier for Him to compound you from water than the plants from the earth. You shall emerge from your graves wherever you died, and you will look at Him, as He will look at you.'"

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, how can it be that we (who are so many as to) fill the land while He, Almighty and Glorious is He, is just one person, and yet He can look at us as we look at Him?'

"He replied, 'I refer you to some of God's favours that are similar to that. The sun and the moon are a sign from him. You see them as small. They see all of you at one instance, yet you are not harmed by seeing them. By the life of Your God, He is more able to see you and you Him than you are to see both of them, and them to see you.'

"I asked, 'Messenger of God, what will our Lord do when we meet Him?' He replied, 'You will turn to him and show him your entire surface; nothing of you shall remain hidden from him. Your Lord will take up a handful of water and splash it towards you. And, I swear by the life of your God, not a drop of it will
fail to strike the face of anyone of you. It will fall upon the face of the Muslims like a fine, white cloth, while it will lie upon that of the unbelievers like black pitch.

"‘Then your Prophet will leave, as will the righteous, following after him. You will pass across a bridge of fire, and when one of you treads upon it, he will cry out in pain. Your Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, will say, “His time has come!” You will gaze out at the al-ḥawād of the Messenger as all go towards it, burning with thirst, a sight such as you will never have seen before. And, by the life of your God, every time any one of you stretches forth his hand, there will fall over it a cup full with which he will cleanse himself from the excrement, the urine and the filth. The sun and the moon will be veiled over and you will see neither of them.’"

Laqīt went on, “I asked, ‘Messenger of God, with what shall we see?’ He replied, ‘Your sight will be as it is now; that will be when the sun rises on a day when it will brighten the earth and appear face to face with the mountains.’

“I asked next, ‘Messenger of God, how will we be requited for our bad and for our good deeds?’ ‘By ten-fold the like for your good deeds and by one the like for your bad, unless He forgives them.’ I asked, ‘Messenger of God, then (it is to be) either paradise or hell-fire?’ He replied, ‘By the life of your God, hell-fire has seven gates, any two of which would require a rider seventy years to travel between them! Paradise has eight gates, any two doors of which would require a rider seventy years to travel between them.’

“I asked him, ‘Messenger of God, on what will we look in paradise?’ He replied, ‘On rivers of purified honey and on rivers of goblets that give neither headache nor regret. On rivers of milk the taste of which never changes, and of water devoid of brackishness, and fruits. By the life of your God, along with you do not yet know that other like fine things. And there will be spouses for you, who are pure.’

“I asked, ‘Messenger of God, we shall, then, have these women as wives, and they will be righteous women?’ He replied, ‘Only righteous women for the righteous men! And you will give them pleasure just as you do on earth, and they will give you pleasure. However, there will be no procreation.’”

Laqīt went on, “I then asked, ‘And that then, will be the utmost we will attain and achieve?’

“To this the Prophet (SAAS) made no response.”

Laqīt went on to ask, “Messenger of God, what shall I make my pledge to you that I will do?” The Prophet (SAAS) spread forth his hand and said, ‘To perform the prayer, to pay alms, to give up idolatry and to refrain from associating God with any other god than Him.’

Laqīt continued, and reported having said, “‘And we are to have (control over) all between the East and the West?’ The Prophet (SAAS) clenched his hand, then stretched out his fingers, thinking me to be presenting as a condition
something he would not give me. I then said, 'And we will be able to travel over it wherever we wish and with never a man doing harm, except to himself?' He spread out his hand and said, 'That is granted you; you shall go where you wish, and no one but your own self will do you harm.'"

Lāqīt concluded, "We then left him. And he stated, 'Those two, I swear by the life of your God, are of the most pious of all, both in this world and the afterlife!'

Kāb b. al-Khūdāriyya, a man of Bānū Kīlāb, one of those there, then asked him, 'Messengers of God, are those of the Bānū al-Muntāfīq also worthy (of your comment)?'

He concluded, "We then left, and I (later) joined him."

Lāqīt proceeded to complete the ḥadīth in which he said, "'(I asked), 'Messengers of God, does any good people may have done in the jāḥiliyya, 'before Islam', count for them?' One man of the Quraysh faction, then commented, 'Indeed, your father, al-Muntāfīq, is in hell-fire!'

'I felt a flush of embarrassment at what he had said about my father in front of everyone. I was about to ask, 'And what of your father, Messenger of God?', but thought something else would be better. So I asked, 'And your own family, Messenger of God?'

'He replied, 'Yes, my family too, I swear by God! Every time you pass by the grave of a person of (Bānū) 'Amīr or of Quraysh who had been a polytheist you should say, 'Muḥammad sent me to you to tell you of the harm coming to you; you will be dragged on your face and stomach into hell-fire.'"

'I asked, 'Messengers of God, what brought this about for them? They did not know any better than what they were doing; they thought they were behaving rightly.'

'He replied, 'The reason is that God sent someone' — a prophet, he implied — 'at the end of seven nations; and whoever disobeyed His prophet was going astray, while everyone who obeyed His prophet was rightly guided.'"

This ḥadīth is very gharīb, "odd". Some of its phraseology is objectionable. The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī did include it in his work al-Ba'th wa al-Nushūr (Resurrection and Doomsday), as did 'Abd al-Ḥāqq al-Ishbīlī in his al-‘Āqība (The Hereafter), and as did al-Qurtubī in the work al-Tadhkhīra fi Ḥīwāl al-Ākhirah (Treatise on the Circumstances of the Afterlife).

THE ARRIVAL OF ZIYĀD B. AL-ḤARĪTH AL-ṢUDĀRĪ, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM.

al-Šudārī relate as follows, “I went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and pledged to him my allegiance in Islam. I was told that he had sent out an army against my people and I said, ‘Messenger of God, bring back the army and I will guarantee to you that my people will accept Islam and pledge obedience to you.’ He replied, ‘You go and bring them back.’ I replied, ‘My camel is exhausted.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then sent out a man and brought them back.”

Al-Šudārī went on, “I wrote a letter to them, and their delegation arrived with news of their acceptance of Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Brother of (Banū) Sūdā, your people give you obedience.’ I replied, ‘In fact it is God who led them to Islam.’ He then asked, ‘Should I then not appoint you to be their leader?’ I replied, ‘Oh no; you should do so, Messenger of God.’ He then wrote a document appointing me their leader and I asked him, ‘Messenger of God, entrust me with part of their alms payments.’ He replied, ‘Certainly’. He then wrote me another document.”

Al-Šudārī continued, “That occurred during one of his trips. The Messenger of God (SAAS) took up residence in a house and the family of that house came to him and complained about their governor, saying, ‘He blames us for some problem there used to be between us and his people in the jāhiliyya days.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, ‘He does this, does he?’ ‘Yes,’ we replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then turned to his Companions, who included myself, and he said, ‘Well, there’s no (material) benefit in having command for a man who believes.’”

Al-Šudārī went on, “His words had great impact on me. Another man then came to him and asked, ‘Messenger of God, give to me!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘Those who request donations from superfluous property are an ache in the head and a pain in the stomach!’ The petitioner now asked, ‘Then give me from the alms.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) replied, ‘God would not be pleased at alms being disbursed by the decision of a prophet or anyone else, whereas He Himself has decided about it and divided it up into eight parts. If you were of one of those parts, I would give it to you.’”

Al-Šudārī went on, “That made an impression on me; I was wealthy, yet I had asked for payment from the alms. Early that night the Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the campfire and I kept close by him; his (other) Companions were away from him and late in coming to him, so that there was no one with him except myself.

“When it was close to the time for the al-ṣubh, ‘pre-dawn’, prayer, he gave me orders and I made the call to prayer. I asked him, ‘Shall I (give the) iqāma,’51 then, Messenger of God?’ He began looking out to the east for the dawn and said, ‘No’.

51. The second call made to the worshippers, to form straight lines in readiness for the congregational prayers.
When dawn came, he went off and relieved himself, then came back to me, his Companions with him. He asked me, 'Brother Șudâ', is there water?' I replied, 'Not except for just a little that won't be enough for you.' He told me, 'Put it in a vessel and bring it to me.' I did so and he placed his palm in the water. And there between his fingers I saw a spring bubbling up! The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'Were it not for my diffidence towards my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, we would drink of the water and also draw therefrom. Invite those of my Companions in need of water to come.' I did call out to them and those who wished did take some.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then arose to perform the prayer. Bilâl wished to call the iqâma, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, 'Brother Șudâ' made the call to prayer; he who calls the âdân should also call the iqâma.' And so I did.

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had completed the prayer, I took to him both documents and said, 'Messenger of God, please cancel out both of these for me.' 'What is your reason?' he asked. I replied, 'Messenger of God, I heard you say, "There is no benefit in having command for a man who believes." And I do believe in God and in His Messenger. I heard you tell that petitioner, "Those with superfluous property who request donations are an ache in the head and a pain in the stomach." I made a request to you, though I am wealthy.'

"He replied, 'So be it; accept if you wish, or decline.' 'I decline,' I answered. He then told me, 'Point out to me a man I can place in command of you.' I led him to one man of the delegation who had come to him and he appointed him in command of them.

"We then said, 'Messenger of God, we have a well that has enough water for us in the winter and we assemble around it. But in the summer its water is scanty, so we disperse to wells around about us. Now we have accepted Islam, all those around us will be enemies. Say a prayer for us to God about our well so that its water supply will suffice for us and we will not have to disperse.'

"He called for seven pebbles, rubbed them in his hand and spoke a prayer over them. He then said, 'Take these pebbles and when you go to the well, throw them in, one by one, and invoke the name of God.'"

Al-ȘudâPi went on, "We did as he had told us. And thereafter, when we looked down into it" – the well, he meant – "we could not see its bottom!"

There are many testimonials to this hadîth, in the collections made by Abû Da'ūd, al-Tirmidhî and Ibn Mâja.

Al-Wâqîdî narrated that following the 'umra of al-Jîrâna, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent Qays b. Sa'd b. Ubâda out with 400 men to subdue the territory of Șudâ. Those there dispatched one of their men, who said (to the Prophet SAAS), "I have come to you to withdraw your army from my people. And I will bring them over to you." Thereafter, their delegation of 15 men did arrive. And 100 of their men were seen participating in the hijjat al-wâdâ, "the farewell pilgrimage".
Al-Waqidī then narrated, from al-Thawrī, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. Anām, from Ziyād b. Nu‘aym, from Ziyād b. al-Ḥarīth al-Ṣudārī, the latter’s account concerning the summons to the prayer.

**THE ARRIVAL OF AL-ḤARĪTH B. ḤASSĀN AL-BAKRĪ TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).**

Imām ʿAbd Allāh stated that Zayd b. al-Ḥabbāb related to him, quoting Abū al-Mundhir ʿAbd al-Malik b. Sulaymān al-Nawwār, quoting ʿĀṣim b. Abū al-Nujud, from Abū Wāfī, from al-Ḥarīth al-Bakrī, who said, “I went to make a complaint about al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥadramī to the Messenger of God. As I passed by al-Zubda, I came across an old woman of Banū Tamīm who had been stranded. She asked, ‘Abd Allāh, I need to see the Messenger of God. Will you take me to him?’

“So I carried her into Medina. The mosque was inundated with people; a black banner was flying and Bilāl was there wearing his sword, standing in front of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I asked what was going on and people told me that he was about to dispatch ʿAmr b. al-Āṣ.

“I sat down, and he entered his house” — or the narrator used the word, his ʿrāf, “his tent” or “dwelling” — “and I asked permission to go in to him and it was granted. I entered and greeted him, and he asked, ‘Has there been something going on between your people and (Banū) Tamīm?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied, ‘And they lost this time. I passed by an old woman of Banū Tamīm who had been stranded. She asked me to transport her to you; she is over there, at the door.’ He asked her to enter, and she did so. I asked, ‘Messenger of God, if you should decide to make some barrier between us, let it be the desert.’ The old woman then became very excited and agitated and said, ‘Messenger of God, to what will (your own tribe of) Muqar be reduced!’

“I commented, ‘Well, I’m like in the ancient saying, “a goat bearing its own fate”! I transported this woman without realizing that she was my adversary! I seek refuge with God and His Messenger! I’m like the man who came to (Banū) ʿAd!’

“He asked, ‘What’s that about, “the man who came to ʿAd”? ‘(He was more knowledgeable about the story than was the narrator, but he wanted to test him.)

“I replied, ‘ʿAd suffered from lack of rain, and they sent out one of their men, named Qayl; he passed by Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr and stayed with him for a month, being given wine to drink and having songs sung to him by two girls, called al-jaradātān, “the two locusts”. When the month was over, he went off to the mountains of Muhra. There he called out, ‘O God, You know I would never visit a sick man (without) giving him medicine, nor to a prisoner without ransoming him! O God, send rain for ʿAd as you never have before!’ Black clouds then passed above him, and a voice called out to him, “Choose from among them!” He gestured to one particular black cloud. Then a voice called out from it, “Take
it to be ashes, fine and copious! You will not have one of 'Ad survive!" And, from what I have heard, no more wind was sent at them than would pass through this ring of mine, before they had all perished!"

Abū Wā'il commented, "He spoke the truth. Men and women would say, when a man was sent to visit them, 'May you not be like the man sent out by 'Ad!'"


Imām Aḥmad also related it as above, from Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh, from 'Aṣim, from al-Ḥārith, but the correct version is from 'Aṣim, from Abū Wā'il, from al-Ḥārith. As just related.

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THE ARRIVAL OF 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN B. ABU 'UQAYL, WITH HIS PEOPLE.

Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi stated that he was informed by Abū 'Abd Allāh Ishāq b. Muhammad b. Yūsuf al-Sūsī, quoting Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baghdādī, quoting 'Alī b. Ja'ād, quoting 'Abd al-'Azīz, as having related, quoting 'Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Khālid Yazīd al-Asadī, quoting 'Awn b. Abū Juḥayfā, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alqama al-Thaqāfī, from 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū 'Aqīl, who said, "I set off in a delegation to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When we reached him, we made our camels kneel at the door. There was absolutely no one more hated by us than the man we were going in to see. Yet after we had gone in and come out again, there was absolutely no one more beloved by us than the man we had gone in to see! One of our men asked him, 'Messenger of God, have you not asked your Lord for a domain like that of Solomon?' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) laughed and replied, 'Perhaps your companion has even higher status with God than King Solomon! God, Almighty and Glorious is He, never sent any prophet without according him a request. Some of them take theirs here on earth and are awarded it. Some use it to invoke God against their people who disobey and are destroyed thereby. God awarded me a request that I have kept hidden with my Lord: I will intercede for my nation on Judgement Day.'"

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THE ARRIVAL OF TARIQ B. 'ABD ALLĀH AND HIS COMPANIONS.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi narrated through Abū Janāb al-Kalbī, from Jāmi' b. Shaddād al-Muḥāribī, quoting one of his people, a man named Ṭāriq b. 'Abd Allāh, who related, "I was standing at the market at Dhū al-Majāz when a man

52. Referring, of course, to himself.
wearing a jubba, a long robe, arrived and said, 'People, say the words, “There is no god but God” and you will prosper!’ There was another man following him, throwing stones at him and saying, 'People, he is a liar!' I asked who it was and was told it was a young man of Bani Hashim who claimed to be a Messenger of God. I also asked who it was treating him that way and was told that he was his uncle ‘Abd al-Uzza. When people accepted Islam and migrated (to Medina), we left al-Rabda for Medina to purchase dates there. When we neared its walls and palm-groves, I said, 'We should make a halt and change our clothes.' Just then a man dressed in rags came up and greeted us. He asked from where we had come, and we told him from al-Rabda. He then asked where we were headed, and we told him we had come to that town. When he asked why, we told him we wanted to barter some dates. I told him we had a lady in a litter with us and a red camel with a blaze on its nose. He asked whether we would sell him our camel and we said we would, in exchange for a specific weight of dates.

“We received no deposit on the price agreed; the man took hold of the camel’s halter and left. When he was out of our sight beyond the city’s walls and palms, we asked one another what it was we had done. We realized we had sold our camel to someone we did not know, and we had not been paid for it.

“The lady with us commented, 'I swear by God, what I saw was a man whose face was like a slice of a full moon! I’ll guarantee the price of your camel!’ Just then the man appeared and announced, 'I am the Messenger of God to you; these are your dates. Eat until you are satisfied and take your full measure.' We did eat our fill and take full measure.

“Then we entered the town and went in the mosque. He was there, on the minbar making an address. We arrived as he was saying, 'Make charitable donations, for alms-giving is better for you. And the hand that gives is better than one that receives – to your mother and your father, then to your sister and your brother, and then on lower down from there.'

“Messenger of God, these people have unpaid debts of blood from the jahiliyya, “before Islam”.' He replied, ‘Sins of the father do not become those of the son.’ He repeated this three times.”


The hâfiz al-Bayhaqi also related it, from al-Ḥakim, from al-Aṣâamm, from Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbâr, from Yûnus b. Bukayr, from Yazid b. Ziyâd, from Jâmi‘ b. Târiq, complete as above. In his account, the lady in the litter is quoted as saying, “Don’t blame yourselves; I saw the face of a man who would not deceive. I never saw anything more like the moon when full than his face!”

I believe that to have been either at Tabuk or thereafter.

Ibn Ishāq stated, “Farwa b. 'Amr b. al-Nafirat al-Judhami, of the Nufathi tribe, sent an envoy to the Messenger of God (SAAS), announcing his acceptance of Islam and presented him with a white mule.

“Farwa was governor on behalf of the Byzantines over the Arabs whose territory bordered their own. His residency was centred in Mu‘ān, and the Syrian lands thereabouts. When the Byzantines learned of his acceptance of Islam, they summoned him, and seized and imprisoned him there with them. While imprisoned, he composed the following verses:

‘Sulayma made her way at night to my friends, while the Byzantines were between the gate and the water-tank.

The spirit turned away in distress at what it had seen and though I tried to sleep, it had made me cry.

Do not decorate your eyes with antimony, Salmā, when I am gone, nor subject yourself to intercourse.

You have learned, O Abū Kubaysha, that when in the presence of the powerful, my tongue is not tied.

If I should die, you will mourn your brother, while if I survive my status will be recognized.

I have encompassed the finest qualities a hero can have – generosity, bravery and eloquence.’

“When the Byzantines had decided to crucify him at a well of theirs in Palestine called ʿIrār, he spoke the following:

‘I wonder whether Salmā has learned that her husband will be at the ʿIrār well upon a camel
Whose mother was never served by a stallion, a mount whose limbs were pruned by axes?’"

Al-Zuhri claimed that when they took him out to kill him, he said,

“Inform the Muslim leaders that I am bequeathing my body and my bones to my Lord.”

They then cut off his head and crucified him at that well. May God have mercy on him, be pleased with him and give him pleasure and make paradise his abode.

53. He is, of course, referring to a wooden cross.
THE ARRIVAL OF TAMIM AL-DARDI TO THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS), AND HIS INFORMING HIM ABOUT AL-JASSASA AND ABOUT WHAT HE HEARD FROM AL-DAJJAL, "THE IMPOSTER", CONCERNING THE MISSION OF THE PROPHET AND THE FAITH OF THOSE BELIEVING IN HIM.

Abû ʻAbd Allâh Sahl b. Muḥammad b. Naṣrawayh al-Marwazi of Nishâpur narrated to us, quoting Abû Bakr Muḥammad b. Ḥamd b. Ḥasan al-Qâdî, quoting Abû Sahl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyâd al-Qâṭân, quoting Yaḥyâ b. Jaʿfar b. al-Zubayr, quoting Wahb b. Jarîr, quoting his father, who said that he heard Ghaylân b. Jarîr relate from al-Shâbî, who quoted Fâṭîma, daughter of Qays, as having said, "Tamîm al-Dârî came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and told him how he had gone to sea. His ship had gone off course and they had been cast upon an island. They had gone ashore seeking water and met a man with exceedingly long hair. Tamîm asked him who he was, and the man replied that he was al-Jassasâ. When they asked him about himself, he replied, 'I'll tell you nothing! But you can have this island!'"

Tamîm's account went on, "So we proceeded into the island and there we found a man in chains. He asked us, 'Who are you people?' 'We're Arabs,' we replied. He asked, 'What's all this about some prophet who has come forth among you?' We replied, 'People believe in him, follow him and consider him truthful.' He commented, 'That is best for them.'

"He then asked, 'Tell me what news there is of ʻAyn Za'r.' We did so, and he was so excited he almost jumped right outside! He then asked, 'What news is there of the date-palms at Baysân?' Are they bearing fruit yet?' We told him they were and again he was most excited. He next said, 'If I were allowed to do so, I would travel throughout the land – except for Ṭayyba!''"

Fâṭîma continued, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent him (Tamîm) out to the people and he recounted this to them. And he said, 'This is Ṭayyba, and that man was al-Dajjal, "the imposter".'"

İmâm Aḥmad also narrated this hadîth, as did Muslim and the ahl al-sunan, from several lines of transmission, from ʻAmîr b. Sharaḥîl al-Shaḥîb, from Fâṭîma, daughter of Qays. İmâm Aḥmad gave testimony to this hadîth from an account of Abî Hurayra and ʻAṣîla, "mother of the Believers". We have given this

54. A red-complexioned, corpulent one-eyed male being to whom reference is variously made in the hadîth literature. Sometimes identified as the anti-Christ or as a servant of Satan, he is said, elsewhere as here, to be a captive resident of an island. See the entry al-Dađdîjâl in the Encyclopedia of Islam.
55. A location in Hijâz.
56. Located in al-Yamâma.
57. One of the names by which Medina was known.
58. The remaining four, that is, of the six scholars who composed the sahih collections of the traditions.
hadith, with its various lines of transmission and phraseology, in our work Kitāb al-Fitan (Book of Intrigues). Al-Waqidi also related the arrival of the delegation of al-Daris of Lakhm, a group of ten men.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANÛ ASAD.

Al-Waqidi also stated that a delegation from Banû Asad came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), early in 9 AH; it consisted of ten men. These included Dirrār b. al-Azwar, Wābiṣa b. Ma'bad, Tulayḥa b. Khwaylid, who later claimed to be a prophet, then accepted Islam and became a good Muslim, and Nafada b. 'Abd Allah b. Khalaf.

Their leader, al-Hādrami b. ʿAmir, commented, “Messenger of God, we have made our way to you in dark of night in a year of drought without you sending out anyone to us.”

And so God revealed about them, “They think they place you under an obligation by accepting Islam. Say: ‘Don’t place me under an obligation for your accepting Islam; rather, it is God who places you under an obligation by guiding you to the faith, if you are sincere’” (ṣūrat al-Hujurāt; XLIX, v.17).

There was one clan of theirs known as Banū al-Rathya, “the error clan”; he changed their name to Banû al-Rashda, “the correct clan”. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had requested Nafada b. ʿAbd Allah b. Khalaf to bring him a camel that would be excellent for both riding and milk and that did not have young. The only one Nafada could find belonged to a cousin of his and he did bring it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) told him to draw some of its milk. He drank some and gave the remainder back, saying, “May God bless her and those who donated her.” Nafada asked, “Messenger of God, and also those who brought her?” He added, “And those who brought her.”

THE DELEGATION OF BANÛ ʿABS.

Al-Waqidi stated that they were nine in number, and he named them. The Prophet (SAAS) said “And I am the tenth of you.” He then gave orders to Ṭalḥa b. Ubayd Allah, who made up a banner for them and he made its motto, “O Ten!”.

It is said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked them about Khalid b. Sinân al-ʿAbsi, whose biography we mentioned in the account of the jāhiliyya. They said he had had no descendants.

Al-Waqidi stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent them out to waylay a Quraysh caravan arriving from Syria. This would mean that their acceptance of Islam would have preceded the conquest of Mecca. But God knows best.

59. In Ibn Kathīr’s al-Nihāya wa al-Bidāya (An End and a Beginning).
THE DELEGATION FROM BANU FAZARA.

Al-Waqidi stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. 'Umar al-Jumahi, from Abü Wajza al-Sadi, who said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned from Tabuk, that being in 9 AH, a delegation consisting of some ten men came to him from Banu Fazara. These included Kharij b. Hisn and al-Harith b. Qays b. Hisn; the latter was the youngest of them. The camels they rode were emaciated. They had come to affirm their acceptance of Islam.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked them about their lands. One of them replied, 'Messenger of God, our lands are suffering drought; our cattle are dying. Our whole area is barren, and our families are starving. Pray to God for us!'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) mounted the minbar and said, 'O God, water Your land and Your cattle! Extend forth Your mercy and give life to Your dead land! O God, send rain upon us to render a great area fertile, soon and without delay, making it beneficial and without harm! O God, send rain for us as an act of mercy, not for punishment, nor for destruction, without inundation or damage! O God, send us rainfall and give us aid against our enemies!'

"It did rain and they could see no break in the sky. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) mounted the minbar and prayed, saying, 'O God, let it be around about us, but not upon us! Let it be upon the hillocks and the knolls, on the valleys and the woodlands.'

"And the rain was drawn away from Medina as though it were a garment removed."

THE DELEGATION FROM BANU MURRA.

Al-Waqidi stated that their arrival came in 9 AH when he returned from Tabuk. They consisted of 13 men, including al-Harith b. 'Awf. The Prophet (SAAS) awarded them each 10 awqiyya weight of silver. To al-Harith b. 'Awf he gave 12 awqiyya.

They related that their country was undergoing drought and he prayed for them, saying, "O God, send down rain upon them!" When they returned home they discovered that it had rained that very day the Messenger of God (SAAS) had spoken the prayer for them.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANU THA'LABA.

Al-Waqidi stated that it was related to him by Musa b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim, from a man of Banu Tha'laba, who quoted his father as saying, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) returned from al-Jirana in 8 AH four of us went to him and said, 'We are envoys from our people who wish to affirm their acceptance of Islam.'
"He ordered us to be accorded hospitality. We stayed there a few days, then went to him to say farewell. He told Bilal, 'Give them the awards usual to delegations.' He brought large quantities of silver and gave each of our men the weight of five awqiyya, saying, 'We don't have any dirham coins.' We then returned home."

**THE DELEGATION FROM BANÛ MUḤĀRIB.**

Al-Wāqīḍī stated that Muḥammad b. Ṣalīḥ quoted Abū Wajţa al-Sa‘dī, as saying, "A delegation from (Bantū) Muḥārīb came in 10 AH during the ḥijjat al-wadā', 'the farewell pilgrimage'. It consisted of ten men, including Sawā’ b. al-Ḥārīth and his son Khuzayma. They stayed at the home of Ramla, daughter of al-Ḥārīth. Bilāl would bring them their lunch and their dinner. They accepted Islam, saying that they were leaders of their people.

"And in the past the fairs had treated the Messenger of God (SAAS), in a more rough and rude way than they had. In that delegation there was one man whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) recognized. That man told him, 'Praise be to God who has allowed me to live on to believe in you.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'These hearts are in the hands of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) wiped the face of Khuzayma b. Sawā’ and it turned clear and white. He gave them the awards usual to delegations and they then returned home."

**THE DELEGATION FROM BANÛ KILĀB.**

Al-Wāqīḍī stated that they came in 9 AH, their delegation consisting of 13 men. These included Labīd b. Rabī‘a, the poet, and Jabbār b. Sulmā. There was great friendship between the latter and Ka‘b b. Mālik, who warmly honoured and welcomed Jabbār and made gifts to him. They went with him (Ka‘b) to the Messenger of God (SAAS), to whom they spoke with the Islamic words of greeting. They told him that al-Ḍāḥḥak b. Sufyān al-Kilābi had gone among them with God's Book and with information concerning the religious practices of His Messenger that had been ordained by God. Al-Ḍāḥḥak had invited them to God and they had responded. He had then taken from their wealthy charitable donations, which he had then distributed to their poor.

**THE DELEGATION FROM BANÛ RU’ĀS B. KILĀB.**

Al-Wāqīḍī went on to relate that a man named ‘Amr b. Mālik b. Qays b. Bujīd b. Ru‘ās b. Kilāb b. Rabī‘a b. ‘Amir b. Sa‘sa‘a arrived to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and accepted Islam. He then returned to his own people and invited
them into Islam, saying, "We will then gain from Banū 'Aqīl the like of what they took from us.'

He then recounted a battle that took place between them and how this 'Amr b. Malik had killed a man of Banū 'Aqīl. He ('Amr) said, "I placed my hands in manacles and went to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He had learned what I had done and had said, 'If he comes to me, I'll strike off his hands above the manacles!'"

"When I came in and greeted him in Islam, he did not return my greeting, but turned away. I then approached him from his right side, but again he turned away. I came to him from his left, and again he turned away. Then I approached him from directly in front and said, 'Messenger of God, when the approval of the Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He, is sought and He approves; now therefore do be pleased with me – may God be pleased with you!' He responded, 'I am so pleased.'"

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ 'AQĪL B. KA'B.

Al-Waqidl recounted that they came to visit the Messenger of God (SAAS), and that he accorded them the income from al-'Aqlq – the 'Aqlq of Banū 'Aqīl – which is land on which there are palm trees and wells.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote a document to this effect, as follows, "In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This records what Muḥammad, Messenger of God, has given to Rabī', Muṭrif and Anas – namely al-'Aqlq – for their having performed the prayers, made payment for the alms, and having accepted and obeyed (my) authority. He has not given them any right (to anything) belonging to a Muslim."

The document was entrusted to Muṭrif.

Al-Waqidl went on, "Laqīṭ b. 'Āmir b. al-Muntafiq b. 'Āmir b. 'Aqīl, he being known as Abū Razīn, also came to him. He awarded Laqīṭ a well called al-Naẓīm; Laqīṭ expressed allegiance to him for his people."

We have fully recounted above his arrival and the narrative about Laqīṭ. And to God go all praise and credit.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ QUSHAYR B. KA'B.

This was prior to the ḥijjat al-madā‘, "the farewell pilgrimage", and also before the battle of Ḥunayn. Among these men is said to have been Qurra b. Hubayra b. 'Āmir b. Salama al-Khayr b. Qushayr. He accepted Islam and the Messenger of God (SAAS) made a payment and also awarded him a cloak. He placed him in charge of collecting the charitable donations from his people. When he returned home, Qurra spoke the following verses,

"The Messenger of God defended it when it came down to him, protecting it from attack or criticism."
And so it attained lush green pastures, Muḥammad having provided for all its needs.

Upon it is a hero, who would never allow blame to ride beside him, who encourages the hesitant to overcome indecision.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANŪ AL-BAKKĀ'.

It is said that they arrived in 9 AH and that they were 30 men in number. Among them was Muḥāwiya b. Thawr b. Muḥāwiya b. ‘Ubaydā b. al-Bakka’, he at that time being 100 years old. He had a son with him named Bishr. Muḥāwiya asked, ‘Messenger of God, I would receive blessing from your touch. I am old, and this son of mine is dutiful towards me. Please stroke his face.’

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did stroke his face and gave him some ash-coloured goats. He spoke a blessing over them. And thereafter they were never afflicted by drought or poverty.

Muḥammad b. Bishr b. Muḥāwiya spoke the following verses on this:

“It was my father whose head the Messenger stroked, praying for good and blessings for him.

When he went to him, Ahmad gave him ash-coloured goats, lean but not emaciated like snakes.

They would satisfy the delegation every evening, and return to do the same during the day.

Blessed is the gift, and so too the donor, and salutations to him from me for as long as I live.”

THE DELEGATION FROM KINĀNA.

Al-Waqidi related, with complete lines of transmission, that Waʿila b. al-Asqaʿ al-Laythi arrived to see the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was equipping himself to leave for Tabūk. He performed the al-ṣubḥ prayer with him, then returned to his people. He invited them to accept Islam, telling them about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). His father told him, “I swear by God, I’ll never forgive you!”

His sister heard what he had said and accepted Islam. She equipped him for travel and he went with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to Tabūk, mounted upon a camel belonging to Kaʿb b. ʿUjra.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent him with Khalid to Uraydīr Dūma. When they returned, Waṭhila offered to Kaʿb b. ʿUjra the share of the booty that had been apportioned for him. Kaʿb replied, “But it was to God the Almighty and Glorious that it carried you.”
THE DELEGATION FROM ASHJA'.

Al-Waqqidi related that they arrived the year of the battle of al-khandaq. They consisted of 100 men; their leader was Mas'ud b. Bukhayla, and they made camp at the Sal'a defile.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) went out to them and ordered that they be provided supplies of dates. It is also said that they arrived after he had finished with Banu Qurayza, and that they consisted of 700 men. He reached an understanding with them and they returned home. They accepted Islam thereafter.

THE DELEGATION FROM BĀHILA.

Their leader, Mu'tarif b. Kāhin arrived after the conquest of Mecca and accepted Islam. He took a peace pact to his people and signed a document to the Messenger of God (SAAS), accepting the laws and obligations of Islam. Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him, wrote it.

THE DELEGATION FROM BANU SULAYM.

He (al-Waqqidi) stated, “A man named Qays b. Nushba came from Banu Sulaym to the Messenger of God (SAAS). The latter listened to what he had to say and asked him various questions to which he replied, being fully aware of everything. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then invited him to accept Islam, and he did so.

‘Qays returned to his people of Banu Sulaym, and told them, ‘I’ve heard the history of the Byzantines, the legends of Persia, the poetry of the Arabs, the divinations of Ḥimyar, but the words of Muḥammad are not at all similar to theirs. Obey me and seek your fortune with him.’

“The year of the conquest of Mecca, Banu Sulaym went out and joined the Messenger of God (SAAS), at Qadid; they consisted of 700 men, though this figure is also given as 1,000. They included al-‘Abbās b. Mirdas and a number of their leading men. They accepted Islam, saying, ‘Place us at your fore; make our banner red and our motto mughaddaman, “ahead!”’ He agreed to this and they were present with him at the conquest, and at the battles of al-Tā’if and Hunayn.

‘Rashid b. ‘Abd Rabbih al-Sulami used to worship an idol. One day he saw two jackals urinating over it and he spoke the line,

‘Is this a lord upon whose head two jackals urinate?
Whoever has jackals urinate upon him is disgraced!’

“He then attacked and broke it. After that he went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him, ‘What is your name?’ He replied, ‘Ghāwī b. ‘Abd al-Uzza.’ ‘No’, he told him, ‘now
your name is Rāshid b. ʿAbd Rabbīhi. He awarded him the revenue of a place called Ruhāt where there is a running spring; it is known as the ʿayn al-rasul, ‘the well of the Messenger’. He was the best man of Banū Sulaym, over whom he was placed in command. He was present at the conquest of Mecca and later actions."

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ HILĀL B. ʿAMIR.

He (al-Waqidi) mentioned ʿAbd Ṭawfīq b. Aṣārām in their delegation. He accepted Islam, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) renamed him ʿAbd Allāh. Also there was Qabīṣa b. Mukhāriq, who is the source for a hadith about charitable donations.

Amongst those he (al-Waqidi) mentioned as in the delegation of Banū Hilāl were Ziyād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Malik b. Bujayr b. al-Hadm b. Ruwayba b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hilāl b. ʿAmir. When he entered Medina, he made his way to the home of his aunt Maymūna, daughter of al-.l;Iarith. He went inside and when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered his home, he saw him, became angry and went out again. She called to him, “Messenger of God, he’s my sister’s son!” He then went inside, came out again and went to the mosque, accompanied by Ziyād. He performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer, then prayed for him. He placed his hand on his head, then touched the tip of Ziyād’s nose. Banū Hilāl used to say, “We could always recognise the blessing in Ziyād’s face.”

A poet spoke the following verses to Ziyād’s son ʿAlī:

“O Son of him whose head the Messenger touched and for whom he prayed for good at the mosque,

I mean Ziyād, referring to none but him, to no passer-by,
not to one accused or one seeking aid.

That light on the bridge of his nose was always visible, until his body went down to the grave.”

THE DELEGATION OF BANŪ BAKR B. WAʿIL.

Al-Waqidi stated that when they arrived, they asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) about Quss b. Sāʿida. He replied, “That man was not one of yours. He was of Iyād. He became a ḥanif in the jāhilīyya. He was present at ʿUkāz while the people were gathered there. He spoke there the words since passed on as his."

“In the delegation there were Bashīr b. al-Khaṣṣāṣiyya, ʿAbd Allāh b. Marthād and Ḥassān b. Khūṭ. A son of Ḥassān spoke the following verse:

60. The man’s original name meant “Misleader, son of the worshipper of al-Uzza”; his new name meant “Right-guided, son of the worshipper of his Lord”.

61. See glossary. A word with many associations. Often applied to Abraham with connotations that he was a devoted follower of God; the word also has implications of being circumcised or of having abandoned the worship of idols.
‘I am the son of Ḥassān b. Khūṭ; my father was the messenger of all Banū Bakr to the Prophet.’”

THE DELEGATION FROM TAGHLIB.

He (al-Waqidi) stated that they consisted of 16 men, Muslims, and Christians wearing crosses of gold. They stayed at the house of Ramla, daughter of al-Ḥarīth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a pact of peace with the Christians on the understanding that they would not baptize their children into Christianity. He gave payments to the Muslims among them.

DELEGATIONS FROM THE PEOPLE OF YEMEN.

Al-Waqidi stated that they came in 9 AH and that they consisted of 13 men. He gave them larger payments than he had to others. Al-Waqidi also said that there was a youth among them whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked what gift he wanted. He replied, “Messenger of God, pray to God to forgive me, to have mercy on me and to place my wealth in my heart.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘O God, forgive him, have mercy on him, and place his wealth in his heart.’ And thereafter he was one of the most pious and ascetic of men.”

THE DELEGATION FROM KHAWLĀN.

Al-Waqidi stated that they were ten in number, and that they arrived in Sha'bān of 10 AH. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them about their idol known as “Amm Anas”. They replied that they had exchanged him for a better one and that they intended to destroy it on their return. They learned the Qurʾān and the orthodox practices of Islam and when they returned home, they did destroy the idol. They made permissible what God had rendered so, and they forbid that which God had forbidden.

THE DELEGATION FROM JUṆFI.

Al-Waqidi stated that they forbade eating heart. When their delegation accepted Islam, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to eat heart. He had some cooked and handed it to their leader, saying, “Your faith will not be complete until you eat it.” He did take it, his hand trembling, and he did eat it, saying, ‘I did eat the heart unwillingly, my body trembling when I touched it.’”
Section: On the arrival of the delegation of Banū Azd to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Abū Nu‘aym stated, in his book Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥāba (Knowledge about the Companions) as did the ḥāfīz Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī, from a hadīth of Aḥmad b. Abū al-Ḥawārī, who said, “I heard Abū Sulaymān al-Dārānī, who said, ‘Alqama b. Yazīd b. Suwayd al-Azdī said, “My father related to me, from my grandfather, from Suwayd b. al-Ḥārīth, who said, ‘I was the seventh of a delegation of seven men from my people who went to see the Messenger of God (SAAS). When we went in to him, we spoke with him and he was surprised by our appearance and our dress. He asked, “And what are you?” We replied that we were Believers.

“‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) smiled and said, “There is truth in every statement; what is the truth in your statement and your faith?”

“‘We replied, “There are fifteen essentials, five of which your emissaries ordered us to believe. Five you ordered us to act upon and five we ourselves developed while during the jahiliyya and still maintain – unless you should dislike any of them.”

“‘He asked, “What are the five my envoys ordered you to believe?”

“‘We replied, “They told us to believe in God and in His angels, His books, His messengers and rebirth after death.”

“‘He then asked, “And what are the five I ordered you to act upon?” We replied, “You ordered us to say, “There is no god but God”, to perform the prayers, to pay the zakāt, ‘the alms’, to fast at Ramadān, and to make pilgrimage to the ka‘ba if we are able.”

“‘He asked, “And what are the five you developed during the jahiliyya?” We replied, “Being thankful when prosperous, being stoical in the face of difficulty, being pleased with whatever fate brings, being truthful at social gatherings, and refraining from cursing enemies.”

“‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, “Why, such wise and learned men! Their understanding is such as to almost make them prophets!”

“‘He then said, “I’ll give you five more; then you’ll have twenty essentials. If you are as you say, then do not accumulate what you cannot yourselves consume, do not build what you do not inhabit, do not compete for something you will shortly leave behind, fear God to Whom you will be returned and before Whom you will be exposed, and desire strongly that to which you head and wherein you will be forever.”

“‘The party then left him, having memorized his advice and acting upon it.’”
THE DELEGATION FROM KINDA.

Al-Waqidi stated that they were ten or so mounted men under the command of al-Ash'ath b. Qays. He made a payment of ten *awqiyya* weight (of silver) to each, while to al-Ash'ath he gave twelve. This has been related above.\(^{62}\)

THE DELEGATION FROM AL-ṢADIF.

They arrived in a group of some ten riders. They came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), as he was on the *minbar* delivering an address. They sat down without giving the usual Muslim greeting. He asked, “Are you Muslims?” “Yes,” they replied. “Will you not give the Muslim greeting, then?”

The all arose and said, “Peace be upon you, Prophet, and the mercy and blessings of God.” He responded, “And upon you all be peace. Sit down.” They did so and then asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) about the times for the prayers.

THE DELEGATION FROM KHUSHAYN.

Al-Waqidi stated, “Abū Thaʿlabā al-Khushāni arrived as the Messenger of God (SAAS) was preparing his equipment to proceed to Khaybar. Abū Thaʿlabā was present with him at the battle of Khaybar and thereafter some ten men of Banū Khushayn came and accepted Islam.

Al-Waqidi went on to tell of the delegations from Banū Sa‘d, Hudhaym, Bālī, Bahrā’, Banū Qudra, Salāmān, Juḥayna, Banū Kalb and al-Jarmiyin. We have given above the *ḥadīth* of ‘Amr b. Salama al-Jarmī given in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Waqidi then referred to the delegations of al-Azd, Ghasān, al-Ḥārith b. Kaḥ, Hamdān, Sa‘d al-‘Ashīra, ‘Abs, that of al-Dāriyin, and al-Rahāwīwīn, of Banū Ghāmīd, al-Nakhr, Bajīla, Khathām and Ḥḍramawt. He made mention of Wāṭil b. Ḥujr among these. He also referred to the four kings Jamd, Mikhwas, Mishrawī and Abdā‘a as among these. In the *ḥadīth* collection of Ahmad detail is given of their curse, with their sister al-‘Amarrada.\(^{63}\) Al-Waqidi related about them at length.

He also referred to the Azd of Umnān, and Ghāfiq, Bāriq, Daws, Thumāla, al-Jidār, Aslām, Juḏḥām, Mahrā, Himyar, Najrān and Jayshān. Explication on these tribes would need to be very extensive; and we have already given above

\(^{63}\) A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that the correct name should be their brother al-Ghamar.
some material associated with this. What we have related heretofore is enough. Though God knows best.

THE DELEGATION OF AL-SIBA'.

Al-Waqidi went on, "Shu'ayb b. 'Ubāda related to me, from al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥantab as follows, 'While the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) was seated in Medina among his Companions, a jackal came, stood before him and howled. The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) said, 'This is a delegate from the lions who has come to you. If you wish to impose some restriction upon him, they will not go beyond it to something else; however, if you wish, you could leave him and be wary of him and whatever he is able to take would be his sustenance.'"

"They replied, 'Messenger of God, we don't wish to give him anything.' The Prophet (ṣaṣṣ) then gestured to him with three fingers, meaning, 'leave them alone' and it turned and ran away in fear.'"

The ḥadīth is mursal, "incomplete", with this line of transmission.

This jackal resembles the one referred to in the ḥadīth related by Imām Ahmad: “Yazīd” – he being Ibn Ḥārūn – “related to us, quoting al-Qāsim b. al-Fāḍl al-Ḥuddānī, from Abū Naḍra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudārī, who said, ‘The jackal attacked a sheep. The shepherd went after it and took it from him. The jackal sat up on its tail and asked, ‘Don’t you fear God, taking from me bounty to which God led me?’ The shepherd exclaimed, ‘Amazing! A jackal sitting up on its tail and speaking to me like a human being!’"

"The jackal went on, ‘Would you like me to tell you something even more amazing than that? Muhammad, the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) is in Yathrib telling people of what happened long ago.’"

"The shepherd then led his herd away into the town; there he left them in a corral and went to the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ), and told him about the jackal.

"The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) had a call made for a general prayer meeting and went out and said to the bedouin, ‘Tell them.’ He did so. The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) then said, ‘He spoke the truth, I swear by Him who has the soul of Muḥammad in His hand. Judgement Day will not come until animals speak to humans, and a man’s strap on his whip and his sandal straps talk to him, and his thigh informs him of what his family does behind his back.’”"

Al-Tirmidhī related it from Sufyān b. Wāktū b. al-Jarrāh, from his father, from al-Qāsim b. al-Fāḍl. He characterized it as ḥasan, gharib, saḥīh, "good, unilateral and authentic”. We know of this only from the ḥadīth of al-Qāsim b. al-Fāḍl, whom scholars consider a trustworthy and reliable source. Yaḥyā and Ibn Mahdī consider him reliable.

I note that Imām Ahmad also related this ḥadīth, giving a line of transmission quoting Abū al-Yāmān, quoting Shu’ayb, he being the son of Abū Ḥamza, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Ḥusayn, quoting Mahrān, quoting Abū Saʿīd al-Khudārī;
he gave this anecdote in full and with a more extensive line than the account given above.

I note that Imam Ahmad also related it quoting Abu al-Nadr, quoting 'Abd al-Hamud b. Bahram, quoting Shahr, who said he heard it from Abu Sa'd.

This text is closer (to the above); but God knows best. This line of transmission accords with the criteria of the ahl al-sunan, but they did not promulgate it.

DIVISION

Material concerning the delegations of the jinn, “the spirits”, at Mecca prior to the Hijra has been given above. 64

We have examined this also with regard to the words of the Almighty, in surat al-Abqaiif (XLVI, v.29): “And when we sent towards you a group of the jinn who listen to the Qur'an”. We gave commentary on those abiidith and ancient materials referring to this and gave the hadith of Sawad b. Qarib who had been a monk but accepted Islam. We wrote of his channel, who would bring him information, as when he told him,

“I was surprised at the jinn and their knowledge, and their gripping their baggage on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for believing spirits are not like those that disbelieve.

So head for the finest men of Hashim, amidst their hills and rocks.”

He went on to say,

“I was surprised at the jinn and their perceptions, and their gripping their cloth blankets on their mounts

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for the gracious of the spirits are not like the foul ones.

So head for the finest men of Hashim, and raise your eyes to their head.”

He later continued,

“I was surprised at the jinn and their knowledge, and their gripping their baggage on their mounts,

Heading for Mecca, seeking guidance, for those that are evil are not like those who are good.

So go to the finest men of Hashim; the jinn who believe are not like those of them who disbelieve.”

This and similar materials indicate the repeated arrival of the jinn to Mecca. We have sufficiently established that above; and all praise and credit be to God. Success and authority come through Him.

64. See Vol. I, page 245 et seq.
The hāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī gave here a very strange hadīth— one indeed, that was either objectionable or fabricated. However, its source is a cherished one. And I wish to report it just as he did. It is strange to come from him.

Al-Bayhaqī stated in his Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa: “Chapter on the arrival of Hāma b. al-Haytham b. Lāqīs b. Iblīs to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and his acceptance of Islam” as follows: “Abū al-Hasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Da'ūd al-ʿAlawi, may God have mercy on him, informed us, quoting Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh b. Sahl al-Qārī al-Marwazī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥammād al-ʿĀmilī, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Ma'shar, who quoted his father, from Nāfi', from Ibn ʿUmar, who quoted ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, as saying, ‘While we were seated with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on one of the mountains of Tihāma, an old man holding a staff arrived. He greeted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who returned the greeting, and asked, “By the sing-song and prattling of the jīmm, who are you?” He replied, “I am Hāma b. al-Haytham b. Laqīs b. Iblīs.”

‘The Prophet (ṢAAS), asked “There are only two fathers in your line from Iblīs (Satan); how long have you lived, then?”

“I’ve been living almost as long as the world itself. Back when Cain killed Abel, I was still a boy, learning to understand words, moving across the hills and ordering food to turn bad and breaking up families.”

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) commented, “Evil was the work of both the blameworthy old man and the reprehensible boy!”

“The old man went on, “Spare me from destruction! I turn in repentance to God, Almighty and Glorious is He! I was with Noah in his mosque, along with those of his people who believe in him. I kept on decrying him for his call to his people until he wept and made me do so too. He said, ‘Surely, I am one of those who repent for all that; and I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’

“I said, ‘Noah, I was of those who took part in shedding the blood of that fortunate martyr Abel, son of Adam. Can you find forgiveness for me in yourself?’ He replied, ‘Hām, hurry and find good to perform before you suffer grief and remorse. I have read in what God has sent down to me that every worshipper who turns in repentance to God and communicates this will have God turn to him in forgiveness. Arise, perform the ablutions and make two prayer prostrations to God.”

“Hām went on, “I did at once what he told me. He then called out to me, ‘Lift up your head; forgiveness of you has been revealed from heaven. And so I prostrated in worship to God.”

“He continued, “I was also with Ḥud in his mosque, along with those of his people who believed. I kept on criticizing him for his call to his people until he wept over them and made me weep too. He said, ‘Surely, I am one of those who repent for all that. And I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’
“Also I was with Šāliḥ in his mosque with those of his people who believed. I kept on criticizing him for his call to his people until he wept over them and made me weep too. He said, ‘I am one of those who repent for all that. And I seek refuge with God from being one of those who are foolishly ignorant.’

“I used to visit Jacob, too; I was with Joseph in the secure place; and I used to meet Elijah in the valleys; I meet him now.

“I met Moses, son of Imrān, and he taught me from the Torah. He told me, ‘If you meet Jesus, son of Mary, greet him for me.’ I did meet Jesus, son of Mary, and greeted him from Moses. Jesus said, ‘If you meet Muḥammad (ṢAAS), greet him for me.’

“The eyes of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) flowed abundantly in tears as he wept at this. Then he said, ‘And may peace be upon Jesus for as long as the world exists. And may peace be upon you too, Hām, for your keeping to the faith.’

“Hām went on, ‘Messenger of God, do with me as Moses did. He taught me from the Torah.’


“He then told him, ‘Tell us your needs, Hām. And don’t stop visiting us.’”

ʿUmar concluded, “He shook hands with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in farewell and never returned to us. We don’t know whether he is alive or dead.”

Al-Bayhaqi went on to state, “This Ibn Abū Maʿṣhar in the chain has had major āḥādīth related from him; however, the scholars in the traditions consider him weak.

But this āḥādīth is narrated from another and stronger line of transmission. God knows best.

THE YEAR 10 AH.

Chapter: On the dispatch by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) of Khalid b. al-Walid.


“He ordered him to invite them to Islam for three days before attacking them. If they responded positively, he was to accept them, and if they did not, he was to attack them.

“Khalid went forth and when he reached them, he sent out riders in all directions inviting them to Islam, telling them, ‘Accept Islam and you will be safe.’
“They did accept Islam and accepted what they had been asked to do. Khalid remained with them, instructing them in Islam, in God’s Book and in the practices of His Prophet (SAAS), as the latter had ordered if they should accept Islam and not do battle.

“Khalid b. al-Walid then wrote to the Messenger of God (SAAS), as follows, ‘In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. To Muhammad, the Prophet, and Messenger of God, from Khalid b. al-Walid. Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, along with the mercy and blessings of God. I express to you praise for God, other than Whom there is no god. To proceed, Messenger of God, may God’s blessings be upon you, you dispatched me to Banu al-Hashim b. Ka‘b and ordered me not to fight them for three days, to invite them into Islam and if they accepted I was to go and teach them the essentials of Islam, God’s Book, and the practice of His Prophet; if they did not accept Islam, I was to fight them.

“I did go to them and invited them into Islam for three days, as the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered me. I sent riders out to them who said, ‘Banu al-Hashim, accept Islam and be safe.’ They did accept Islam and did not fight. I am staying among them telling them of what God has ordered them and forbidding them from what God forbad them. I am teaching them the essentials of Islam and the practice of the Prophet (SAAS), until the Messenger of God (SAAS) writes to me. Peace be upon you, Messenger of God, along with His mercy and His blessings.’

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote back to him as follows, ‘In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muhammad, the Prophet, to Khalid b. al-Walid. Peace be upon you. I express to you praise for God other than Whom there is no other god. To proceed: your letter came to me with your messenger informing me that Banu al-Hashim b. Ka‘b accepted Islam before you did battle with them, that they responded positively to the requirements of Islam of which you informed them, that they testified that there is no god but God, that Muhammad is His servant and His Messenger, and that God has given them His guidance. Congratulate them, give them warning and return; and let their delegation come with you. Peace be upon you and the mercy and blessings of God.’”

“Khalid did return to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and the delegation of Banu al-Hashim b. Ka‘b came with him. Qays b. al-Husayn Dhul al-Ghaṣṣa, Yazid b. ‘Abd al-Madān, Yazid b. al-Muḥajjal, ‘Abd Allāh b. Qurād al-Ziyyādi, Shaddād b. Ubayd Allāh al-Qanānī and ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Dibābī were among them. When they came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he saw them, he asked, ‘Who are these men who seem to be Indians?’

“Someone told him, ‘These men are Banū al-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b.’ When they stood before the Messenger of God (SAAS), they greeted him and said, ‘We bear witness that you are the Messenger of God, and that there is no god but God.’
He replied, 'I bear witness that there is no god but God, and that I am the Messenger of God.'

"He then said, 'You are the people who, if forced back, would promptly advance again.' They remained silent; none of them offered him any response. He said the same a second and a third time and still no one responded.

"Then he said it a fourth time, and Yazid b. 'Abd al-Madān replied, 'Yes, Messenger of God; we are those who advance again if forced back.' He said this four times.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'If Khalid had not written to me that you had accepted Islam and had not done battle, I would have cast your heads beneath your feet!'

"Yazid b. 'Abd al-Madān said, 'In fact, I swear by God, we do not give praise to you or to Khalid.'

"'Whom do you praise, then?' he asked. He replied, 'We praise God who led us to you, Messenger of God.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'You speak the truth.'

"He then asked, 'How was it you overcame those you fought in the jahiliyya?' They replied, 'We overcame no one.'

"'But you did,' he said. 'You did overcome those you fought.'

"They replied, 'We did overcome those we fought, Messenger of God, by uniting and not splitting up, and by never initiating any injustice with anyone.' 'You speak the truth,' he said and then appointed Qays b. al-Ḥusayn as their commander."

Ibn Ishāq went on, "They then returned to their people for the latter part of Shawwal or the early part of Dhu al-Qa'da. After their delegation had left, the Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched 'Amr b. Ḥazm to give them instruction in the faith, to teach them the orthodox practice and the essential features of Islam, and to take from them their charitable donations. He wrote him a document specifying his charge and his orders to him."

Ibn Ishāq went on to quote this document. We gave it above in matters relating to the delegation of the kings of Ḥimyar, quoting from al-Bayhaqi. Al-Nasā'ī related this in a text similar to that of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, but without a chain of authorities.

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**THE DISPATCH BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) OF THE COMMANDERS TO THE PEOPLE OF YEMEN, INVITING THEM TO GOD, ALMIGHTY AND GLORIOUS IS HE, CAME PRIOR TO THE HIJJAT AL-WADA'.**

Al-Bukhārī entitles a section "Chapter on the dispatch of Abū Mūsā and Mu'ādh to Yemen prior to the hijjat al-wadā."

He went on to state, "Mūsā related to us, quoting Abū 'Awāna, quoting 'Abd al-Malik, from Abū Burda, who said, 'The Prophet (SAAS) sent Abū Mūsā and Mu'ādh b. Jabal to Yemen. He dispatched each one of them to rule a province; Yemen has two provinces."
“He told them, “Be lenient, not harsh; encourage, rather than repress.” In one account the words he used were, “Co-operate with one another; do not conflict.”

“Each went off to do his work. They promised to visit and greet one another in their own territory and when close to that of the other. Mu‘adh was once travelling on his land near that of his colleague Abū Mūsā and rode further on his mule to meet the latter. He found Abū Mūsā seated, with his people all around him. There was a man there with him whose hands had been tied up to his neck. Mu‘adh asked Abū Mūsā, “Abd Allāh b. Qays, what’s this about?” He replied, “This is a man who apostatized after accepting Islam.” Mu‘adh told him, “Well, I’ll not dismount until he is killed!” Abū Mūsā assured him, “But that’s exactly why he was brought here. Do dismount.” Mu‘adh insisted, “I’ll not dismount until he is killed.” The order was given, and he was killed.

“Mu‘adh dismounted and asked, “Abd Allāh, how do you recite the Qurān?” He replied, “I do so at regular intervals and piece-by-piece. How do you, Mu‘adh?” Mu‘adh replied, “I sleep for the first part of the night, then get up, having slept for that portion I determined. Then I recite what God wrote for me I should. Thus I seek God’s reward for both my sleeping and my being up praying.”"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line; Muslim does not.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Iṣḥāq related to him, quoting Khalīd, from al-Shaybānī, from Sa‘d b. Abū Burdā, from his father, from Abū Mūsā al-‘Aṣhārī, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen and asked him about the drinks made there. Abū Mūsā told him, “They make al-bītī and al-mīzr.”

The narrator then asked Abū Burdā, “What is al-bītī?” “It’s an alcoholic drink made from honey. And al-mīzr is an alcoholic drink made from barley,” he replied.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “All intoxicants are prohibited.”

Jarrīr and ʿAbd al-Walīd related it, from al-Shaybānī, from Abū Burdā. Muslim related it from a ḥadīth of Sa‘d b. Abū Burdā.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Ḥibbān related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, from Zakariyyāb. Abū Iṣhāq, from Yahyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣayfī, from Abū Ma‘bad, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Mu‘adh b. Jabal, when he dispatched him to Yemen, ‘You are going to people who have a scripture. When you reach them, invite them to testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God. If they obey you in that, then tell them that God has enjoined upon them five prayers each day and night. If they obey you in that, then tell them that God obligates them to make a charitable contribution that will be taken from their rich and be returned to their poor. If they obey you in that, then refrain from (taking as tax payment) their best properties; be fearful of the curse of the oppressed, for there is no barrier between them and God.’”

The rest of the community of scholars promulgated this from various lines of transmission.
Imām ʿAḥmad stated, “Abū al-Mughitr related to us, quoting Ṣafwān, quoting Rāshid b. Saʿd, from ʿAṣīm b. Ḥamīd al-Sakūnī, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, who said that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, the latter went out to give him instructions, walking beside his mount as he rode. When he had finished, he said, ‘Muʿādh, you may well not meet me again, after this year; but perhaps you will pass by this mosque of mine, and my grave.’

“Muʿādh wept in humility at leaving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

“The Prophet (ṢAAS) then turned towards Medina and said, ‘Those persons who are foremost with me are the pious; whoever and wherever they may be.’”

Imām ʿAḥmad then related this from Abū al-Yamān, from Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, from Rāshid b. Saʿd, from ʿAṣīm b. Ḥamīd al-Sakūnī. That account states that when Muʿādh was dispatched by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to Yemen, the latter went out to give him instructions, walking beside Muʿādh’s mount as he rode. When he had finished, he said, “Muʿādh, you may well not meet me again, after this year; but perhaps you will pass by this mosque of mine and my grave.”

Muʿādh wept in humility at leaving the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter then said, “Muʿādh, don’t weep. There are occasions for weeping; weeping comes from Satan.”

Imām ʿAḥmad stated, “Abū al-Mughitr related to us, quoting Ṣafwān, quoting Abū Ziyād b. ʿUbayd Yalīya al-Ghassānī, from Yazīd b. Quṭayb, who said that Muʿādh used to say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me to Yemen and said, “You may well pass by my grave and my mosque. I have sent you to a people whose hearts are delicate; they will fight twice for the truth. You must fight along with those who obey you against those of them who disobey you. To the extent that wives will challenge their husbands, sons their fathers and brothers one another, they will be faithful to Islam. And so between the two sides you will create tranquillity and acquiescence.”’”

In this ḥadīth there is evidence and indication that Muʿādh, may God be pleased with him, would not thereafter meet with the Prophet (ṢAAS). That is indeed how it came out; Muʿādh remained in Yemen until the ḥijjat al-wadāʾ. And then, 81 days following the day of the major pilgrimage, came the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Then there is the ḥadīth given by Imām ʿAḥmad in which he stated, “Wakī related to us, from al-ʿAḥmash, from Abū ʿAzīz b. Ṭabīn, from Muʿādh, that when the latter returned from Yemen, he said, “Messenger of God, I have seen men in Yemen who bow down to one another. Should we not bow down to you?” He replied, “If I were to order any human being to bow down to any other, I would order women to do so to their husbands.”

ʿAḥmad related it from Ibn Numayr, from al-ʿAḥmash (who said), “I heard Abū ʿAzīz b. Ṭabīn relate from one of the ansār, from Muʿādh b. Jabal, who said, ‘Muʿādh arrived from Yemen and said, ‘Messenger of God, I have seen men . . . ’”” and he continued as above.
This hadith revolves around a man who is obscure; reference to such a person could not be used as evidence, especially as other reliable authorities contradict him, by saying, “When Mu‘adh arrived from Syria . . .”. Āḥmad related this.

Āḥmad stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Iṣmā‘īl b. ʿAyāyah, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Ḥusayn, from Shahr b. Ḥawshab, from Mu‘adh b. Jabal, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘The keys to paradise are in bearing witness that there is no god but God.’”

Āḥmad stated, “Wāqī‘ related to us, quoting Sufyān, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Maymūn b. Abū Shabbīb, from Mu‘adh, (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) told him, ‘Mu‘adh, respond to something bad by something good; that will erase it. Treat people with honourable conduct.’”

Waqī‘ stated, “I found it in my book from Abū Dharr, he being the first auditor. Sufyān on one occasion quoted this tradition from Mu‘adh.”

Imām Āḥmad then stated that Iṣmā‘īl related to him, from Layth, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Maymūn b. Abū Shabbīb, from Mu‘adh, who said, “Messenger of God, give me instructions.” He replied, “Fear God, wherever you may be.” “Tell me more,” he asked. He replied, “Respond to something bad by something good that will erase it.” “Tell me more,” he asked. “Treat people with honourable conduct,” he replied.

Al-Tirmidhī related it in his collection from Maḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from Wāqī‘, from Sufyān al-Thawrī and stated that it was ḥasan, “good”.


Āḥmad stated that Abū al-Yaman related to him, quoting Iṣmā‘īl b. ʿAyāyah, from Ṣafwān b. ʿAmr, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Jubayr b. Nufayr al-Ḥadrānī, from Mu‘adh b. Jabal, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) instructed me using ten phrases. He said, ‘Do not associate anything with God, even though you might be killed or burned. Do not disobey your parents, even though they tell you to give up your property or your family. Do not deliberately forego any prescribed prayer. Whoever deliberately forgoes a prescribed prayer loses God’s protection. Do not drink wine, for it is the cause of every vile deed. Beware of insubordination, for it incurs the wrath of God. Beware of flight from an advancing enemy, even if people are being destroyed. If death afflicts (your) people, you are of them, so stay firm. Expend upon your children from your assets and do not raise from them your staff in their upbringing. And inspire in them love of God, the Almighty and Glorious.’”

Imām Āḥmad stated, “Yūnūs related to us, quoting Baqīyya, from al-Sarrī b. Yanām, from Shurayḥ, from Maṣrūq, from Mu‘adh b. Jabal, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, he told him, ‘Beware of luxury; God’s servants do not seek after luxury.’”

Āḥmad stated that Sulaymān b. Dā‘ūd al-Ḥashimī related to him, quoting Abū Bakr – meaning Ibn ʿAyāyah – quoting ʿĀṣim, from Abū Wāṭil, from Mu‘adh,
who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched me to Yemen and ordered me to take one dinár or its equivalent in maṣāfir, ‘provisions’, from each adult; he told me to take one mature cow for each forty cattle and one camel for each thirty cattle per annum. He ordered me to take one-tenth of the produce of land watered by rain and one-twentieth of the produce of land watered by buckets.”

Abū Dā’ūd related this from a ḥadīth of Abū Mu‘āwiyah, and al-Nasā‘ī gave it from a ḥadīth of Muḥammad b. Ishāq from al-‘Awmash in similar form.

The ahl al-sunan related it from various lines of transmission, from al-‘Awmash, from Abū Wa‘il, from Masrūq, from Mu‘ādh.

Aḥmad stated, “Mu‘āwiyah related to me, from ‘Amr and from Hàrūn b. Ma‘rūf, both of whom stated, ‘Abd Allāh b. Wāb relates to us, from Ḥaywa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Sālama b. Usāma, from Ṭḥayyā b. al-Ḥakam (who said) that Mu‘ādh stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched me to receive charitable payments from the people of Yemen. He told me to take a tabī‘, ‘one camel’, for every thirty head of cattle.””” Hārūn explained, “The word tabī‘ means a young, mature camel, either male or female.” ““And for each forty head of cattle one musinna, ‘a mature cow’.”

“They proposed to me that I should take extra payment for between forty and fifty, between sixty and seventy, and between eighty and ninety. But I declined this, telling them, ‘I will ask the Messenger of God (SAAS) about that.’

“When I returned, I told the Prophet (SAAS) about this and he told me to take one camel for thirty cattle and for every forty head I should take one mature cow. For sixty I should take two camels. For seventy, one mature cow and one camel. For eighty, two mature cows. For ninety, I should take three camels. For one hundred, one mature cow and two camels. For one hundred and ten, two mature cows and one camel. For one hundred and twenty, I should take three mature cows and four camels.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered me not to take anything for intermediate figures; only if it amounted to a mature cow or a camel. He claimed that there was no tax on intermediate numbers.””

This is a ḥadīth that is unique to Aḥmad. This suggests that he came back after his trip to Yemen to the Messenger of God (SAAS). However, the fact is that he did not see the latter after that, as is stated earlier in a ḥadīth.

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated that Ma‘mar informed him, from al-Zuhri, from Ubayy b. Ka‘b b. Mālik, who said, “Mu‘ādh b. Jabal was a handsome and generous young man, one of the finest of his people. Anything ever asked of him he would give, so that eventually he had a debt that foreclosed all his money. He told this to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and asked him to speak to his creditors, and this he did. But they would not reduce his debt at all; and if anyone should ever have had a debt excused because of the plea of another, it should have been Mu‘ādh after the appeal made by the Messenger of God (SAAS).
“The Messenger of God (SAAS) summoned him and immediately Mu‘adh sold all his possessions and divided the proceeds between his creditors. Mu‘adh had nothing left.

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was going on the pilgrimage, he sent Mu‘adh to Yemen. And so Mu‘adh was the first to do business with that money.

“When he returned from Yemen to Abū Bakr, ‘the trusting’, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had died. ‘Umar came to him and said, ‘Will you obey me and pay this money over to Abū Bakr? If he gives it to you, you can then accept it.’

“Mu‘adh replied, ‘I’ll not give it to him! The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent me to Yemen to restore my fortune.’

“When Mu‘adh refused, ‘Umar went to Abū Bakr and said, ‘Send a message to this man and take it, then pay him.’

“Abū Bakr replied, ‘I’ll not do that; the Messenger of God (SAAS) only dispatched him to restore his fortune. I’ll not take anything from him.’

“Next morning, Mu‘adh went to ‘Umar and said, ‘I see no alternative to doing what you said. I saw myself yesterday in a dream’ — ‘Abd al-Razzāq thinks he said this — ‘being dragged to hell-fire; and you had hold of my waistband’!

“He then hurried off to Abū Bakr with everything he had brought; he even took him his whip and he swore he had kept nothing hidden from him. Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, ‘It is yours; I will take none of it.’”

Abū Thawr related this, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Khāb b. Malik. He related it as above, except for the words, “and in the year of the conquest of Mecca, the Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched him as governor of a part of Yemen. Mu‘adh remained there until the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Then, in the caliphate of Abū Bakr, he returned and left again for Syria.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “We have affirmed earlier that the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed him in command of Mecca with ‘Attab b. Usayd to give its people instruction, and also that he was present on the expedition to Tabūk; it is most likely that the Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched him to Yemen after that. But God knows best.”

Al-Bayhaqi then related the story of Mu‘adh’s dream, giving a line of transmission through al-A‘mash, from Abū Wā’il, from ‘Abd Allāh. In that account it is said that what Mu‘adh brought (from Yemen) included slaves, and that he took them to Abū Bakr. When the latter gave everything back to him, Mu‘adh took them back too. He then performed the prayer, and all the slaves prayed with him. When he was done, he asked them, “To whom did you pray?” “To God,” they replied. “Then you are all manumitted to Him.” And he did free them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Ja‘far related to him, quoting Shu‘ba, from Abū ‘Awn, from al-Hārith b. ‘Amr b. Akhū al-Mughira b. Shu‘ba, from associates of Mu‘adh from the people of Ḥims, from Mu‘adh, who said that
when the Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched him to Yemen, he asked, “How will you act if a case is brought to you for judgement?” He replied, “I will make a judgement according to what is in God’s Book.”

“And what if the case is not in God’s Book?”

“Then in accord with the practice of the Messenger of God (SAAS),” he replied.

“And what if it is not covered in the practice of the Messenger of God (SAAS)?”

“I will *ajtahidu,* ‘strive hard’, and spare no effort.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then struck me in the chest and said, ‘Praise be to God, who made fit for the envoy of the Messenger of God that which pleases the Messenger of God!’”

Ahmad related this from Waki’, from ‘Affan, from Shu‘ba, with his line of transmission and his phraseology.

Abū Da‘ūd and al-Tirmidhi gave it from a *hadith* of Shu‘ba. Al-Tirmidhi stated, “We know it only from this line of transmission and in my opinion his chain of authorities is not continuous.”

Ibn Maja related it from him by a different line, namely through Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Ḥassan – he having been crucified, as one of the liars – from ‘Ubāda b. Nust,66 from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ghanam, from Mu‘ādh, in similar words.

Imām Al-Ḥasan narrated from Muḥammad b. Ṣafār, and Yahyā b. Sa‘d, from Shu‘ba, from ‘Amr b. Abū Ḥakīm, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda, from Yahyā b. Ma‘mar, from Abū al-Aswad al-Dīlī, who said, “While Mu‘ādh was in Yemen, the case was brought before him of a Jew who had died and left a brother who was a Muslim.

“Mu‘ādh stated, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, ‘Islam brings increase, not loss.’ And he allowed him to inherit.’”

Abū Da‘ūd related it from a *hadith* of Ibn Burayda.

This ruling is narrated from Mu‘āwiyah b. Abū Sufyān, its narrator being Yahyā b. Mu‘āmmar al-Qadī and a group of early authorities. Ishāq b. Rāhawayh preferred that version.

The majority of scholars, however, including the four Imāms and their followers, oppose this group. They raise objections because of what is firmly established in the two *sahih* collections from Usāma b. Zayd, who stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘An unbeliever may not inherit from a Muslim, nor a Muslim from an unbeliever.’”

What is shown here is that Mu‘ādh, may God be pleased with him, was a *qādi,* “a judge”, in Yemen acting on behalf of the Prophet (SAAS). He was a

65. Use of *ijtihad* has, of course, been considered an essential function of jurists since the early days of Islam.

66. According to a footnote in the Arabic printed text, he was a *qādi* of Tiberias who died in 118 AH.
commander in the wars and one who distributed and received the charitable contributions, as the hadith of Ibn Ābās given above shows.

He would stand out in front of the people and perform the five prayers with them. As al-Bukhārī stated, “Sulayman b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Shur‘a, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, from Āmr b. Maymūn, (who said) that when Mu‘ādh went to Yemen, he performed the al–ṣuhūr prayer with them and recited, “And God took Abraham as a companion . . .” (ṣūrat al-Nisā‘; IV, v.125). At that, one of the congregation said, “Abraham’s mother was really pleased!”

Al-Bukhārī was alone in giving this.

Chapter on the dispatch by the Messenger of God (SAAS) of Ālī b. Abū Ṭalīb and Khālid b. al-Walīd to Yemen, before ḥijjat al-wadā‘, ‘The Farewell Pilgrimage’.

Aḥmad b. Uthmān related to us, quoting Shurayh b. Maslama, quoting ʿIbrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Abū Isḥāq, quoting his father, from Abū Isḥāq (who said), “I heard al-Bara‘ b. ʿAzīz say, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent us with Khalīd b. al-Walīd to Yemen. He later dispatched ʿĀlī to take his place. He told him, ‘Tell those of Khalīd’s men who wish to remain with you that they may; those who wish should return.’ I was among those who stayed with him. And I received a considerable number of awqīyya as booty.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this with this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Bashshār, quoting Rawḥ b. ʿUbayd, quoting ʿĀlī b. Suwayd b. Manjūf, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Buraydā, from his father, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) sent ʿĀlī to Khalīd b. al-Walīd to collect the khums, ‘the one-fifth booty payment’. I hated ʿĀlī. Next morning ʿĀlī took a bath. I asked Khalīd, ‘Won’t you just look at this!’”

“When we returned to the Prophet (SAAS), I related that situation to him, and he asked, ‘Buraydā, you really hate ʿAlī?’ ‘Yes, I do,’ I replied. He commented, ‘Well don’t hate him; he deserves more than that from the khums.’”

Al-Bukhārī alone gives this with this line; Muslim does not.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā b. Saʿīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Jalīl, who said, “I was in a circle of people that included Abū Mīlaz and Buraydā’s two sons. ʿAbd Allāh b. Buraydā said, ‘My father Buraydā related to me as follows, ‘I used to hate ʿAlī more strongly than I had ever hated anyone. And there was one man of Quraysh whom I liked only because of his hatred for ʿAlī. “That man was sent out with the cavalry and I went with him, solely because of his hatred for ʿAlī. We took some prisoners. He then wrote to the Messenger of God (SAAS), saying, ‘Send someone to us who will divide the

67. The text implies that he bathed after a sexual encounter with one of the slave-girls included in the khums booty.
booty.’ He dispatched ‘Ali to us. Among the best of the captives was a black slave-girl.

‘“Ali took the booty, divided it up and came out. When he did so, his head was wet. I asked, ‘Abū al-Ḥasan, what’s this?’ He replied, ‘Didn’t you see that black slave-girl included with the captives? I made the division and she became part of the khums. Then she became part of the household of the Prophet (SAAS), and so one of ‘Ali’s family. And I had sex with her.’

‘“The man had a message to send to the Messenger of God (SAAS). So I said, ‘Dispatch me.’ And he did so, expressing his trust. (When in the presence of the Prophet (SAAS)), I began reading out the message, saying it was true. He (the Prophet) then took hold of my hand and the message and asked, ‘Do you hate ‘Ali?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Don’t hate him,’ he asked. ‘Whatever love you have for him, make it stronger. I swear by Him Who holds the soul of Muḥammad in His hand, the share of the khums due the family of ‘Ali is better than one black slave-girl.’

‘“And following what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had said to me, there was no one I loved more than I did ‘Ali.”

‘‘Abd Allāh b. Burayda went on, “And I swear by the One and Only God, that the only narrator between myself and the Messenger of God (SAAS) was my father Burayda.’”

‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Atiyya al-Faqīh Abī Saliḥ is alone in giving this. Ibn Ma‘īn and Ibn Ḥibbān both consider him reliable. However, al-Bukhārī stated, “Various charges, are, however, made against him.”

Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated, “Abān b. Ṣāliḥ related to us, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Niyār al-Aslami, from his uncle ‘Amr b. Sha‘s al-Aslami, who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya, who said, ‘I was with ‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib in the cavalry party the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent out to Yemen. ‘Ali was somewhat rude to me, and I resented his behaviour.

‘When I returned to Medina, I complained about him in various meetings and to people I met. One day when I went to the mosque, I found the Messenger of God (SAAS) sitting there. When he saw me look into his eyes, he stared straight back at me until I sat down near him. He then said, “I swear, ‘Amr b. Sha‘s, you have done me harm!”

‘“But we all belong to God and to Him do we return!” I exclaimed. “I take refuge in God and in Islam against ever harming the Messenger of God (SAAS)” He commented, “Whoever harms ‘Ali harms me!”’”

Al-Bayhaqī related this from a different line, from Ibn Isḥāq, from Abān b. al- Faḍl b. Ma‘qīl b. Sinān, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Niyār, from his uncle ‘Amr b. Sha‘s. That account is similar.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfiz informed him, quoting Abū Isḥāq al-Muzakki, relating from ‘Ubayda b. Abū al-Safr who

68. That is, the unnamed leader of Burayda’s party.
said, "I heard Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf b. Abū Ishāq state, from his father, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Barā' (who said) that, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched Khālid b. al-Walid to invite the people of Yemen into Islam.'"

Al-Barā' went on, "I was among those who accompanied Khālid b. al-Walid. We stayed there six months inviting them into Islam, but they did not respond well to him. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then sent ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib with orders to replace Khālid; those with Khālid who wanted to stay there with ʿAlī could do so.

"I was one of those who stayed with ʿAlī. When we approached the people there, they came out to us. We advanced and ʿAlī led us in prayer. He later positioned us in one line and went out ahead of us and read to them the message from the Messenger of God (SAAS). At that all (Bānī) Hamdān accepted Islam.

ʿAlī then wrote a message to the Messenger of God (SAAS), telling of their acceptance of Islam. When he read the message, he prostrated in prayer, then raised his head and said, 'Peace be upon (Bānī) Hamdān! Peace be upon Hamdān!'"

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "Al-Bukhārī related this in an abbreviated form, from a different line, from Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf."


"I was one of those who accompanied him. When he had taken some camels as ṣadqa, 'charitable payments', we asked him if we could ride them and rest our own, which we could see were tiring. He refused us, saying, 'You have only a share in them, just like all Muslims.'

"When ʿAlī had finished his mission and left Yemen to return home, he appointed a certain person in command of us. He himself then hurried off and joined in the pilgrimage. When he had completed his pilgrimage, the Prophet (SAAS) told him, 'Go back and rejoin your men.'

"In the meantime we had made to the commander ʿAlī had appointed over us the same request he had denied, and this man had agreed. When ʿAlī learned that the camels taken as ṣadqa payment had been ridden, and saw how this had tired them, he summoned his deputy and berated him.

"(I told myself) 'I swear by God, when I reach Medina, I'll certainly make a report to him (the Prophet (SAAS)), and tell him how rudely and harshly we have been treated! After our arrival in Medina, I went to him early one morning intending to fulfil my oath. I met Abū Bakr coming out from having been with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and when he saw me he stopped and welcomed me, asking me various questions, as I did him. He asked, 'When did you arrive?'"
'I got here yesterday,' I replied. He then went back with me to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He went inside and said, ‘Sa‘d b. Malik b. al-Shahid is here.’ ‘Invite him in,’ he told him.

“So I entered and greeted the Messenger of God (SAAS), as he did me. He came over to me and asked me various questions about myself and my family, and did so very kindly. I told him, ‘Messenger of God, we suffered greatly from the ill-conduct and harsh treatment of ‘Ali.’

“He hesitated and I began enumerating the problems we had had with him and right in the middle of my comments he slapped me on the thigh; I was right next to him. He said, ‘Sa‘d b. Malik b. al-Shahid, tone down what you are saying about your brother ‘Ali! I swear by God, I well know how tough he is in God’s cause!’ I told myself, ‘Sa‘d b. Malik, your mother is as good as bereaved of you! I’m sure to be in his bad books, no matter what! And I’ll surely never make a negative reference to him again, confidentially or openly!’”

The chain of transmission for this is good and accords with the criteria of al-Nasa’i; but none of the authors of the six major collections (of traditions) relate it.

Yunus quoted from Muhammad b. Ishq as follows, “Ya’ya b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Umar related to me, from Yazid b. Ṭalha b. Yazid b. Rukana, who said, ‘The army who were with ‘Ali in Yemen became upset that, having made their advance, he then put a deputy in command of them and hurried away to join the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“This deputy went ahead and dressed every man in a ceremonial robe. When they were on their way to him, ‘Ali came out to receive them and found them wearing their robes. He asked, ‘What’s all this then?’ They replied, ‘So-and-so dressed us in them.’ He asked, ‘What made you do this before coming to the Messenger of God (SAAS), instead of letting him do as he wished?’ And he took away their robes.

“When they reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), they complained to him about that. These men had previously made a pact of peace with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he had only sent ‘Ali to collect the jizya, ‘poll-tax’, imposed upon them.”

I note that this text is close to that of al-Bayhaqi. Namely, that ‘Ali went on ahead of them because of the pilgrimage, taking a hadi, with him and having assumed the state of ihram for the pilgrimage, with the same intention as the Prophet (SAAS). The latter ordered ‘Ali to maintain the state of ihram. In an account of al-Bara’ b. ‘AZib, he (‘Ali?) told him, ‘I brought a hadi and assumed the girān state for the ḥajj.’

69. An animal — a goat, sheep or, more usually, a camel — brought on the pilgrimage for sacrifice.
70. The Muslim pilgrim is at liberty to assume a variety of states for the ḥajj, one of which is al-girān. For further information see the Glossary and the Encyclopedia of Islam.
What is implied here is that when there arose the controversy about that army, due to 'Ali's having prevented them putting the sadāqa camels to work and then his having withdrawn from them the permission granted by his deputy. Even though 'Ali could be excused for his actions, talk arose among the pilgrims about him. Therefore, though God knows best, the Messenger of God (SAAS), having completed the pilgrimage and its associated ceremonials, returned to Medina. Passing the stream at Khumm, he arose among the people and made an address. He acquitted 'Ali of wrongdoing, emphasized his importance and his virtues to remove the negative impression of him held by many. A detailed account of this will follow, in its appropriate place, if God so wills it. And in Him is all trust.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Wahid, from 'Umāra b. al-Qa'qa' b. Shabrama, who quoted 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Nu'm as having said that he heard Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī say, "'Ali b. Abū Talib sent from Yemen to the Prophet (SAAS), in a leather bag a chunk of gold not yet refined from its ore."

"He (the Prophet (SAAS)), divided it up between four persons: 'Uyayna b. Badr, al-Aqra' b. Ḥabīs and Zayd al-Khayl. The fourth was either 'Alqama b. Ulatha or 'Amir b. al-Tufayl."

"One of his men said, 'But we had more right to it than they!' That remark reached the Prophet (SAAS), and he said, 'Don't you trust me! Even though I am the one trusted by the One in heaven, who delivers me news of heaven, morning and evening?'"

"Thereupon a man arose who had sunken eyes, prominent cheekbones, a high forehead, thick beard, shaved head and who was wearing his waist-wraper tucked up. He said, 'Messenger of God, fear God!' He responded, 'Confound you, am I not the most God-fearing man of all?' The man then walked away.

"Khalid b. al-Walid then asked, 'Messenger of God, should I not behead him?' 'No,' he replied, 'he may well be one who prays.'" 'Ali commented, 'But there are many who pray, yet speak with their tongues what is not in their hearts.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) responded, 'I have not been commanded to search the hearts of people, nor to cut open their stomachs.'

"He stared after the man as he walked away, and said, 'From the progeny of this man there will go out people who will recite the Book of God eloquently, but it will not pass beyond their throats. They will exit the faith like an arrow exiting from its target.' I think he also said, 'If I were alive at their time, I would execute them just as Thamūd were killed.'"

Al-Bukhārī related this in various other places of his work. Muslim relates it in the section on zakāt, "charitable payments", of his sahih collection, along several lines of transmission from 'Umāra b. al-Qa'qa'.

71. The comment implies that he is, outwardly at least, a Muslim.
Imam Ahmad stated that Yahyā related to him, from al-A’mash, from ‘Amr b. Murra, from Abū al-Bakhtari, from ‘Ali, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS), dispatched me to Yemen while I was still young.

“I said, ‘You are dispatching me to a people among whom there will be cases (to decide), but I have no knowledge of making judgement.’ He replied, ‘God will guide your tongue and make your heart firm.’

“And I never had any doubts about judging between any two.”

Ibn Māja related it from a hadith of al-A’mash.

Imam Ahmad stated that Aswad b. ‘Amir related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Simāk, from Ḥanash, from ‘Ali, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched me to Yemen. I asked, ‘Messenger of God, are you sending me out to people older than myself; I’m still young, and I have no knowledge of reaching judgement.’

“He then placed his hand on my chest and said, ‘0 God, make his tongue firm and guide his heart. ‘Ali, if you should have two rivals sit down with you, do not judge between them until you hear from the other what you heard from the first; if you act this way, it will be clear to you.’

“And since then I never had doubts about any case.” Or the words used were, “And since then I never found any case difficult.”

Al-Tirmidhī gave it from a hadith of Za’ida. Both quoted from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Ḥanash b. al-Mu’tamir, said to be the son of Rabī‘a al-Kinānī al-Kufī, from ‘Ali.

Imām Ahmad stated that Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna related to him, from al-Ajlāḥ, from al-Sha’bī, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū al-Khalīl, from Zayd b. Arqam, who said that several people had intercourse with a woman in the same period. ‘Ali asked two of them, “Do you find this appropriate?” “No,” they replied. ‘Ali then approached the others and asked, “Do you find this appropriate?” They both replied, “No.” He then said, “You are quarrelsome partners.”

He went on, “I will cast lots between you. Whichever of you has his opponent win will receive two-thirds of the blood-wit, and I will award the child to him.”

“This decision was reported to the Prophet (SAAS), who said, ‘I know no more than what ‘Ali said.’”

Al-Tirmidhī also stated that Shurayh b. al-Nu‘mān related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting al-Ajlāḥ, from al-Sha’bī, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Zayd b. Arqam (who said) that before ‘Ali, while he was in Yemen, three men were brought who had shared (in the conception of) a child. He drew lots between them and awarded to the one to whom the arrow pointed two-thirds of the diyya, and awarded the child to him.

Zayd b. Arqam stated that he went to the Prophet (SAAS), and informed him of ‘Ali’s decision, and that he laughed so loudly that his molars were visible.

Abū Dā‘ūd related this from Musaddad, from Yahyā al-Qaṭṭān, as did al-Nasā’ī, from ‘Ali b. Ḥujr, from ‘Ali b. Mushir. Both these scholars give their
line of transmission from al-Ajalh b. 'Abd Allâh, from Âmir al-Sha'bî, from 'Abd Allâh b. al-Khalîl.

Al-Nasâ'î, in his account from 'Abd Allâh b. Abû al-Khalîl, quotes Zayd b. Arqam as stating, “I was with the Messenger of God (SAAS), when a man from Yemen arrived and said, ‘Three men went to 'Ail in dispute over a child with whose mother they had each had intercourse in one period.’ He went on to relate as above and concluded, ‘And the Prophet (SAAS) laughed.’”

Both scholars – Abû Dâ‘ûd and al-Nasâ’î, that is – also related it from a hadith of Shu‘ba, from Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Sha'bî, from Abû Khalîl or Ibn al-Khalîl, from 'Ali’s words. The source gave an incomplete or improperly transcribed line of transmission.


Our teacher stated in his work al-Aṭrûf, “This ‘Abd Khayr may well be 'Abd Allâh b. al-Khalîl; however, the narrator did not fully specify his name.”

I note that if this identification is correct, it strengthens the hadith, even though other (narrators) are better because they follow him. However, the al-Ajalh b. 'Abd Allâh al-Kindî in the chain is the subject of some dispute.

Imâm Âhind accepts the use of casting lots to establish parenthood; this ruling is one of few in which he is alone.

Imâm Âhind stated that Abû Sa‘îd related to him, quoting Isrâ‘îl, quoting Simâk, from Hânash, from ‘Ali, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent me to Yemen and we went out to a group of people who had dug a pit to trap lions. While they were actively engaged in doing this, one man fell in and grabbed hold of another man. The second took hold of another, and so on until there were four men in the pit. The lion wounded them all. Then a man rushed at it with a lance and killed it. But all the wounded died from their injuries.

“The heirs of the first man approached those of the second, who took up arms to do battle with them. ‘Ali arrived thereafter and asked, ‘Do you really want to fight one another even while the Messenger of God (SAAS) is still alive! I will judge between you. If you accept my decision, then so be it. Otherwise, keep away from one another until you go to the Prophet (SAAS), and then he can be the one to judge between you. Anyone who commits aggression after that will have no rights.

‘Gather from the tribes who had dug the pit camels equivalent to one-quarter, one-third, one-half and one whole diyya.” To the first victim he awarded

72. Presumably in this case the diyya, “the blood-wit”, consisted of the then normal 100 camels of specified age and sex.
one-quarter of a *diyya*, since he had died, one-third of a *diyya* to the second, one-half of a *diyya* to the third and a full *diyya* to the fourth.

"They refused to accept this judgement and went to the Prophet (SAA'S), while he was at the *maqām Ibrāhīm*, 'Abraham's station' at the *ka'bā*, and told him the story. He said, 'I will judge between you.' One man then said, 'Messenger of God, 'Alī has already reached judgement for us.' They recounted this to him and the Messenger of God (SAA'S) accepted it."

Imām Āḥmad went on to relate this also from Wākī', from Ḥammād b. Salama, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Ḥanāsh, from 'Alī.

BOOK ON THE ḤIJJAT AL-WADĀ’,
‘THE FAREWELL PILGRIMAGE’, IN 10 AH.

It is also known as the *ḥijjat al-balāgh*, “the message pilgrimage”.

It is known as “the farewell pilgrimage” because during it the Prophet (SAA’S), said goodbye to the people and performed no pilgrimage after it. It is also named *ḥijjat al-Īlām*, “the Islam pilgrimage”, because the Prophet (SAA’S) left on no other occasion from Medina to make the pilgrimage, though he had performed pilgrimages a number of times before the prophethood and thereafter.

It is said that the obligation to make the pilgrimage was revealed that year; it is also said that this was in 9 AH, or in 6 AH, or even before the Hijra, though this last is unlikely.

It is called *ḥijjat al-balāgh*, “the message pilgrimage” because in it the Messenger of God (SAA’S) gave, both in word and deed, the message to the people concerning God’s laws for the pilgrimage. All the bases and fundamentals of Islam, without exception, were made clear by the Prophet (SAA’S). When he explained and laid out for them the prescribed law for the pilgrimage, God revealed to him as he stood there at Mt. ʿArafāt, “Today I have perfected your faith for you, fulfilled my grace upon you and favoured you with Islam as a religion” (*ṣūrāt al-Māʾīdā*; V, v.3).

Clarification of all this will follow.

The purpose here is to relate the manner of the pilgrimage of the Messenger of God (SAA’S). The early transmitters differ considerably in this, depending upon the information they each received; this is especially true of those sources who lived after the Companions of the Prophet, may God be pleased with them.

We, thanks be to God and through His help and the success He grants, will relate those accounts given by the Imāms in their works; we will co-ordinate them in such a manner as to please and instruct those who contemplate them, while interpreting the various accounts, if God so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.
The community and the scholastic authorities, both early and later, have demonstrated very great interest in the pilgrimage of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

The scholar Abū Muhammad b. Ḥazm al-Andalūsī, may God have mercy upon him, devoted a complete volume to the “farewell pilgrimage”. While most of this is excellently done, he did fall into certain mistakes, and we will clarify these in the appropriate places. And in God help is to be sought.

Chapter: Information on the fact that the Prophet (SAAS), made only one full pilgrimage from Medina, having previously departed for three ‘umra, ‘lesser’, pilgrimages.

This is as both al-Bukhārī and Muslim related from Hudba, from Hammām, from Qatāāda, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made four ‘umra pilgrimages, all in Dhū al-Qa‘da, except for the one that was during his performance of his (major) pilgrimage.”

Yūnus b. Bukayr related this from ʿUmar b. Dharr, from Mujāhid, from Abū Hurayra to the same effect.

Saʿd b. Maṣūṭ stated, from al-Dārāwardi, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿĀṣaḥa, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made three ‘umra pilgrimages: one in shawwal and three in Dhū al-qa‘da.”

Ibn Bukayr related similarly from Mālik, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from a ḥadīth of ʿAmr b. Shuʿayb, from his father, from his grandfather, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) made three ‘umra pilgrimages, all in Dhū al-qa‘da.

Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Nāḍr related to him, quoting Dāʾūd – meaning al-ʿAṭṭār – from ʿAmr, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made four ‘umra pilgrimages: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, the ‘umrat al-qaṣiṣās, that from al-Ǧīrāna, and that coincident with his (major) pilgrimage.”

Abū Dāʾūd, al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasāʿī related this from a ḥadīth of Dāʾūd al-ʿAṭṭār, and al-Tirmidhi characterized it as hasan, “good”.

This issue is examined above relative to the ‘umra from al-Ǧīrāna.73 It will also be examined in the section on those who stated that the Prophet (SAAS) made the qirān pilgrimage simultaneously. And help is to be sought from God.

The first ‘umra was that of al-Ḥudaybiyya from which he was blocked. Thereafter came the ‘umrat al-qaṣiṣās, “the retaliation pilgrimage”, and still others the ‘umrat al-qaṣiṣās, “the cause pilgrimage”. Thereafter came the ‘umra from al-Ǧīrāna, on his return from al-Ṭāʾif, when he divided up the spoils from the battle of Ḥunayn. We have examined all this in the appropriate places above. The fourth was the ‘umra he performed along with his major pilgrimage.

73. See above, Vol. III, page 496 et seq.
We will examine the disagreements between some over his making an 'umra with this pilgrimage – whether it was mutamatti'an, wherein he performed the 'umra prior to the hajj, or was prevented from being discharged (from the ihram) by his having brought along a sacrificial animal, or whether this 'umra was as a qarin, that is performed simultaneously with his major pilgrimage. We will similarly relate those aḥādīth that suggest this, as well as those that say it was performed mufridan, that is separate from the major pilgrimage, where he engaged in it after having completed the latter. This is what is maintained by those who consider the 'umra as ifrād, that is as a specifically separate pilgrimage, a view widely known to be associated with al-Shāfi‘ī.

This will be clarified when we discuss the ihram, the ritual consecration of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and whether it was mufridan, mutamatti'an or muqārin.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAmr b. Khālid related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Abū Ishāq, who quoted Zayd b. Arqam, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on nineteen military expeditions and that he performed one full pilgrimage after his Hijra.

Abū Ishāq said, “And there was another, at Mecca.”

Muslim related this from a ḥadīth of Zuhayr and they both promulgated it from a ḥadīth of Shu‘ba. Al-Bukhārī and Isrā‘īl added a third source, from Abū Ishāq ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Sabī‘ī, from Zayd.

Regarding the comment of Abū Ishāq to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed another pilgrimage while at Mecca, if what he implies is that he only performed one pilgrimage there, as is the apparent meaning of his statement, then he is far from correct.

The Prophet (ṢAAS), after the declaration of his mission, would attend the pilgrimage ceremonies and invite people to God, asking for assistance in announcing the words of his Lord, since Quraysh had prevented him from doing so. This went on until God led to him the community of the ansār who met with him on the night of al-ʿAqaba, that is the evening of the animal sacrifice at the meeting at al-ʿAqaba, for three successive years. Eventually, in the final year, they pledged allegiance to him, on the second night at al-ʿAqaba of their third meeting with him. Thereafter came the Hijra to Medina. We have detailed all this in its appropriate place. And God knows best.

In the ḥadīth of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from his father, Jabir b. ʿAbd Allāh is quoted as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Medina for nine years without making a pilgrimage. He then made an announcement to the people that there would be a pilgrimage. A large number of people gathered in Medina, and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went forth four or five days before the end of Dhū al-Qa‘da. When he was at

74. The hajj al-tamattuʿ is when the pilgrim does not bring an animal for sacrifice, and assumes the ihram state only for the 'umra. Thereafter, to perform the hajj proper, the pilgrim re-establishes the ihram state and is required to slaughter a hādi.
Dhū al-Ḥulayfa he performed the prayers. He then mounted his camel and it stood up with him. When it moved off with him into the desert, he called out *labbayka!* “I am at Your service!” At this we recited the *al-talbiyya,* thinking only of the pilgrimage.”

This *ḥadīth* will be given in full. It is in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim; the above is the phraseology given by al-Bayhaqi, from a line through Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ibrāhim b. Ṭahmān, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad.

Chapter: On the date of the departure of the Prophet (SAAS), from Medina

This followed his appointment of Abū Dujāna Simāk b. Kharsa al-Saʿīdī in command of Medina. Others give the name of Sībāʾ b. Urfūṭa al-Ghifārī, both names being given by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Hishām.

Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated, “When Dhū al-Qaʿda of 10 AH arrived, the Messenger of God (SAAS) made preparations to leave on the pilgrimage, and ordered his people to do so too.

“ʿAbd al-Raḍān b. al-Qisim related to me, from his father al-Qasim b. Muḥammad, from ʿAʾisha, wife of the Prophet (SAAS), who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) left on the pilgrimage five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda.’”

This line of transmission is excellent.

Imām Ṭalḥa related this in his work *al-Muwaṭṭa* from Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, from ʿAʾisha. Imām Ahmad related it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr, from Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra.

It is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, in the *sunan* of al-Nasāʿī and Ibn Māja and the *muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba, from various lines of transmission, from Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṣārī, from ʿAmra, from ʿAʾisha, who said, “We left with the Messenger of God (SAAS), five days before the end of Dhū al-Qaʿda, intent solely on making the *ḥajj.*” This *ḥadīth* will be given in full hereafter.

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75. The word used is *al-bayḍāʾ,* “desert”. However, some interpret this word in this context to refer to a place by that same name; see page 153 et seq.

76. The word used is the verb *ahuℓla.* It means in this context to recite the following, which is known as the *al-talbiyya*:

*Labbayka Allāhumma labbayka
Labbayka lā sharika laka labbayka
Inna al-ḥamda wa-nn iris laika wa al-mulk
Lā sharika laka*

This translates as:

I am at Your service, O God,
I am at Your service.
I am at Your service; You have no associate; I am at your service.
Praise and blessings are Yours. And all power is Yours.
And You have no associate.
Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī related to him, quoting Fudayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. Uqba, quoting Kurayb, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) started out from Medina after he had dressed and oiled his hair, put on his izār, his loose waist-wrapper, and his rida’, his loose upper wrapper. He forbad only the wearing of such garments that had been stained with saffron that might scent the skin. Arising in the morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā, he mounted his camel and rode on till he reached al-Bayḍā’. He reached Mecca five days after the commencement of Dhū al-Ḥijja.”

Al-Bukhārī(6,7),(990,993) is alone in giving this.

Regarding the statement that the departure was five days before the end of Dhū al-Qa‘da, if he is referring to being at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā in the morning, then Ibn Ḥazm is correct in claiming that the Prophet (ṢAAS) left Medina on Thursday and spent the night of Friday at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā. Thus he would have been there in the morning of Friday, that being the 25th of Dhū al-Qa‘da.

If Ibn ‘Abbās means by his reference to the departure of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having been on the fifth day of Dhū al-Qa‘da, following his having dressed and oiled his hair and put on his upper and lower pilgrimage garb, as ‘A’isha and Jābir stated, and that they left from Medina five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qa‘da, then Ibn Ḥazm’s statement is improbable and unacceptable and should be replaced by another. That would be applicable only to Friday, if the month of Dhū al-Qa‘da were complete.

It is not possible for the departure to have been on Friday, according to what al-Bukhārī related, as follows, “Mūsā b. Ismā‘īl related to us, quoting Wahayb, quoting ‘Ayyūb, from Abū Qālābā, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, ‘While we were with him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer of four raka‘āt in Medina, and the al-ṣa‘r prayer of two raka‘āt at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā. He then spent the night there and next morning mounted his camel and rode it away to al-Bayḍā’, gave praise to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, invoked His greatness and then spoke the talbiyya for the pilgrimage and an ‘umra.”

Both Muslim and al-Nāsā‘ī related this, from Qutayba, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ‘Ayūb, from Abū Qilābā, from Anas b. Mālik, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer, with four raka‘āt at Medina and the al-ṣa‘r prayer, with two raka‘āt at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā.

‘Alī stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Sufyān, from Muḥammad – meaning Ibn al-Munkadīr – and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas b. Mālik, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer, with four raka‘āt at Medina and the al-ṣa‘r prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā with two.

Al-Bukhārī related it from Abū Nu‘aym, from Sufyān – he being al-Thawrī – and Muslim, Abū Da‘ūd and al-Nasā‘ī promulgated it from a ḥadīth of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas.

‘Alī stated that Muḥammad b. Bukayr related to him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of
God (SAAS) performed with us the *al-zuhr* prayer, with four prostrations in Medina and the *al-‘asr* prayer, with two prostrations, at Dhu al-Ḥulayfa. He then spent that night at Dḥū al-Ḥulayfa until morning. When he mounted his camel and it stood up, he recited the *talbiyya*.

Āḥmad stated that Ya’qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr al-Taymī, from Anas b. Malik, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed with us in his mosque in Medina the *al-zuhr* prayer with four. He then performed with us the *al-‘asr* prayer at Dḥū al-Ḥulayfa with two – in safety and having no fear – about the *ḥijjat al-wadā‘*.”

Āḥmad was alone in giving this from these two lines of transmission; both accord with the criteria established for a *ḥadith* being considered *ṣaḥīḥ*.

This absolutely precludes the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS), having occurred on the Friday.

Nevertheless, it is not possible for his departure to have taken place on Thursday, as Ibn Ḥazm stated, because that day would have been the 24th of Dḥū al-Qa‘da. For there is no dispute over the first day of Dḥū al-Ḥijja having been a Thursday, because of what is established both by sequencing and by consensus, that the Prophet (SAAS) stood upon Mt. ‘Arafāt on Friday, that being unquestionably the 9th of Dḥū al-Ḥijja.

If his departure had been on Thursday, the 24th of Dḥū al-Qa‘da, then there would definitely have remained six days of that month, Friday, Saturday, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. These total six days.

Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿAḥīsa and Jābir all stated that he left with five days remaining of Dḥū al-Qa‘da. And it is impossible for that to have been Friday, according to the *ḥadith* of Anas. Therefore, it is clear that the Messenger of God (SAAS) left Medina on Saturday and that the narrator thought that the month was of complete length.⁷⁷ It so happened, however, that that year it was shorter, the Wednesday having been dropped and Dḥū al-Ḥijja having begun on the night of Thursday. This is substantiated by what is given in Jābir’s narration – that the departure was five or four days before the end (of Dḥū al-Qa‘da).

This determination made by this calculation is unavoidable and incontrovertible. But God knows best.

Chapter: A description of the departure of the Messenger of God (SAAS), from Medina to Mecca for the pilgrimage.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir, quoting Anas b. Ḥyād, from ʿUbayd Allāh – he being Ibn ʿUmar – from Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would leave down Shajāra Street and enter by al-Muʿarras Street. And that whenever he left for

⁷⁷. That is, of 30 days.
Mecca, he would pray at the al-Shajara mosque and on his return he would pray at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, in the centre of the valley, where he would spend the night until morning.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in relating this from this line.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, “I found in my book the statement from ʿAmr b. Malik, from Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from Hishām, from ʿAzra b. Thābit, from Thumāma, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) set off on the pilgrimage mounted on a tattered saddle beneath which was a piece of cloth. And he said, ‘(It is to be) a pilgrimage devoid of eye service or reputation-seeking.’”

Al-Bukhārī commented upon this in his ṣaḥīḥ collection stating, “And Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī stated that it was related to him by Yazīd b. Zurayʿ, from ʿAzra b. Thābit, from Thumāma, who said, ‘Anas rode away on the pilgrimage on a decrepit old saddle, and he was not stingy. He related that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had departed for the pilgrimage on a mount that had been his baggage transport.’”

Al-Bazzār related it similarly along with al-Bukhārī, as commentary and with its line of authority truncated at its beginning.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī gave a full line of authority for it in his sunan collection.

He stated, “Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Muqaddamī stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) mounted on the pilgrimage on a worn-out saddle and cloth worth four dirhams. And he said, ‘O God, let it be a pilgrimage devoid of eye service.’”

Al-Tirmīdī related this in his work al-Shamāʿīl from a ḥadīth of Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālīstī, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Ibn Māja, from a ḥadīth of Wākī b. al-Jarrāḥ, all three of them quoting from al-Rabīʿ b. Saḥīḥ.

This line of transmission is weak as regards Yazīd b. Abān al-Raqāṣī; he is not viewed as an acceptable narrator by the imāms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥāshim related to him, quoting Isā b. Saʿīd, from his father, who said, “I set out with Ibn ʿUmar and a Yemeni group passed by us. Their saddles were of leather and the muzzles of their camels were made of woven grass. ʿAbd Allāh commented, ‘Anyone wanting to see a group similar to that going with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions on their way to the ḥijjat al-wādāʾ should look at that party.’”

Abū Dāʾūd related this from Hannād, from Wākī, from Ishāq, from Saʿīd b. ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz, Abū Ṭāhir al-Faqīh, Abū Zakariyyā b. Abū Ishāq, Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan, and Abū
Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr all said, “Abū al-ʿAbbās – he being al-ʿAṣamm – related to us, quoting Saʿīd b. Bashir al-Qurashi, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥakim al-Ḵīrān – a man of Yemen, one of their freed-men – from Bishr b. Qudāma al-Ḍibābi, who said, ‘My eyes saw my beloved Messenger of God (ṢAAS) positioned among the people on ʿArafāt mounted on a red camel he had, Qaṣwā, with a piece of bulānī cloth beneath him. He was saying, “O God, let it be a pilgrimage devoid of eye service, competitiveness or reputation-seeking.” And the people were saying, “This is the Messenger of God.”’

Imām Aḥmad stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs related to us, quoting Ibn Iṣḥāq, from Yahyā b. ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, from his father, (who said) that ʿAsmaʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr said, ‘We set out with the Prophet (ṢAAS) to make the pilgrimage. When we reached al-ʿArj, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dismounted. ʿAʾisha sat down beside him, and I sat next to my father. The baggage camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that of Abū Bakr were one and the same, being conducted by a slave of Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr sat waiting for the latter to appear with it. Eventually, he did appear, but he had no baggage camel with him. Abū Bakr asked, “Where’s your camel?” He replied, “I lost it yesterday.” Abū Bakr commented, “Just one baggage camel and you lost it!” And he began striking him. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and said, “Just look at that muḥrīm pilgrim and how he behaves!”’


And then there is the ḥadīth related by Abū Bakr b. al-Bazzār in his musnad collection. He stated that it was related to him by Ismāʿīl b. Ḥafṣ, quoting Yahyā b. al-Yamān, quoting Ḥamzah al-Zayyāt, from Ḥumrān b. Ayyān, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Abū Saʿīd, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) went on the pilgrimage with his Companions on foot, from Medina to Mecca. They had gathered their garments up and tied them around their waists and their pace was a mixture of jogging and walking.”

This is an objectionable ḥadīth and its line of transmission is weak. Ḥamzah b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt is a weak source and his teacher was a person whose traditions were not accepted. Al-Bazzār stated, “This is related only from this line; we nevertheless consider its line of transmission to be ḥasan, ‘good’. The implication here is that they were on an ʿumra pilgrimage, if the ḥadīth is sound, because the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only went on one ḥijja pilgrimage, and he rode, though some of his Companions went on foot.”

I observe that the Prophet (ṢAAS) never once went on a pilgrimage on foot, not at al-Ḥudaybiyya, not that of al-qaḍaʾ, nor that from al-Ǧīrāna, nor the ḥijja al-wadāʾ.

78. A halt on the road from Medina to Mecca.
The circumstances and fame of the Messenger of God (SAAS) were such that his having done this could not have been unknown to people. In fact, this *hadith* is objectionable, highly unlikely, and bizarre. But God knows best.

**DIVISION**

It is shown above that the Prophet (SAAS) performed the *al-zuhr*, "noon", prayer of four *raka'at* and then rode from there to al-Hulayfa, in the al-'Aqiq valley, where he performed an *'asr*, "late afternoon", prayer of two *raka'at*.

It is indicated that he came to al-Hulayfa during the day time, at late afternoon, and that there he performed the *al-'asr* prayer in shortened form. That place is some three miles from Medina. He later performed the *al-maghrib* prayer and stayed there overnight.

Next morning he prayed there with his Companions and told them that during the night he had received revelation on which he would depend in determining his state of *ikhram*.

As Imam Aḥmad stated, "Yahya b. ʿAdam related to us, quoting Zuhayr, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from the Prophet (SAAS), (who said) that he had received a revelation in al-Mu‘arras (Street) at Dhū al-Hulayfa and he had been told, ‘You are in a sacred valley.’"

Both authors of the *sahih* collections gave this from a *hadith* of Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by al-Ḥumaydī, quoting al-Walīd and Bishr b. Bakr, both of whom stated, “Al-Awzāʿī related to us, quoting Yahyā, quoting Ikrima, (who said) that he heard Ibn ʿAbbās (say) that he heard ʿUmar saying, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say in Wādī al-ʿAqiq, “Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, who said, ‘Pray in this blessed valley, and say, “It is an *umra* within a *ḥijja*.”’’’"

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not.

It is obvious that the Prophet (SAAS) ordered that prayer be performed in Wādī al-ʿAqiq and that this constituted a command to remain there until he had performed the *al-zuhr* prayer. This is because the instruction only came to him during the night and he informed them after the *al-subh* prayer. Only the *al-zuhr* prayer was to remain, and so he ordered them to perform it there and to institute the state of *ikhram* thereafter.

This is why he stated, “Tonight I received a visitation on behalf of my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. (The Messenger) said, ‘Pray in this holy valley, and say, “It is an *umra* within a *ḥijja*.”’”

On the basis of the above, an argument has been made in favour of performing the *umra* with the *ḥijja*, and this is one of the strongest indications of this. Elucidation of this will come shortly hereafter.
What is implied here is that the Prophet (SAAS) was ordered to remain in the al-'Aqiq valley until the al-zuhr prayer; he obeyed this and did remain there. That morning he visited each of his wives, nine in number. They had all set out with him. He did remain there until he had performed the al-zuhr prayer. This will be shown in the hadith of Abū Ḥassān al-Ārāj, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the al-zuhr prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā. He then dressed his sacrificial animal in ceremonial decorations, mounted up and recited the talbiyya.

Imām ʿAḥmad, similarly, stated, “Rawḥ related to us, quoting Ashʿath – he being Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik – from al-Ḥasan, from Anas b. Malik (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the al-zuhr prayer and then mounted his camel. When he was above al-Baydā', he recited the talbiyya.”

Abū Daʿūd related this from ʿAḥmad b. Ḥanbal; al-Nasāʾī did so from Iṣḥāq b. Rāhawayh, from al-Nadhr b. Shumayl, from Ashʿath to the same effect, and from ʿAḥmad b. al-Azhar, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, from Ashʿath, in a more complete version.

This hadith gives a refutation of Ibn Ḥazm, in that the latter claimed that the above (departure) occurred early in the day.

His view is that reliance should be placed upon the hadith related by al-Bukhārī through Ayyūb, from “a man”, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) spent the night at Dhu al-Ḥulayfā and next morning performed the al-ṣubh prayer there, and mounted his camel that took him to al-Baydā', where he recited the talbiyya for an ‘umra, after which he performed the pilgrimage.

However, in the line of transmission for this there is one narrator who is an unidentified man; it seems clear that this was Abu Qjlaba. But God knows best.

Muslim stated in his Sahīh collection that Yahyā b. Ḥabīb al-Ḥarīthi related to him, quoting Khālid – meaning Ibn al-Ḥarīth – quoting Shuʿba, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir, who said that he heard his father quote ʿAṭīṣha as saying, “I would perfume the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he would then make the rounds to his wives. Next morning, he would adopt the iḥrām state, sprinkling himself with perfume.”

Al-Bukhārī related this from a hadith of Shuʿba. Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it from a hadith of Abū ʿAwāna. (Al-Bukhārī), Muslim, Misʿar and Sufyān b. Saʿd al-Thawrī, all four of them, (also) gave it from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir.

In an account of Muslim, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muntashir quotes his father as saying, “I asked ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar about a man putting on perfume and adopting the iḥrām state. He replied, ‘I don’t like to adopt the iḥrām state sprinkling myself with perfume; I would much rather anoint myself with aloes-wood perfume rather than do that!’ ʿAṭīṣha commented, ‘But I put perfume on the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he adopted the iḥrām state. He would then make the rounds to his wives and after that would become muḥrim.’”
This wording related by Muslim requires the Messenger of God (SAAS) to put on perfume before he went around to his wives, this being more pleasant for himself and something they liked. Then, after he had washed himself following *janāba*, “sexual discharge”, and preparatory to adopting the *ihram* state, he would put on another perfume for the *ihram*.

This is how al-Tirmidhi and al-Bayhaqi related it, from a hadith of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū al-Zinnād, from his father, from Khārijah b. Zayd b. Thabit, from his father, who said that he saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) disrobe to recite the *talbiyya* and wash himself.

Al-Tirmidhi categorized this hadith as *hasan gharib*, “good and unilateral”.

Imām Al-Ḥaḍār stated that Zakariyya’ b. ‘Adi informed him, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Amr, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqil, from Urwa, from ‘A’isha, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) wished to adopt the state of *ihram*, he would wash his head with marshmallow plant and potash” and then lightly oil it.”

Ahmad is alone in giving this hadith.

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idris al-Shafī‘i, may God have mercy on him, stated that Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna related to him, from ‘Uthmān b. ‘Urwa (who said that) he heard his father say, “I heard ‘A’isha say, ‘I perfumed the Messenger of God (SAAS), for both his *ihram* and *iḥlāl* states’. I asked her, ‘What perfume did you use?’ ‘The very best perfume,’ she replied.”

Muslim related this, from a hadith of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, and al-Bukhārī quoted it from a hadith of Wahb, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his brother ‘Uthmān, from his father ‘Urwa, from ‘A’isha.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Yusuf related to him, quoting Malik, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ‘A’isha, who said, “I would perfume the Messenger of God (SAAS), for the *ihram* when he would adopt that state, as well as for the *iḥlāl*, prior to his circumambulating the ka‘ba.”

Muslim stated that ‘Abd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr, quoting Ibn Jurayj, who said that ‘Umar b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Urwa related to him that he heard ‘Urwa and al-Qāsim, who both related that ‘A’isha stated, “I perfumed the Messenger of God (SAAS), with my own hands, using *dharīra*” on the *hijjat al-wadā‘*, for both his states of *iḥlāl* and *ihram*.”

Muslim also related, from a hadith of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, from ‘A’isha, who said, “I perfumed the Messenger of God (SAAS), with these two hands of mine both for his *ihram* when he adopted that and for his *iḥlāl* state before he circumambulated the ka‘ba.”

Muslim stated that ‘Ahmad b. Manṣūr and Yaʿqūb al-Dawraqī both related to him, that Hushaym related to them, quoting Manṣūr, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b.

79. The Arabic words given are al-*khatami* and al-*‘ushnān*; the Arabic printed edition suggests in a footnote that these words referred to “two varieties of plants”.

80. A footnote in the Arabic printed text defines this as a kind of perfume and goes on to quote al-Nawawī as saying that it is of Indian origin.
al-Qasim, from his father, from 'A'isha, who stated, "I would put perfume on the Prophet (SAAS), before he would adopt the iḥrām or the iḥlāl state, as well as on the day of the slaughter of the sacrificial animals. I would use a perfume that had musk in it."

Muslim stated that both Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb related to him, saying, "Wākī related to us, quoting al-A'mash, from Abū al-Duhā, from Masrūq, from 'A'isha, who said, 'It is as if I can still see the shine of the musk on the partings in the hair of the Messenger of God (SAAS), as he recited the talbiyya.'"

Then Muslim related it from a hadith of al-Thawrī and others, from al-Ḥasan b. Ubayd Allāh, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'A'isha, who said, "It is as if I can see now the shine of the musk in the hair parting of the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was in the state of iḥrām."

Al-Bukhārī related it from a hadith of Sufyān al-Thawrī and Muslim did so from a hadith of al-A'mash. Both of these gave it from Mansūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, quoting 'A'isha.

Both al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it in their collections from a hadith of Shu'ba, from al-Ḥakam b. Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'A'isha.

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Ashāth informed him, from Mansūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from 'A'isha, who said, "It's as though I can see now the shine of the perfume at the roots of the hair of the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was in a state of iḥrām."

Imām Al-Jamāl stated that 'Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, from al-Aswad, from 'A'isha, who said, "It's as though I can see now the shine in the parting of the hair of the Prophet (SAAS), after several days, he being in an iḥrām state."

'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr al-Humaydī stated that Sufyān b. Uwayna related to him, quoting 'Atā b. al-Ṣā'ib, from Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, from al-Aswad, from 'A'isha, who said, "I saw the perfume in the parting of the hair of the Messenger of God (SAAS), after three days, he being in an iḥrām state."

These accounts show that the Prophet (SAAS) wore perfume after washing. For if the perfume had been applied before the washing, it would have been removed by it and not a trace of it would have remained, especially three days after his adoption of the iḥrām state.

A group of the early authorities, including Ibn 'Umar, express their disapproval of using perfume while in the iḥrām state.

as saying, “I put perfume on the Messenger of God (SAAS), that was of fine, expensive quality when he adopted the *ihram* state.”

This line of transmission is *gharib*, “unilateral”, but it is from sound sources.

The Prophet (SAAS) then braided (the hair of) his head so that it would better retain the perfume and protect it from retaining the dirt and dust.

Mālik stated, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that Ḥafṣa, wife of the Prophet (SAAS), asked, “Messenger of God, how is it that some people have freed themselves from the *ilzram* of the *umra*, while you have not?” He replied, “I have braided my hair and put necklaces on my sacrificial animal; I shall therefore not adopt the *ihlāl* state until I have made the sacrifice.”

Both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) promulgated this in their *ṣahih* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik; it has many lines of transmission back to Nāfi‘.


The chain of authorities for this is excellent.

The Prophet (SAAS) then made a sign signifying that his *ḥadīth* was for the sacrifice and hung that sign around its neck; the animal was with him at Dhī al-Ḥuwayf.

Al-Layth stated, from ʿAqil, from al-Zuhri, from Salīm, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *tamattuʿ* at the *ḥijjat al-wadāʾ*. He then selected an animal for sacrifice and led that *ḥadīth* forth with him from Dhī al-Ḥuwayf.

This *ḥadīth*, given in both *ṣahih* collections, will be quoted hereafter in full, along with commentary upon it, if God so wills it.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā related, quoting Muʿādh b. Hishām – he being al-Dastuwārī – quoting his father, from Qatāda, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived at Dhī al-Ḥuwayf, he called for his (sacrificial) camel to be brought and that he made a sign on the right surface of its hump, pressed out some of its blood and hung a pair of shoes around its neck. He then mounted his riding camel.

The *ahl al-sunan* narrated this through various lines from Qatāda.

This shows that the Prophet (SAAS) performed this marking and neck decoration with his very own hands on this sacrificial camel, while others undertook the marking and decorating of the other sacrificial animals. For he had with him a large number of animals for sacrifice, 100, or close thereto. He himself sacrificed by his own hand 63 animals and allowed ʿAlī to slaughter the remainder.

In a *ḥadīth* of Jabir, it is said that ʿAlī brought to the Prophet (SAAS) animals from Yemen for the sacrifice.
In the text of Ibn Isḥaq it is said that he shared his sacrificial animals with 'Ali. But God knows best. Others state that on the day of the slaughter, he and 'Ali sacrificed 100 animals.

In this case, he would have brought them with him from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; although he could have purchased them thereafter while he was in the ihram state.

Chapter: the place from which the Prophet (ṢAAS) recited the talbiyya; the differing views on this expressed by the sources. And the likely truth regarding this.

REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO STATE THAT THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) ADOPTED THE IHRAM FROM THE MOSQUE AT DHU AL-ḤULAYFA AFTER THE PRAYER.

Hereabove there has been given the hadith related by al-Bukhārī from that of al-Awzāʿī, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from ʿIrīma, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar, who stated, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in Wādī al-ʿAqiq, ‘Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, who said, “Pray in this holy valley and say, ‘(Let it be) an ‘umra within a ḥijja.’”’”

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled Chapter on the recitation of the talbiyya at the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

He goes on to state, “ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to us, quoting Sufyān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoting Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh as follows, and also ʿAbd Allāh b. Maslama related to us, quoting Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh as follows, saying that he heard his father say, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only recited the talbiyya from at the mosque.’” This meant the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.

The community of scholars, except for Ibn Māja, related this, from various lines, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Also there is an account given by Muslim, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim and Nāfiʿ and Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, all three quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar. He related as above, but added, “And he said, ‘Labbayka, labbayk! At Your service, O God, at Your service!’”

In one account given by both scholars through Mālik, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, quoted Sālim as saying, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar stated, ‘Regarding this baydāʾ of yours about which you tell lies concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he actually only recited the talbiyya from near the mosque!’”

A statement fully contradicting this is also related from Ibn ʿUmar, as will come in the next section. Namely, the report cited in both sahīh collections from a line through Mālik, from Saʿīd b. Abū Saʿīd al-Maqburi, from ʿUbayd b.

81. An elevated position from which, according to some sources, the Prophet (ṢAAS) began chanting the talbiyya.
Jurayh, from Ibn 'Umar. Therein he relates a hadith in which 'Abd Allah stated, "Regarding the recitation of the talbiyya, I never saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) recite it before his mount set off with him."

Imām Ahmad stated that Ya'qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishaq, quoting Khuṣayb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jazari, from Sa'īd b. Jubayr, who said, "I asked 'Abd Allāh b. Abbās, 'Abū al-ʾAbbas, 'It's strange that the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS) should differ over his recitation of the talbiyya, over when he made it obligatory."

"He replied, 'I know better than anyone about that. The Messenger of God (SAAS) only performed just one hīja; that's why they differ."

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth to make the pilgrimage. After performing the prayer, of two rakaʾāt in his mosque at Dhu al-Ḥulayfa, it was while in his seat that he made it obligatory. He recited the talbiyya for the pilgrimage when he had completed his two rakaʾāt; people heard him do this and remembered it. He then mounted up, and when his camel stood, he recited the talbiyya. Various people knew he did so; that was because they were arriving in groups. These people heard him make the recitation when his mount stood upright; they said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) only recited the talbiyya once his mount had stood upright."

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then proceeded on. And when he was at a point overlooking al-Baydā', he recited the talbiyya. Various people knew he did this and so they concluded, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) only recited the talbiyya once he reached a point overlooking al-Baydā'." But, I swear by God, in fact it was while he was in his chapel that he made it obligatory; he recited the talbiyya when his camel stood up with him, and he also made the recitation when he reached a point overlooking al-Baydā'."

There are those who accept the statement of 'Abd Allāh b. Abbās that the Prophet (SAAS), did recite the talbiyya after he had completed his two rakaʾāt; Al-Tirmidhi and Al-Nasāʾi both related this from Qutayba, from 'Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb, from Khuṣayf, in a similar account.

Al-Tirmidhi categorized that hadith as ḥasan gharib, "good and unilateral"; we know of no one except 'Abd al-Salām who related this. He stated this, even though the account had been related previously by Imām Ahmad, through Muḥammad b. Ishaq, back to him (Khuṣayf). Similarly, the ḥāfiẓ Al-Bayhaqī related it from al-Qattāqī from 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥāmid, from his father. He then stated, "Khuṣayf al-Jazari is not a strong source. And al-Wāqidi related it, with a line of transmission of his own, from Ibn Abbās." Al-Bayhaqī then commented, "However, it is not purposeful to follow al-Wāqidi; the accounts relating to this subject from 'Umar and others have firm and strong supports. But God, Almighty is He, knows best."

I comment that if this hadith is authentic, what it contains provides a synthesis between these accounts that differ and it also provides excuse for those who
related what was contrary to the actual facts. However, there is some weakness in its line of transmission. Moreover, statements have also been attributed to Ibn 'Abbas and Ibn Umar that contradict what is related above from them, as we will show and interpret.

Thus there are the reports of those who state that the Messenger of God (SAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood upright.

Al-Bukhārī stated that it was related to him by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Hishām b. Yūsuf, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) performed a prayer of four *rakah* in Medina then another of two *rakah* at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā. He then spent the night and was there next morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā; when he mounted his camel and it stood upright, he recited the *talbiyya*."

Al-Bukhārī also related it, as did Muslim and the *ahl al-sunan*, along various lines of transmission, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr and Ibrāhīm b. Maysara, from Anas.

It is established in both *sahih* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Saʿīd al-Maqbūrī, from Ubayd b. Jurayj, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “Regarding the recitation of the *talbiyya*, I never saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) recite it until his mount set off with him.”

Both scholars promulgated in their *sahih* collections from an account of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from his father, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would mount his camel at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā and he then recited the *talbiyya* when it stood upright.

Al-Bukhārī entitles a section: Chapter of those who recited the talbiyya when their camels stood upright.


Muslim and al-Nāsirī related this from a *ḥadīth* of Ibn Jurayj.

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting ʿAlī b. Mushir, from Ubayd Allāh, from Nafīṣ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) placed his foot in the stirrup and his mount stood up bearing him, he recited the *talbiyya* from Dhū al-Ḥulayfā.”

Muslim is alone in relating this through this line. Both scholars related it from a different line, from Ubayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nafīṣ.

Al-Bukhārī went on to head a section: Chapter on reciting the talbiyya facing towards the qibla.

He went on, “Abū Maʿṣūr stated that it was related to him by Abīd al-Wārith, quoting Ayyūb, from Nafīṣ, who said, ‘When Ibn ʿUmar prayed in the morning at Dhū al-Ḥulayfā, he ordered his mount to be brought. It was saddled and he mounted it. When it stood up bearing him, he would face the qibla. He would then ride on, reciting the *talbiyya* until he reached the ḥaram, “the sacred
precincts of Mecca”. He would then cease the recitation until he reached Dhū Ṭuwā’, where he would spend the night until morning. After performing the morning prayer, he would take a bath; he claimed that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had done this.”

He then stated, “Ismā‘īl agreed with him, quoting Ayyūb, concerning the taking of a bath.”

Al-Bukhārī also included this hadīth in his section on the pilgrimage, from Muḥammad b. Ṭālha, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. In his line of transmission, the hadīth comes from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Dawraqī, from Ismā‘īl, he being Ibn Uliyya.

Muslim related it from Zuhayr b. Harb, from Ismā‘īl, and also from Abū al-Rabī‘ al-Zahrānī, and others, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, each of these three deriving it from Ayyūb, from Abū Tamīma al-Sakhtīyānī. Abū Dā‘ūd related it from Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, from Ismā‘īl b. Uliyya.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that Sulaymān Abū al-Rabī‘ related to him, quoting Fūlayḥ, from Nāfi‘, who said, “When (‘Abd Allāh) Ibn Ṭūr was about to proceed to Mecca, he would put on a scentless pomade. He would then go to the mosque at Dhū al-Ḥulaqfa, perform the prayer, then mount up. When his camel stood upright, bearing him, he declared himself to be in the ʿibrām state. He then said, ‘This is what I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) do.’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line.

Muslim narrated as follows from Qatayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismā‘īl, from Mūsā b. Ṭūr, from Sālim, from his father, who said, “Regarding this ‘al-Bayḍa’ of yours about which you tell lies concerning the Messenger of God (SAAS), he actually only recited the talbiyya from near by the tree, when his camel stood up there bearing him.”

This hadīth gives a combination between the first narrative of Ibn Ṭūr and these accounts about him. Namely, that the declaration of the ʿibrām state was made at the mosque, but after he had mounted his camel and it had stood up bearing him at al-Bayḍa, this word here meaning “the open land”. And that was prior to his arrival at the place known as al-Bayḍa.

Al-Bukhārī stated thereafter, in another section, that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī related to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Sulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. Ṭūr, quoting Kurayb, from Ṭabarī b. ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS), proceeded out from Medina after he had combed and oiled his hair and after he and his Companions had put on their ḥisār, ‘upper body wraps’, and their ṛidā, ‘waist-wraps’. He did not forbid the wearing of any kind of material for these garments except those treated with saffron, since they might leave scent on the skin. When he reached Dhū al-Ḥulaqfa, he mounted his camel and rode it to al-Bayḍa, where he and his Companions recited the talbiyya and placed garlands around the necks of the camels for sacrifice. This occurred five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Ṭa‘īda. He proceeded on to Mecca, reaching

82. A location near Mecca.
there four days into Dhū al-Ḥijja. He then circumambulated the *ka'ba* and made the *sa'i*, ‘the passage’. He did not declare his state of *ihram* ended, since he had a sacrificial camel and had placed a garland on it. He then dismounted at the heights of Mecca at al-Ḥajjān, still being in the *ihram* state for the pilgrimage. He did not again approach the *ka'ba*, after having circumambulated it, until he returned from Mt. ‘Arafāt. At that time he told his Companions to circumambulate the *ka'ba* to pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, to cut their hair short and to conclude their state of *ihram*. This applied only to those who had not brought sacrificial camels and had not placed garlands around the necks of the animals. Those accompanied by their wives were then allowed to approach them, and to use perfume and wear their normal clothing.”

Al-Bukhari is alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad narrated from Bahz b. Asad, Ḥajjāj, Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, and ʿAffān b. Muslim, all of whom quoted Shu'ba as stating, “Qatāda informed me as follows, ‘I heard Abū Ḥassān al-ʿArāj al-ʿAjrad – he being Muslim b. ʿAbd Allah al-Baṣrī – quote Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-ṣuḥr* prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, then called for his sacrificial camel. He stripped off the hair from the surface of its right hump and blood flowed from it. He then garlanded it with two sandals and asked that his riding camel be brought. When it bore him off to above al-Bayḍāʾ, he recited the *talbiyya* for the pilgrimage.’””

He related this also from Hushaym, who said, “Our men, including Shu'ba, informed us...” He went on to narrate the hadith in similar form.

Imām Aḥmad also related this from Rawḥ, Abū Dāʾūd al-Ṭayālīsī and Wākī b. Jarrāḥ, all of them quoting Hishām al-Dastawīl, from Qatāda, in similar form.

Muslim related it in his *sahih* collection from this same line and the *ahl al-sunan* also quote it in their books.

These various lines of transmission quoting Ibn ʿAbbās as stating that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his camel stood up bearing him, are more secure and sound than the account of Khuṣayf al-Jazari, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr. But God knows best.

This is also true of the account that affirms and explains that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the *talbiyya* when his mount proceeded on ahead of the other camel; this implies probability that what he meant was that he declared himself in the *ihram* state at the mosque when his mount arose bearing him. The account relating his riding on his mount gives more information than the other. But God knows best.

83. This rite is a necessary part of both the *ḥajj* and the *ʿumra*. It consists of *al-sa'i*, “walking” or “moving”, seven times between the hillocks al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. This commemorates the frenzied running of Abraham’s wife Hagar seven times from one of these hills to the other hoping to catch sight of a caravan that might provide water for her child Ismāʿīl. Ultimately the well *zamzam* miraculously appeared at her son Ismāʿīl’s feet.
The account of Anas relating to that is free from objections, as is that of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh in the ʿṣāḥīh collection of Muslim, through Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, from his father, from Abū al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿAbidin, from Jābir, in his lengthy ḥadīth that will be related hereafter. It is to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the talbiyya when his mount arose bearing him. This account, too, is unexceptionable. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī related through al-Awzāʾī as follows, “I heard ʿAṭāʾ say, on the authority of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, that the recitation of the talbiyya by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was at Dhū al-Ḥulayfah when his mount stood up bearing him.”

Regarding the ḥadīth that Muḥammad b. ʿIshaq b. Yāsār related, from Abū al-Zinād, from ʿAʾisha, daughter of Saʿd. She said, “Saʿd stated, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he set off along the al-Farāʾ road, recited the talbiyya as his camel bore him away. When he took another route, he recited the talbiyya when he overlooked al-Baydāʾ.’”

Abū Daʿūd and al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a ḥadīth of Ibn ʿIshaq; it has strange and objectionable aspects. But God knows best.

These various lines of authority indicate the certainty or the high probability that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) adopted the ḥārij al-ifrād. In his account Ibn ʿUmar adds, “... while facing the qibla, towards the ʿkaʿba’.”

Chapter: On a discussion and examination of how the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the pilgrimage, whether as the ḥajj al-ifrād, the al-tamattuʿ, or the al-qirān.

Accounts indicating that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-ifrād.

The account of ʿAʾisha, “mother of the Believers”, concerning this.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idris al-Shafiʿī stated that Malik informed him, from Abū al-ʿRaḥmān b. al-Qāsim, quoting his father, who quoted ʿAʾisha as stating, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-ifrād.”

Muslim related this from Ismāʿīl, from Abū Uways and Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, from Malik. Imām Aḥmad related this from Abū al-ʿRaḥmān b. Mahdī, from Malik.

Aḥmad stated that Isḥāq b. Isā related to him, quoting al-Munkadīr b. Muḥammad, from Rabīʿa b. Abū ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥmān, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad,

84. These terms refer to the three different ways the pilgrimage may be performed. The ḥajj al-ifrād is when the pilgrim assumes the ʿihram state with the intent of performing only the ḥajj and not the ʿumra at the same time. The ḥajj al-tamattuʿ is when the pilgrim has no ʿaḍā, “sacrificial animal”, and assumes the ʿihram state only to perform the ʿumra. Having completed the ʿumra, the pilgrim acquires a ʿaḍā and resumes the ʿihram state to perform the ḥajj. The ḥajj al-qirān is when a pilgrim has a ʿaḍā, assumes the ʿihram state once only and performs both the ʿumra and the ḥajj in sequence.
from ʿĀʾisha, who said, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) performed the ḥaǰj al-ʿifrāḍ.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shurayḥ related to him, quoting ʿIbn Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, and from ʿAlqama, from his father, quoting his mother, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, and from ʿHishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʿĀʾisha. All three accounts quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) performed the ḥaǰj al-ʿifrāḍ.”

Aḥmad is alone in quoting ʿĀʾisha from these lines of transmission.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Ḥammād related to him, “I studied under ʿAlī b. Abi al-Zinād, the following ḥadīth, from Abū al-ʿAswād, from ʿUrwa, from ʿAʾisha, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) performed the ḥaǰj al-ʿifrāḍ.’”

He (Aḥmad) went on to state that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Malik, from Abū al-ʿAswād Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī, an orphan in the care of ʿUrwa, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) performed the ḥaǰj al-ʿifrāḍ.”

Ibn Mājā related this from Abū Muṣʿab, from ʿAlī, in this way.

Al-Nāṣṣārī related it from Qutayba, from Malik, from Abū al-ʿAswād, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) recited the talbiyya for the ḥaǰj.”

Aḥmad also stated that ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. ʿAlqama related to him, from Malik, from Abū al-ʿAswād, from ʿUrwa, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa). Some of us recited the talbiyya for the ḥaǰj, others of us did so for the ʿumra, while some did so both for the ḥaǰj and the ʿumra. The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) recited the talbiyya for the ḥaǰj. Those who did so for the ʿumra declared their ʿihram state at an end when they had circumambulated the kaʿba and had traversed between al-Ṣaḥā and al-Marwa. Those who did so for the ḥaǰj or for the ʿumra did not declare their ʿihram state concluded until the yawm al-naḥl, the day when the sacrificial animals were slaughtered.”

Al-Bukhārī related it thus from ʿAbd Allah b. Yūsuf, al-Quʾaynī and Ismāʿīl b. Abū Uways, (all) quoting from Malik. Muslim narrated it from Yahyā b. Yahyā, from Malik.

Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) recited the talbiyya for the ḥaǰj, while others did so for the ḥaǰj and the ʿumra; yet others did so for the ʿumra.”

Muslim related it from Ibn Abū Ĕumar, from Sufyān b. Uyayna in similar form.

Then there is the ḥadīth of Imām Aḥmad, who stated that Qutayba b. ʿAqīd related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad, from ʿAlqama b. Abū ʿAlqama, from his mother, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) gave instructions to the people on the ḥijjat al-wada’. He said, ‘Those
who wish to perform an ‘umra prior to the hajj should do so.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the hajj al-ifrād and did not perform the ‘umra.’

This hadith is very strange. Ahmad b. Hanbal is alone in giving it. Its line of transmission is not bad, but one phrase in it is completely unacceptable, namely, “and he did not perform the ‘umra”.

If by this it is meant that he did not perform the ‘umra either along with the hajj or prior to it, then the statement agrees with those who say he performed the hajj al-ifrād. If it means that he did not perform the ‘umra at all, neither before, with or after the hajj, then I am unaware of any scholar who would support it. Moreover, this would contradict authentic statements of Ā’isha and others to the effect that the Prophet (SAAS) did perform four ‘umra, all of them in Dhū al-Qa’dā, except for that performed along with his ḥijja.

Discussion of this will follow in detail in the section discussing the hajj al-qirān. But God knows best.

The same applies to the hadith narrated by Imam Ahmad, who stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ṣāliḥ b. Abū al-Akhḍar, quoting Ibn Shihāb (who said) that ‘Urwa informed him that Ā’isha, wife of the Prophet (SAAS), said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) recited the talbiyya for the hajj and the ‘umra on the ḥijja al-wadār, and he led his ḥadi with him. (Some) people with him recited the talbiyya for the ‘umra and led their sacrificial animals; other people recited the talbiyya for the ‘umra and did not lead sacrificial animals.”

‘Ā’isha went on, “I was among those who recited the talbiyya for the ‘umra and I did not lead a ḥadi.

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived (in Mecca), he said, ‘Those of you who recited the talbiyya for the ‘umra and led a ḥadi should circumambulate the ka‘ba and pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā; nothing for which you have declared the iḥrām will be permitted until you have completed the hajj and sacrificed your animal on the day for the slaughter. Those of you who recited the talbiyya for the ‘umra and did not lead with you an animal for sacrifice should circumambulate the ka‘ba, pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā; you may then shorten your hair and declare your iḥrām concluded. You may then recite the talbiyya for the hajj and lead an animal for sacrifice. Those unable to do this may fast for three days on the bai‘ and for seven days when you return to your family.’”

‘Ā’isha went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave priority for the hajj that he feared he might miss, and postponed the ‘umra.”

This is one of the aḥādith unique to Imam Ahmad; some of its phraseology is objectionable. For some of it there is testimony in the saḥih collections. Ṣāliḥ b. Abū al-Akhḍar is not considered one of the prime companions of al-Zuhri, especially when others, as in some of the phraseology of his text here, contradict him.

The quotation, “He gave priority to the hajj that he feared he might miss and postponed the ‘umra” does not fit with the beginning of the hadith that states, “he recited the talbiyya for the hajj and the ‘umra.”
If what he meant is that he recited the talbiyya for both together, then gave priority to the performance of the ḥajj and thereafter, having finished it, recited the talbiyya for the 'umra, as is maintained by those who say he performed the ḥajj al-īfrād, then that accords with our view here.

If what is meant is that he postponed the 'umra, after having declared himself in the iḥrām state for it, then this is a view held by no scholar known to me. If the account means that he found performing the ḥajj enough to dispense with those of the 'umra, and that the 'umra was combined into the ḥajj, then the statement supports those who maintain that he performed the ḥajj al-ġirān. These latter give preference to those who relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave precedence to the ḥajj, to the performance of the ḥajj, that is, even though he also purposed that of the 'umra. These scholars maintain, “All sources saying he performed the ḥajj al-īfrād also narrate his having performed the ḥajj al-ġirān.” This will be shown hereafter. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

The Account of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh supporting his having performed the ḥajj al-īfrād.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muʿāwiyah related to him, quoting al-ʿAṣmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the talbiyya for the ḥajj on his pilgrimage.”

The line of transmission for this is excellent and conforms with the criteria of Muslim.

Al-Bayhaqi related this from al-Ḥākim and others, from al-ʿĀṣamm, from Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, from Abū Muʿāwiyah, from al-ʿAṣmash, from Abū Sufyān, from Jābir, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the talbiyya on his pilgrimage for the ḥajj with no 'umra along with it.”

This addition is very strange. The account of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is more appropriate. But God knows best.

In the sahih collection of Muslim an account is related through Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir, who said, “We recited the talbiyya for the ḥajj; we did not know of the 'umra.”

Ibn Māja narrated, from Hishām b. ʿAmmār, from al-Donaldi and Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, who both quoted Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad from his father, from Jābir, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-īfrād.” This line of transmission is excellent.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ṭhaqāfī, quoting Ḥabīb al-Muʿallīm, that is – from ʿAṭāʾ, quoting Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his Companions recited the talbiyya for the ḥajj; none of them had a sacrificial animal with him, except for the Prophet (ṢAAS) and Ṭalḥā.”
He proceeded to quote the rest of the **ḥadīth**, which is given in full in the **ṣaḥīḥ** collection of al-Bukhārī, as will be given, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Muṭṭathānā, from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

The Account of ʿAbd Allāḥ b. ʿUmar regarding the **ḥaJJ al-ʾifrād**.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Iṣmāʿīl b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting ʿAbbād – meaning Ibn ʿAbbād – quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “We recited the **talbiyya** with the Prophet (ṢAAS) for the ʿaJJ alone.”

Muslim related it in his **ṣaḥīḥ** collection, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAwn, from ʿAbbād b. ʿAbdād, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the **talbiyya** for the ʿaJJ alone.


The line of transmission for this is excellent; they (the major scholars) did not promulgate it.

The Account of Ibn ʿAbbās for the ʿaJJ al-ʾifrād.

The hāfīz al-Bayhaqī narrated from a **ḥadīth** of Rawḥ b. ʿUbāda, from Shuʿba, from ʿAbbāb, from Abū al-ʿAlīyya al-Barāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited the **talbiyya** for the ʿaJJ and arrived (in Mecca) four days before the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja. He performed the **ṣuḥb** prayer with us in al-Bathāʾ and then said, ‘Those who wish to make it an ʿumra should do so.’”

He then stated, “Muslim narrated it, from Ibrahīm b. Dīnār, from Ibn Rawḥ.”

It has been given above, from an account of Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān al-ʿArraj, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the **al-zuḥr** prayer at Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. Thereafter his sacrificial camel was brought, and he stripped the hair from the right surface of its hump. His riding camel was then brought and he mounted it. When it bore him away and he was overlooking al-Baydāʾ, he recited the **talbiyya** for the ʿaJJ.

This is also included in the **ṣaḥīḥ** collection of Muslim.

The hāfīz Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī stated that al-Ḥusayn b. Iṣmāʿīl related to him, quoting Abū Hīshām, quoting Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, quoting Abū Ḥusayn, from ʿAbd al-ʿRāḥmān b. al-ʿAswād, from his father, who said, “I performed
the pilgrimage with Abu Bakr, and he *jarrada.*\(^{85}\) And also with 'Umar, and he *jarrada.* And also with Uthman, and he *jarrada."

Al-Thawri traced this from Abu 'Ushayn.

We have only referred to this here because it is apparent that these Imams, may God be pleased with them, would only have done this from having been taught. What is meant here by the verbal noun of *jarrada* is performing the *hajj al-ifrad.* But God knows best.

Al-Darqutni stated that Abu 'Ubayd Allāh al-Qāsim b. Ismā'īl and Muḥammad b. Makhlad related to him, quoting 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. Mu'āwiya al-Razzāz, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Nāfi', from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) appointed 'Attab b. Usayd in charge of the pilgrimage and he performed the *hajj al-ifrad.* He then placed Abu Bakr in charge (of it) in the year 9 AH, and he performed the *hajj al-ifrad.* Then the Prophet (SAAS) went on the pilgrimage in the year 10 AH and performed the *hajj al-ifrad.* After that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died and Abu Bakr succeeded; he dispatched 'Umar and he performed the *hajj al-ifrad.* Abu Bakr then went on the pilgrimage and performed the *hajj al-ifrad.* Abu Bakr died, and 'Umar succeeded. He dispatched 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awp on the pilgrimage and he performed the *hajj al-ifrad.* He ('Umar) then went on the pilgrimage and performed the *hajj al-ifrad.* Then Uthman was besieged and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās took charge (of the pilgrimage) for the people and performed the *hajj al-ifrad.*"

In the line of transmission for this *hadith* there is 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-'Umarī; he is qa'lf, "a weak source". However, the *hāfiẓ* al-Bayhaqī stated, "There is testimony (in favour of this *hadith*) with a line of transmission that is *ṣaḥīḥ,* 'authentic'."

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**REFERENCE TO THOSE WHO STATE THAT THE PROPHET (SAAS) PERFORMED THE *HĀJJ AL-TAMATTU*.**

Imām Ahmad stated that Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Layth, quoting 'Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. 'Abd Allāh, who said that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *hājj al-tamattu* on 'the farewell pilgrimage', along with the *umra*. He recited the *talbiyya* and led his *hadīt* on from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa. The Messenger of God (SAAS) set off and then recited the *talbiyya* for the *umra* and thereafter for the *hājj*. There were some people who had sacrificial animals and led them forward to Dhū al-Ḥulayfa; some of them did not have animals for sacrifice.

"When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived in Mecca, he addressed the people, saying, 'Those of you who brought an animal for sacrifice is not released from his state of *ihrām* for anything he has so declared until he completes his *hijja*. Those who have not brought an animal for sacrifice should circumambulate and recite the *talbiyya*.'"

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85. Ibn Kathir goes on to tentatively suggest that the word means "to perform the *hajj al-ifrad*".
the *ka'ba* and pass between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Then they should shorten their hair and declare their *ihram* completed. They should then declare the *tahlîyya* for the *hajj* and make sacrifice. Those who have no sacrificial animal should fast for three days, or for seven if they return to their families."

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) circumambulated the *ka'ba* when he arrived in Mecca. He first saluted the corner, then jogged for three circuits of the seven and walked for four. Having completed the circuits of the *ka'ba*, he performed two *rakâ'ât* at the *maqâm Ibrahim*, ‘Abraham’s station’; he then completed the prayer and left. He proceeded on to al-Ṣafâ and circumambulated both it and al-Marwa. He did not declare *halâl* anything he had previously declared *harâm* until he had completed his *hijja*, and he slaughtered his camel at the day for the sacrifice. He thereafter performed the circumambulation of the *hajj* around the *ka'ba*. Those who had brought animals for sacrifice did as the Messenger (SAAS) had done."

Imâm Aḥmad stated, "*Hajjaj* related to us, quoting Layth, quoting ‘Aqîl, from Ibn Shihab, from ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr (who said that) Ā’isha told him of the Messenger of God (SAAS) having performed the *hajj al-tamattû‘* at the *‘umra* and on to the *hajj* and that the other people did as he had. This is similar to what Śālim b. ‘Abd Allâh informed me, from ‘Abd Allâh, concerning the practice of the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Al-Bukhârî related this *hadîth* from Yaḥyâ b. Bukayr, while Muslim and Abû Da‘ûd related it from ‘Abd al-Malîk b. Shu‘ayb, from al-Layth, from his father. Al-Nasâ’î related it from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allâh b. al-Mubârak al-Makhrami, from Ǧu‘ayyân b. al-Muḥannâ; all three quoted al-Layth b. Sa‘îd, from ‘Aqîl, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, from Ā’isha. They did so as Imâm Aḥmad, may God have mercy upon him, recounted it.

This *hadîth* is one that is problematical, relating to all the three accounts (of the *hijja*).

Regarding the *hadîth* account of his performing the *hajj al-ifrâd*, in this there is substantiation for the *‘umra* being performed either before the *hajj* or along with it.

Regarding the account of the special nature of the performance of the *hajj al-tamattû‘*, (this *hadîth*) is problematic because he (the source) recounted that the Prophet (SAAS) did not relieve himself of the *ihram* following his procession between al-Ṣafâ and al-Marwa. And this is not the case with those performing the *hajj al-tamattû‘*.

Those who claim that he was unable to declare the state of *ihram* at an end by the fact of his having led a camel to sacrifice substantiate this view by reference to a statement attributed to Ḥafṣa. She asked, “Messenger of God, why

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86. In which is embedded the meteorite “black stone”.

87. The place where the Prophet Abraham stood for prayer. An edifice is built over a stone brought by Isha‘îl when they were building the *ka'ba*. Pilgrims stop here and perform a prayer of two *rakâ'ât* after their completion of the circumambulation of the *ka'ba*. 
do some people declare the *ihram* concluded, while you did not after your 'umra?' He replied, "I had braided my hair and garlanded my sacrificial camel; I could not declare my *ihram* completed until I had performed the sacrifice."

Their account is implausible, because the *ahadith* affirming his performing the *hajj al-qirān* refute this statement and deny his reciting the *talbiyya* first at the 'umra and then, having passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, he recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj*. This is not reported in this way by anyone with a line of transmission that could be categorized as *sahih*, *hasan* or *da'if*.

Regarding the statement in this *ḥadith*, "The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) performed the *hajj al-tamattu*' on 'the farewell pilgrimage', along with the 'umra, if what is meant by this is *al-tamattu*' specifically, this being the declaration of the conclusion of the *ihram* state after the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, then this is not so. For the *ḥadith* contains material refuting this. Moreover, in the affirmation of his having made the *hajj al-qirān* there is material contradicting this.

If what is meant here is *al-tamattu* *al-ṣām*, or the general enjoyment (of a concession), then that would certainly include the *hajj al-qirān*; and this is what is meant here.88

The statement, "The Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) set off and then recited the *talbiyya* for the *umra* and then for the *hajj*. If by this is meant that he "set off" by pronouncing the word *umra* before the word *hajj*, by saying, "I am at Your service, 0 God; an *umra* in *hajj." This is clear and does not deny (the possibility that it was to be a *(bajj) al-qirān.*

If by it is meant that he recited the *talbiyya* for the *umra* first, and then added to it the *hajj* much later, but before his performing the circumambulations, then it also constituted *hajj al-qirān*.

If by it he meant that he recited the *talbiyya* for the *umra* and then, having completed its activities, whether he did or did not declare his state of *ihram* concluded by the leading up of a sacrificial animal, as some claim, but in fact recited the *talbiyya* for the *hajj* after finishing the actions for the *umra* and before his departure for Minā, then this is a view not expressed by any of his Companions, as we have shown above. Those who maintain this are refuted by this lack of testimony and by the fact that it is contradicted by the *ahadith* that exist to affirm his having performed the *hajj al-qirān*, as will be shown, and also, indeed, by those *ahadith* that have come down that substantiate his having performed the *hajj al-ifrād*, as shown above. But God knows best.

It is clear – though God knows best – that this *ḥadith* of al-Layth, from ʿAqīl, from al-Zuhri, from Saʿlīm, from Ibn ʿUmar, is also narrated from a different path, from Ibn ʿUmar, when he performed the *hajj al-ifrād* at the time when al-Ḥajjāj was besieging Ibn al-Zubayr. He was told, "People are disputing over (these two groups); now if only you would postpone your *hajj* for this year." He replied, "I would in that case do as the Prophet (ṣaṣṣ) did."

88. Ibn Kathīr is here using the *tamattu* in its literal sense in the second instance.
89. 'umra wa ʿajj should here be understood as *fi al-ʿumra wa al-ʿajj*. 
He was referring to the occasion when he was blocked at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya. He declared himself in a state of *ihram* for the ‘umra from Dhū al-Ḥulayfah and then, when he overlooked al-Baydā', said, “I consider both to be one.” Then he recited the *talbiyya* for the ḥajj along with it (the ‘umra). The narrator believed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done this; it was all the same whether he had begun by reciting the *talbiyya* for the ‘umra and then for the ḥajj. They therefore related it thus, but there is controversy over this, as we will show.

Explanation for this exists in the *ḥadīth* that ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb narrated, as follows, “Mālik b. Anas and others informed me that Nāfiʿ had related to them that ʿAbd Allāh b. Umar went forth on the pilgrimage during the period of civil disorder. He said, ‘If I should be blocked from access to the kaʿba we would do as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done.’ He left and recited the *talbiyya* for the ‘umra and travelled on until he arrived at a point above al-Baydā'. He then turned to his Companions and said, ‘I consider both to be nothing but one; I testify to you that I am committing myself to performing the ḥajj along with the ‘umra.’ He continued on until he reached the kaʿba, which he circumambulated. He performed the passages between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa seven times and did not add thereto. He considered that that was sufficient. He also brought an animal for sacrifice.”

The author of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection (al-Bukhārī) promulgated it from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik. And both scholars gave it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ. ʿAbd al-Razzāq narrated it from ʿUbayd Allāh and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfiʿ in similar words. In that account it ends by saying, “That was what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did.”

Also there is al-Bukhārī’s account in which he quotes Qutayba, quoting Layth, from Nāfiʿ, who said, “Ibn ʿUmar wanted to perform the pilgrimage when al-Ḥajjāj was besieging Ibn al-Zubayr. He (Ibn ʿUmar) was told, ‘People are engaged in a conflict; we are afraid they will block you.’ He replied, ‘There is indeed in the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) a good model for you. I shall therefore do as he did. I testify to you that I am committing myself to the ‘umra.’

“He proceeded until he was up above al-Baydā'. Then he said, ‘I consider the ḥajj and the ‘umra to be one; I testify to you all that I have committed myself to a ḥajj along with my ‘umra.’ He brought an animal for sacrifice that he had purchased at Qudayd. He added nothing else to that, and he did not declare permissible anything for which he had declared his *ihram*. He did not shave, nor did he cut his hair short until it was the day for the sacrifice. He then slaughtered his animal and shaved. He considered that he had completed the circumambulations for both the ḥajj and the ‘umra by his first circumambulation.’

Ibn ʿUmar concluded, “It was thus that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acted.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Yaʿqūb b. ʿIbrāhīm related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUliyya, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, the son of Ibn ʿUmar, came into the latter’s house at which was Ibn ʿUmar’s ride (for the
pilgrimage). 'Abd Allāh said, “I am uneasy and feel that there may be some conflict between the people that may prevent your access to the ka'ba. What will you do then?”

“Ibn 'Umar replied, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) left (on the pilgrimage) and the Quraysh disbelievers prevented his access to the ka'ba. If that happens to me, I will do as he did. You had a good model in the Messenger of God (SAAS). And I will therefore do as he did. I testify to you that I am committing myself to a hajj along with my 'umra.' He proceeded on and performed for both one circumambulation.”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it thus from Ibn al-Nu‘mān, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb b. Abū Tamīma al-Sakhtiyānī, from Nāfi'. Muslim narrated it from a hadīth drawn from both of these, from Ayyūb.

Ibn 'Umar, may God be pleased with him, imitated the Messenger of God (SAAS), in remaining uninvolved with the enemy’s blockade and in sufficing with one circumambulation for both the hajj and the 'umra. That was because he had first declared himself in the iḥrām state for an 'umra, for that to be part of the hajj al-tamattūṭ. He feared there would be a blockade and so combined both, inserting the hajj before the 'umra and before the circumambulation, and it thus became a hajj al-qirān.

What he said was, “I consider both to be nothing but one.” By this he meant, “There is no difference between a person being blocked from the hajj or from the 'umra or from both.” And when he reached Mecca, he accomplished both sufficiently by his first circumambulation – as he clearly stated in the first text we gave. In that he stated, “He considered that he had completed the circumambulation for both the hajj and the 'umra by his first circumambulation.”

Ibn 'Umar stated, “It was thus that the Messenger of God (SAAS) acted.” By this he meant that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had accomplished both the hajj and the 'umra sufficiently by one circumambulation – that is, between al-Ṣaḥā and al-Marwa.

This gives evidence that Ibn 'Umar spoke in favour of the hajj al-qirān.

Therefore al-Nasā’ī narrated, from Muḥammad b. Mānsūr, from Ṣufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from Ayyūb b. Mūsā, from Nāfi’ that “Ibn 'Umar combined together the hajj and the 'umra and performed one circumambulation”.

Al-Nasā’ī then narrated it from ‘Aṭī b. Maymūn al-Raqīṭ, from Ṣufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from Ismā’īl b. Umayya, and Ayyūb b. Mūsā and Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, all four of whom quoted Nāfi’ as saying that, “Ibn 'Umar came to Dhū al-Ḥulayfah and recited the talbiyya for the 'umra. He then became concerned that he might be blocked from the ka'ba.” And he proceeded to relate the hadīth, and his including the hajj with the 'umra, the result being his performing the hajj al-qirān.

The implication of this is that when some narrators heard the statement of Ibn 'Umar, “And I will therefore do as the Messenger of God (SAAS) did”, and
his other statement, “It was thus that the Messenger of God (SAAS) acted”, they believed that the latter had begun by reciting the *talbiyya* for the *’umra*, then did so for the *hajj*, combining the latter with the former prior to the circumambulation, and so they related the *hadith* with this understanding.

But Ibn Umar did not mean this, but implied what we have indicated above. God, however, best knows what is correct.

Moreover, supposing that he did recite the *talbiyya* for the *’umra* first and combined the *hajj* with it prior to the circumambulation, this would then constitute *hajj al-griran*, not a case of *hajj al-tamattu’ al-khafs* (in the technical sense), it thus being evidence for those who support the idea of the superiority of the *hajj al-tamattu’*. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Also there is the *hadith* related by al-Bukhari in his *sahih* collection in which he stated that Musa b. Isma’il related to him, quoting Hammam, from Qatada, quoting Mutarrif, from Imam, who said, “During the time of the Prophet (SAAS), we performed the *al-tamattu’*. Then revelation came in the Qur’an (about the *hajj al-tamattu’*) and a man said whatever he wished.”

Muslim narrated this from Muhammad b. al-Muthannah, from ‘Abd al-‘Samad b. Abi Warrith, from Hammam, from Qatada.

What is implied here is that it is the *mut’a* that is more general than the *al-griran* and the *al-tamattu’* of the *hajj*.

This is shown by what is narrated by Muslim, from a *hadith* of Shu’ba and Sa’id b. ‘Aruba, from Qatada, from Mutarrif, from ‘Abd Allâh b. al-Shikhir, from Imam b. al-Husayn (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) combined the *hajj* with the *’umra*, and he went on to narrate all the *hadith*.

Most of the early authorities apply the term *al-mut’a* to the *al-griran*. As al-Bukhari stated – that Qutayba related to him, quoting Hajjaj b. Muhammam Al-Awar, from Shu’ba, from ‘Amr b. Murrâ, from Sa’id b. al-Musayyab, who said, “Ali and Uthman, may God be pleased with them both, had a disagreement, while they were at Usfan, over the *al-mut’a*. ‘Ali said, ‘Is what you want to put an end to something the Messenger of God (SAAS) did?’ When he saw that (to be the case) ‘Ali b. Abû Ta’lib recited the *talbiyya* for both (the *hajj* and the *’umra*) together.”


Muslim related this also from a *hadith* of Shu’ba, from Qatada, from ‘Abd Allâh b. Shaqiq. (In that version) ‘Ali said to him, “Don’t you realize that it was only with the Messenger of God (SAAS), that we performed the *hajj al-tamattu’*?” He replied, “Indeed yes; but we were afraid.”

90. It should be remembered that *al-tamattu’* applies to what is temporary and is synonymous with the term *mut’a*. The narrator is referring to this connotation in the foregoing tradition. The “man” to whom he alludes is Umar, who subsequently forbade the practice.
Then there is the hadith narrated by Muslim from a hadith of Ghundar, from Shu'ba, and from Ubayd Allah b. Mu'adh, from his father, from Shu'ba, from Muslim b. Mikhrag al-Qurri, who heard Ibn 'Abbas say, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) recited the talbiyya for the 'umra, while his Companions did so for the hajj. The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not declare his state of ihram terminated, nor did those of his Companions who had brought an animal to be sacrificed. The rest of them did (declare their state of ihram terminated).”

Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayalisi narrated it in his musnad collection, as did Rawḥ b. Ubada, from Shu'ba, from Muslim al-Qurri, from Ibn ‘Abbas, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) and his Companions recited the talbiyya for the hajj. Those of them who did not have a had, for sacrifice (then) declared their state of ihram terminated, while those who did bring a had did not declare this.” The hadith proceeds.

If we consider both accounts authentic, then the conclusion favours the hajj al-qiran. If we decline acceptance of both, its probative value would be suspended. If we give preference to the account of Muslim in his collection concerning the 'umra, where it is stated on the authority of ‘Abbas that he (the Prophet (SAAS) declared the ihram of the hajj (al-isrā'), then this would argue in favour of the hajj al-qiran, especially since evidence supporting this will be given from Ibn 'Abbas.

Muslim narrated from a hadith of Ghundar and Mu'adh b. Mu'adh, from Shu'ba, from al-Ḥakam, from Mujahid, from Ibn ‘Abbas, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “This is an 'umra that we have considered a mut'a; those not having brought a had may consider their ihram fully concluded. The 'umra has entered into the al-hajj until Judgement Day.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Ādam b. Abū Iyyās and Muslim from a hadith of Ghundar, both quoting Shu'ba, from Abū Jamra, who said, “I declared my intent to perform the hajj al-tamattu’, but people advised against this. So I asked Ibn 'Abbas and he told me to do so. After that I seemed to see in my sleep a man say to me, ‘It is a hajj mabruk and a mut'a’ that is accepted.’ I told Ibn ‘Abbas of this (dream) and he said, Allāhu Akbar! ‘God is most Great!’ A practice of Abū al-Qāsim, God’s peace and blessings be upon him!”

By the term mut'a used here, the word qiran is really meant.

Al-Quqaynī and others stated, quoting Malik b. Anas, from Ibn Shihāb, from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥarīth b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥarīth b. ‘Abd al-Muțṭalib, who is quoted as saying that he heard Sa'‘d b. Abū Waqqās and al-Ḍahhāk b. Qays, that year when Mu'ayyāya b. Abū Sufyān made the hajj, making reference to the performing of the tamattu' of the 'umra leading to the hajj. Al-Ḍahhāk said, “No one would do that unless ignorant of God’s instruction!” Sa'‘d replied,

91. That is, one that accords with the practice of the Prophet (SAAS), and is therefore supposed to be acceptable to God.
92. Some editions of the sakīh of al-Bukhārī give the word 'umra instead of the mut'a given here.
“Cousin, what you say is quite wrong!” Al-Daḥḥāk went on. “‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to forbid it.” Sa‘d responded, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did it, and we did it along with him.”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it, as did al-Nasā’ī, from Qutayba, from Mālik. Al-Tirmidhī stated it to be saḥīḥ, “authentic”.

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated, from Mu‘tamir b. Sulaymān and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, both quoting Sulaymān al-Taymī, quoting Ghunaym b. Qays, who said, “I asked Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās about the performance of the tamattū‘ of the ṣumra leading to the ḥajj. He replied, ‘I did it along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And at that time he’—meaning Mu‘āwiyah—‘was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrh’—meaning Mecca.”

Muslim narrated it from a hadīth of Shu‘bā, and of Sufyān al-Thawrī, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘d and Marwān al-Fazarī, all four of them quoting Sulaymān al-Taymī, who said, “I heard Ghunaym b. Qays say, ‘I asked Sa‘d about the mu‘a, and he replied, ‘We did perform it; and at that time he was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrh.’”

In the account of Yaḥyā b. Sa‘d, the hadīth ends, “meaning Mu‘āwiyah”.

All of this has to do with the application of the term al-tamattū‘ to something more general than the al-tamattū‘ al-khaṣ. That is, it assumes the declaration of the iḥrām state for the ṣumra, then completing it and thereafter again declaring the iḥrām for the ḥajj, and it is (also more general) than the ḥajj al-qirān. In fact, what Sa‘d said about it was evidence for the term al-tamattū‘ being applied to the performance of the ṣumra pilgrimage in the months of the ḥajj. This relates to them having gone on the pilgrimage while Mu‘āwiyah was still an unbeliever, in Mecca, applying either to the ṣumra at al-Ḥudaybiyya or the ṣumrat al-qadā—this being more likely. Regarding the ṣumrat al-jīrānā, Mu‘āwiyah had accepted Islam along with his father (Abū Sufyān) the night of the conquest of Mecca. We have narrated how he had cut short the hair of the Prophet (ṢAAS), using an iron arrow head on one of his ṣumra pilgrimages; that was, undoubtedly, the ṣumra from al-Jīrānā. But God knows best.

**Accounts of the pilgrimage as narrated by those who maintain that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ḥajj al-qirān, along with the relevant aḥādīth.**

**The Account of the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him.**

It is given above how al-Bukhārī narrated from a hadīth of Abū ‘Amr al-Awzā‘ī, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in Wādi
“Tonight I received a visitation from a spirit from my Lord, Almighty and Glorious is He. He told me, “Pray in this blessed valley and say, ‘(Let it be) an ‘umra within a hajj.’”’

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated that he was informed by ‘Ali b. Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Maqburi in Baghdād, who quoted Aḥmad b. Sulaymān as saying, “It was narrated to ‘Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad while I listened, as follows, ‘Abū Zayd al-Harawi related to me, quoting ‘Ali b. al-Mubārak, quoting Yahyā b. Abū Kathir, quoting Ṭkrima, quoting Ibn ‘Abbās, quoting ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Gabriel, may peace be upon him, carne to me while I was at al-‘Aqiq. He said, “Pray two raka‘at in this blessed valley. And say, ‘An ‘umra within a hajj.’ For the ‘umra has entered within the hajj until Judgement Day.”’”

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, “Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Abū Zayd al-Harawi.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥashim related to him, quoting Sayyār, from Abū Wā’il, who said that there was a man who had been a Christian, named al-Ṣabī b. Ma‘bad, who wanted to engage in the jihad. He was told, “Begin by making the pilgrimage.” So he went to al-Ash‘ari who told him to declare his intention of making the hajj and the ‘umra together. He did so. While he was reciting the talbiyya, Yazīd b. Sūlān and Salīm b. Rabī‘a passed by. One of them said to the other, “This fellow wanders further astray than his people’s donkeys!” The young man overheard this and it annoyed him. And so when he reached Mecca, he went to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and related that to him. ‘Umar told him, “You have been led aright, in the practice of your Prophet (SAAS).” (The narrator continued) “On another occasion I heard him use the words, ‘You have been well-guided to the practice of your Prophet (SAAS).’”

Imām Aḥmad also related this from Yahyā b. Sa‘d al-Qaṭṭān, from al-A‘mash, from Shaqīq, from Abū Wā’il, from al-Ṣabī b. Ibn Ma‘bad, quoting ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. In that version, the latter said, “The two men said nothing (of importance); you have been well-guided to the practice of your Prophet (SAAS).”

He also narrated it from ‘Abd al-Razzāiq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ṭanṣūr, from Abū Wā’il. And also from Ghundar, from Shu‘ba, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū Wā’il, and from Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, from ‘Abdu b. Abū Lubaba, from Abū Wā’il, who said, “Al-Ṣabī b. Ma‘bad said, ‘I had been a Christian, but accepted Islam. I declared my intention to make a hajj and an ‘umra, and Yazīd b. Sūlān and Salīm b. Rabī‘a heard me while I was reciting the talbiyya for them both. They commented, ‘This fellow wanders further astray than his people’s donkeys!’ After their words, I felt as if a mountain had been loaded on me! So I approached ‘Umar and told him. He then went to them and berated them. After that he came to me and said, “You have been well-guided to the practice of the Prophet (SAAS).”’”

“Abdū stated, ‘Abū Wā’il commented, ‘I and Masrūq used to go often to that man al-Ṣabī b. Ma‘bad, and ask him about this.’”
The lines of transmission for this are excellent and accord with the criteria for the designation sahih, “authentic”. Abu Da‘ud, al-Nasa‘i and Ibn Maja related it from various lines, from Abī Wā'il Shaqiq b. Salama, who narrated it. Al-Nasa‘i stated, in the chapter on the pilgrimage in his hadith collection, that Muḥammad b. ‘Ali b. al-Ḥasan b. Shaqiq related it to him, quoting his father, from Jamrat al-Sukkarī, from Muṭarrīf, from Salama b. Kuḥayl, from Ṭawūs, from Ibn ‘Abbās, from ‘Umar, who said, “I swear by God, I forbid you performing the mut`a; (although) it is certainly in God’s Book, and although the Prophet (SAAS) performed it.”

The chain of transmission for this is excellent.

An Account relating to the two Commanders of the Believers, ‘Uthmān and ‘Alī, may God be pleased with them both.

Imám ʿAḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, quoting Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Mūrra, from Saʿd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “‘Ali and Uthmān were together at Usfān. Uthmān was forbidding the performance of the mut`a or the ʿumra. And so ‘Ali said, ‘Why are you forbidding something the Messenger of God (SAAS) did?’ Uthmān replied, ‘Enough of that!’” This abbreviated form is the manner in which Imám ʿAḥmad narrated this. Both scholars of the sahih collections promulgated it from a hadith of Shuʿba, from ʿAmr b. Mūrra, from Saʿd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “While they were at Usfān, Uthmān and ‘Ali differed over the mut`a. ‘Ali asked, ‘Why are you forbidding something the Messenger of God (SAAS) did?’ When ‘Ali saw that (that Uthmān was forbidding the mut`a) he recited the talbiyya for both.” The phraseology given by al-Bukhārī is similar.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Bāshshār related it to him, quoting Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn, from Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, who said, “I witnessed Uthmān and ‘Ali, while Uthmān was forbidding performance of the mut`a and that both be combined. When ‘Ali saw (this attitude) he recited the talbiyya for both, saying, ‘At Your service, O God, for an ʿumra and a hajj.’ He (ʿAli) went on, ‘I’m not one to abandon a practice of the Prophet (SAAS), because of what anyone says.’”

Al-Nasāʾi narrated it from a hadith of Shuʿba, and from a hadith of al-Aʿmash, from Muslim al-Baṭān, from ʿAli b. al-Ḥusayn. Imám ʿAḥmad stated that it was related to him by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, quoting Shuʿba, from Qatāda, who said, “Abd Allāh b. Shaqiq stated, ‘Uthmān was forbidding the mut`a and ‘Ali was recommending it. And so Uthmān said to ‘Ali, “You are doing so and such!” ‘Ali replied, “You know that we performed the mut`a along with the Messenger of God (SAAS).” “Yes,” (replied Uthmān) “but we were afraid (then).”’”
Muslim related it from a hadith of Shu‘ba.

This constitutes recognition from Uthmān, may God be pleased with him, of what ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, told him. And it is well known that ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, declared the ihram on the hijjat al-wadā by reciting the talbiyya in the same manner as the Messenger of God (SAAS). ʿAlī had brought an animal for sacrifice and the Prophet (SAAS) ordered him to maintain his ihram state. The Prophet (SAAS) allowed ʿAlī to share in his own hadi, as will be shown.

Mālik narrated in his work al-Muwata from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, from his father, that al-Miqdād b. al-ʿAwād went in to see ʿAlī b. ʿAbū Ṭalib at al-Suqyā while he was preparing leaves and crushed grain to feed his young camels. Al-Miqdād told him, “This Uthmān b. ʿAffān is forbidding that the hija and the umra be combined.” ʿAlī left, his hands bearing traces of the camel food mash. (The narrator commented), “And I’ll not forget the sight of the mixture on his hands!” When ʿAlī went in to Uthmān, he asked, “Are you forbidding that the hija and the umra be combined?” Uthmān replied, “That’s my view.” At that ʿAlī left in anger, saying, “At Your service, O God, for a hijja and an umra together!”

Abū Daʾūd stated in his work the Sunan that Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn related to him, quoting Hajjāj, quoting Yūnus, from Abū ʿIshaq, from al-ʿĀzib, who said, “I was with ʿAlī when the Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed him Governor of Yemen.” And he went on to relate the arrival of ʿAlī.

(The tradition goes on to state) ʿAlī said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked me, ‘How have you done?’ I replied, ‘I have only recited the talbiyya (in the manner) of the Prophet (SAAS). I have brought a hadī and I have combined (both the umra and the hija).’”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from a hadith of Yaḥyā b. Maʿīn with his line of transmission which accords with the criteria of the two scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim). The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi explained it away by the fact of this phraseology not being in the (long) text of the hadith of Jābir.

There is some dispute over this explanation, because the performance of the hijj al-qirān is narrated from a hadith of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, as will be shown shortly. If God, Almighty is He, wishes.

Ibn Hibbān narrated in his sahih collection, from ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) left Medina and I left from Yemen. I said, ‘I am at Your service, O God, with the same invocation made by the Prophet (SAAS).’” The Prophet (SAAS) said, “I recited the talbiyya for the hijj and the umra combined.”

The Account of Anas b. Mālik, may God be pleased with him.

A group of the tabiʿūn, “the first generation scholars”, related it; we will quote from them in alphabetical order.
BAKR B. ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-MUZANJ.


THĀBIT AL-BUNĀNĪ.

Imām Ahmad stated that Wāḥīd related to him, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from Thabit, from Anas, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) said, “At Your service, O God, for an ‘umra and a ḥijja combined.” ʿAl-Hasan al-Baṣrī is alone in quoting it on this line.

Imām Ahmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ashʿath, from Anas b. Malik (who said), “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came to Mecca. They recited the talbiyya for a ḥajj and an ’umra. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them, after they had circumbulated the kaba and passed between al-Šaṣa and al-Marwa, to declare their ihram concluded and to make an ’umra. It seemed as if the people were shocked by that. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Had I not brought a hadī I would have declared my ihram concluded.’ The people then did declare their ihram concluded and performed the ḥajj al-tamattu’."

The ḥāфиз Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Ḥasan b. Qazaḥa related to him, quoting Sufyān b. Ḥabīb, quoting Ashʿath, from al-Ḥasan, from Anas, (who said), “The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions recited the talbiyya for a ḥajj and an ’umra. And when they arrived in Mecca, they circumbulated the kaba and passed between al-Šaṣa and al-Marwa. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered them to declare their ihram concluded, but they were afraid to do so. He therefore said, ‘ Declare your ihram concluded. If I did not have a hadī, I would declare my ihram concluded.’”

Al-Bazzār then stated, “We know of no one except Ashʿath b. ʿAbd al-Malik who narrated this from al-Ḥasan.”

HUMAYD B. TĪRUWAYH AL-ṬAWĪL.

Imām Ahmad stated that Yahyā related to him, from Ḥumayd (who said), “I
heard Anas say, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “At Your service, with a hajj, and an umra and a hajj.”’

This line of transmission is two-thirds in accord with the criteria of the two scholars. They did not promulgate it. And none of the authors of the books (of hadith) gave it from this line of transmission. However, Muslim did narrate it from Yahyā b. Yahyā, from Hushaym, from Yahyā b. Abū Ishāq and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUshayb and Ḥumayd (who said that) they heard Anas b. Mālik say, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) recite the talbiyya for both combined. (He said) ‘At Your service for an umra and a hajj.’”

Imām ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib stated that Yaʿmur b. Yusur related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Ḥumayd al-ʿTawīl, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) brought many animals for sacrifice and said, ‘At Your service, with an umra and a hajj.’ I was there at the right flank of his camel.”

Aḥmad was also alone in giving it from this line of transmission.

HUMAYD B. HILĀL AL-ṢADAWĪ AL-BAṢRĪ.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his musnad that Muḥammad b. al-Muṭṭalib related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qīlābā, from Anas b. Mālik, and it is reported from Salama b. Shābīb, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qīlābā, and Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Anas, who said, “I was mounted behind Abū ʿAbbās, and his knee was touching that of the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was reciting the talbiyya for the hajj and the umra.”

This line of transmission is excellent and strong and conforms to the criteria for the designation saḥīh, “authentic”; they (the compilers of the saḥīh collections) did not include it.

Al-Bazzār explained this by saying that the person reciting the talbiyya for the hajj and the umra was Abū ʿAbbās. He said, “And the Prophet (SAAS) did not contradict him.”

This explanation is controversial and unnecessary, because that (fact of the Prophet (SAAS) having recited the talbiyya) comes by various routes from Anas, as above and to follow. Moreover, (grammatically) it is more correct for the pronoun to be related to the closer of the two persons mentioned, which in this instance constitutes very strong evidence. But God knows best.

In the account of ʿAlī b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Anas, will come a clear refutation of this explanation.

FROM ZAYD B. ASLAM.

“Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jarawī related it to us, as did Muḥammad b. Miskín. They both said, ‘Bīshr b. Bakr related (it) to us, from Saʿd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Zayd b. Aslam, from Anas.’

I note that this line of transmission meets the criteria for ṣāḥīḥ, “authentic”, but they (the authors of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it from this line.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī narrated it in a more simple text. He stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qāḍī related to him, that Abū al-ʿAbbas Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb related to them, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. al-Walīd b. Yazīd, quoting his father, quoting Shuʿayb b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Zayd b. Aslam and others, who said that, “A man came to Ibn ʿUmar and asked, ‘With what intention did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the talbiyya?’ Ibn ʿUmar replied, ‘He recited the talbiyya for the ḥajj, and (the man then) left.’

“The man then came to him the following year and asked, ‘With what intention did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite the talbiyya?’ Ibn ʿUmar asked, ‘Didn’t you come to me last year?’ ‘Yes’, the man replied, ‘but Anas b. Mālik claims that he performed the ḥajj al-qirān.’ Ibn ʿUmar commented, ‘Anas b. Mālik (was then so young that he) used to go in to see the women when their heads were uncovered! I was right underneath the camel of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), its saliva actually touching me, and I heard him reciting the talbiyya for the ḥajj.’”

FROM SĀLĪM B. ABD AL-JAʿD AL-GHAṬAFĀNĪ AL-KUFI.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿĀdam related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Mānsūr, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Anas b. Mālik, who gave a line of transmission back to the Prophet (ṢAAS), to the effect that he combined the ḥajj with the ʿumra and said, “At Your service, for an ʿumra and a ḥijja together.”

(This hadīth may be classified as) ḥasan, “good”; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAḥfān related to him, quoting Abū ʿAwāna, quoting Uthmān b. al-Mughīra, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Saʿd, the freed-man of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who said, “We went forth with ‘Alī, and when we reached Dhu al-Ḥulayfa, ‘Alī said, ‘I wish to combine the ḥajj with the ʿumra. Those who wish should speak as I do.’ He then recited the talbiyya. He said, ‘At Your service for a ḥijja and an ʿumra.’”

The narrator went on, “And Sālim said, ‘Anas b. Mālik stated to me, “I swear by God, my leg was actually touching that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was reciting the talbiyya for them both together.”’

This line of transmission is also excellent; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

This text refutes the explanation by the ḥāfīz al-Bazzār of the hadīth given by Ḥumayd b. Hilāl quoting Anas, as referred to above. But God knows best.
FROM SULAYMĀN B. TARKHĀN AL-TAYMI.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Yahyā b. Ḥabīb b. Ṭārīq b. ‘Arabī related to him, quoting al-Muṭṭamir b. Sulaymān, who said that he heard his father quote Anas b. Mālik as saying, “I heard the Prophet (ṢAAS) recite the ṭalḥiyya for both together.”

Al-Bazzār then said, “The only person relating this from al-Taymi is his son al-Muṭṭamir. And only Yahyā b. Ḥabīb al-Ṭārīq b. ‘Arabī heard this from him.”

I note that this meets the criteria for the category saḥīḥ, “authentic”. They (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it.

FROM SUWAYD B. ḤUJAYR.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muhammad b. Ja‘far related to him, quoting Shu‘bā, from Abū Qaza‘a Suwayd b. Ḥujayr, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “I was mounted behind Abū Ṣa‘d b. Ṭalḥa. The knee of Abū Ṣa‘d b. Ṭalḥa was almost knocking against that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the latter was reciting the talḥiyya for both.”

This line of transmission is excellent. Aḥmad is alone in giving it. They (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not promulgate it. In it there is a clear refutation of the view of the ḥāfiz al-Bazzār.

FROM ‘ABD ALLĀH B. ZAYD ABŪ QILĀBA AL-JARMI.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Rażzaq related to him, quoting Ma‘mar, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas, who said, “I was mounted behind Abū Ṣa‘d b. Ṭalḥa while he rode beside the Prophet (ṢAAS). My leg was actually touching the stirrup of the latter, and I heard him reciting the talḥiyya for the ḥajj and the ‘umra.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated to him, from various lines, from Ayyūb, from Abū Qilāba, from Anas, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the al-zuhr prayer in Medina with four raḵa‘āt and the al-‘asr prayer in Dhū al-Ḥulayfā with two raḵa‘āt. He then spent the night there, and in the morning mounted his camel. When it bore him out above al-Baydā’, he praised and glorified God and spoke the words Allāhu Akbar! ‘God is most Great!’ He then recited the talḥiyya for both together, the ḥajj and the ‘umra. And the people with him recited the talḥiyya for both together.”

In another account from him, he (Anas) said, “I was mounted behind Abū Ṣa‘d b. Ṭalḥa while they were reciting the talḥiyya for both together, the ḥajj with the ‘umra.”

And in another account, from Ayyūb, from “a man”, Anas is quoted as saying, “He spent the night there. Next morning he performed the al-ṣuḥḥ
prayer, then mounted his camel. When it bore him to al-Bayda', he recited the talbiyya for an 'umra and a hajj.'

FROM 'ABD AL-'AZIZ B. SUHAYB.

I have given his account above, with that of Ḥumayd al-Ṭawil from him, given by Muslim.

FROM 'ALI B. ZAYD B. JUDĀN.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Ibrāhīm b. Sa'īd related to him, quoting 'Alī b. Ḥakīm, from Sharīk, from 'Alī b. Zayd, from Anas, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) recited the talbiyya for both together."

This tradition is gharib, "unilateral", from this line, and none of the compilers of the canonical collections included it; though it does meet their criteria.

FROM QATADA B. DA'ĀMA AL-SADŪSI.

Imām ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maʻānī stated that both Bahz and ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Maʻānī related to him, saying, "Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā related to us, quoting Qatāda, who said, 'I asked Anas b. Mālik, 'How many times did the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) perform the pilgrimage?' He replied, 'One ḥijja; and he also performed the 'umra four times - that at the time of al-Ḥudaybiyya, that in Dhu al-Qa'da from Medina, that from al-Ji'rāna in Dhu al-Qa'da when he divided up the booty from the battle of Ḥunayn, and that along with his ḥijja.'"

Both scholars (al-Bukhārī and Muslim) included it from a hadith of Ḥammām b. Yaḥyā.

FROM MUṢ'AB B. SULAYM AL-ZUBAYRĪ, THEIR FREED-MAN.

Imām ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maʻānī stated that Wākid related to him, quoting Muṣ'ab b. Sulaym, who said that he heard Anas b. Mālik say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) recite the talbiyya for a ḥijja and an 'umra."

ʿAbd al-Qādir is alone in giving this.

FROM YAḤYĀ B. ISḤĀQ AL-HADRĀMI.

Imām ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maʻānī stated that Husaym related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ishāq and 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Suhayb and Ḥumayd al-Ṭawil, who said that they heard Anas say, "I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAṢ) recite the talbiyya for the ḥajj and the 'umra together. He said, 'At Your service, for an 'umra and a ḥajj! At Your service for an 'umra and a ḥajj!'"
It has been shown above that Muslim narrated it from Yahya b. Yahya, from Hushaym.

Imam Ahmad also stated that 'Abd al-Aqil related to him, from Yahya, from Anas, who said, “We went forth to Mecca with the Messenger of God (SAAS). And I heard him say, ‘At Your service for an ‘umra and a hajj.’”

FROM ABU ASMA' AL-SAYQAL.

Imam Ahmad stated that Hasan related to him, quoting Zuhayr and that Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Malik related to him, quoting Zuhayr, from Abu Ishtaq, from Abu Asma' al-Sayqal, from Anas b. Malik, who said, “We went forth, shouting (the talbiyya) for the hajj. And when we reached Mecca, the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered us to make it into an ‘umra. He said, ‘If I had known before hand what I came to learn, I would have made it into an ‘umra; but I had brought the hadd and have combined the hajj with the ‘umra.’”

Al-Nasai narrated this from Hannad, from Abu al-Ahwas, from Abu Ishtaq, from Abu Asma' al-Sayqal, from Anas b. Malik, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) recite the talbiyya for both.”

FROM ABU QUDAMA AL-HANAFI; HIS NAME IS ALSO GIVEN AS MUHAMMAD B. 'UBAYD.

Imam Ahmad stated that Rawi b. Ubada related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Yunus b. Ubayd, from Abu Qudama al-Hanafi, who said, “I asked Anas for what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had recited the talbiyya. He replied, ‘I heard him seven times recite the talbiyya for an ‘umra and a hajj.’”

Imam Ahmad is alone in giving this. The line of transmission is excellent and strong. And to God go all praise and credit, and through Him come success and security.

Ibn Hibban narrated in his Sahih collection, that Anas b. Malik said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) combined between the hajj and the ‘umra, and the people did so with him.”

The hafiz al-Bayhaqi gave some of these same quotations from Anas b. Malik and then went on to offer an explanation that is controversial.

He concludes, “It was Anas who was in doubt (regarding the hajj of the Prophet), but not the others apart from him. It is likely that he had (merely) heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) instruct others how they should recite the talbiyya for the hajj al-qiran, and not that he (the Prophet (SAAS)) did so himself. But God knows best.”

He went on, “This is also narrated from others than Anas b. Malik, but there are questions over its reliability.”
I observe that the apparent controversiality of this statement will not be hidden from anyone who contemplates it. It might well be best, therefore, to disregard it, for it creates doubts about the memory of a Companion from whom others, in substantial numbers, have narrated this tradition, as shown above. And opening up this issue would lead to major difficulty. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.

THE HADITH OF AL-BARAA’ B. AZIZ ON THE HAJJ AL-QIRAN.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān informed him, quoting ‘Ali b. Muḥammad al-Miṣrī, quoting Abū Ghassān Mālik b. Yaḥyā, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Zakariyya’ b. Abū Za’ida, from Abū Ưṣāq, from al-Barā’ b. ʿAzīz, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed three ‘umra pilgrimages, and all were in Dhu al-qa’dā.” ʿAʾisha said, “He knew he had performed four ‘umra pilgrimages, including that along with which he made the ḥaḍīḥ.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This is not correct.” I observe that this will also follow with a line of transmission that is ṣahīḥ and goes back to ʿAʾisha in similar words.

The Account of Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with him.


Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated this from a ḥadīth of Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī.

Al-Tirmidhī himself narrated this as did Ibn Māja from a ḥadīth of Sufyān b. Saʿīd al-Thawrī.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād, from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, from Sufyān. He then stated, “It is gharib coming from a ḥadīth of Sufyān; we know it only from a ḥadīth of Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb. I saw that ʿAbd al-Ḥamān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamān – meaning al-Dārimī – narrated this ḥadīth in his works from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Ziyād. I asked Muḥammad (b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī) about this, but he did not know of him. I noticed also that he did not consider him reliable. Instead, he said it was narrated from al-Thawrī, from Abū Ưṣāq, from Mujāhid only in a mursal form.”
In the work al-Sunan al-Kabir of al-Bayhaqi, Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī is quoted as stating, “I asked Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Bukhārī about this ḥadīth. He replied, ‘This ḥadīth is in error; this was in fact related as mursal from al-Thawrī.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “When Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb narrated, he would be mistaken; or he might make an error about something.”

Ibn Māja narrated it from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād al-Muhallabī, from Ṭābad al-Khuraybī, from Sufyān. This is a line not followed by al-Tirmidhī or al-Bayhaqi, nor probably al-Bukhārī, when he spoke about Zayd b. Ḥubāb, thinking him to have been alone in relating it. However, this was not so. But God knows best.

A DIFFERENT LINE OF TRANSMISSION FROM JĀBIR.

Abū ʿIsā al-Tirmidhī stated that Ibn Abū ʿUmar related to him, quoting Abū Muʿāwiya, from Ḥaḍarāj, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) combined the ḥajj and the ‘umra together. And he performed one circumambulation for both.

He then stated, “This ḥadīth is ḥasan, ‘good’.” In one version he used the word ṣaḥīh, “authentic”.

Ibn Hibbān narrated this in his ṣaḥīh collection from Jābir. He quoted him as saying, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed only one circumambulation for the ḥajj and for his ‘umra.”

I note that the Ḥaḍarāj mentioned above is Ibn Artāt; several of the imāms spoke about him. However, he narrated from a different line – from Abū al-Zubayr, and also from Jābir b. ʿAbbād Allāh.

The ḥāfiq Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated in his ḥadīth compendium that Muqaddam b. Muhammad related to him, quoting his uncle al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. Muqaddam, from ʿAbbād al-Rahmān b. Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived (in Mecca), combined the ḥajj and the ‘umra and led a ḥadīth for sacrifice. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Those who have not brought a ḥadīth may make it into an ‘umra.”

Al-Bazzār then stated, “We know of these words being attributed to Jābir only from this chain of transmission.”

Al-Bazzār is alone in giving it in his compendium from this line; its chain of transmission is gharib, “unique”. It is not to be found in any of the six (canonical) books from this line. God knows best.

The Account of Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Saḥl al-Anṣāri,
may God be pleased with him.

Imām ʿAbd Allāh stated that Abū Muʿāwiya related to him, quoting Ḥaḍarāj – he being Ibn Artāt – from al-Ḥasan b. Saʿd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Abū Ṭalḥa
informed me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) combined the *hājj* with the *‘umra*.”

Ibn Māja narrated, from ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, from Ābu Muḥāwiya, with the same chain of transmission and terminology. He stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) combined the *hājj* with the *‘umra*.”

Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt is considered a somewhat weak source; God knows best.

**The Account of Surāqā b. Malik b. Ju‘shum.**


He (Sūrāqā) said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *hājja* al-qa‘rān on the *hijja* al-wādā‘.”

**The Account of Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās from the Prophet (SAAS), to the effect that he performed the *hājj* with the *‘umra*, this constituting the *hājja* al-qa‘rān.**

Imām Mālik quoted Ibn Shihāb, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Nawfāl b. al-Ḥārith b. Ṭāfīl b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who said that he heard Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās and also al-Ḍāḥḥāk b. Qays, the year that Muḥāwiya b. Ābū Sufyān went on the *hājj*, recall the performance of the *‘umra* with the *hājj*. Al-Ḍāḥḥāq stated, “Only anyone who was ignorant of God’s command would do that.” Sa‘d responded, “Cousin, what you said is wrong!”

Al-Ḍāḥḥāq said, “Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to forbid it.” Sa‘d stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed it, and we did it with him.”

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nāṣīr both related it from Qutayba from Mālik. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “This *ḥadīth* is *ṣaḥīḥ*, ‘authentic’.”

Imām Ahmad stated that it was related to him by Yahyā b. Sa‘d, quoting Sulaymān – meaning al-Taymī – quoting Ghanaym, who said, “I asked Abū Waqqās’s son about the *al-mu‘ta* and he replied, ‘We did perform it, while this fellow was still a disbeliever in al-Ursh (Mecca)’” – meaning Muḥāwiya.

He related it that way, in an abbreviated form.

Muslim related it in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection, from a *ḥadīth* of Sufyān b. Sa‘d al-Thawrī, and from Shu‘bā, Marwān al-Fāzārī, and Yahyā b. Sa‘d al-Qatṭān. All four quote from Sulaymān b. Ṭārkhan al-Taymī, quoting Ghanaym b. Qays, quoting Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās, regarding the *al-mu‘ta*. Sa‘d b. Abū Waqqās
stated, “We did perform it while this fellow was at that time an unbeliever in al-'Ursch.” In his account Yahyā b. Sa'īd added the words, “meaning Mu'āwiya”.

ʿAbd al-Razzāq related it from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, both of whom quoted from Sulaymān al-Taymi, from Ghunaym b. Qays, who said, “I asked Sa'd about the performance of the 'umra with the hajj. He replied, ‘I performed it with the Messenger of God (SAAS), while this fellow was an unbeliever in al-'Ursch’” — referring to Mecca and to Mu'āwiya.

This second hadīth has a more authentic chain of transmission. However, we have quoted it merely for added support rather than reliance. The first account has an authentic line of transmission; this second is more direct in its intent. But God knows best.

**The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā.**

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that Sa'id b. Muḥammad b. al-Mughīrat al-Miṣrī related to him, quoting Sa'id b. Sulaymān, quoting Yazid b. ʿAṭī, from Ismā'il b. Abū Khālid, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) only combined the hajj with the 'umra because he knew that he would not perform a pilgrimage after that year.”

**The Account of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās on this subject.**

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū al-Nadr related to him, quoting Da'ūd — meaning al-Qaṭṭān — from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the 'umra four times: that of al-Ḥudaybiyya, that of al-Qaḍa', the third from al-Jīrānā, and the fourth that was performed along with his hijja.”

Abū Da'ūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it through various lines from Da'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār al-Makkī, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās. Al-Tirmidhī referred to it as hasan gharib. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Sa'id b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from ʿAmr, from ʿIkrima, as mursal.

The ḥāfsīz al-Bayhaqī narrated it through Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawi, from al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabī', and Shihāb b. ʿAbbād, both of whom quoted Da'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAṭṭār, who related it. His account used the words, “and the fourth that he combined with the hijja”.

Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz stated, “No one except Da'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān quotes this hadīth from Ibn ʿAbbās.”

Moreover, al-Bayhaqī narrated that al-Bukhārī stated, “Da'ūd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān is entirely truthful. However, he may be subject to criticism.”
It has been given above how al-Bukhārī narrated through Ibn ʿAbbās, quoting ʿUmar, as having said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) state, in Wādī al-ʿAqlq, ‘An apparition came to me from my Lord who said, ‘Pray in this sacred valley and say, ‘An ʿumra within a ḥijja.’’” Perhaps it is this that Ibn ʿAbbas relied upon in what he narrated. But God knows best.

The Account of ʿAbd Allah, son of ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Aḥmad – meaning al-Zubayr – related to him, quoting Yūnus b. al-Ḥarīth, from ʿAmr b. ʿUsuṣb, from his father, from his grandfather (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed the ḥajj al-qirān out of fear that he would be blocked from the kaʿba and that he said, “If not a ḥijj, then an ʿumra.”

This hadīth is strange in both its line of transmission and in its content; Imām Aḥmad is alone in narrating it.

(Imām) Aḥmad said of this man Yūnus b. al-Ḥarīth: “He was confused in his narration of hadīth.” He categorized him as a weak source, as did also al-Nasāʾī and Yaḥyā b. Maʿin, in one account.

Regarding the content, his statement that “the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only performed the ḥajj al-qirān out of fear that he would be blocked from the kaʿba”, who is it who could have so blocked him? God had already firmly established Islam for him and had conquered the Holy City. And it had been proclaimed on the plain at Mina during the (pilgrimage) season the previous year that, “after this year no unbeliever shall perform the pilgrimage and no naked person shall circumambulate the kaʿba”. On the ḥijjat al-wadāʾ, moreover, there were with him close to some 40,000 persons. His statement regarding “fear that he would be blocked from the kaʿba” is therefore strange.

Yet this is no more strange than the statement of the Commander of the Believers ʿUthmān to ʿAli b. Abū ʿUsāib when the latter told him, “You well know that we performed the ḥajj (al-qirān) with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),” to which ʿUthmān responded, “Yes; but we were afraid”.

I do not know to what this fear could be ascribed, or what could have been its source. Perhaps he accepted the statement as (having been) that of a Companion, and interpreted it according to his own understanding. What he stated is indeed “authentic and to be accepted”. But his theory is not infallible and it is thus only applicable to the narrator. It is not applicable to others. This, however, does not necessitate the rejection of the tradition that such a person has narrated.

This also applies to the statement of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, provided that its line of transmission is authentic. But God knows best.
The Account of ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn, may God be pleased with him.

Imām ʿAbdullāh as-Saḥīḥī stated that both Mūḥammad b. ʿAlī and ʿAbdullāh b. Ḥajjāj related to him that Shuʿbā related to them, from ʻAbdullāh b. Ḥilāl, who stated that he heard Muṭṭarīf quote ʿImrān b. Ḥusayn as having said, “I am going to narrate a ḥadīth to you through which God may perhaps give you benefit. This is, that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) combined a ḥiṣa with an ʿumra and he did not forbid it up to his death. And no revelation came down stating it to be ḥarām, ‘prohibited’. He used to greet me; but when I was cupping, he kept aloof from me. When I ceased doing this, he came back to me.”

Muslim narrated this from Mūḥammad b. al-Muthannā and Mūḥammad b. Bashshār, from Ghundar, and from Ubayd Allāh b. Muṣādh, from his father. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from Mūḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀla, from Khalīd b. al-Ḥārīth. All three sources quote from Shuʿbā, from ʻAbdullāh b. Ḥilāl, from Muṭṭarīf, from ʿImrān.

Muslim narrated it from a ḥadīth of Shuʿbā and Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, from Muṭṭarīf b. ʿAbdullāh b. al-Shakhīr, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥusayn, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) combined a ḥiṣa with an ʿumra.

The ḥāfīz Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī stated, “The ḥadīth of Shuʿbā, from ʻAbdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn, is ṣaḥīḥ. As for his ḥadīth from Qatāda quoting Muṭṭarīf, in fact Bāqīya b. al-Walīd narrated it thus from Shuʿbā. Ghundar and others narrated it from Saʿīd b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda.”

I note that al-Nasāʾī also narrated it in his al-Sunan textbook, from Amr b. ʿAbī ʿAli al-Falāṣīrī, from Khalīd b. al-Ḥārīth, from Shuʿbā. In one version it is derived from Saʿīd, instead of from Shuʿbā, from Qatāda, from Muṭṭarīf, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥusayn. But God knows best.

It is established in both ṣaḥīḥ collections from a ḥadīth of Hammām, from Qatāda, from Muṭṭarīf, from ʿImrān b. al-Ḥusayn, who stated, “We performed al-tamattuʿ in the time of the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ), and no revelation came down declaring it ḥarām, ‘prohibited’. And he did not forbid it up to the time of his death.”


ʿAbdullāh, son of Imām ʿAbdullāh, stated, “ʿAbdullāh b. ʿImrān b. ʿAṭṭ Abū Mūḥammad, from al-Rayy, whose origins were in Īsfahān, related to us, quoting Yahyā b. al-Ḍāris, quoting ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from al-Hirmās, who said, ‘I was mounted behind my father and I saw the Prophet (ṣaṣṣ) mounted on a baggage camel, saying, “At Your service for a ḥiṣa and an ʿumra together.”’”

This meets the criteria of the sunan texts, but they (their compilers) did not promulgate it.
The Account of Ḥāfṣa, daughter of ʿUmar, ‘The Mother of the Believers’, may God be pleased with her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Mālik, from Nāfiʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar, from Ḥāfṣa, to the effect that she asked the Prophet (ṢAAS), “Why is it you do not declare your state of ihram ended after performing the ʿumra?” He replied, “I braided my hair and placed a garland on my hadī, and so I will not declare my ihram concluded until I make sacrifice.”

Both scholars promulgated it in their sahīḥ collections from a ḥadīth of Mālik and ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿUmar. Al-Bukhārī added Mūsā b. ʿUqba to these two, while Muslim added Ibn Jurayj. All of these accounts quoted from Nāfiʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar.

In the versions of these two, Ḥāfṣa is quoted as saying, “Messenger of God, how is it that the people declared their ihram concluded following the ʿumra, while you did not after your performance of the ʿumra?” He replied, “I placed a garland on my hadī and braided my hair. And so I will not declare my ihram concluded until I make sacrifice.”

Imām Aḥmad also stated that Shuʿayb b. Abū Hamza related to him as follows, “Nāfiʾ stated, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used to say, Ḥāfṣa, the wife of the Prophet (ṢAAS), informed us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his wives to declare their state of ihram concluded, that year of the ḥijjat al-wadaʾ. One woman asked him, ‘What prevents you from declaring your ihram concluded?’ He replied, ‘I braided my hair and placed a garland on my hadī. And so I will not declare my ihram concluded until I sacrifice my hadī.’”

Aḥmad also stated that Yaʿṣūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting his father, from Abū Ishāq, quoting Nāfiʾ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, from Ḥāfṣa, daughter of ʿUmar, who stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered his women to declare their ihram concluded at the ʿumra, they asked, ‘What prevents you, Messenger of God, from declaring yours concluded along with us?’ He replied, ‘I brought a hadī and matted my hair, and I will not declare my ihram concluded until I sacrifice my hadī.’”

Aḥmad then narrated it from Kathārī Hishām, from Jaʿfar b. Barqān, from Nāfiʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar, from Ḥāfṣa.

This hadīth implies that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was engaged fully in an ʿumra and did not declare his ihram concluded after it. It is learned from the above accounts relating to the performance of the ḥajj al-ifrād that he had also recited the talbiyya for a ḥajj. The sum total of that was that he was engaged in a ḥajj al-qirān, as is also stated in the above accounts to that effect. But God knows best.
Al-Bukhāri stated that 'Abd Allāh b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from Urwa, from A'isha, wife of the Prophet (SAAS), who said, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS), on the hājjat al-wadāʼ and recited the talbiyya for an umrah. The Prophet (SAAS) then said, ‘Those who have a hadī with them should recite the talbiyya for the hajj along with the umrah. And they should not declare their state of ihram concluded until they have finished both.’ When I reached Mecca, I was undergoing my menstrual period. So I did not circumambulate the ka‘ba, nor did I pass between al-Šafā and al-Marwa. I complained about this to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he said, ‘Let down your hair and comb it; recite the talbiyya for the hajj and leave the umrah.’ And I did this.

“When I had completed the hajj, the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent me with ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbū Bakr to al-Tanʿīm, and I performed the umrah. He said, ‘This is in place of your umrah.’”

She went on, “Those who had recited the talbiyya for the umrah circumambulated the ka‘ba, passed between al-Šafā and al-Marwa and then declared their ihram concluded. They performed another circumambulation after returning from Mīnā. Those who had combined the hajj with the umrah only performed one circumambulation.”

Muslim narrated it similarly from a hadith of Mālik, from al-Zuhri.

He then narrated it from ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from A‘isha, who said, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (SAAS), the year of the hājjat al-wadāʼ, and I recited the talbiyya for an umrah. I had not brought a hadī. The Messenger of God (SAAS), said, ‘Those having a hadī with them should recite the talbiyya for the hajj with their umrah; they should not declare their ihram concluded until they complete them both.’”

The account proceeds as above.

The purpose of giving this hadith is to draw attention to his words, “Those having a hadī with them should recite the talbiyya for a hajj with an umrah.”

It is well known that the Prophet (SAAS) had brought a hadī; and so he was the first and the foremost to whom (the foregoing command) applied. For whatever general statement a speaker pronounces also applies to him.

(This hadith is given here) also because she stated, “Those who had combined the hajj with the umrah performed only one circumambulation.” This means between al-Šafā and al-Marwa.

Muslim quoted her as saying that, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made only one circumambulation between al-Šafā and al-Marwa.” And so it is known from this that he had combined between the hajj and the umrah.
Muslim narrated from a hadith of Hammād b. Zayd, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from A‘īsha, who said, “The hadis were with the Prophet (SAAS), Abū Bakr, Ūmar and those men of means.”

She also related that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not declare his ihram concluded after the two pilgrimage ceremonies, and that he did not perform the ḥajj al-tamattu’. She recalled that she had asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) to have her perform the ‘umra from al-Tan‘īm. She said, “Messenger of God, you go off and perform a ḥajj and an ‘umra while I perform only a ḥajj.” And so he dispatched her with her brother ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Bakr and had her perform the ‘umra from al-Tan‘īm.

It is not related that the Prophet (SAAS) performed the ‘umra after his ḥijja, and he did not perform the ḥajj al-ismā‘. It is thus established that he in fact performed the ḥajj al-qirān, because it is a general consensus that he did perform the ‘umra on the ḥijjat al-wadā‘. But God knows best.

It is related above how the ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi narrated through Yazid b. Hārūn, from Zakariyya b. Abū Zaid, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Bara‘ b. ‘Azib, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the ‘umra three times, all in Dhū al-Qa‘da.” And A‘īsha commented, “It is well known that he performed the ‘umra four times, including that ‘umra along with which he performed the ḥijjat.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated in (his work) al-Khilaftyyat that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥarīth al-Faqīh informed him, quoting Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥassān al-Iṣbahānī, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Sharīk, quoting Abū ‘Alī Yūnus, quoting Abū Ishāq, from Mūjahid, who said, “Ibn ‘Umar was asked, ‘How many times did the Messenger of God (SAAS) perform the ‘umra?’ He replied, ‘Twice.’ A‘īsha commented, ‘Ibn ‘Umar knew that he performed the ‘umra three times, apart from the ‘umra he combined with the ḥijjat al-wadā‘.’”

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, “This line of transmission is not bad. However, it does contain irsāl.93 Mūjahid did not actually hear directly from A‘īsha, according to some of the scholars expert on aḥādīth.

I note that Shu’ba categorized it as objectionable. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim, however, considered it well-established. God knows best.

It is narrated from a hadith of al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Bakr and ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr and others, quoting A‘īsha (as saying) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) brought a hadīth with him the year of the ḥijjat al-wadā‘. (It tells) of her performing the ‘umra from al-Tan‘īm, how he unexpectedly ran into her on his way to the people of Mecca, how he stayed overnight at al-Muḥāṣṣab, and how he performed the al-ṣubh prayer at Mecca and then returned to Medina.

93. A term referring to the attribution of an account to a person who could not have heard it first hand from the person being quoted.
All this shows that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not perform an 'umra after that hijja of his; and I know of no Companion who communicated that he did so.

It is well known that he did not declare his ihram concluded between the two pilgrimage ceremonies. Nor does anyone narrate that, after circumambulating the ka'ba and his passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, he shaved or cut his hair short or declared his ihram concluded. In fact, all agree that he persisted in his ihram. And it is not reported that he recited the talbiyya for a ḥajj when he went to Minā, and it is thus known that he did not perform the ḥajj al-tamattu'.

They are also in agreement that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the 'umra the year of the hijja al-wadā', that he did not declare his ihram concluded between the two pilgrimage ceremonies, that he did not announce his state of ihram for the ḥajj, and that he did not perform the 'umra after the ḥajj, but kept to the ḥajj al-qirān. All this is difficult to refute. But God knows best.

Moreover, the account of his having performed the ḥajj al-qirān is further substantiated because of that which is left out or has been refuted in the statements of those who maintain that he performed the ḥajj al-ifrād or the ḥajj al-tamattu'. The (al-qirān) reports must therefore be given priority as is prescribed in the principles of jurisprudence.

From Abū ʿImrān comes the account that he performed the ḥajj with his freed-man. He stated, "I came to Umm Salama and asked, ‘Mother of the Believers, I have never performed the ḥajj. With what should I begin it, the 'umra or the ḥajj?’ She replied, ‘Begin with whichever you wish.’"

His account continues, "I then went to Ṣafīyya, ‘the mother of the Believers’, and when I asked her, she replied as Umm Salama had done. I went again to Umm Salama and informed her what Ṣafīyya had said. She commented, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “O family of Muḥammad, let those of you who make the pilgrimage recite the talbiyya for an 'umra in a hijja.”’"

Ibn Ḥibbān related this in his saḥīḥ collection. Ibn Ḥazm narrated it in (reference to) the hijja al-wadā' from a ḥadīth of al-Layth b. Ṣa‘d, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from Aslam, from Abū ʿImrān, from Umm Salama.

**DIVISION**

If it be said, “You have narrated from a group of Companions that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the ḥajj al-ifrād. Then you narrated from these very persons, as well as from others, that he combined the ḥajj with the 'umra. How can these be reconciled?”

The answer is, “The narrative of those who related that he performed the ḥajj al-ifrād implies that he performed the activities of the ḥajj individually, while the 'umra entered into that performance in intent, in deed and in time.”

This shows that he was satisfied with the circumambulation of the ḥajj and his procession (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) being for it and for that (the 'umra),
as is the practice of the majority of scholars in the *hajj al-girān*. This conflicts with Abū Ḥanīfa, may God have mercy upon him, in that he maintained that the person performing the *hajj al-girān* makes two circumambulations and makes the procession (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) twice. He relied in this conclusion upon what was quoted from ʿAli b. Abū Ṭālib, even though there are questions raised about the line of transmission of the hadith back to him.

As for those who narrate his having performed the *hajj al-tamattūʿ* and then narrate his having performed the *hajj al-girān*, we have dealt with this issue above. Namely, the term *al-tamattūʿ* as used by the early authorities was more general in meaning than the *al-tammatuʿ* of the *al-ḥijja* and the *hajj al-girān*. In fact, they apply it to performing the *ʿumra* in the months for the *hajj*, even when not in conjunction with the *hajj*, as Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās stated; “We performed the *tamattūʿ* with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at a time when this fellow” — meaning Muʿāwiyah — was an unbeliever in al-ʿUrsh” — meaning Mecca.

In this he was referring to one of two *ʿumras* — either that of al-Ḥudaybiya, or the *ʿumrat al-qadʾ*. Regarding the *ʿumra* from al-Jirāna, Muʿāwiyah had by then already accepted Islam, since it came after the conquest of Mecca. And the *ḥijjat al-wadāʿ* was after that, in the year 10 AH. This is clear and obvious. But God knows best.

**DIVISION**

If it be said, “What is your response to the hadith narrated by Abū Daʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī in his musnad text: ‘Hishām related to us, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunāʾī, whose name was Ḥaywān b. Khalīd, that Muʿāwiyah said to a number of the Companions of the Messenger of God ‘Do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade the use of a tiger’s skin as a saddle blanket?’ ‘Why yes, by God,” they replied. ‘I testify to that,” he went on. ‘And do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade the wearing of gold, except for very little of it?’ ‘Yes, by God,” they replied. ‘And do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade that the *hajj* and the *ʿumra* be combined together?’ ‘No, by God,” they replied. He said, ‘By God, this too is with those (statements).’”

(Imām) Ahmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Hammām, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunāʾī, who said, “I was amongst a group of Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Muʿāwiyah’s home when the latter said, ‘I adjure you by God, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) forbade riding mounted upon the skins of tigers?’ ‘Indeed yes, by God,’ they replied. ‘And do you know that he forbade the wearing of gold, except for very little of it?’ ‘Yes indeed, by God,’ they replied. ‘And do you know that he forbade the al-*mutʿa*?’ — meaning the *hajj al-mutʿa*. ‘No, by God,’ they replied.”

(Imām) Ahmad stated that Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Saʿd, from Qatāda, from Abū Shaykh al-Hunāʾī, that he witnessed Muʿāwiyah being
with a group of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), and that Mu'āwiyah asked them, “Do you know that the Messenger of God (SAAS) forbade riding mounted on the skins of tigers?” “Yes indeed,” they replied. “And do you know that he forbade the wearing of silk?” he asked. “Yes indeed, by God” they replied. “And do you know that he forbade drinking from a vessel of gold or silver?” “Yes indeed, by God”, they replied. “And do you know that he forbade combining a ĥajj with an ‘umra?” “No, by God,” they replied. “By God, it is with those (statements),’ he said."

Hassan b. Salama narrated it thus, from Qatada. And his account adds (Mu'āwiyah's statement) “But you have forgotten.”


Abū Da’ūd and al-Nasa’ī narrated it along various lines from Abū Shaykh al-Huna’ī; it is a hadith with a fine line of transmission.

From it the account of Mu'āwiyah, may God be pleased with him, for forbidding combining the ĥajj with the ‘umra seems strange. Perhaps the hadith originally referred to forbidding the mut'a.94 The narrator thought the mut'a of the ĥajj was meant, whereas it was the mut'a relating to women. Yet those Companions narrate no hadith forbidding it.

Or the prohibition may have related to the iqrān95 of dates, as in the hadith of Ibn ‘Umar, but the narrator believed it to refer to the al-qirān in the ĥajj. That was not the case.

Or perhaps Mu'āwiyah, may God be pleased with him, said, “Do you know that such-and-such was forbidden” without the person making known the prohibition being named, and then the narrator attributed this to the Prophet (SAAS), imagining this. For the person who forbade the mut'a of the ĥajj was actually 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, and his forbidding it was not actual prohibition, as we have shown above. He actually forbade it so that it should be performed separately from the ĥajj, on a different trip, in order to increase visits to the ka'ba.

The Companions, may God be pleased with them, were in great awe of him; they generally did not dare to contradict him. His son 'Abd Allāh would disagree with him and he would be told, “Your father used to forbid it.” And he would respond, “I was afraid a rock would fall from the sky upon you! The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed it. Is the practice of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to be emulated, or that of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb?”

94. The term here refers to the controversial early practice of “temporary marriages”, to which this word also referred.

95. A note to the Arabic printed text states that the word also meant “eating two dates in one mouthful”.

Similarly, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, may God be pleased with him, used to forbid it, and 'Alī b. Abū Ṭālib opposed him, as is told above. 'Alī said, “I will not give up a practice of the Messenger of God (SAAS), because of a statement made by one of the people.”

Ibn b. Ḥusayn stated, “We performed the ḥajj al-tamattuʿ with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and no revelation came rendering it harām. And he did not forbid it before his death.”

This was promulgated by both authors of the sahih collections.

In the sahih collection of Muslim, it is stated about Sa'd that he expressed opposition to Mu'āwiya's disapproval of the ḥajj al-mut'a. He stated, “We performed it with the Messenger of God (SAAS), while this fellow was still an unbeliever in al-'Urs.” By this he meant Mu'āwiya who was, at the time, an unbeliever in Mecca.

I note that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did indeed perform the ḥajj al-qirān according to the aḥādīth we have quoted above to that effect. And there was a period of only 81 days between the ḥijjat al-wadāʿ and the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Approximately 40,000 witnessed, in word and deed, his performance of the ḥijja. If he had forbidden combining the ḥajj, which people had witnessed him perform, then it would not have been just one of the Companions who would have refuted it but a group of those who had either heard this or not heard this from him.

All this shows that this cannot be correct as reported from Mu'āwiya, may God be pleased with him. But God knows best.

Abū Da'ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣalīḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Ḥaywa, quoting Ābū ʿIsā al-Khurāsānī, from Ābd Allāh b. al-Qāsim al-Khurāsānī, from Sa'd b. al-Musayyab (who said) that one of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) went to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and testified that he had heard the Messenger of God (SAAS), while suffering from the illness from which he died, forbid the performance of the 'umra prior to the ḥajj.

This line of transmission is not devoid of controversy. Moreover, if this Companion was narrating this from Mu'āwiya, then the matter is as discussed above; this was in regard to the mut'a, and not the ḥajj al-qirān. If, however, he was narrating this from someone else, then it is problematical in general, but not specifically regarding the qirān. But God knows best.

Accounts substantiating those stating that the Messenger of God (SAAS) announced the state of iḥrām and did not initially specify a ḥajj or an 'umra, and then thereafter rendered it specific.

It is narrated from al-Shāfi'i that this is preferable; however, it is a statement that is weak.
Al-Shafi‘i, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Sufyān informed him, quoting Ibn Tawūs, Ibrāhīm b. Maysara and Hishām b. Ḥujayr, all of whom heard Tawūs say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left Medina without specifying a hajj or an ’umra, waiting for a divine decree. The decision did come down to him while he was between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. Then he ordered those of his Companions who had recited the talbiyya for the hajj and had not brought hadis with them to make it into an ’umra. He stated, ‘If I had known earlier what I now do, I would not have brought the hadi. However, I have matted my hair and I did bring my hadi, and the only time when I can declare my iḥrām concluded is after sacrificing my hadi.’

“Sūrāqā b. Malik then approached him and asked, ‘Messenger of God, make a decision for us as if born today. Is the ’umra of ours for this year or for ever?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied; ‘No; it is for ever; the ’umra has entered into the hajj on until Judgement Day.’

“‘AIlī arrived from Yemen and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him, ‘For what have you recited the talbiyya?’ One of the two of them then said, ‘Labbāyka! “At Your service!”’ With the recitation of the talbiyya of the Prophet (ṢAAS).’ The other then said, ‘At Your service, for the hajj of the Prophet (ṢAAS)!’”

This hadith is mursal, going back no further than to Tawūs; there is oddity in it.

It is a cardinal principle of al-Shafi‘i, may God have mercy upon him, not to accept a hadith that is mursal merely by itself, unless supported by another hadith. Unless, that is, it derives from one of the major tabī‘un, “the authorities of the second generation”, as he stated in his risāla, “his treatise”. This is because in most cases they relate such ahādith only from the Companions. But God knows best.

This mursal hadith is not of that category. In fact, it contradicts those ahādith given before, whether relating to the hajj al-ifrād, the hajj al-tamattu‘ or the hajj al-qirān. These ahādith are authentic and have full lines of transmission, as given above. They have precedence over it. And since they affirm a matter denied by this hadith that is mursal, and an affirmation takes precedence over a negation if otherwise equal, then how should it be here, where a hadith with a full line of transmission is (classified as) saḥīh and (the other account) is classified as mursal and could not substantiate an issue because of its broken line of transmission? But God knows best.

The hāfiż Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Hāfiż informed him, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣamm, quoting al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, quoting Muḥādīr, quoting al-ʿAṭmas, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aṣwād, from ʿAṭīṣa, who said, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), without making reference to either a hajj or an ’umra. When we arrived, he ordered us to declare
our state of *iḥrām* concluded. When it was the night of al-ʿNafr, 96 ʿAṣiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy began to menstruate. The Prophet (ṣaṣṣ), exclaimed, ‘*Ḥalaq ʿaqra!* “With a shaven head and menstruating!” ‘I can only see her impeding you all.’ He then asked (her), ‘Did you make a circumambulation the day of the sacrifice?’ ‘Yes,’ she replied. He then said, ‘Then you may leave.’ She said, ‘Messenger of God, I did not recite the *tāliyya* (for the *ʿumra*).’ He said, ‘So make an *ʿumra* from al-ʿTanʿīm.’”

The narrator continued, “And so her brother accompanied her. She said, ‘And we met Muḍlij, and he said, ‘You’re (to assume the state of *iḥrām*) from so-and-so.’”

This is how al-Bayhaqī narrated this.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad, said to be the son of Yaḥyā al-Dhuhlib, from Muḥādīr b. al-Muwarrī. His version, however, states, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ), making reference only to the *ḥaįj* . . .”

This is similar to the *ahādīth* attributed to her quoted above.

However, Muslim narrated from Suwayd b. Saʿīd, from ʿAlī b. Mushir, from al-ʿAʾmash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-ʿAswad, from ʿAʾisha, who said, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ), making reference to neither a *ḥaįj* nor an *ʿumra*.”

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim included it, from a *ḥadīth* of Maḥṣūr, from Ibrāhīm, from al-ʿAswad, quoting ʿAʾisha as saying, “We went forth with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ), thinking only that it was for the *ḥaįj.*”

This is highly authentic, and very firmly founded. But God knows best.

In another account from this line, she stated, “We went forth reciting the *tāliyya*, but not referring either to a *ḥaįj* or to an *ʿumra*.”

It is likely that they used not to mention that along with the *tāliyya*. They had designated it as *hāl al-iḥrām*, “the state of *iḥrām*”, as in the *ḥadīth* of Anas: “I heard the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) say, ‘At Your service, 0 God, for a *ḥaįj* and an *ʿumra.*’” Anas went on to comment, “And I heard them shouting for both together.”

Also there is the *ḥadīth* narrated by Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Daʿūd b. Abū Hind, from Abū Naḍrā, quoting Jabir, and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, who both said, “We came (to Mecca) with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ), shouting vigorously for the *ḥaįj*.” This *ḥadīth* is problematic. But God knows best.

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**An Account of the recitation of the *tāliyya* made by the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ)**

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Malik informed him, from Nāfīʿ from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, that the *tāliyya* spoken by the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) was:

96. During the pilgrimage, the day of the departure from Miḥa to Mecca.
"Labbayka Allāhumma, Labbayk! Labayka, Lā sharika laka! Labbayk! Inna al-ḥamda wa al-miʿmata laka, wa al-mulku laka. Lā sharika laka. 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! at Your service; You have no associate! At Your service! Praise and grace are Yours! Power is Yours! You have no associate!"

'Abd Allāh b. Umar would make an addition to this: "Labbayka laka wa saʿdayk! Wa al-khayru fī yadaykā, Labbayka! Wa al-raghbaʿu ilayka wa al-ʿamal. 'At Your service, and at Your pleasure! And all good is in Your hands! At Your service! And all joy, and all good are in Your hands! At Your service! And all aspirations are to You, and (all) work!"

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from 'Abd Allāh b. Yūsuf, and Muslim did so from Yahyā b. Yaḥyā, both quoting Mālik.

Muslim stated that Muhammad b. ʿAbbād narrated to him, quoting Hātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, and from Nāfiʿ, the freed-man of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, and ʿAbbās b. ʿUmar, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) recited the talbiyya when his camel stood up at the mosque at Dhu al-Ḥulayfa. He recited the talbiyya, saying, "At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service! You have no associate; at Your service. Praise and grace are Yours. And power is Yours. You have no associate."

They said, "ʿAbd Allāh used to say, 'This is the talbiyya of the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa).' Nāfiʿ said, 'ʿAbd Allāh would add along with this, "At Your service! At Your service! At your service, and at Your pleasure! Good is in Your hands, and aspirations are to You, and so is work."'"

Muḥammad b. al-Muthanna related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Saʿīd, from ʿUbayd Allāh, quoting Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "I learned the talbiyya from (the mouth of) the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa)." And he went on to narrate as the others had stated in their ahādīth.

Ḥarmala b. Yahyā narrated to me, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yunus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, "Ṣālim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar quoted to me his father as having stated, 'I heard the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa), having matted his hair, recite the talbiyya, saying, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service! You have no associate. At Your service. Praise, grace and power are Yours; You have no associate.' He added nothing to these words.

"ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used to say, 'The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) used to perform two rakāʾāt at Dhu al-Ḥulayfa. When the camel stood up bearing him at the mosque at Dhu al-Ḥulayfa, he recited the talbiyya in those words.'"

"ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar stated that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb used to recite the talbiyya as had the Prophet (Ṣaḥḥa), using those words. He would say, 'At Your service, O God, at Your service! At Your service, and Your pleasure. Good is in Your hands. At Your service! Aspirations are to You, and so is work.'"

This is the phraseology of Muslim. The hadith of Jābir gives the talbiyya as in that of Ibn ʿUmar; it will be given in full shortly. Muslim related it separately.
Al-Bukhārī stated, after giving it through Mālik, from Naṣīr, from Ibn ʿUmar, as is given above. He stated, “Muḥammad b. Yūsuf related to us, quoting Ṣufyān, from al-ʿAṯārī, from ʿUmāra, from Abū ʿAṭiyya, who quoted Ṣaʿīda as saying, ‘I well know how the Prophet (ṢAAS) would recite the talbiyya. He would say, ‘At Your service, O God! At Your service! At Your service; You have no associate. Praise and grace are Yours.’’”

Abū Muʿāwiya gave it from al-ʿAṯārī. Shuʿba stated that Sulaymān informed him that Khaythama quoted Abū ʿAṭiyya from Ṣaʿīda.

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Imām ʿAḥmad narrated it from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdi, from Sulaymān al-Thawrī, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-ʿAṯārī, from ʿUmāra b. ʿUmayr, from Abū ʿAṭiyya al-Wāḍi, quoting Ṣaʿīda. His account is the same as that narrated by al-Bukhārī.

ʿAḥmad narrated it from Abū Muʿāwiya, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr did so from al-ʿAṯārī, the same as was narrated by al-Bukhārī. He (ʿAḥmad) also narrated it from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar and Rawḥ b. ʿUbadā, from Shuʿba, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-ʿAṯārī, giving it as had al-Bukhārī. Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī narrated it the same in his text from Shuʿba.

Imām ʿAḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Fuḍayl narrated to him, quoting al-ʿAṯārī, from ʿUmāra b. ʿUmayr, from Abū ʿAṭiyya, who said, “Ṣaʿīda stated, ‘I well know how the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would recite the talbiyya.’”

Abū ʿAṭiyya went on to state, “I then heard her recite the talbiyya. She said, ‘At Your service, O God! At Your service! At Your service! You have no associate. At Your service. Praise and grace are Yours, and Power. You have no associate.’”

He is alone in adding in this text the words, “and Power. You have no associate”.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥakīm informed him, quoting al-Āṣamm, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Salāma, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Fāḍl, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿArāj, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “Part of the talbiyya of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the words, ‘At Your service, O God of the truth.’”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Qutayba, from Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Salāma and Ibn Māja, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted Waki', from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.

Al-Nasāʾī stated, “I know of no one except ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz who gave its line of transmission from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Fāḍl.”

Ismāʿīl b. Umayya narrated it as mursal.

Al-Shaftī stated that Ṣaʿīd b. al-Qaddāḥ informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Ḥumayd al-ʿArāj, from Muḥājir, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) would express in the talbiyya ‘At Your service, O God!’” And he went on to state the talbiyya.
He stated, “Eventually, one day when the people were standing away from him, it was as though he was delighted by his circumstances and he added to it, saying, ‘At Your service! The (real) life is that of the hereafter!’”

Ibn Jurayj went on, “I considered that to have been the day on Mt. ‘Arafat.”

This *hadith* is *mursal* from this line.

The *ḥāfīz* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi stated that ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz informed him, quoting Abū ʿAbd Allāh Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Muḥammad b. Išāq b. Khuzayma, quoting Naṣr b. ʿAlī al-Jahdāmi, quoting Maḥbūb b. al-Ḥasan, quoting Daʿūd, from ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address at ‘Arafat and that when he had said, “At Your service, O God, at Your service!” he went on to say, “The only good is that of the afterlife!”

This line of transmission is *gharib*; its line of transmission does meet the criteria of the *sunan* texts, but the compilers of these did not promulgate it.

Imām ʿAbd Allāh stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Usāma b. Zayd, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalīb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanṭāb, who quoted Abū Hurayra as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Gabriel ordered me to raise my voice in the *talbiyya*; it is one of the rites of the *hajj.*”

ʿAbd Allāh was alone in giving this.


ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated that al-Thawrī informed him, from Ibn Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalīb b. Ḥanṭāb, from Khallād b. al-SAʿīb, from Zayd b. Khālid, who said, “Gabriel came to the Prophet (ṢAAS) and said, ‘Order your Companions to raise their voices in the *talbiyya*; it is a rite of the *hajj.*’”

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, from Wāḥīd, from al-Thawrī. Similarly Shuʿba narrated it, as did Musa b. ʿUqba, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd.

Imām ʿAbd Allāh stated that Wāḥīd related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalīb b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanṭāb, from Khallād b. al-SAʿīb, from Zayd b. Khālid al-Juhant, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Gabriel came to me and said, “Muḥammad, order your Companions to raise their voices in the *talbiyya*; it is a rite of the *hajj.*’”

Our teacher Abū al-Ḥajjāj al-Mīzzi stated in his work *al-ʾAṭrāf* that Muḥāwiya also related the above from Hishām; and Qabīṣa (gave it) from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Labīd, from al-Muṭṭalīb, from Khallād b. al-SAʿīb, from his father, from Zayd b. Khālid.
Ahmad stated that Sufyân b. 'Uyayna related it to him, from 'Abd Allâh b. Abû Bakr, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abû Bakr b. al-Ḥarîth b. Hishâm, from Khallâd b. al-Sâ'îb b. Khallâd, from his father, who quoted the Prophet (S.A.W.), as saying, “Gabriel came to me and said, ‘Order your Companions to raise their voices in reciting the talbiyya.’”

Al-Tirmidhî stated, “I studied it under 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Mahdî, from Mâlik. And Rawlî related to us, quoting Mâlik – meaning Ibn Anas – from 'Abd Allâh b. Abû Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazam, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abû Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. al-Ḥarîth b. Hishâm, from Khallâd b. al-Sâ'îb al-Ansârî, from his father, who quoted the Messenger of God (S.A.S.), as saying, ‘Gabriel came to me and ordered me to order my Companions – or those with me – to raise their voices in reciting the talbiyya or in the iḥlâl’” – meaning of one of the two.

Al-Shâfi‘î narrated it thus from Mâlik. And Abû Da‘ūd narrated it from al-Qânâbî, from Mâlik. Imâm Aḥmad also narrated it from a ḥadîth of Ibn Jurayj. Al-Tirmidhî, al-Nâṣîhî and Ibn Mâja did so from a ḥadîth of Sufyân b. 'Uyayna, from 'Abd Allâh b. Abû Bakr. Al-Tirmidhî stated, “This ḥadîth is ḥasan ṣaḥîh.”

The ḥâfîz al-Bayhaqî stated, “And Ibn Jurayj narrated that, “Abû Allâh b. Abû Bakr wrote to me giving mention of it. And he did not refer to Abû Khallâd in his line of transmission.”

He (al-Bayhaqi) went on, “What is authentic is the account of Mâlik and Sufyân b. 'Uyayna, from 'Abd Allâh b. Abû Bakr, from 'Abd al-Malik, from Khallâd b. al-Sâ'îb, from his father, from the Prophet (S.A.S.), similarly.”

Al-Bukhârî and others gave it in the same form. Imâm Aḥmad is quoted in the musnad text of al-Sâ'îb b. Khallâd b. Suwåyâd Abû Sahâla al-Ansârî, as follows, “Muḥammad b. Bakr related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj, and Rawî related to us, quoting Ibn Jurayj as saying, ‘Abû Allâh b. Abû Bakr Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Ḥazm wrote to me, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abû Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmân b. al-Ḥarîth b. Hishâm, from Khallâd b. al-Sâ'îb al-Ansârî, from his father al-Sâ'îb b. Khallâd, that he heard the Messenger of God (S.A.S.) say, ‘Gabriel came to me and said, ‘God orders you to order your Companions to raise their voices with the talbiyya or the iḥlâl.’’”

He (Imâm Aḥmad) stated, “I do not know which of us, whether myself or 'Abd Allâh, or Khallâd gave it as ‘in the iḥlâl or the talbiyya.’”

This is the wording of Aḥmad in his musnad text. Our teacher gave it thus in his work al-Aṣrâf, from Ibn Jurayj, as in the account of Mâlik and Sufyân b. 'Uyayna. But God knows best.

THE ḤADITH OF JĀʿBĪR B. ‘ABD ALLĀH, MAY GOD BE PLEASED WITH HIM, ON THE ḤIJJA OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (S.A.S.).

It represents by itself an independent rite that we consider more appropriate to
give here, since it includes the *talbiyya* and other matters, as has been mentioned heretofore and as follows.

We will report its various lines of transmission and phraseology. Then we will follow it with testimonials from the various *ahādīth* to the same effect. And to God one turns for help.

Imām ʿAlīmad stated that Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, quoting his father, who said, "We came to Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh while he was with Banū Salama. We asked him about the *ḥijja* of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Jābir related to us that the latter stayed in Medina for nine years without making the pilgrimage. He then had an announcement made to the people that he would be a pilgrim that year.

Jābir went on, "A great mass of people came to Medina, all hoping to imitate the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and to do as he did. He went forth five days prior to the end of Dhu al-Qaʿda, and we left with him. When he reached Dhu al-Ḥulayfa, Ṣa`mā, daughter of Ṣa`ma, went into labour with Muḥammad, son of Abū Bakr. She sent a message to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), asking what she should do. He replied, ‘Wash, then put in place a folded cloth, then recite the *talbiyya*.’

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on to where his camel came to a point overlooking al-Bayda'; there he recited the *talbiyya* and the *tawḥīd*, saying, ‘At Your service, O God! You have no associate; at Your Service. Praise and grace are Yours, along with power; You have no associate.’

"The people recited the *talbiyya*, adding words such as *dhā al-maʿārij*, ‘He who possesses ladders.’ The Prophet (ṢAAS) heard (this), but said nothing to them.

“I looked as far as I could ahead of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and there were people riding and walking. And it was the same behind him, and to both of his sides.

“He was right there among us; to him the Qurʾān would be revealed, and he knew how to interpret it. Whatever he did, we knew.

“We left, with our only intention being to make the *ḥajj*. When we reached the *kaʿba*, the Prophet (ṢAAS) saluted the ‘black stone’, jogged for three circumambulations and walked for four. When he had finished, he made his way to the *maqām Ibrāhīm*. Behind it he performed two prayer *rakaṭs*. He then recited, ‘and use Abraham’s station as a place for prayer’ (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.125).”


“‘He then saluted the stone and went off to al-Ṣafā and al-Mārwa are rites of God’ (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.158).

97. To heaven, that is.
“He then stated, ‘We will begin with that which God began.’ And he scaled al-Ṣafā and, gazing out at the kaʿba spoke the words, ‘God is Most Great’, and then ‘There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. He has power, and to Him there is praise. He has control over everything. There is no god but God alone! He has fulfilled His promise, and proved His promise true. And he hazama, ‘defeated’ – or ghalaba, ‘overcame’ – the factions by Himself.’ He then prayed and repeated these words.

“Thereafter he came down until his feet were in the wādī, when he proceeded at a jog until, having ascended, he walked and proceeded on until he reached al-Marwa. He scaled it until he stood facing out to the kācba and spoke the same words there as he had upon al-Ṣafā. When it was the seventh circumambulation, at al-Marwa, he said, ‘0 people, if I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the hadī, and would have made it an ‘umra. Those who do not have hadīs with them should declare their ihram concluded, and make it into an ‘umra.’ And all the people declared their ihram concluded.

“Surāqā b. Mālik b. Juṣhūm asked, while down in the lowest part of the valley, ‘Messenger of God, is this for this year (alone) or for ever?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) intertwined his fingers and replied, ‘For ever.’ He repeated this five times. He then said, ‘The ‘umra has entered into the hajj until Judgement Day.’”

Jābir went on, “‘Ali arrived from Yemen with a hadī. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had brought a hadī from those in Medina. Fatīma had put on jewellery, colour-dyed clothing and had decorated her eyes with mascara. He (‘Ali) criticized her for that and she replied, ‘My father ordered me to do it.’ He said, ‘Bring me the head kerchief.’ (Gaʿfar commented: ‘This word “he said” was not a reference to Jabir’s speech’ [but to ‘Ali’s])

“So ‘Ali left, upset, to enquire from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), about what Fatīma had said. ‘Ali said, ‘Fatīma dressed in colour-dyed clothes and put on mascara, saying her father told her to do so.’ He (the Messenger of God, ṢAAS), replied, ‘She spoke the truth. She spoke the truth. I did tell her to do this.’”

Jābir went on, “He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) asked ‘Ali, ‘With what intent did you recite the talbīyya?’ He replied, ‘I said, “O God, I recite the talbīyya with the same intent as Your Messenger.”’ He added, ‘I have a hadī with me.’ ‘Then you should not declare your ihram concluded,’ he told him.”

Jābir went on, “The number of hadīs brought by ‘Ali from Yemen and by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) totalled 100. The latter sacrificed by his own hand 63, and he then gave ‘Ali (permission) to sacrifice the remainder. He allowed him to share in his own hadī. He then ordered that meat be removed

98. Between Ṣafā and Marwa is a short strip where Hagar, unable to see her son Ismā‘īl, ran. Running at this site is now recommended as a part of the performance of the saʿi, as was the practice of the Prophet (ṢAAS), according to the foregoing tradition.
from each sacrificed animal and it was placed in a cooking pot. They both then ate the meat and drank the gravy.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then stated, ‘I have made sacrifice here; and all Minā is a place for sacrifice.’ He then stood upon Mt. ‘Arafāt and said, ‘I have stood here; and all ‘Arafāt is a station.’ He then halted on al-Muzdalifā and said, ‘I have stood here, and all Muzdalifā is a station.’”

This is how Imām Aḥmad gave this hadith; its ending is much abbreviated.


He gave us information of the different additions from the text of Aḥmad and Muslim, up to the statement of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to ‘Alī, “She spoke the truth. She spoke the truth. What was it you said when you declared your intention to make the ḥaḍīr?” ‘Alī replied, “O God, I am reciting the talbiyya for that which the Messenger of God (SAAS) recited it.” He went on, “I have a ḥaḍīt with me.” “Then do not declare your iḥrām concluded,” he told him. The total number of hadīts that ‘Alī brought from Yemen and were brought by the Messenger of God (SAAS) was 100.

“And all the people declared their iḥrām at an end and shortened their hair except for the Prophet (SAAS) and those who had brought hadīts with them.

“When it was the yawm al-tarwiyya99 they made their way to Minā and recited the talbiyya for the ḥajj. The Messenger of God (SAAS) mounted his camel and performed the al-zuhr, al-ṣaṣr, al-maghrib, al-‘ishr, and al-fajr prayers there. He then remained there a little while until the sun came up and he called for a pavilion of haircloth he had and it was set up for him at Namira.100

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded on, while Quraysh had no doubt that he was remaining at al-Mashʿar al-Ḥarām,101 as Quraysh used to do in the jāhilyya period. However, the Messenger of God (SAAS) went across to ‘Arafāt and found that the pavilion had been set up for him at Namira. There he dismounted.

“When the sun had begun to decline, he called for his camel Qaṣwāw and it was saddled for him. He then went down into the centre of the valley where he made an address to the people. He said, ‘Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month, in this your land.

99. The rite of “making provisions of water”, performed on the eight day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, the day preceding the “standing” at ‘Arafāt.
100. A location close to ‘Arafāt.
101. The station at Muzdalifā to the east of Mecca. The Quraysh, as opposed to all the other tribes, spent the ninth day of the ḥajj at this station as an indication of their superior status. They expected the Prophet to so the same, but he proceeded to ‘Arafāt along with the other tribes.
"I declare that everything relating to the jahiliyya is cast down beneath my two feet. The blood (feuds) of the jahiliyya are abolished. The first blood feud I dismiss is that relating to the blood of Ibni Rabi'a b. al-Ijārith brought up as a foster-child in Banū Sa'd and killed by Hudhayl. Also the interest charges of the jahiliyya are abolished. The first interest charge I abolish is that of al-Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib; it is all abolished.

"Fear God (in your treatment of) women. You have taken them in God's trust, and their persons are made permitted to you by God's word. You may require of them that they not allow anyone you dislike to enter your furnishings; if they should do this, then beat them, but not viciously. They have the right from you to have their sustenance and their clothing, with kindness.

"I have left amongst you something wherein, if you keep to it, you will not go astray thereafter: God's Book. You will be questioned about me. What is it you will say?' They responded, 'We will bear witness that you did convey (the message), that you gave good advice and did your duty.' He then spoke with his index finger, using it to convey meaning to the people, saying, 'O God, I bear witness! O God, I bear witness!' (He said this) three times.

"He had a call to prayer made and then arose and performed the al-zuhr prayer. Thereafter, he performed the al-ṣaṣr prayer; he made no other prayer between them both.

"After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode his camel to the mawqif ('Arafat), making the chest of his mount face towards the rocks. He positioned Mt. al-Mashāt ahead of him and faced the ka'ba. He remained standing there until the sun set. The yellow of the sky had dissipated somewhat, and the sun-disk had set. Usāma b. Zayd then mounted behind him and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved away; he had so tightened al-Qāswā's bridle that her head almost touched the front of his saddle. With his right hand he was making a gesture that said, 'People! Go easy! Go easy!' Whenever he passed over hilly terrain, he loosened his grip somewhat until she had climbed up.

"When he came to Muzdalifa he prayed the al-maghrib and the al-ishā with a single adhān and two iqāmas; between these two prayer times he did not speak prayers.

"The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then lay down until the dawn came. He performed the al-fajr prayer until morning arrived, with an adhān and an iqāma. He then mounted al-Qāswā and proceeded to the mash'ar al-ḥarām (at Muzdalifa). He faced the qibla, spoke a prayer, praised and glorified God and asserted His Oneness. He remained standing until the dawn light was strong.

"He proceeded on before the sun rose, mounting al-Faḍl b. al-Abbās behind himself; this was a man with fine hair, a pale complexion and dignified mien. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved forward, several women in howdahs

102. He was a cousin of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).
103. The iqāma follows somewhat after the adhān, the call to prayer, and indicates the imminent beginning of the prayer ceremonies.
passed by, at a gallop. When al-Faḍl began looking towards them, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand over the former’s face. Al-Faḍl moved his hand over to the other side, but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved it back over to the other side of al-Faḍl’s face. Al-Faḍl then moved his face away from the other side, looking.

“When he reached the wādi Muḥāṣir, he spurred on his mount a little, then followed the middle trail that emerges at al-Jamrat al-kubra\(^{104}\) and he went on to the jamra, the stone pile at the tree. He cast seven pebbles at the stone mound, glorifying God with each pebble; each pebble was small and he threw them from the centre of the wādi.

“He then proceeded on to the sacrifice site, where he slaughtered 63 sacrificial camels by his own hand. He then allowed ‘Ali to sacrifice those that remained and had him share in his own ḥadi. He ordered that a piece of the meat of each animal be cut out and placed in a pot, where it was all cooked. Both men ate from that meat and drank the gravy.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rode off and proceeded to the kaḥba. He performed the al-zuhr prayer in Mecca, and went over to Banti ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who were distributing the water at zamzam. He said, ‘Draw water, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib! Were it not that people would usurp this right from you (by wanting to do the same in emulation of my sunna) I would certainly have joined you in drawing water.’ They handed him a bucket and he drank from it.’

Muslim then narrated it from ‘Amr b. Ḥafṣ, from his father, from Ja’far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir. He recounted it in similar words.

He proceeded to relate the story of Abu Sayyāra, to the effect that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), used to (perform the ḥajj with those of the jahiliyya riding on a mule. And that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “I made sacrifice here, and all Miṣr is a place for sacrifice. And so make sacrifice on your journeys. I have stood here, and so all ʿArafāt is a station. And I have stood over here, and all Jamʿ \(^{105}\) is a station.”

Abū Da’ūd narrated it in full from al-Nuṭaylī, ḌUthmān b. Abū Shayba, Ḥishām b. ʿAmmār and Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. No doubt some of these added a word or a point. All four quoted from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, from Jābir, his account being similar to that of Muslim. We have referred above to some of his additions to it.

Abū Da’ūd and al-Nasāʾī also narrated it, from Yaṣqūb b. Ibrāhīm, from Yahyā b. Saʿd al-Qattān, from Jaʿfar. Al-Nasāʾī narrated it also, from Muḥammad b. al-Muṭhannā from Yahyā b. Saʿd, in part, from Ibrāhīm b. Ḥārūn al-Balkhī, from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿīl, in part.

\(^{104}\) It is said that Satan tried to mislead Ismāʿīl at three different places during his trek with his father Abraham towards the place of sacrifice. A part of the pilgrimage rites is the standing at the “pillars of Satan” in commemoration of that event.

\(^{105}\) Another name for al-Muzdaliḍa.
An Account of those places in which the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed while travelling from Medina to Mecca on his 'umra and his hajj.

Al-Bukhari’s text has a section headed Chapter on the mosques on the way from Medina, and the places where the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed prayers.

He stated, “Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddimī related to us as follows, ‘Fudayl b. Sulaymān related to us, quoting Mūsā b. Ḥaqī, who said, “I saw Salīm b. ‘Abd Allāh searching out places on the route, and praying in them. He would relate that his father used to pray in them, and that the latter had seen the Prophet (SAAS), pray in those places.” Nāfī’, related to me, from Ibn ʿUmar, may God be pleased with both, that he used to pray in those places. I questioned Salīm and I know only that he agreed with Nāfī about all these places. However, they did differ over a mosque at Sharaf al-Rawḥā.”

He (Fudayl) went on, “Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir said, ‘Mūsā b. Ḥaqī narrated to us, from Nāfī’, that ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar told him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would dismount at Dhu al-Bulayfā when he performed the ‘umra and on his ʿījja, beneath an acacia tree at the place of the mosque that is there. Whenever he was returning from a military expedition, or a hajj or an ʿumra, and his path would pass through there, he would descend to the centre of the wādī. When he appeared at the wādī, he would make his mount kneel at the plain that was on its eastern edge. He would dismount and rest there, and not at the mosque that was at a rock, nor at the palm trees near which the mosque stood. There was a deep wādī nearby in which ʿAbd Allāh would pray. At its bottom there were piles of sand near which the Messenger of God (SAAS) would pray. The flood from the plain ultimately buried that location where ʿAbd Allāh would pray.’”

(The account went on to state that) ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar related to Nāfī’, that the Prophet (SAAS) would pray at the site of the small mosque, other than the one at the Sharaf al-Rawḥā. ʿAbd Allāh would point out the place where the Prophet (SAAS) would pray, and say, “Over there at your right when you stand praying in the mosque.” That mosque is at the right edge of the road when you are proceeding to Mecca. The distance between it and the bigger mosque is approximately a stone’s throw.

(The account goes on that) Ibn ʿUmar would pray towards the sand hillock which was at the end of al-Rawḥā. The side of that hillock would end at the edge of the road, below the mosque which lies between it and the beginning point of the open land, if on your way to Mecca. A mosque had been built there, but ʿAbd Allāh did not pray in that mosque. He would leave it on his left and his rear and pray in front of it, facing towards the sand hillock itself. ʿAbd Allāh would leave al-Rawḥā and not perform the al-ṣuhūr prayer until he reached that place, where he would pray. If he should be coming from Mecca and pass by it an hour before the al-ṣuhūr prayer, or at the end of the period before dawn, he would dismount to rest until he could pray the al-ṣuhūr prayer there.
(The account went on that) 'Abd Allah (Ibn 'Umar) related to him that the Prophet (SAAS) would dismount beneath a large sarha tree below al-Ruwaytha, at the right of the road and opposite it, in a place where there was a broad, level gulley which comes out at a hillock a little below the mail-station of al-Ruwaytha, some two miles away. Its top had broken off and it has bent at its centre; it stands on a track in which there are many deposits of sand.

(The account states that) 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar told Nafi' that the Prophet (SAAS) also prayed at the side of a hillock at the back of al-‘Arj, on the way to Haḍba; at that mosque there are two or three graves. Over them stand stone markers, to the right of the road, at some salam trees. It was between those trees that 'Abd Allāh would pass from al-‘Arj, after the sun had begun to decline after noon; he would perform the al-zuhr prayer in that mosque.

(The account states that) 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar also related to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stopped at some trees to the left of the road at a rivulet below Harsha; that stream adjoins the extremity of Harsha, roughly an arrow’s cast away from the road. 'Abd Allāh would pray at the tree closest to the road; it was also the tallest tree.

'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar also told him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would go down into the stream that is very close to Marr al-Zahrān, before Medina, when he would descend from al-Ṣafrūwāt. He would go down to the bed of the stream, to the right side of the road if you are headed for Mecca, there being only a stone’s throw between that place and the road.

(Nafi' also stated) that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar related to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would dismount at Dhu Tuwa and spend the night there. Next morning he would perform the al-subb prayer when he arrived in Mecca. The place where he would perform that prayer was at some rough hillocks; this was not at the mosque that had been built there, but lower down on some rough hillocks.

(The account proceeds to state that) 'Abd Allāh (b. 'Umar) related to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) approached the two gaps in the mountain that stands between him and al-Jabal al-Ṭawil, facing the ka'ba and constructed the mosque that was built there to the left of the mosque beside the hillocks. The prayer-place of the Prophet (SAAS) was below it upon the black (hillocks). "You move some ten arms’ lengths away from the hillocks and then pray facing the two gaps in the mountain that stands between you and the ka'ba."

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, is alone in reporting this hadith in full and with this line of transmission. However, Muslim narrated it from the point, at its end, where it states, "that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar related to him that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would dismount at Dhu Tuwa" to the conclusion of the hadith. He gives a line from Muhammad b. Išāq al-Muṣayyabī, from Anas, from ʿIyyād, from Muṣā b. Uqba, from Nafi', from Ibn 'Umar.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it in full, from Abū Qurra Muṣā b. Tāriq, from Muṣā b. Uqba, from Nafi', from Ibn 'Umar in similar form.
Many - or most of - these places (named) are not known today, because the names of most of them have been changed by the bedouin who are there. Ignorance has overcome most of them.

The reason al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, gave them in his work was so that a person might find his way to them for contemplation or sightseeing. Or perhaps most or many of them were known in al-Bukhārī's time. God, Almighty is He, knows best.

Chapter: The entry of the Prophet (SAAS) into Mecca, may God the Almighty and Glorious, honour it well.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yahyā b. ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Nāfi’, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) spent the night at Dhu Ṭuwā. When morning came, he entered Mecca.” Ibn ʿUmar would do this.

Muslim narrated it from a ḥadīth of Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Qattān and added, “until he performed the al-ṣubḥ prayer”. Or his words were “until morning came”.

Muslim stated that Abū al-Rabiʿ al-Zahrānī related to him, quoting Hammād, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi’ that Ibn ʿUmar never came to Mecca without spending the night at Dhu Ṭuwā until morning came and he washed himself. He would then enter Mecca later that morning. He would relate that the Prophet (SAAS) would do this.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from a ḥadīth of Hammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb.

Both (these scholars) give it from a different line, from Ayyūb, from Nāfi’, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that when he entered close to the sanctified area, he would refrain from reciting the talbīyya until he had spent the night at Dhu Ṭuwā. And he narrated as above.

We have given above the account given by both scholars through Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfi’, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would spend the night at Dhu Ṭuwā until morning came. When he reached Mecca he would perform the al-ṣubḥ prayer. Moreover, it was at some rough hillocks that he would pray. And that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would face towards the two crevices of the mountain that stood between him and the Jabal al-Ṭawīl, towards the kaʿba, and that he kept (the place) where the mosque was (later) built at the left of the mosque beside the hillocks. (The ḥadīth states) that the prayer place of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was below it upon the black hillocks and that he would move some ten arms' lengths away from the hillocks, then pray facing the two gaps in the mountain that, “stood between you and the kaʿba”.

Both scholars included this in their saḥīḥ collections.

The outcome of all this is that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) had completed his journey to Dhu Ṭuwā, a place near Mecca adjacent to the sanctuary,
he refrained from reciting the *talbiyya* because he had arrived at his objective. He stayed there overnight until morning, then performed the *al-*ṣubḥ prayer at that place they described – between the two gaps of the Jabal al-Ṭawil over from there.

Whoevers contemplated by sight these places referred to knows them very well and can visualize the spot where the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the prayer.

He then bathed in order to enter Mecca. He then mounted and entered in full view, in daytime, from the high pass at al- Баţḥā. It is also called “Kadā” because people see it and it looks down upon them. He entered Mecca the same way the day of its conquest, as we related above.

Malik stated, from Nāfi‘, who quoted Ibn Umar as saying that the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered Mecca from the upper pass and left by the lower.

Both scholars included this in their *ṣaḥīḥ* collections, from Nāfi‘s *ḥadīth*.

They both give it also through ʿUbayd Allāh b. Umar, from Nāfi‘, quoting Ibn Umar, to the effect that the Prophet (SAAS) entered Mecca from the upper pass at al- Баţḥā, and left from the lower pass.

Both scholars relate a similar *ḥadīth* of Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, quoting ʿAṣīmah.

When his gaze fell upon the kaʿba, the Prophet (SAAS) spoke the words narrated by al-Shāfiʿī in his *musnad* collection, as follows. Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Saʿīd b. Salim informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, that when he saw the kaʿba, the Messenger of God (SAAS) raised his hands and said, “O God, grant this building ever more honour, glory, respect and awe. And favour those who venerate and revere it and all those who make the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra* pilgrimage to it, augmenting their respect, honour, glory and reverence.”

The *ḥāfiz* al-Bayhaqi stated, “This *ḥadīth* is incomplete. It has one witness, with a (tradition) that is *mursal*, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū Saʿīd al-Shāmī, from Makhūl, who said, ‘When the Prophet (SAAS) entered Mecca and saw the kaʿba, he would raise both hands and say, *Allāhu Akbar*, “God is most Great!”. Then he would state, “O God, You are peace, and peace comes from You. Greet us, therefore, our Lord in peace! O God, grant this building ever more honour, glory, awe and reverence. And favour those who make the *ḥajj* or the *ʿumra* to it, augmenting their respect, honour, glory and reverence.”’”

Al-Shāfiʿī stated that Saʿīd b. Salim informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, who said, “It was related to me from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from the Prophet (SAAS), who said, ‘Hands should be raised (after) prayer when one sees the kaʿba, and upon al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā, as well as in the evening with the throng upon ʿArafāt, at both monuments where stones are cast, and in the presence of a deceased person.’”

The *ḥāfiz* al-Bayhaqi stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Lāylā narrated this, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, as well as
from Nafi', quoting Ibn 'Umar. One of his *ahadith* is *mawquf*, while the other is *marfu'* to the Prophet (SAAS), without reference to the deceased person.

Ibn Abī Laylā stated, “This (tradition) is not strong.”

The Prophet (SAAS) entered the mosque through the Banū Shayba gate.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated that it was related to him from Ibn Jurayj, from ‘Ata’ b. Abū Rabāḥ, who said, “The person in a state of *ihram* may enter from wherever he wishes.”

He went on to say, “The Prophet (SAAS) entered through the Banū Shayba gate and left through the Banū Makhzūm gate to al-Ṣafā.”

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, “This *hadith* is very *mursal*.”

Al-Bayhaqi gives evidence for the preferability of entering the *ka'ba* from the Banū Shayba gate by giving an account through Abu Da'ūd al-Tayalisi, (who said), “Ḥammād b. Sa'īd related to me, as did Qays b. Sallām, from Simāk b. Ḥarb, from Khalid b. ‘Ur‘ūra, from ‘Ali, may God be pleased with him, who said, ‘When the *ka'ba* collapsed, following (the reign) of Jurhum, Quraysh rebuilt it. When they wished to position the (black) stone, they argued over who should place it there. They agreed that the first person to enter through that gate should do so. It was the Messenger of God (SAAS), who came in through the Banū Shayba gate. He asked for a cloth, placed the stone in its middle, then told (a representative of) each sub-tribe to take hold of one of its sides, and they raised it up. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then took it and positioned it.’’”

We have given this in full in the chapter on the rebuilding of the *ka'ba* prior to the mission. Evidence for the preferability of entering through the Banū Shayba gate in this way is controversial. But God knows best.

**DESCRIPTIONS OF THE CIRCUMAMBULATIONS MADE BY THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS).**

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aṣḥāb b. al-Faraj related to him, from Ibn Wahb, quoting ‘Amr b. Muḥammad, from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who said that he told the following to ‘Urwa, “‘A’īsha told me, ‘The first thing the Prophet (SAAS) did when he arrived (in Mecca) was to perform the ablutions. He then circumambulated; it was not an *umra*. Then Abū Bakr and ‘Umar performed the *ha Naj* as he had done. Following that, I performed the *ha Naj* with Abū al-Zubayr. He began first with a circumambulation; then I saw the muhājirūn and the *anṣār* do as he had. My mother told me that she, her sister, al-Zubayr and various others had recited the *talbiyya* for an *umra*. After they had touched the corner (of the *ka'ba* with the “black stone”) they declared their *ihram* concluded.’’”

This is the phraseology of al-Bukhārī. He also narrated it elsewhere from Ahmad b. Ṣa'īd. Muslim narrated it from Hārūn b. Sa'īd. All three accounts quote from Ibn Wahb.
Her statement, "it was not an 'umra", shows that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not declare his ihram concluded between both rites (of the hajj and the 'umra).

Moreover, the first thing the Messenger of God (SAAS) did was to salute the "black stone", before the circumambulation, as Jabir stated, "until when he reached the ka'ba with him, he saluted the 'corner', jogged for three circumambulations and walked four".

Al-Bukhari stated that Muhammed b. Kathir related to him, quoting Sufyan, from al-A'mash, from Ibrahim, from Abi b. Rabia, from Umare, (who said) that when he reached the (black) stone, he kissed it and said, "I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so."

Muslim narrated this from Yahya b. Yahya, as did Abu Bakr b. Abub Shayba, Zuhayr b. Harb and Ibn Abu Numayr, all quoting from Abu Muawiya, from al-A'mash, from Ibrahim, from Abi b. Rabia, who said, "I saw Umar kiss the stone and say, 'I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so."

Imam Al-Humad stated that Muhammed b. Ubayda and Abu Muawiya narrated to him, both saying, "Al-A'mash related to me, from Ibrahim, from Abi b. Rabia, who said, 'I saw Umar go to the stone and say, 'I swear by God, I well know that you are a stone and can bring neither harm nor advantage; had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.' He then approached and kissed it."

This text requires that he made his statement and then kissed it thereafter, contrary to the text given by the compilers of both sahih collections. But God knows best.

Al-Humad stated that Waki' and Yahya related to him as follows, the wording being from Waki', from Hisham, from his father, who said that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab went to the stone and said, "I well know that you are a stone that can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so." Hisham's father went on, "He then kissed it."

This hadith is incomplete in its line between Urwa b. al-Zubayr and 'Umar.

Al-Bukhari also stated that Sa'id b. Abü Maryam related to him, quoting Muhammed b. Jafar b. Abü Kathir, quoting Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who said that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭab said to the corner (stone), "I swear by God, I well know that you are a stone and can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) salute you, I would not have done so." And he did salute it.

Then he (Umar) stated, "We had nothing to do with geomancy. We did, however, see the unbelievers using it, and God destroyed them." He went on, "It
is something that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did and we do not want to give it up.”

This shows that the salutation (of the stone) came after the statement.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿĀhmād b. Sinān related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Warqāʾ, quoting Zayd b. Aslam, from his father, who said, “I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kiss the stone and say, ‘Had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.’”

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated that Ḥarmāla related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting Yūnus – he being Ibn Yazīd al-Ayli – and ʿĀmr – he being Ibn Dinār (who narrated the hadīth) – and Hārūn b. Saʿīd al-Abī related to us, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ʿĀmr, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim, quoting his father as saying, “ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kissed the stone and then said, ‘I swear by God, I know that you are a stone. And had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.’”

In his account, Hārūn added, “ʿĀmr stated, ‘And Zayd b. Aslam related the same to me, from his father Aslam’ – meaning from ʿUmar – ‘as above.’”

This is clear in stating that the kiss preceded the statement. But God knows best.

Imām Ṭāhāstated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, from Nāfīʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar, that ʿUmar kissed the stone and then stated, “I know you are a stone. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.”

This is how Imām Ṭāhā narrated it.

Muslim included it in his collection, from Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Nāfīʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said that) ʿUmar kissed the stone, then stated, “I am kissing you even though I well know you are a stone. But I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you.”

Muslim then stated that Khalāf b. Hīshām and al-Muqaddamī related to him, as did Abū Kāmil and Qatayba, all quoting from Ḥammād. Khalāf stated, “Ḥammād b. Zayd related to us, from ʿAṣīm al-ʿĀhwāl, from Abū Allāh b. Sarjīs, who said, ‘I saw al-ʿAṣlāt’ – meaning ʿUmar – ‘kiss the stone and say, “By God, I am kissing you even though I well know that you are a stone and that you can bring neither harm nor advantage. Had I not seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.”’”

In the account of al-Muqaddamī and Abū Kāmil, the words are, “I saw al-ʿUsaylī.” 106

Muslim is alone in giving this; al-Bukhārī does not.

Imām Ṭāhā narrated it from Abū Muḥāwīya, from ʿAṣīm al-ʿĀhwāl, from Abū Allāh b. Sarjīs. Ṭāhā also narrated it from Ghundar, from Shuṭba, from ʿAṣīm al-ʿĀhwāl.

106. The word is a diminutive form of ʿAṣlāt, ‘the bald-headed’, ʿUmar, that is.
Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahādī related to him, from Sufyān, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, from Suwayd b. Ghaffāl, who said, "I saw ʿUmar kiss the stone and say, ‘I well know that you are a stone that cannot bring harm nor advantage, but I saw Abū al-Qāsim,107 may God’s peace and blessings be upon him, saluting you.’" ʿUmar then narrated it from Wākiʿ, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. He added, “And he kissed it and embraced it.”

Muslim related it similarly from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahādī, without additions. And from a ḥadīth of Wākiʿ with the following addition, “He kissed and embraced the stone and said, ‘I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) saluting you.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Wahīb, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿOthmān b. Khuthaym, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbas (who said) that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb bent down over the corner and said, “I well know that you are a stone; had I not seen my beloved, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), kiss you and salute you, I would not have saluted nor kissed you.” He then recited, “In the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) you had a fine example” (ṣūrat al-Anfūs; XXXIII, v.21).

This line of transmission is excellent and strong; they (the compilers of the canonical collections) did not include it.

Abū Daʿūd al-Ṭayalīsī stated that Jaʿfar b. ʿUthmān b. al-Qurashi related to him, from the people of Mecca. He said, “I saw Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar kiss the stone and he prostrated over it. Then he said, ‘I saw your maternal uncle Ibn ʿAbbas kiss it and prostrate himself over it. And Ibn ʿAbbas stated, ‘I saw ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb kiss it and prostrate over it. And ʿUmar then said, ‘Had I not seen the Prophet (ṢAAS) kiss you, I would not have done so.”’

This line of transmission is also good. But the major authorities did not include it; except, that is, for al-Nasāʾī, who gave a line from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, from al-Walīd b. Muslim, from Ḥanẓāla b. Abū Sufyān, from Ṭawūs, from Ibn ʿAbbas, from ʿUmar. He related it in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this ḥadīth from ʿUmar in his musnad collection, from Yaʿlā b. Umayya and Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣili, through Hishām b. Ḥashish b. al-Ashqar, who quoted ʿUmar.

We gave all the above with their various lines of transmission, differences in wording and interpretations and explanations in the book we compiled of ḥadīth traced to the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him. And all praise and credit go to God.

In sum, this tradition is narrated by various lines from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him. They provide conclusive proof for most of the imāms relating to this issue.

107. An honorific for the Prophet (ṢAAS).
In this account, it is not stated that the Prophet (SAAS) prostrated over the stone, except, that is, for the purport of the account of Abū Da‘ūd al-Ṭayalisi, from Ja‘far b. ‘Uthmān; and it is not fully clear in its line of transmission.

The ḥafiz al-Bayhaqi, however, narrated it through Abū ʿĀsim al-Nabī, quoting Ja‘far b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, “I saw Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād b. Ja‘far kiss the stone, prostrate over it and then say, ‘I saw your maternal uncle, Khalīd Ibn ʿAbbās, kiss it and prostrate over it. And Ibn ʿAbbās said, ‘I saw ʿUmar kiss it and prostrate over it. He then said, ‘I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) act like this, and so I did it.’”


Al-Ṭabrānī stated, “Only Yahyā b. Yamān related it from Sufyān.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddād related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from al-Zubayr b. ʿArabī, who said, “A man asked ʿUmar’s son about the salutation of the stone. He said, ‘I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) salute it and kiss it. He said, ‘What if (in the process) I am jostled or overwhelmed by the crowd?’ Ibn ʿUmar replied, ‘Abandon such talk! I did indeed see the Messenger of God (SAAS) salute it and kiss it!’”

Although al-Bukhārī gave this, Muslim did not.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddād related to him, quoting Yahyā, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “I never omitted saluting these two corners, in hard times or easy, ever since I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) salute them both.”

(ʿUbayd Allāh continued) “I asked Nāfi‘, ‘Did Ibn ʿUmar walk between the two corners?’ He replied, ‘He only walked so that it would be easier for his salutation.’”

Abū Da‘ūd and al-Nasāʾī narrated from a ḥadīth of Yahyā b. Saʿd al-Qatṭān, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that the Prophet (SAAS) never failed to salute the Yamānī (south-west) corner and the stone in each circumambulation.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Layth, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh, from his father, who said, “The only corners of the kaʿba I saw the Prophet (SAAS) salute were the two Yamānī corners.”

Muslim narrated it from Yahyā b. Yahyā and Qutayba, from al-Layth b. Saʿd.

In one account from him, it is related that he said, “I don’t think that the Prophet (SAAS) would have neglected to salute both Shāmī corners except for the fact that they were not completed on the foundations (set by) ʿAbraham.”

108. That is, the two corners on the side closest to Yemen. The other two are known as the “Shāmī” corners and are closest to Syria—al-Shām, that is.
Al-Bukhārī stated, “And Muhammad b. Bakr said that he was informed by Ibn Jurayj, quoting ‘Amr b. Dinar, from Abū al-Sha‘thār who said, ‘And who would avoid touching anything from the ka‘ba!’”

Mū‘awwiya used to salute the corners and so Ibn ‘Abbās told him, “These two corners are not saluted.” He replied, “No part of the ka‘ba is to be left out. Ibn al-Zubayr used to salute them all.”

Al-Bukhārī, may God Almighty have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this. Muslim stated, in his sahih collection, that Abū al-Ṭāhir related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, quoting ‘Amr b. al-Ĥārith, (who said) that Qatāda b. Da‘āma related to him that Abū al-Ṭufayl al-Bakrī related to him that he heard Ibn ‘Abbās say, “I only ever saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) salute the two Yamānī corners.” Muslim is alone in giving this.

The account related by Ibn ‘Umar agrees with what Ibn ‘Abbās stated – that the two Shāmī corners were not saluted because they were not completed on the foundations (set by) Abraham. This was because Quraysh could not meet the expense, and they put the stone outside of the ka‘ba when they built it. This is explained above.

The Prophet (SAAS) wished that it had been built and completed on the foundations of Abraham. But he was concerned over the fact that the people had so recently been in the jahiliyya period, and that they would have resented it (the omission).

During the rule of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, he demolished the ka‘ba and rebuilt it according to the directions given by the Messenger of God (SAAS), as related by his (‘Abd Allāh’s) aunt, the Mother of the Believers’, Ɗa‘īsha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

If Ibn al-Zubayr used to salute all the corners, then it was after their rebuilding on the foundations of Abraham; then this would have been fine. And this is certainly the preponderant view.

Abū Da‘ūd stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Yahyā, from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Naṣīr, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) never failed to salute the Yamānī corner and the stone during each circumambulation.”

Al-Nasā‘ī narrated this from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Yahyā. Al-Nasā‘ī stated that Ya‘qūb b. Ibrahim al-Dawrāqī narrated to him, quoting Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān, from Ibn Jurayj, from Yahyā b. Ɗubayd, from his father, from ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Sā‘īb, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, between the Yamānī corner and the stone, ‘O our God, bring us good on earth, and also good in the hereafter; save us from the torture of hell-fire’” (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.201).

Abū Da‘ūd narrated it from Musaddad, from Ɗisā b. Yūnus, from Ibn Jurayj. Al-Tirmidhī stated that Mahmūd b. Ghaylān narrated to him, quoting Yahyā b. Ādam, quoting Sufyān, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from
Jabir, who said, “When the Prophet (SAAS) arrived in Mecca, he entered the mosque and saluted the stone. He then passed on to his right, jogged for three circumambulations and walked four. He thereafter went to the maqâm Ibrahim, ‘Abraham’s station’, and said, ‘And adopt maqâm Ibrahim as a place to pray.’ He performed two raka‘āt with the maqâm between himself and the ka‘ba. He then, after two raka‘āt went to the stone and saluted it. After that he left for al-Ṣafâ. I think he said, ‘Al-Ṣafâ and al-Marwa are rites of God.’”

This is a hadith that is hasan and sahih. And scholars act on that basis.

Ishāq b. Ruhawayh narrated it as above, from Yahyā b. Ādam. And al-Ṭabrānî narrated it from al-Nasā’î and others, from ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Wāsîl, from Yahyā b. Ādam.

An Account of how the Messenger of God (SAAS) jogged and moved at a fast pace on his circumambulations and the i'tībā‘, ‘tucking up one’s gown under the right arm’.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Aṣbaqā b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim, from his father, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he arrived in Mecca, act as follows. As he began the circumambulations, he saluted the ‘black stone’, and then he ran for three courses out of the seven.”

Muslim narrated it from Abū al-Ṭāhir b. al-Sarh, as did Ḥarmala, both of them quoting from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Sallām related to him, quoting Shurayḥ b. al-Nūmān, quoting Fulayḥ, from Nāfī‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “The Prophet (SAAS) ran for three courses, then walked for four during the hajj and the ’umra.”

Al-Layth agreed with this, quoting from Kathīr b. Farqad, from Nāfī‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, from the Prophet (SAAS).

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Al-Nasā’î narrated it from Muḥammad and from ‘Abd al-Rahmān, both of whom were sons of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Ḥakam. They both quoted from Shurayḥ b. al-Layth, from his father, al-Layth b. Sa‘d, from Kathīr b. Farqad, from Nāfī‘, from Ibn ‘Umar.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, quoting Abū Ḫamrā Anas b. Ḥiyād, quoting Mūsā b. Ṭalib, from Nāfī‘, from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he first arrived in Mecca and began the circumambulations for the hajj or the ’umra, would run for three courses and walk for four and then would make two raka‘āt before making the courses between al-Ṣafâ and al-Marwa.

Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Mūsā b. Ṭalib.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, quoting Anas, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar, from Nāfī‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, (who said) that the
Messenger of God (SAAS), "would for the first *tawaf* (circumambulation) move at a fast pace for three circumambulations, and then walk for four. And he also ran in the middle of the course when he passed between al-Šāfā and al-Marwa."

Muslim narrated it from a *hadith* of Ubayd Allāh b. 'Umar. Muslim stated that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. Abān al-Jufrī informed him, quoting Ibn Mubārak, quoting 'Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfi', from Ibn 'Umar, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) moved at a jog from the stone to the stone for three circumambulations, and then walked for four.

He went on to narrate it from a *hadith* of 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Da'ūd, from Ubayd Allāh, in similar terms. Muslim also stated that Abū al-'Tāhir related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh b. Wāḥib, quoting Mālik and Ibn Jurayj, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh, to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) moved at a jog for three circumambulations from the stone back to the stone. And 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb asked, "Why the movement at a jog and the 'exposing of the shoulder', seeing that God had firmly established Islam and had ousted apostasy? However, we will not give up anything we used to do with the Messenger of God (SAAS)."


All of this refutes Ibn 'Abbas and those who support his view that the movement at a jog is not an orthodox practice, since the Messenger of God (SAAS) did perform it when he and his Companions arrived on the morning of the Wednesday – during the 'umrāt al-qatā'a, that is – and the polytheists commented, "A delegation is arriving who have been weakened by the Yathrib fever." And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered them to move at a jog for three courses, then walk between the two corners. He only prevented them from jogging for all the circumambulations because of his concern for their health.

This is firmly established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections; his statement giving the reasons for this are very clear in the *ṣaḥīḥ* collection of Muslim.

It is as though Ibn 'Abbās denies that there was movement at a jog on the *hijājat al-wadā‘*! This fact, however, is fully substantiated as above. Indeed, in it there is evidence that the jogging was completed in the course from the stone and back to it. And that the passing between the two Yamānī corners was not made at a walking pace because of the absence of that cause referred to, namely weakness.

It is stated in an authentic *hadith* from Ibn 'Abbās, that they moved at a jog between them at the 'umra from al-Jīrāna and that they performed *idṭiba‘*, "tucked up their gowns under their right arms".

This fact also refutes the above objection, since there was no longer any fear remaining at the time of the 'umra from al-Jīrāna, since it occurred after the conquest of Mecca, as told above.
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Herāmād b. Salama narrated it from ‘Abd Allah b. Uthmān b. Khuthaym, from Sa‘īd b. Jubyar, from Ibn ‘Abbās, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and his Companions performed the ‘umra from al-Ji‘rāna and moved at a jog around the ka‘ba, tucking their garments under their armpits and over their shoulders.

Abū Dā‘ud narrated it from a hadīth of Ḥammād in similar words, as well as from a hadīth of ‘Abd Allah b. Khuthaym, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn ‘Abbās.


Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a hadīth of al-Thawrī and categorized it as ḥasan sahih.

Abū Dā‘ud stated that Muḥammad b. Kathīr related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Ya‘la, from his father, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated with a green cloak he was wearing muḏḥaba‘, ‘tucked up’, under his arm.”

Imām Aḥmad narrated it similarly, from Wāki‘, from al-Thawrī, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ibn Ya‘la, from his father, to the effect that when the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he circumambulated the ka‘ba while wearing a cloak from the Ḥadramawt muḏḥab‘, “tucked up”.

Jābir stated in his hadīth quoted above, that when they reached the ka‘ba, the Prophet (ṢAAS) saluted the “black stone”, jogged for three circumambulations and walked for four. When he had finished, he made his way to the maqām Ibřāhīm and recited, “And use Abraham’s station as a place for prayer” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.125). He positioned himself so that the maqām was between himself and the ka‘ba. He related that he performed two raka‘at and then recited, “Say, ‘He is God the One’” (sūrat al-Ikhlaṣ; CXII, v.1), and “Say: ‘O Unbelievers’” (sūrat al-Kāfirdin; CIX, v.1).

What if it were asked whether the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted or on foot on this circumambulation?

The answer would be that two different accounts have been transmitted that might seem contradictory. We will give both and offer reconciliation between them and so refute those who imagine there to be a contradiction in them. And through God comes success; His help is sought and He is sufficient for us and the best support of all.

Al-Bukhmārī, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ and Yaḥyā b. Sulaymān both related to him that Ibn Wahb related to him, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, from ʿUbayd Allah b. ʿAbd Allah, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated while upon his camel at the hijjat al-wadā‘, saluting the corner with a bent staff.”
The other major scholars promulgated it, except for al-Tirmidhi, by various lines from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhari stated that al-Darawardi supported this, from the nephew of al-Zuhri, who quoted his uncle.

This sequence is very odd.

Al-Bukhari stated that Muhammad b. al-Muthanna related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhab, quoting Khālid al-Ḥadhīḥa, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) circumambulated the kaʿba on a camel; each time he came to the corner, he gestured towards it."

Al-Tirmidhi narrated it from a hadith of ʿAbd al-Wahhab b. ʿAbd al-Majīd al-Thaqafi and ʿAbd al-Wārith, both of them quoting from Khālid b. Mahrān al-Ḥadhīḥa, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) circumambulated upon his mount; and when he ended up at the corner, he gestured to it."

He categorized this as ḥasan sahih.

Al-Bukhari went on to state that Musaddad related to him, quoting Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Khālid al-Ḥadhīḥa, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbas, who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) circumambulated the kaʿba upon a camel; and when he came to the corner, he gestured to it with something he had and invoked, 'Allāhu Akbar! "God is most Great!"'"

Ibrahīm b. Ṭāhīnān supported this, quoting Khālid al-Ḥadhīḥa.

He (al-Bukhari) traced this comment in his kitāb al-Ṭawāf back on a line from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muhammad, from Abū ʿAmīr, from Ibrahīm b. Ṭāhīnān.

Muslim narrated (it) from al-Ikām b. Musā, from Shuʿayb b. Ishāq, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿAisha, to the effect that on the ṭijjat al-wadaʿ the Messenger of God (SAAS) circumambulated around the kaʿba on a mule saluting the corner, disliking (the possibility) that the people would turn away from him.109

This substantiates that on the ṭijjat al-wadaʿ, the Messenger of God (SAAS) circumambulated upon a mule. However, during the ṭijjat al-wadaʿ he made three tawāf. The first was that of al-qudūm. The second that of the ifāda, that being the tawāf al-fard, it being the day for the sacrifice. The third was the tawāf al-wadāʿ.110

Perhaps his being mounted referred to one of the other two, or to them both. Regarding the tawāf al-qudūm, he was on foot for it. Al-Shāfiʿī gives a text on all this. But God knows best and is most Wise.

Proof for this explanation is provided by what the ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work al-Sunan al-Kabīr: "Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz told us, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Muʿāmmil b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṭūl, quoting al-Faḍl b.

109. For giving up a pre-Islamic practice that they favoured.
110. The tawāf al-qudūm is performed on arrival into the city of Mecca and the Sacred Mosque for the first time. The tawāf al-ifāda is a key rite of the ḥajj ceremony, while the tawāf al-wadāʿ is performed when bidding farewell to the Sacred City.
Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab, quoting Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, quoting ʿĪsā b. Yūnus, from Muḥammad b. ʿĪsāq – Ibn Yasār, that is, may God have mercy upon him – from Abū Jaʿfar – he being Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-ʿĪsāq – from Jabir b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘We went into Mecca as dawn rose. The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to the door of the mosque and made his camel kneel. Then he entered the mosque, beginning at the stone, which he saluted. His eyes welled with tears. He then moved at a jog for three circumambulations, and walked for four. When he had finished, he kissed the stone, placed his hands upon it and then wiped them over his face.’’

This line of transmission is excellent.

The account given by Abū Daʿūd states that Musaddad related to him, quoting Khalīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, quoting Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from ʿIrīma, from Ibn ʿAbbas, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived in Mecca, he was suffering somewhat.

He circumambulated on his camel and when he reached the corner, he saluted it with his staff. When he had completed the circumambulation, he made his camel kneel and then performed two ṛaḍār in prayer.

Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, who is regarded as a weak source, is alone in giving this. He did not refer, moreover, to it having been the ḥijājat al-wada’, nor that it was the first circumambulation of the ḥijājat al-wada’.

And neither Ibn ʿAbbas, in the authentic ḥadīth from him given by Muslim, nor Jābir, similarly, said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) rode during his circumambulation due to his weakness. Both these authorities in fact referred to the large throng of people and their massing around him. He did not like for them to be a throng in front of him. Information on this will be given shortly hereafter, if God so wills it.

This second act of kissing, moreover, mentioned by Ibn Ishāq in his account, that after the circumambulation and also after his having performed the two ṛaḍār, is firmly set in the saḥīḥ collection of Muslim, from a ḥadīth of Jabir. In it he stated, after reference to praying for the two ṛaḍār of the circumambulation, “he then returned to the corner and saluted it”.

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his saḥīḥ collection that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Ibn Numayr together related to him, from Abū Khaḍīl, that Abū Bakr stated, “Abū Khālid al-Ahmār related to us, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfi’, who said, ‘I saw Ibn ʿUmar salute the stone with his hand and then kiss his hand. He said, ‘I have not given it up since I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do it.’”

This suggests that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) (kiss his hands) on one of his circumambulations or in the last salutation he made, as we have related. Or that Ibn ʿUmar did not actually get to the stone due to some weakness he had, or so that he would not jostle against other persons and so do them harm.

For the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) spoke as follows to Ibn ʿUmar’s father, as quoted by ʿAlīmad in his munṣāḥ collection, “Waki’ related to us, quoting Sufyān,
from Abu Ya'fur al-‘Abdi, who said, 'I heard a sheikh in Mecca during the reign of al-‘Hajjaj quote from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as having said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) told him, ‘‘Umar, you are a strong man. Don’t jostle at the stone, perhaps harming someone who is weak; if you should find the way to it clear, then salute it. Otherwise, face it and say Allāhu Akbar “God is most Great!”.’”

This is an excellent line of transmission; however, the narrator who quotes ‘Umar is unknown and is not named.

It is apparent, however, that this hadith is trustworthy and important. For al-Shafi’ī narrated it from Sufyān b. Uyayna, from Abu Ya’fur al-‘Abdi, his name being Waqdān, (who said), “I heard a man of Khuzā’i say, following the killing of Ibn al-Zubayr who had been ruler of Mecca, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) said to ‘Umar, ‘Abū Ḥafṣ, you are a strong man, so don’t jostle at the corner in case you harm someone weak. However, if you find the way clear, then salute it; otherwise say, ‘God is most Great’, then pass on.’”

Sufyān b. Uyayna stated, “He (the source quoted) was ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. al-‘Harith; al-‘Hajjaj had made him Governor or Mecca when he departed from there following the death of Ibn al-Zubayr.”

I note that this ‘Abd al-Raḥman was a distinguished and important man. He was one of the four persons whom ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān appointed to write out the copies of the Holy Qurān whom he dispatched to all places abroad; this text has met unanimous acceptance.

**Accounts of the circumambulation of the Prophet (SAAS) between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.**

Muslim narrated in his sahih collection quoting Jābir in his long hadith given above. Following his report of the Prophet (SAAS) having made seven circumambulations of the ka’ba and his having performed two prayer raka’āt at the maqām Ibrāhīm, he went on to say that he returned to the corner (al-rukn), saluted it and then left through the door towards al-Ṣafā. When he approached al-Ṣafā, he recited, “al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are rites of God” (sūrat al-Baqara; II, v.158). He then said that he would begin with that with which God began.

He commenced at al-Ṣafā and scaled it until he saw the ka’ba. Facing towards it, he called out, “God is most Great!” Then he declaimed, “There is no god but God alone! He has no associate. He has power, and to Him there is praise. He has control over everything. There is no god but God! He has fulfilled His promise. He has aided his servant, and has alone defeated the factions.” During this, he prayed and spoke similar words three times.

He then came down until his feet were set in the wādī; he moved at a jog, until having ascended, he walked to al-Marwa. He scaled it until he looked over to the ka’ba and he spoke upon it what he had upon al-Ṣafā.
Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Umar b. Harūn al-Balkhl, Abū Ḥafṣ, that is, quoted Ibn Jurayj, from one of the Banū Ya'qūb b. Umayya, who quoted his father as saying, "I saw the Prophet (SAAS) proceed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa wearing a najrānī burda, μudšabba′,an, ‘gown from Hajrān tucked up beneath his armpit’.”

Imām Aḥmad stated, quoting Yūnūs, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Muammil, from ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, quoting ‘Abd Allah b. al-Mu‘ammil, from ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, quoting ‘Aṭā b. Abū Rabal, from ‘Atīyya, from Ḥabibā, daughter of Abū Naḥrāt, who said, "I went into Ḥusayn’s house, along with some women of Quraysh, while the Prophet (SAAS) was circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. As he ran, his izār, ‘his waist-wraper’, was moving around because of the energy with which he was running. He was saying to his Companions, “Run! God made running incumbent upon you.”"

Aḥmad also stated that Shurayḥ related to us, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mu‘ammil, quoting ‘Aṭā b. Abū Rabal, from ‘Atīyya, daughter of Shayba, from Ḥabibā, daughter of Abū Tajrat. She said, “I saw the Prophet (SAAS) circumambulating between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa; the people were ahead of him, and he behind them. He was running so vigorously that I could see his knees. His izār was moving around and he was saying, ‘Run, for God has made running incumbent upon you.’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Aḥmad also narrated it from ‘Abd al-Raẓzāq, from Ma‘mar, from Wāṣil, the freed-man of Abū ‘Uyayna, from Mūsā b. ‘Ubayda, from Ṣafiyya, daughter of Shayba, (who stated) that a woman informed her that she had heard the Prophet (SAAS), while passing between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, saying, “Running (between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa) has been made incumbent upon you, so run!”

This woman was Ḥabibā, daughter of Abū Tajrat, who is quoted in the first two aḥādīth. (It is also related) from the mother of the son of Shayba b. ‘Uthmān, to the effect that she saw the Prophet (SAAS), while he was running between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, saying, “The valley is only to be traversed vigorously.”

Al-Nasāʾī (also) narrated it. What is meant here by al-sāy, “running”, is the movement from al-Ṣafā to al-Marwa and back. What is meant her by al-sāy is not movement at a fast pace or racing, for God definitely did not make that incumbent upon us. Indeed, if a person walks in that same manner for the seven circumambulations between them both and does not jog in the river bed, that will suffice him (from God) according to the community of scholars; we know of no dispute among them regarding that.

Al-Tirmidhī, may God have mercy upon him, transmitted this from the scholarly community. He stated that Yūsuf b. Ṣāliḥ related to him, quoting Ibn Fudayl, from ‘Aṭā b. al-Sāfīb, from Kathīr b. Jahmān, who said, “I saw Ibn Umar walking on the course, and I asked, ‘Are you going to walk on the passage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa?’ He replied, ‘If I should run, I have seen the Messenger of God (SAAS) run; and if I should walk, I have also seen him walk. I am now a very old man (and am forced to walk).’”

Al-Tirmidhī stated, “This hadīth is hasan ṣaḥīḥ.”

Ibn ‘Umar’s statement that he witnessed both activities by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) offers two possibilities. One is that he saw him move on one occasion at a walking pace from which jogging was absolutely absent. The second is that he saw him run for part of the way and walk for a part.

This (latter) is a strong possibility, since al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated from a ḥadīth of ‘Ubayd Allah b. ‘Umar al-‘Umai, from Nāfi‘ from Ibn ‘Umar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would run along the bed of the river when he made the circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā.

It is stated above in the ḥadīth of Jābir that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came down from al-Ṣafā and when his feet were set in the wāḍī, he moved at a jog until he had climbed above, when he came to al-Marwā.

This is what the scholars prefer in unanimity – that the person moving between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā (mentioned above in Jābir’s account) should preferably jog on each circumambulation in the bed of the wāḍī, the stream bed that runs between them. They (the scholars) defined that to apply to the distance between the āmyāl al-khudr,111 the ‘green markers’, one standing alone towards al-Ṣafā, adjacent to the mosque, and two more placed together towards al-Marwā, also adjacent to the mosque.

Some scholars have stated that the distance between these miles today is greater than the bed of the stream in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Ḥazm, in the book he compiled on the hijjat al-wadā‘, stated, “Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left for al-Ṣafā and recited there, ‘Al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā are rites of God. I shall begin with that which God began.’ And he then circumambulated also between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā seven times. For three of these courses he was mounted on his mule and moving at a trot, while for four he walked.”

He made no further comment on this statement, one not made by anyone preceding him – namely, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) was mounted on his mule for three courses between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā, and that he walked for four.

He offered no proof whatsoever for this horrendous error. When he arrived at the point (in his account) where evidence would be expected, he stated, “We did not find the number of the courses made at a jog referred to in sources; however, it is the object of (general) agreement (as above).”

This is his wording. If what he meant is that movement at a jog on the first three circumambulations is the object of agreement, as he states, this is not true; indeed, no one related this.

111. The description given here is unclear, as are the distances to which reference is made.
If he meant that the movement at a jog on the first three circumambulations is the object of unanimous agreement, this point is devoid of value and useless. For just as there is agreement on the movement at a jog in the first three circumambulations, as we have indicated, there is also agreement on its preference also in the remaining four.

Ibn Hazm's insisting on the preference of movement at a jog specifically for the first three circumambulations is contrary to what the scholars relate. But God knows best.

Regarding this comment of Ibn Ḥazm, that the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) was mounted between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā, it has been shown above from Ibn ʿUmar that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to make the al-saʿy jogging on foot along the stream bed.

Both compilers (of the ṣaḥīḥ collections) included this. Al-Tirmidhī quotes him (Ibn ʿUmar) as stating, “If I run, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) run; and if I walk, I have seen the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) walk.”

And Jābir stated, “When his feet set in the wāḍī, he moved at a jog until, having ascended, he walked.”

Muslim narrated this. Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Tajrāt, said that he ran, while his izār was moving around him from the vigour of his running.

Al-Hāmid related this. In the ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim, quoting from Jābir, as given above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) is said to have ascended al-Ṣafā until he saw the kaʿba. And the same for al-Marwā. We gave above from the hadith of Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Baqir, from Jābir (who said that) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his camel kneel at the door of the mosque – until he circumambulated, that is. Moreover, he does not relate that he mounted it immediately on his departure for al-Ṣafā.

All this requires that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a walk between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā.

However, Muslim stated that ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting Muḥammad – meaning Ibn Bakr – quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated on his rāḥila, ‘his riding camel’, at the ḥijjat al-wadāʾ at the kaʿba and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā riding on a baʿṣr,112 ‘a donkey’, so that people would see him and be able to question him and he could look down. The throng inundated him, and the Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā.”

112. The word baʿṣr more commonly applies to a male camel; however, it is sometimes in early sources applied to an ass or donkey. Since there seems to be a distinction necessary here, the word has been translated as “donkey.”
Muslim also narrated this from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from ʿAlī b. Mushir and also from ʿAlī b. Khashram, from ʿIsā b. Yūnus, and from Muḥammad b. Ḥattīm, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAṣīd. All of these quoted it from Ibn Jurayj. In some of these accounts the words ‘and between ʾAl-Safā and al-Marwā’ are not given.

Abū Dāʾūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAṣīd al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulated the kaba on the ḥijjat al-wadaʿ riding his camel, and also between ʾAl-Safā and al-Marwā.”

Al-Naṣāʾī narrated it from al-Fallas, from Yaḥyā, and from ʿImrān b. Yazīd, from ʿAṣīd b. Iṣḥāq, both of them quoting from Ibn Jurayj.

This is recorded in a ḥadīth of Ibn Jurayj. Yet is is very problematical. Because the rest of the accounts from Jābir and others indicate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would walk between ʾAl-Safā and al-Marwā.

The account of Abū al-Zubayr from Jābir might well be that way because of the addition; I refer to his statement, “And between ʾAl-Safā and al-Marwā”. This (statement) may have been interpolated by someone after the Companion. But God knows best.

Or perhaps the Prophet (ṢAAS) did proceed on foot between ʾAl-Safā and al-Marwā for some of the circumambulations, and his reported behaviour was witnessed then. When there was a heavy throng around him, he rode, as is shown in the account of Ibn ʿAbbas that follows shortly.

Ibn Ḥazm conceded that his first circumambulation of the kaba was on foot, and he maintained that his riding while on the circumambulations came thereafter. He also claimed that he was riding on the passage between ʾAl-Safā and al-Marwā. He stated, “Because he only circumambulated between them once.” He went on to explain Jābir’s statement, “until his feet were set in the wāḍī, he moved at a jog” by saying that he accepts that, even though the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was mounted, and that when his camel “was set” in the wāḍī, so was all of himself, his feet being “set” along with the rest of his body. Ibn Ḥazm stated, “And the same goes for the reference to the al-ramal, “the movement at a jog”. By this the account refers to his mount’s movement at a jog, along with its rider.

This explanation is extremely far-fetched. But God knows best.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Abū Salama Mūsā related to him, quoting Ḥammād, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim al-Ghanawi, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who stated, “I said to Ibn ʿAbbas, ‘Your people claim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog at the kaba, and that that was his sunna, his “orthodox practice”.’ He replied, ‘They both spoke the truth and lied.’ I asked, ‘In what did they speak the truth, and in what lie?’ He replied, ‘They spoke the truth by saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved at a jog, but lied in that it was not a sunna. Quraysh said at al-Ḥudaybiyya, ‘Just leave Muḥammad and his Companions alone to die of worms!’ And then they made peace with him on the basis of his making the pilgrimage the following year and agreeing to them staying in Mecca for three
days. And then the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived while the unbelievers were over in front of Mt. Qu'ayqi'ān. And the Messenger of God (SAAS) told his Companions, 'Move at a jog three times around the *ka'ba*.' This was not a *sunna*.

"I asked, 'Your people claim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) circumambulated between al-Šafā and al-Marwa on a camel, and that that is a *sunna*.' He replied, 'They spoke the truth, and they lied.' I asked, 'In what did they speak the truth, and in what did they lie?' He replied, 'They spoke the truth in that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did circumambulate between al-Šafā and al-Marwa on a camel. And they lied; that was not a *sunna*. The (throng of) people could not be kept away from the Messenger of God (SAAS), or diverted from him. And so he circumambulated on a camel so that they could hear his words and see where he was, but their hands could not reach him.'"

This is how Abu Da'ud narrated it.

Muslim narrated it from Abu Kamil, from 'Abd al-Wa!d b. Ziyād, from al-Jurayrī, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, from Ibn 'Abbās. He (Abu al-Tufayl) related the virtue of circumambulating the *ka'ba* as above, then said, "I asked Ibn 'Abbās, 'Tell me about circumambulating between ai-Sara and aI-Marwa, while mounted. Is that a *sunna*? Your people claim that it is a *sunna*.' He replied, 'They spoke the truth and they lied.' I asked, 'What do you mean by saying they spoke the truth and lied?'"

"He replied, 'People massed around the Messenger of God (SAAS), saying, 'This is Muḥammad! This is Muḥammad!' Even the aged were coming out of their houses. The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not (want) to have people throng before him. And so when they crowded in large numbers around him, he rode.'"

"Ibn 'Abbās concluded, 'Walking and running are better.'"

This is the wording of Muslim. It requires that he only rode when the circumstances warranted. Through this, reconciliation between the various *ahādīth* is possible. But God knows best.

Then there is the account related by Muslim in his *ṣaḥīḥ* collection. He stated that Muḥammad b. Ṭafi' related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Ādam, quoting Zuhayr, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Sa'id, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, "I told Ibn 'Abbās, 'I believe I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS). He asked, 'Describe him to me.' I said, 'I saw him at al-Marwa on a camel with a great many people all around him.' Ibn 'Abbās said, 'That was the Messenger of God (SAAS). People would not be struck (to keep them away) from him, nor would they be forced (to keep away) from him.'"

Muslim is alone in giving this. In this account there is no evidence that he was mounted while passing between al-Šafā and al-Marwa, for he (the narrator) did not specify it to relate to the *ḥijājat al-wādā* or to some other time. Assuming that the account did relate to the *ḥijājat al-wādā*, it is possible that it related to the
Messenger of God (ṢAAS), having finished the courses, sat down upon al-Marwa, addressed the people, told those who had not brought a hadī to convert the ḥajj into an 'umra and all those except the ones who had brought a hadī having concluded their iḥrām, stated, as is related above in the hadīth of Jābīr. And thereafter, following all this, he had his camel brought, mounted it and rode off to his house at al-Abtāḥ, as we will relate shortly, and it was at that point that he was seen by Abū al-Tūfayl ʿĀmir b. Wāthila al-Bikrī, a man included among the lesser Companions.

I note that a faction of Iraqis, persons such as Abū Ḥanīfa and his companions, and al-Thawrī, maintain that the person performing the ḥajj al-qiran makes two circumambulations and makes two courses at a run; this is narrated from ʿAlī, Ibn Masʿūd, Mujāhid and al-Shaʿbī. They cite as evidence the long hadīth of Jābīr and his evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) moved on foot between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa and the fact that his hadīth reports that the Prophet (ṢAAS) passed between them mounted, according to the account of the circumambulation between them both, once at a walk, then mounted.

Saʿīd b. Maṃṣūr narrated in his work al-Sunan, from ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him, that he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) recited the talbiyya for a ḥijja and an 'umra, and when he reached Mecca he circumambulated the kaʿba and made the course between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for his 'umra. He then came back and circumambulated the kaʿba and passed between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa for his ḥijja. And that he remained in a state of iḥrām until the day of the sacrifice.

This is his wording. Abū Dharr al-Harawi narrated it in his work Manāṣik from ʿAlī, to the effect that he combined the ḥajj with the 'umra and made two circumambulations and two saʿy courses for them. He (ʿAlī) stated, “That is what I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) do.”

Al-Bayhaqi narrated it similarly, as did al-Dārquṭnī and al-Nāṣīrī in their materials relating to ʿAlī. Al-Bayhaqi stated, in his work on the sunna, that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥārith al-Faqīth, quoting ʿAlī b. Umayr b. al-Ḥāfīz, quoting Abū Muḥammad b. Saʿīd, quoting Muḥammad b. Zumbūr, quoting Fuḍayl b. ʿIyād, from Maṃṣūr, from ʿIbērīm, from Malik b. al-Ḥārith, or Maṃṣūr, from Malik b. al-Ḥārith, from Abū Naṣr, who stated, “I met ʿAlī, and had recited the talbiyya for the ḥajj, while he had done so for the ḥajj and the 'umra. I said, ‘Can I do as you did?’ He replied, ‘That is so – provided you began with the 'umra.’ I asked, ‘What should I do if that is what I wish?’ He replied, ‘Take a vessel of water and pour it over yourself. Then recite the talbiyya for both of them together. After that, circumambulate twice and make the saʿy passages twice for them. And do not declare your iḥrām concluded before the day of the sacrifice.’”

Maṃṣūr stated, “I related that to Mujāhid, and he said, ‘We used to combine with only one circumambulation. But nowadays that is not what we do.’”

The ġāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated that Suṭyān b. ʿUyayna, Suṭyān al-Thawrī and Shuʿbā narrated it from Maṃṣūr, but in his account he made no reference to the saʿy. He also stated that the “Abū Naṣr” mentioned in the line of transmission is
not known. If what he relates is authentic, then it is likely, he concluded, that he meant the tawaf al-qudum and the tawaf al-ziyara.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “It is also narrated with other lines of transmission from ‘Ali, both marfu‘ and mawquf.” It pivots upon al-Hasan b. ‘Amara and Haš b. Abū Dā‘ūd, Qaš b. ‘Abd Allāh and Ḥammād b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. All of them are weak, and nothing on that subject that they narrate should be cited as evidence. But God knows best.

What is transmitted in the authentic hadith contradicts the above.

We previously quoted the account of Ibn ‘Umar given in al-Bukhārī’s sahih collection to the effect that the Prophet (SAAS) recited the talbiyya for an umra and added the ḥajj to it. And so Ibn ‘Umar also performed the ḥajj al-qiran. He circumambulated for both the ḥajj and the umra, once only, saying, “This is what the Messenger of God (SAAS) did.”

Al-Tirmidhi, Ibn Māja and al-Bayhaqi narrated it from a hadith of al-Darāwardi, from Ubayd Allah, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘Those who join the ḥajj together with the umra perform one circumambulation for them both and one sa‘y for them both.”

Al-Tirmidhi stated, “This hadith is hasan gharib.”

I note that the line of transmission for this meets the criteria of Muslim.

The same happened to ʿA‘isha, “the mother of the Believers”. She was one of those who recited the talbiyya for an umra since she had not brought a hadd with her. When she menstruated, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told her to wash and to recite the talbiyya for a ḥajj with her umra. And so she performed the ḥajj al-qiran. When they returned from Mina, she asked that he allow her to perform an umra after the ḥajj and the Messenger of God (SAAS) did so in order to please her, as is asserted in the hadith.

Imām Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shafī‘ stated that Muslim al-Zanjī, he being Khalīd’s son, informed him, from Ibn Jurayj, from ʿAṭā‘, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to ʿA‘isha, “Your circumambulation of the kūḥa and between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā suffice for you for both your ḥajj and your umra.”

This is evidently a mursal quotation; but its content is fully substantiated by many of al-Shafī‘s comments.

He stated that Ibn ʿUayyna informed him, from Ibn Abū Najīh, from ʿAṭā‘, from ʿA‘isha, who quoted the Prophet (SAAS).

Al-Shafī‘ stated, “And Sufyān may have quoted it from ʿAṭā‘, from ʿA‘isha, and he may have said, ‘and the Prophet (SAAS) said to ʿA‘isha’.” He went on to quote as above.

The hāfuṣ al-Bayhaqi stated, “And Ibn Abū ʿUmar narrated it from Sufyān b. ʿUayyna as mawṣūl. Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Wahib, from Ibn Ṭawūs, from his father, from ʿA‘isha, in similar form.

Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that he heard Jabir say, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) went in to
see 'A'isha, she was weeping. He asked her, "Why are you crying?" "I am crying because the people have declared their ihram concluded, while I have not, and because they have circumambulated the ka'ba and I have not. And now is the time for this hajj."

He stated, "This is a matter that God has decreed for Adam's daughters. Wash yourself and recite the talbiyya for a hajj." She stated, "And so I did that. When I had cleansed myself, he said, 'Circumambulate the ka'ba, and between al-Šafā and al-Marwa, and then your state of ihram for the hajj will be concluded, as well as your umra.'"

She asked, "Messenger of God, I am concerned about my umra and that I did not circumambulate until I had performed the hajj." He said, "Go with her, 'Abd al-Rahmān, and let her make the umra from al-Tan'im."

Muslim also quotes a hadith of Ibn Jurayj. The latter stated that Abū al-Zubayr informed him that he heard Jābir say, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Šafā and al-Marwa."

The supporters of Abu Ḥanīfa, may God have mercy on him, maintain that the Prophet (ṣaas) and his Companions who had brought hadis combined between the hajj and the umra, as the aforementioned ahādīth indicate. But God knows best.

Al-Shāfi'ī stated that Ibrāhim b. Muḥammad informed him, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad, from his father, from ʿAli who said about those who perform the hajj al-qirān, "They should perform two circumambulations and one sa'y."

Al-Shāfi'ī stated, "Some people said that there should be two circumambulations and two sa'y. They cite as evidence for this a weak account from ʿAli." Ja'far said, "Our statement is narrated from ʿAli, and we also narrated it from the Prophet (ṢAAS)."

However, Abū Dā'ūd stated that Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad b. Rāfi' related to us, that Abū ʿAṣīm related to them both, from Ma'rūf - meaning Ibn Kharrābūd al-Makkī - quoting Abū Ṭūfayl, who said, "I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) circumambulate the ka'ba upon his camel, saluting the corner with a staff and then kissing it." Muḥammad b. Rāfi' added, "He then went forth to al-Šafā and al-Marwa and circumambulated seven times on his camel."

Muslim narrated this in his sahih collection, from a hadith of Abū Dā'ūd al-Ṭayālīsī, from Ma'rūf b. Khurbūdī, without the addition given by Muḥammad b. Rāfi'. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā narrated it similarly from Ma'rūf, without the addition. The hāfīẓ al-Bayhaqī narrated it from Abū Sa'd b. Abū ʿAmr, from al-Asamm, from Yahyā b. Abū Ṭālib, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥakīm, from Yazīd b. Mālik, from Abū al-Ṭūfayl, also without the addition. But God knows best.

The hāfīẓ al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū Bakr b. al-Ḥasan and Abū Zakariyyā b. Abū Isḥāq both stated that Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. Duḥaym related to them, quoting Ahmad b. Ḥāzīm, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā and Ja'far b. ʿAwn who both stated, "Ayman b. Nābil informed us, from Qudāma b. Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAmmār, who said, 'I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) pass between
al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā upon a camel; there was no hitting, no sending away and no shouts to get out of the way.”

Al-Bayhaqi stated, “They both spoke thus. A group other than Ayman also related it. They stated, ‘Stones were thrown on the day of the slaughter.’ It is likely that the statements of both men were authentic.”

I note that Imam Abū ʿAlī al-Maコピー narrated it in his musnad hadīth collection, from Wakiʿ, Qirān b. Tamām, Abū Quṣra Mūsā b. Ṭārīf, the qāḍī of the people of Yemen, Abū ʿAlī al-Maコピー Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī and Muʿtamīr b. Sulaymān, from Ayman b. Nābil al-Ḥabashi, the father of ʿImrān al-Makkī, a resident of ʿAṣqalān, the freed-man of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq. He is considered a very reliable source whom al-Bukhārī quoted. He gave the account of Qudāma b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmmār al-Kilābī, who related that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones on the day of the sacrifice from the middle of the wādí, mounted upon a grey female camel, and that there was no hitting, no sending away and no shouts to get out of the way.

Al-Tirmidhi narrated it similarly, from Abū ʿAlī al-Maコピー b. Manīʿ, from Marwān b. Muʿāwiya. Al-Nasāʿī gave it from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, both of whom quoted from Wakiʿ, from Ayman b. Nābil, from Qudāma. This is how Imam Abū ʿAlī al-Maコピー narrated it. Al-Tirmidhi categorized it as hasan saḥīh.

DIVISION

Jābir stated in his hadīth, “until, at the conclusion of his circumambulation, at al-Marwā, he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) said, ‘If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the hadīth.’”

Muslim narrated this.

In this account there is evidence against those who maintain that the saʿy between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā totals fourteen passages, each movement out and back being counted as one time. A group of major authorities of the Shafiʿī view maintain this.

This hadīth constitutes a refutation of them. Because the final circumambulation, according to what they say, would be at al-Ṣafā, not at al-Marwā.

This is why Abū ʿAlī al-Maコピー stated in his account in the hadīth of Jābir, “When it was the seventh circumambulation, at al-Marwā, he (the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)) said, ‘O people, if I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the hadīth and I would have made it an ḫumra. Those who have not brought a hadīth with them may declare their ḥirām concluded and they should make it an ḥumra.’ And so all the people did declare their ḥirām concluded.”

Muslim stated, “And so all the people did declare their ḥirām concluded and removed their hair, except for the Prophet (ṢAAS), and those who had brought hadīth with them.”
Chapter.

A group of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS), too long to mention here, narrated his order to those who had not brought *hadis* to convert the *hajj* into an ‘*umra*. The proper place for giving that information is in my work *al-Abkam al-Kabir*. If God so wills it.

There are differences about this. Malik, Abu Ḥanifa and al-Shafi‘ī stated that this was a prerogative of the Companions and that this conversion was abrogated for others. They hold fast to the statement of Abu Dharr, may God be pleased with him, “Conversion from the *hajj* to the ‘*umra* applied only to the Companions of Muhammad. May God be pleased with them.”

Muslim narrated this.

Imām Ahmad refuted this. He stated, “Eleven of the Companions narrated it; where does this account stand with regard to that?” He then, may God have mercy upon him, went on to allow the conversion to other than the Companions.

Ibn ʻAbbās, may God be pleased with him, stated that this conversion should necessarily apply to all those who had not brought *hadis*. Indeed, he maintained that it was legally permissible for someone who had circumambulated the *kaʻba* and had not brought a *hadi*, and that these circumstances alone made this permissible. In his view, the pilgrimage ceremonies consist either of the *hajj al-qiran* for those who have brought a *hadi*, or the *hajj al-tamattu‘* for those who have not. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū al-Nu‘mān related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from ʻAbd al-Malik b. Jurayj, from ʻAtiq, from Jabir. And from Tāwūs, from Ibn ʻAbbās. They both stated, “The Prophet (SAAS) and his Companions arrived on the morning of the 4th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, reciting the *talbiyya* for the *hajj*, mixing in nothing with it. When we arrived, he gave us orders and we made it an ‘*umra*. And he declared that our *ihram* was concluded (thus allowing us to go) to our wives. Gossip about this spread thereafter.”

ʻAtiq went on to quote Jabir as saying, “So one of us might go off to Minā with his penis damp from sperm!” He went on, gesturing, “This reached the Prophet (SAAS), and he said, ‘It has reached me that there are people saying such-and-such. I swear by God, I am more innocent, more pious towards God than they are! If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have made sacrifice. And if I had not had a *hadi* I would have declared my *ihram* concluded.’

“Surāqā b. Jušhum then arose and said, ‘Messenger of God, is this just for us, or for ever?’ ‘For ever,’ he replied.”

Muslim stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting al-Layth – he being Ibn Sa‘d – from Abu al-Zubayr, who quoted Jabir as saying, “We arrived along with the Messenger of God (SAAS), reciting the *talbiyya* for a *hajj* alone. ʻAmīsha arrived for an ʻ*umra*. When we were at Saraf she menstruated. Then when we reached (Mecca) we circumambulated the *kaʻba*, al-Šafā and al-Marwa, and the
Messenger of God (SAAS), told those of us who had not brought a hadī to declare our ihrām concluded. ‘To what extent?’ we asked. ‘Totally,’ he replied. And so we had sexual relations with our wives, put on perfume and dressed in clothes. Only four nights remained from that time until (the ceremonies on) ʿArafāt.”

These two aḥādīth state clearly that the Prophet (SAAS) came to Mecca the year of the hijjat al-wadaʿ on the morning of the fourth of Dhū al-Ḥijja. That was a Sunday, when daytime came, at dawn, because the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja that year was indisputably a Thursday, because the day for (the congregation at) ʿArafāt was Friday, according to the text of the hadīth of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb that is firmly established in both sahīh collections. As we will show.

When the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived on Sunday, the fourth of that month, he began, as we have related, with circumambulation of the kaʿba then he made the al-saʿy between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. When he completed his circumambulation between the two, at al-Marwa, he ordered those who had not brought hadīs with them to declare their ihrām decisively concluded. He required that of them definitely, and they did so. Some of them were regretful that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had not declared his ihrām concluded because he had brought the hadī. They had wanted to conform to his practice and would have found solace in this. When he perceived how they felt, he said to them, “If I had known beforehand what I came to learn, I would not have brought the hadī and would have made it an ‘umra.”

That is, “If I had known that this would upset you, I would have left bringing the hadī until after I had declared my ibram concluded, as you have done.”

From this the evidence might seem clear to you of the superiority of the hijjat al-tamattū, as Imām ʿAbd al-Qadr Ṭabarṣū maintained on the basis of this. He stated, “I do not doubt that the Messenger of God (SAAS), performed the hijjat al-qirān; however, the hijjat al-tamattū is superior, since he (the Prophet (SAAS)) expressed his regret at it.”

The response to this would be as follows: the Prophet (SAAS) did not express regret over the hijjat al-tamattū because of its superiority over the hijjat al-qirān, for those who had brought a hadī. He expressed regret because then he would not have upset his Companions by retaining his ihram state and by telling them to declare their ihram concluded.

Therefore – but God knows best – when Imām ʿAḥmad contemplated this “secret”, he gave the text of another hadīth from the Prophet (SAAS), to the effect that the hijjat al-tamattū is best for those not bringing a hadī, because of the latter’s order to those of his Companions who had not brought hadīs to perform the hijjat al-tamattū, and that the hijjat al-qirān would be preferable for those having brought hadīs, just as God, Almighty and Glorious is He, chose for His Prophet (SAAS), on the hijjat al-wadaʿ and His order to him in that regard, as related above. But God knows best.
The Messenger of God (SAAS), having finished his circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā and having ordered those who had not brought hadīs to conclude their pilgrimage, left in the company of those with him and stopped at al-Abṭāḥ, to the east of Mecca. He stayed there for the remainder of that Sunday and the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, until he had performed the suḥb prayer of Thursday. Throughout all those days he prayed there with his Companions without returning to the ka'ba.

Al-Bukhārī has a chapter entitled, Chapter of those who do not approach the ka'ba and do not circumambulate before going out to ʿArafāt and then return after the first circumambulation.

He went on to state therein that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr narrated to him, quoting Fuḍayl b. Ṣulaymān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, as saying, “Kurayb quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās as having said to him, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) came to Mecca, performed seven circumambulations and the saʿy between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā. He did not approach the ka'ba after his circumambulation until he returned from ʿArafāt.’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

During this time, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was staying at al-ʿAbṭāḥ, outside Mecca, ʿĀlī arrived from Yemen. The Prophet (SAAS) had sent him— as we narrated above— to Yemen as its governor after Khalīd b. al-Walīd, may God be pleased with them both.

When ʿĀlī arrived, he found that his wife Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS), had declared her iḥrām concluded, as had the wives of the latter, who had not brought hadīs. Fāṭima had put on kohl and dressed in colour-dyed clothing. ʿĀlī asked her, “Who told you to do this?” “My father,” she replied.

Somewhat annoyed at her, he then went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and told him that she had declared her iḥrām concluded, had dressed in colour-dyed clothes and put on kohl. He told him, “And she claims that you told her to do that, Messenger of God.”

He replied, “She spoke the truth.” He repeated this three times.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked him, “With what intent did you recite the talḥiyya when you determined upon the ḥajj?” He replied, “With the same intent as the Messenger of God,” he replied. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then told him, “I have brought the hadī with me, so do not declare your iḥrām concluded.”

The number of hadīs ʿĀlī had brought from Yemen and the Messenger of God (SAAS) had brought with him from Medina and had bought on the way totalled
100 camels. They shared all the hadis between them. All this is related in the sahih of Muslim, may God have mercy upon him, and has been given above.

This report refutes the account related by the hafiz Abu al-Qasim al-Tabarani, may God have mercy upon him, from a hadith of Ikrima, from Ibn Abbás, to the effect that ‘Ali met with the Prophet (SAAS) at al-Juha. But God knows best.

Abū Mūsā was among those who arrived with ‘Ali; however, he himself did not bring a hadj and so the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered him to declare his ihram concluded after he had circumambulated for the ‘umra and had made the sa’i. He then revoked his hajj into an ‘umra and performed the hajj al-tamattu’. He would use that experience in issuing his legal decision during the caliphate of ‘Omar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb gave his opinion that the hajj (alone) should be made quite separate from the ‘umra, he (Abū Mūsā) abandoned his legal position out of respect for the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar, may God be pleased with him and grant him pleasure.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Awn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from his father, who said, “I saw Bilāl make the call to prayer and circulate all around, and turn his face everywhere, his fingers in his ears. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was in a red pavilion he had, made of leather, I believe. Then Bilāl went out ahead of the Messenger of God (SAAS), carrying a short lance. He set it up and the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the prayer.”

‘Abd al-Razzāq stated, “And I heard him in Mecca say that at al-Batḥā dogs, women and donkeys would pass in front of him. He was dressed in a red hulla, ‘outer garment’, beneath which I thought I could see the sheen of his legs.” He said, “Sufyān, we think it (what he wore) was a ḥibara, ‘a shawl’.”

Aḥmad stated that Waki’ related to him, quoting Sufyān, from ‘Awn b. Abū Juḥayfa, from his father, who said, “I went to the Prophet (SAAS) at al-Abtaḥ while he was in a red pavilion he had. Bilāl came out with the residue of (the water from the ablution) sprinkling it (on those around him).

“Bilāl made the call to prayer and I watched as his mouth moved first here, then there” – meaning to the right and the left. “Then the ‘ṣaḥaṣa, ‘a short lance’, was set up, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) came out, dressed in a red jubba” – or a red hulla – “and I thought I could see the sheen of his legs. He performed the al-ṣuḥr” – or the al-ṣaṣr – “prayer, facing towards the ʿamanṣa. Women, dogs and donkeys passed by without hindrance. He kept on performing prayers of two rakaʿāt until he reached Medina.”

On one occasion, the account quotes the narrator as saying, “He performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer of two rakaʿāt and the al-ṣaṣr of two rakaʿāt.”

In both sahih collections this is given from an account of Sufyān al-Thawrī.

Aḥmad also stated, that Muhammad b. Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʾba and Ḥajjāj, from al-Ḥakam, who quoted Abū Juḥayfa as saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) left and went to al-Baṭḥā. He performed the ablution and the al-ṣuḥr prayer with two rakaʿāt with a short lance before him.”
‘Awf made an addition to this, quoting his father as quoting Abū Juḥayfa as saying, “and there were donkeys and women passing behind us”.

Hajjāj stated in the ḥadīth, “Then people began taking hold of his hand and wiping it over their faces. I took his hand and placed it on my face; I found it to be cooler than ice and more sweet-smelling than musk.”

Both authors of the saḥīḥ collections gave it in full from a ḥadīth of Shu‘ba.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained, as we have stated above, at al-Abtaḥ the Sunday, Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. The people who had not brought ḫadīṣ had declared their ḫārām concluded.

During that period, ‘Alī b. Abū Ta’līb arrived from Yemen with the Muslims accompanying him and the wealth he brought. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not return to the kaba after he had circumambulated it.

The morning of Thursday, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the morning prayer, that day being that of al-tarwīyya. It is also called the “Minā day” because (people) go there then.

It has been narrated that the Prophet (ṢAAS) had made an address before that day. The previous day, as I have seen in various commentaries, is known as the yawm al-zaffa, “decoration day”, because on it the sacrificial animals are garlanded with ornaments and similar items. But God knows best.


The Prophet (ṢAAS) then set off on his mount to Minā, before the noon – though some say thereafter. Those who had previously declared their ḫārām for the ḥaǧj concluded, now declared it in effect when they left al-Abtaḥ for Minā. They did this as their mounts set off carrying them there.

‘Abd al-Malik stated, quoting ‘Aṭā‘, from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh, who said, “We arrived with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and declared our ḫilāf in effect. When it was the day of the tarwīyya, and after we had turned our backs to Mecca, we recited the talbiyya for the ḥaǧj.”

Al-Bukhārī made reference to this in a brief note.

Muslim stated that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Sa‘d, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who said that Jābir stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered us, when we had declared our ḫārām concluded, to again declare it in effect when we moved off to Minā. And we recited the talbiyya from al-Abtaḥ.”
‘Ubayd b. Jurayj stated to Ibn ‘Umar, “I saw that when you were in Mecca and the people recited the *talbiyya* on seeing the crescent, you did not recite it until the day of al-*tarwiyya*.” He replied, “I did not see the Prophet (SAAS) recite the *talbiyya* until his camel set off bearing him.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it as part of a lengthy *ḥadīth*.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ḍā‘ū was asked about how those next to Mina would recite the *talbiyya* for the *ḥajj*. He stated, “Ibn ‘Umar would recite the *talbiyya* the day of al-*tarwiyya*, after he had performed the al-*ẓuhr* prayer and settled himself on his mount.”

I note that that was what Ibn ‘Umar would do when he performed the ‘*umra*; he would declare his *ihrām* concluded after the ‘*umra* and then on al-*tarwiyya* day he would refrain from reciting the *talbiyya* until his mount set off with him towards Mina. Similarly, the Messenger of God (SAAS) declared his *ihrām* concluded from Dhū al-Ḥulayfa after having performed the al-*ẓuhr* prayer and when his mount had set off with him.

However, on the al-*tarwiyya* day, the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not perform the al-*ẓuhr* prayer at al-‘Abdāl, but he did perform it that day at Minā. There is no dispute at all over this.

Al-Bukhārī has a section entitled, *Chapter on where the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the ẓuhr prayer on al-tarwiyya day*.

He stated that Ḥārūn b. ‘Abbās related to him, quoting Ishaq al-Azraq, quoting Sufyān, from Ḥārūn al-*Azīz* b. Rufay, who said, “I asked Anas b. Malik, ‘Tell me something you learned from the Messenger of God (SAAS); where was it he performed the al-*ẓuhr* and the al-*ṣaʿr* prayers on *tarwiyya* day?’ He replied, ‘At Minā.’ I asked, ‘And where did he pray the al-*ṣaʿr* on al-nafrî day?’ He replied, ‘At al-‘Abdāl.’ He then commented, ‘Do as your leaders do!’”

The rest of the community of scholars, except for Ibn Māja, gave this from a variety of lines of transmission, from Ishaq b. Yusuf al-Azraq, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Imām Aḥmad related it similarly, from Ishaq b. Yusuf al-Azraq.

Al-Tirmidhī stated, “It is *ḥasan sahih*, though it may be considered *gharib*, coming from a *ḥadīth* of al-Azraq, from al-Thawrī.”


Aḥmad stated that Aswād b. ‘Amir related to him, quoting Abū Kudayna, from al-A‘mash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ‘Abbās (who said that)

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113. The day of the departure of the pilgrims from Minā.
the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed five prayers at Minā. And Aḥmad also said that Aswād b. Āmīr related to him, quoting Abū Mahyāt Yahyā b. Yaʿāqib al-Ṭaymi, from al-ʾAmash, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Prophet (SAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer on al-ṭarwiyya day at Minā, and he prayed the day time (prayers) on the day (of the assembly) at ʿArafāt.

Abū Daʿūd narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from Aḥwaṣ, from Jawab, from ʿAmmār b. Ruzayq, from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-ʾAmarsh. His words were, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer on al-ṭarwiyya day and the al-fajr prayer on ʿArafāt day at Minā.”

Al-Tirmidhī gave it from al-ʾAshajj, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAjlaḥ, from al-ʾAmarsh, to the same effect. He stated, “This is not among what Shuʿba included in what al-Ḥakam heard from Miqsam.”

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Abū Saʿīd al-ʾAshajj related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAjlaḥ, from Ismāʿīl b. Muslim, from ʿĀṭir, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed with us at Minā the al-ṣuḥr, the al-ṣaḥr, the al-maghrīb, the al-ʾiṣḥāq and the al-fajr prayers. Then in the morning he went to ʿArafāt.” Al-Tirmidhī went on, “There is some controversy over Ismāʿīl b. Muslim.”

In that sub-heading it is also given from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and Anas b. Malīk.

Imām Aḥmad stated, “Someone who saw the Prophet (SAAS) informed me that he went to Minā on al-ṭarwiyya day with Bilāl at his side carrying a pole on which was a piece of cloth with which he was sheltering the Messenger of God (SAAS). (Sheltering him) from the heat, that is.” Aḥmad alone gave this.

Al-Shāfīʿī gave in his text the information that the Messenger of God (SAAS) rode from al-ʿAbṭāb to Minā after noon, but that he only prayed the al-ṣuḥr at Minā. This hadith might be cited (in contradiction) of him. But God knows best.

It is given above in the hadith of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jaʿbir, who said, “All the people declared their iḥrām at an end and clipped (their hair) except for the Prophet (SAAS), and those who had brought hadis with them. And when it was the tarwiyya day, they set off for Minā and recited the talbīyya for the ḥaḍāj. The Messenger of God (SAAS) rode and performed the al-ṣuḥr, the al-ṣaḥr, the al-maghrīb, the al-ʾiṣḥāq and the al-fajr there. Then he stayed a little longer until the sun arose and he called for a pavilion of haircloth he had and it was set up for him at Namira.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) then proceeded on, while Quraysh had no doubt that he would be staying at al-mashʿar al-ḥarām (at Muzdalifah), as Quraysh used to do in the jāḥiliyya period.

“But he went across to ʿArafāt and found that the pavilion had been set up for him at Namira. There he dismounted. When the sun began to decline, he called for his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ and she was saddled for him. He then went on down to
the centre of the wādi and made an address to the people. He said, ‘Your blood and your property are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month, in this your land.

‘I declare that everything relating to the jāhiliyya is cast down beneath my two feet. The blood feuds (of the jāhiliyya) are cast down. The first blood feud I dismiss is that relating to the blood of Ibn Rabī‘a b. al-Ḥārith. (He was brought up as a foster-child in Banū Sa‘d and killed by Hudhayl.) Also, the interest charges of the jāhiliyya are abolished. The first interest charge I abolish is that of al-ʿAbbās b. al-Muṭṭalib; it is all abolished.

‘Fear God (in your treatment) of women. You have taken them in God’s trust, and their persons are made permitted to you by God’s word. You may require of them that they not allow anyone you dislike to enter your furnishings; if they should do this, then beat them, but not viciously. They have the right from you to have their sustenance and their clothing, with kindness.

‘I have left for you something wherein, if you keep to it, you will not go astray – God’s Book. You will be questioned about me. What is it you will say?’

‘They responded, ‘We will bear witness that you have fulfilled (your mission), that you gave good advice and did your duty.’

‘He then spoke with his index finger, using it to convey meaning to the people, saying, ‘O God, bear witness! O God, bear witness! O God, bear witness!’ (He said this) three times.’

Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Nasāʾī stated that he was informed by ʿAlī b. Ḥājr, from Mughītā, from Mūsā b. Ziyād b. Ḥidhaym b. ʿAmr al-Saʿdī, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say in his address on the day (of the assembly at) ‘Arafat, on the ḥijjat al-wadā’, ‘Learn that your blood and your possession and your honour are sacrosanct for you, just as this day, this month and this land are sacrosanct for you.’”

Abī Daʿūd stated, under the heading, The address on the minbar at ‘Arafāt, that Ḥannāḏ related to him, from Ibn Abī Zayyāda, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Zayd b. Aslam, from a man of Banū ʿAmr, from his father or his uncle, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) upon the minbar at ‘Arafāt.”

This line of transmission is weak, because there is in it a man who is dubious. Moreover, it is stated above in the long hadith of Jābir, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made his address while mounted on his camel al-Qaṣwāʾ.

Abū Dāʿūd then stated that Musaddaq related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allah b. Dāʿūd, from Salama b. Nubayt, from a man from the tribe, from his father Nubayt, (who said) that he saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) standing at ‘Arafāt upon a red camel making an address.

This also has a dubious link; however, Jābir’s hadith does testify to it.

Messenger of God (SAAS) making an address to the people on the day of 'Arafát, upon a camel, standing up in the stirrups.'”

Abu Da‘ûd stated, “Ibn al-‘Alî narrated it from Wâlî, as Hannâd had spoken. And ʿAbbâs b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzîm related to me, quoting ʿUthmân b. ʿUmar, quoting ʿAbd al-Majîd Abû ʿAmr, from al-ʿAddâ b. Khâlid to the same effect.”

In both sahih collections, it is given from Ibn ʿAbbâs, who is quoted as saying, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) make an address at ‘Arafât and say, ‘Those without sandals shall wear leather socks; those without a waist-wrapper shall wear (instead) trousers for the pilgrim (in the state of ihram).’”

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated that Yahyâ b. ʿAbbâd b. ʿAbd Allâh b. al-Zubayr quoted his father ʿAbbâd as saying, “The man who used to make announcements to the people relating to the pronouncements of the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he was on ‘Arafât, was Rabî’a b. Umayyâ b. Khalaf. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said (to him), ‘Say: ‘O people, the Messenger of God says, ‘Do you know what month this is?’ They will say, ‘The holy months.’ Then say to them, ‘God has made your blood and your possessions sacrosanct for you, just as is this month of yours.’ Then say, ‘O people, the Messenger of God asks you, ‘Do you know what land this is?’’” And he went on to complete the hadîth as above.

Muhammad b. Ishaq proceeded to state that Layth b. Abû Sulaym related to him, from Shahr b. Hawshab, from ʿAmr b. Khârija, who said, “ʿAttab b. Usayd sent me to the Messenger of God (SAAS), for a purpose while he was standing upon ‘Arafât. I gave him the message, then stood below his camel. (I was so close that) its saliva was dripping upon my head. I heard him say, ‘O people, God has assigned to each person his portion. It is not permissible to make a bequest to an heir. The child relates to the bed.’” And stoning is for fornicators. Anyone claiming as his father someone who is not, or a freed-man claiming as his master someone who is not, the curse of God, the angels and all men is upon them. God will not accept for him any penance, nor any requital.”


I note it has some variance from the hadîth of Qatâda. But God knows best.

We will also refer hereafter to the address made by the Messenger of God (SAAS), following this one, on the day of the sacrifice, giving judgement, exhortations, details and prophetic ethics it expresses, if God so wills it.

Al-Bukhâri has a section entitled, Chapter: the talbiyya and the takbir made when the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he departed in the morning from Minâ to ‘Arafât.

114. During the performance of the rites, the pilgrim is dressed in the iḥrām, which consists of two pieces of cloth which act as his upper and lower garments. His shoes, furthermore, should not cover his heels or ankles.
115. To its mother, that is.
In it he stated that ‘Abd Allah b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Mūhammad b. Ābu Bakr al-Thaqaftī (who said) that he asked Anas b. Mālik, while they were both travelling in the morning from Mīnā to ‘Arafāt, “How did you act this same day with the Messenger of God (ṣallā Allāhu ‘alaihi wa sallam)?” He replied, “He did not rebuke those of us who recited the talbiyya, nor did he rebuke those of us who spoke the takbir.”

Muslim gave it from a hadīth of Mālik and Musa b. ‘Uqba, both of whom quoted from Mūhammad b. Ābu Bakr b. Āwfi al-Thaqaftī al-Iṣṣāṣī, from Anas.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allah b. Maslama related to him, quoting Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from Sālim b. ‘Abd Allah (who said) “‘Abd al-Mālik b. Marwān wrote to al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf to the effect that he suggest to ‘Abd Allah b. Īmār that he make the hajj. When it was the day for ‘Arafāt, Ibn Īmar – along with myself – when the sun had begun to incline – or the narrator’s words were “when the sun had set” – “and we were near al-Hajjāj’s tent, Ibn Īmar shouted out, ‘Well, where is he?’ Al-Hajjāj emerged. Ibn Īmar told him, ‘Time to leave!’ ‘Right now?’ al-Hajjāj asked. ‘Yes,’ Ibn Īmar replied. Al-Hajjāj asked, ‘Wait while I pour water over myself.’ Ibn Īmar dismounted and walked about (impatiently) between myself and my father. I said to al-Hajjāj, ‘If you want to act precisely in accord with the sunna today, then you should make the address short and proceed quickly to the stay (on ‘Arafāt).’ Ibn Īmar commented, ‘He spoke the truth.’”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it from al-Qabīnī, from Mālik. Al-Nāṣirī promulgated it from a hadīth of Ashhab and Ibn Wahb, from Mālik.

Al-Bukhārī went on, after narrating this hadīth, to quote al-Layth as stating that ‘Aqiq related to him, from Ibn Shihāb, who quoted Sālim as saying, “In the year when al-Hajjāj attacked Ibn al-Zubayr, the former asked ‘Abd Allah (Ibn ‘Umar), ‘What do you do at this station, at ‘Arafāt?’ I replied, ‘If you want to act in accord with the sunna, then offer the prayer just after midday on the day at ‘Arafāt.’ Ibn ‘Umar commented, ‘He spoke the truth. According to the sunna, they (the Companions of the Prophet (ṣallā Allāhu ‘alaihi wa sallam)), would perform the al-zuhr and the al-‘aṣr together.’ I asked Sālim, ‘Did the Messenger of God (ṣallā Allāhu ‘alaihi wa sallam) do that?’ Sālim responded, ‘In doing that would you (people) act in any other way than in accord with the sunna.’”

Abū Da‘ūd stated that Āḥmad b. Ḥanbal related to him, quoting Ya‘qūb, quoting Abū ‘Awf, from Ibn Iṣḥāq, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṣallā Allāhu ‘alaihi wa sallam) left Mīnā early, having performed the al-zuhr prayer, on the morning of the day for (the assembly on) Mt. ‘Arafāt. He stopped at Namira, at the station of the imām, where the latter would stay at ‘Arafāt, until, at the time of the al-zuhr prayer, he left as a muhajir and he combined together the al-zuhr and the al-‘aṣr prayers.

Jābīr related this similarly in his hadīth after he gave the address quoted above. He went on, “Bilāl then made the call to prayer followed by the iqāma.”
Thereupon he (the Prophet (SAAS)) arose and performed the al-zuhr prayer, and after that arose again and performed the al- ̧ asr, and he did not combine any other prayer between these two."

This hadith requires that the Messenger of God (SAAS) first gave the address and then the prayer was held, without him having engaged in the second address.

Al-Shafi'i stated that Ibrahim b. Muhammad and others informed him, from Ja'far b. Muhammad, from his father and from Jabir, concerning the hijjat al-wadā' as follows, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) went to the station on ‘Arafat and made the first address to the people. Bilal made the call to prayer and thereafter the Prophet (SAAS) proceeded to deliver the second address. He finished the address, as did Bilal the prayer call. Bilal then made the iqāma and he (the Prophet) arose and performed the al-zuhr and then again the al- ̧ asr."

Al-Bayhaqi stated that Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Abu Ya'ya is alone in giving this.

Muslim stated, quoting Jabir, "Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) rode off to the station, where he positioned the belly of his camel al-Qaṣwā' to the rocks, placing himself so that Mt. al-Mashā' was ahead of him and he faced the qibla."

Al-Bukhari stated that Yahya b. Sulayman related to him, from Ibn Wahb, quoting 'Amr b. al- ̧ Harith b. Bukayr, from Kurayb, from Maymūna, (who said), "The people were uncertain about whether the Prophet (SAAS) was fasting, so I sent a container of milk to him while he was standing at the station. He drank from it while everyone looked on."

Muslim included it from Ḥarun b. Sa'd al-Abll, from Ibn Wahb.

Al-Bukhari stated that 'Abd Allah b. Yusuf informed him, quoting Malik, from Abū al-Naḍr, the freed-man of 'Umar b. 'Abd Allah, from 'Umayr, freed-man of Ibn 'Abbās, from Umm al-Fadl, daughter of al- ̧ Harith, (who said), "People disputed in my presence on ‘Arafāt day concerning the fast of the Prophet (SAAS). Some people said, ‘He is fasting.’ Others said, ‘He is not fasting.' So I sent a vessel of milk to him while he was standing up on his camel, and he drank it."

Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Malik also. They both gave it from other lines of transmission, from Abū al-NAḍr.

I note that Umm al-Fadl was the sister of Maymūna, daughter of al- ̧ Harith, mother of the Believers; the story of both is one and the same. But God knows best. The line of transmission to her is authentic, because it comes directly from her, unless, that is, it be after that or there were several lines of transmission from the one and the other woman. But God knows best.

Imam Aḥmad stated that Ismā'īl related to him, quoting Ayyūb, who said, "I don’t know whether I heard it from Sa'id b. Jubayr or from his sons who quoted him, as saying as follows, ‘I went to Ibn ‘Abbās while he was standing upon ‘Arafāt eating a pomegranate. He said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) broke his fast on ‘Arafāt and Umm al-Fadl sent milk to him which he drank.'"
Aḥmad stated that Wakiʿ related to him, quoting Ibn ʿAbū Dhiʿb, from Ṣāliḥ, the freed-man of al-Tawʿama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that they disputed over the fast of the Prophet (ṢAAS), on ʿArafaṭ day, and that Umm al-Fiḍl sent milk to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and that he drank it.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq and Ābu Bakr both said that Ibn Jurayj informed him that ʿAṭāʾ stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās invited al-Fiḍl b. ʿAbbās to eat on ʿArafaṭ day. He said, ‘Don’t fast. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was brought a vessel containing milk on ʿArafaṭ day and he drank from it. So do not fast. The people are waiting for you.’”

Ibn Bukayr and Rawḥ quoted the words as “The people await you.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “A man standing with the Prophet (ṢAAS) at ʿArafaṭ fell off his camel and broke his neck” – or his words were, “and it broke his neck.” “The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘Wash him with water boiled with wood of the lote tree, wrap him in a double shroud. Do not perfume him, cover his head or embalm him. God will resurrect him on Judgement Day, (and he will be) mulabbiyyan, ‘expressing his readiness to serve God’.”

Muslim narrated it from Abū al-Raḥf al-Zahrānī, from Ḥammād b. Zayd. Al-Nasāʿī stated that Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn Rāhawayh – informed him, quoting Wakiʿ, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Bukayr b. ʿAṭāʾ, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿmur al-Dhīḥ, who said, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at ʿArafaṭ. People from Najd came to him and asked him about the ḥajj. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘The ḥajj is ʿArafaṭ; those who are there in the night at ʿArafaṭ, before dawn on the night of the assemblage, will have concluded their ḥajj.’”

The rest of the scholars of the al-sunan narrated it from a hadith of Sufyān al-Thawrī. Al-Nasāʿī and Shuʿba added to it Bukayr b. ʿAṭāʾ.

Al-Nasāʿī stated that Qutayba informed him, quoting Sufyān, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, quoting ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣafwān, who quoted Yazīd b. Shaybān as saying, “We were positioned at ʿArafaṭ in a place far removed from the station. Ibn Mīrbaʿ al-Anṣārī came over to us and said, ‘I am sent to you by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He tells you, ‘(You should) be at your shrines; you have a heritage, a heritage from your father, Abraham.’’”

Abū Dāʿūd, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mājā narrated it from a hadith of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “This hadith is ḥasan, ‘good’; we know it only from a hadith of Ibn ʿUyayna from ʿAmr b. Dinār.”

The Ibn Mīrbaʿ referred to above was named in full Zayd b. Mīrbaʿ al-Anṣārī; only this one hadith is attributed to him.

And on this subject there are aḥādīth from ʿAlī, ʿAʾisha, Jubayr b. Muṭʿīm and al-Shārid b. Suwayd. And it has been given above, from the account of Muslim, from Jaʿfār b. Muḥammad, from his father, from Jaʿbīr, that the Messenger of
God (SAAS), stated, “I have stood here, and all ‘Arafāt is a station.” Mālik added in his work al-Muwattaʾ the words, “And spread out, therefore, from the valley of ‘Arafāt”.

Chapter: Those parts of the prayers delivered by the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he stood upon Mt. ‘Arafāt that are recorded.

It has been narrated above that the Messenger of God (SAAS) broke his fast on the day at ‘Arafāt; this shows that breaking fast there is preferable to fasting because of the added strength that provides for the prayers, since they are the more important objective there.

This is why the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained mounted upon his camel (at ‘Arafāt) from noon to sunset.

Abū Dāʿud al-Ṭayālisi related in the musnad compendium, from Ḥawshab b. ʿAqīl, from Māhdī al-Ḥajāri, from Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra, from the Messenger of God (SAAS), to the effect that at ‘Arafāt, he forbade fasting on the day (of the assembly) at ‘Arafāt.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Māhdī related to us, quoting Ḥawshab b. ʿAqīl, quoting Māhdī al-Muḥāribi, quoting Ikrima, the freed-man of Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “I went to Abū Hurayra in his home and asked him about fasting on Mt. ‘Arafāt the day (of the assembly) there. He replied, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) forbade fasting on ‘Arafāt for (the assembly) there.’”

On one occasion, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gave the transmission of the ḥadīth from Māhdī al-ʿAbdī.

Aḥmad narrated it similarly from Wākiʾ, from Ḥawshab, from Māhdī al-ʿAbdī. Abū Dāʿud narrated it similarly from Sulaymān b. Ḥarib, from Ḥawshab. Al-Naṣāʾī gave it from Sulaymān b. Maʿbad, from Sulaymān b. Ḥarib, as well as from al-Fallās, from Ibn Māhdī. Ibn Māja gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and ʿAlī b. Mūḥammad, both of whom quoted from Wākiʾ, from Ḥawshab.

The hāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz and Abū Saʿīd b. Abū ʿAmr informed him that it was related to them both by Abū al-ʿAbbās Mūḥammad b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Abū Usāma al-Kalbi, quoting Ḥasan b. al-Rabīʿ, quoting al-Ḥārith b. Ubayd, from Ḥawshab b. ʿUqayl, from Māhdī al-Ḥajāri, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “At ‘Arafāt, the Messenger of God (SAAS) forbade fasting on the day (of the assembly) at ‘Arafāt.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Ḥārith b. Ubayd spoke it similarly. The correct line is from Ikrima, from Abū Hurayra.

Abū Ḥātim Mūḥammad b. Hibbān al-Bustī narrated, in his sahiḥ collection from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr, that he was questioned about fasting on the day on ‘Arafāt. He replied, “I made the pilgrimage with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he did not fast it. And also with Abū Bakr, and he did not fast it. And also with ʿUmar, and he did not fast it. As for myself, I do not fast it, nor do I order it to be fasted, nor do I forbid it.”
Imām Aḥmad and al-Tirmidhī narrated, from a ḥadīth of ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “Most of the prayer of the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the day of ‘Arafāt was, ‘There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.’”

Imām Aḥmad also gives the following ḥadīth from ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite this verse while he was at ‘Arafāt: ‘God bears testimony, as do the angels and those with knowledge, that there is no god but He, the upholder of righteousness. There is no god but He, the Powerful, the Wise’ (ṣūrat Al-‘Īmran; III, v.18). And I, O God, am of those who testify to that.”

The ḥāфиз Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated in his work al-Manāṣik that al-Ḥasan b. Muthannā b. Mu‘ādh b. ‘Anbarī stated, quoting ‘Affān b. Muslim, quoting Qays b. al-Rabi‘ī, from al-Aghār b. al-Ṣabīl, from Khalifa b. Busayn, from ‘Ali who stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘The best statement I or the prophets before me ever made was on the evening of the assembly) at ‘Arafāt: ‘There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.’”

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that Aḥmad b. Iṣḥāq b. Ayyūb al-Nisābūrī, quoting Aḥmad b. Dā‘ūd b. Jābir al-Aḥmāsī, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣīlī, quoting Faraj b. Faḍlā, from Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Nāfī, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘My prayer and that of the prophets before me on the evening of (the assembly) at ‘Arafāt was, ‘There is no god but God alone; He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd – meaning Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi al-Jurāḥ – related to us, quoting Baqīyya b. al-Walīd, quoting Jubayr b. ʿAmr al-Qurashi, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd ʿAbbās, from Abū Yaḥyā, the freed-man of the family of al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, from al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, may God be pleased with him, who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recite this verse while he was at ‘Arafāt: ‘God bears testimony, as do the angels and those with knowledge, that there is no god but He, the upholder of righteousness. There is no god but He, the Powerful, the Wise’ (ṣūrat Al-‘Īmran; III, v.18). And I, O God, am of those who testify to that.”
from ‘Ali, may God be pleased with him, who said, “The most part of what the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed on the day at ‘Arafat, at the station, was ‘O God, praise is Yours, such as that we speak, and better than we speak. O God, my prayer goes to You, along with my devotion. And my living and my dying are yours, Lord of my heritage. I seek refuge with You from the agony of the grave, the whisperings of the breast and conflicting matters. O God, I take refuge with You from the evil of what the wind may bring.”

Al-Tirmidhi then stated, “It is gharib from this line. Its line of transmission is not strong.”

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqi narrated it through Mūsā b. Ubayda, from his brother ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayda, from ‘Ali, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘The greater part of the prayer of those before me and of my prayer at ‘Arafat, is my saying, ‘There is no god but God alone. He has no associate. Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything. O God, place a light in my seeing, a light in my hearing and a light in my heart. O God, give comfort to my breast and ease my affairs. O God, I seek refuge with you from the whisperings of the breast, and conflicting matters, the evil of the trials of the grave, the evil of what comes in by night, the evil of what comes by day, the evil of what the winds bring in and the evil of fate’s calamities.’’”

Al-Tirmidhi then stated, “Mūsā b. Ubayda is alone in giving this. He is a weak source, and his brother ʿAbd Allāh was not a contemporary of ‘Ali.”

Al-Ṭabarānī stated in his work al-Manāsik that Yaḥyā b. Uthmān al-Naṣīrī related to us, quoting Yahyā b. Bukayr, quoting Yahyā b. Ṣalīḥ al-Ayli, from ʿĪsā b. Umayya, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Abū Rabāḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Among what the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed for on the ḥijjat al-wadāʾ was, ‘O God, You hear my words, see my whereabouts and know of me what is secret and what is plain; nothing about me is hidden from You. I, the miserable, the poor, the seeker for help and protection, the concerned, the sympathetic, the consoler, the penitent, I petition You as do the poor, I plead with You in humility as do the humble, I pray to You as does one who is fearful and in distress, as one who submits his neck to You, and sheds his tears before You, bending low his body before You, humiliating himself before You. O God, do not render me, O God, wretched in my prayer to You; be compassionate and merciful with me, O Best of all who receive requests, and Best of all who give.’”

Imām ʿAbd Allāh stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik, quoting ʿAṭāʾ, who said, “Usāma b. Zayd stated, ‘I was mounted behind the Prophet (SAAS) at ‘Arafat. He raised his hands praying. His camel bent forward and its halter fell. He picked up the halter with one of his hands while he raised up his other.’”

Al-Naṣīrī narrated it similarly from Yaʿqūb b. Ibrahim, from Hushaym.

al-Ḥāshimi, from Ḳrima, from Ibn Ṭabāṣ, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), praying at ʿArafāt with his hands placed upon his chest like a poor man pleading for food.”

Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayalisi stated in his musnad collection, that ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarri related to him, quoting a son of Kināna b. al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdas, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAbbās b. Mirdas (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed on the evening at ʿArafāt for forgiveness and mercy for his nation, and that his prayer was lengthy. He (ʿAbbās) stated that God revealed to him, “I have forgiven (all), except the oppression of one another. As for their sins that are between Myself and them, those I have forgiven.” (ʿAbbás went on,) “The Prophet (ṢAAS) said, ‘O God, You have power to reward with good this unfortunate for his wrongs done to him, and to forgive this wrong-doer.’ But He did not respond to him that evening.

“When morning for (the passage to) Muzdalifa came, he repeated his supplication. God Almighty responded to him, ‘I have forgiven them.’ And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) smiled and one of his Companions asked him, ‘Messenger of God, why are you smiling at a time when you used not to smile?’ He replied, ‘I am smiling at that enemy of God, Satan. When he learned that God, the Almighty and Glorious, had responded to me about my nation, he fell down praying in distress and lamenting loudly, pouring dirt over his head.’”

Abū Dāʿūd al-Sijistani narrated it in his al-Sunan from ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm al-Burākī and Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭayalisi, both of whom quoted from ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarri, from Ibn Kināna b. ʿAbbās b. Mirdas, from his father, from his grandfather. (That account is) abbreviated.

Ibn Maja narrated it from Ayyūb b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāshimi b. ʿAbd al-Qāhir b. al-Sarri, from Abū Allāh b. Kināna b. ʿAbbās, from his father, from his grandfather. (That account is) extended.

Ibn Jarir narrated it in his Taftir (Exegesis) from Ismāʿīl b. Sayf al-ʿIjlī, from Abū al-Qāhir b. al-Sarri, from a son of Kināna, whose name was Abū Lubāba, from his father, from his grandfather al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdas.

The ḫāṭiṣ Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrāni stated that Īshāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Dabari, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʿmar, from someone who heard Qatāda state, “Jūlās b. ʿAmr related to us, from ʿUbadā b. al-Ṣamit, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the day of ʿArafāt, “O people, God this day has granted you more time. He has granted you forgiveness, except for your (blameworthy) interactions with one another. He has replaced your misdeeds with good and given to those of you who do good what they request. Go forth, in the name of God.”

“When they were assembled, he said, “God has forgiven those of you who are good and has welcomed the intercession of your good men for those of you who have done evil. Mercy descends and includes them all. And then mercy is dispersed over the land and falls upon all repentants who have guarded their
tongues and hands. Satan and his troops are upon the mountains of ‘Arafât watching what God is doing with them. And when mercy comes down, Satan and his troops pray in distress and lament loudly. I would egg them on for a long time at fear of forgiveness, and it encompassed them (the Muslims) And so they (the devils) are dispersing, praying in distress and lamenting.”"

An Account of the sublime revelation at that honoured station.

Imâm Ahmad stated that Ja’far b. ‘Awîn related to him, quoting Abû al-’Umayûs, from Qays b. Muslim, from Ṭâriq b. Shihâb, who stated, “A Jew came to Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb and said, ‘Commander of the Believers, you recite a certain verse in your Book; had it come down upon us Jews, we would have adopted that day as an ‘id, “a festival day”.’ ‘What verse is that?’ he asked. He replied, ‘The words of the Almighty, “Today I have fulfilled for you your religion. I have fulfilled of you my grace, and I have honoured you with Islam as a religion”’ (sûrat al-Mi’râda; V, v.3).

‘Umar commented, ‘I swear by God, I well know the day when it was revealed to the Messenger of God (Ṣâîs), and the hour too – in the evening at ‘Arafât, on the Friday.’”

Al-Bukhârî narrated it from al-’Ilâsîn b. al-$âbîl, from Ja’far b. ‘Awîn. He also gave it, as did Muslim, al-Tirmîdî and al-Nâsâ’î, through several lines from Qays b. Muslim.

Accounts of the passage of the Messenger of God (ṣâîs), from ‘Arafât to the mash‘ar al-ḥârâm.

Jâbir stated in his long ḥadîth, “He remained standing there until the sun set. The yellow of the sky dissipated somewhat, until the sun-disk had gone. Usâmâ b. Zayd then mounted behind him and the Messenger of God (Ṣâîs) moved away; he had so tightened al-Qu’aswâ’s bridle that her head almost touched the front of his saddle. With his right hand, he was making a gesture that said, ‘People! Go easy! Go easy!’ Whenever he came to a hill, he loosened his grip somewhat until she had climbed up.

“When he came to al-Muzdalîfâ he prayed the al-‘îshâ, with an ‘âdân and two iqâmas; between these two prayer times he did not speak prayers.”

Muslim narrated this.

Al-Bukhârî stated, in his chapter His journey when he left ‘Arafât, that ‘Abd Allâh b. Yusûf related to him, quoting Mâlik, from Hishâm b. Qurwâ, from his father, who said, “Usâmâ was asked, while I was seated, ‘How did the Messenger of God (Ṣâîs) travel on the hijjat al-wadâ when he set off?’ He replied, ‘He
would travel at the *al-šanaq*, “canter”, pace; if he found open space, he would speed up even more to the *al-nasš* “galllop”, pace.”

Hishām stated, “The *al-nasš* pace is faster than that of *al-šanaq*.”

Imām Āḥmad and the other major scholars, except for al-Tirmidhī, gave this through several lines, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd.

Imām Āḥmad stated that Ya’qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibīn Iṣḥāq, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, “I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the evening at ʿArafāt. When the sun set, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set out. When he heard the hurried jostling of the people behind him, he called, ‘Take it easy, everyone! May *al-sakīna*, “(God’s) tranquillity”, be upon you! Piety is not (measured) by speed!’”

Usāma went on, “When the people crowded around him, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would move off at the *al-šanaq* pace and if he found an opening ahead, he would increase to the *al-nasš* speed. When he reached al-Muzdalifa, he combined both prayers, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishāʾ*.”

Imām Āḥmad then narrated it similarly through Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, quoting Ibrahim b. Uqba, from Kurayb, from Usāma b. Zayd. Imām Āḥmad stated that Abū Kāmil related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Qays b. Saʿd, from ʿAtaʾ, from Ibīn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth from ʿArafāt, I was mounted behind him. He began to rein in his camel to the point that the prominent bone behind its ear almost touched against the front of his saddle. He would say, ‘People, go easy, and with dignity! Piety is not (measured) by a camel’s speed.’”

He narrated it similarly from ʿAffān, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Sulaymān, from ʿAtaʾ, from Ibīn ʿAbbās, from Usāma similarly. He stated, “Usāma said, ‘And he proceeded forward in the same manner until he came to Jamʿ.’”

Imām Āḥmad stated that Aḥmad b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ṣulayk, from Ibīn Abū Dhīḥab, from Shuʿba, from Ibīn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd (who said) that he was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the day of ʿArafāt until the latter entered the defile. He then poured water out and performed the ablution. After that he rode away, without performing the prayer.

Imām Āḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad related to him, quoting Ḥammām, from Qatāda, from Urwa, from al-Shaḥī, from Usāma b. Zayd, who related, “I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he rode off at a modest pace from ʿArafāt. His camel did not raise its legs (in fast motion) before he reached Jamʿ.”
Imām Āḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd as telling him that the Prophet (ṢAAS) mounted him behind himself from ‘Arafāt and that when the former reached the defile, he dismounted and urinated. He did not mention his pouring water, but stated, “I poured water on him and he performed a light ablution. I asked, ‘(For) the prayer?’ He replied, ‘Prayer is ahead of you.’”

Usāma went on, “He then reached al-Muzdalīfa and performed the al-maghrīb prayer. People untied their saddles and I helped him. After that he performed the al-ʿishāʾ prayer.”

Imām Āḥmad narrated it thus from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd. Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥurayth, from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ʿArīm b. Ḥarmala, both of whom quoted from Kurayb, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma.

My teacher Sheikh Abī al-Ḥajjāj al-Mızzi stated in this work al-Aṭrāf, “The correct (line of transmission) is from Kurayb, from Usāma.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) set forth from ‘Arafāt and dismounted at the defile. He urinated and performed the ablution, but not fully. I asked him, ‘Prayer?’ He replied, ‘Prayer is ahead of you.’ He rode on to al-Muzdalīfa and performed a complete ritual ablution. Prayer was held and he performed the al-maghrīb. After that everyone made their camels kneel at his dwelling. Prayer was again held and he performed the al-ʿishāʾ. Between the two he did not say any prayers.”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it thus from al-Qānabī. Muslim did so from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā. Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Qutayba, from Mālik, from Mūsā b. ʿUqba. Both scholars gave it from a ḥadīth of Yaḥyā b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī, also from Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Muslim also gave it from a ḥadīth of Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba and Muḥammad b. ʿUqba, from Kurayb; their account is similar to that of their brother, Mūsā b. ʿUqba.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ʿArīm b. Ḥarmala, from Kurayb, who quoted Usāma b. Zayd, as saying, “I was mounted behind the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When he reached the defile on the left, which is below al-Muzdalīfa, he made his camel kneel and urinated. He then came over and I poured water over him and he performed a light ablution. I asked, ‘Prayer, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘Prayer is before you.’ He then rode off to al-Muzdalīfa. He performed the prayer and thereafter al-Fadl was mounted behind him on the morning of the assembly (at ‘Arafāt).” Kurayb stated, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbdās told me from al-Fadl that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) kept on reciting the talbiyya until he reached al-Jamra.”

Muslim narrated it from Qutayba, Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā, Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb and ʿAlī b. Ḥījr. All four of them quoted from Ismāʿīl b. Jaʿfar.
Imám Aḥmad stated that Wāqī related to him, quoting ʿUmar b. Dharr, from Mujāhid, from Usāma b. Zayd, who stated that the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) mounted him behind himself from ʿArafat. Usāma went on, “The people said, ‘Our friend will report to us what he (the Prophet) does.’ Usāma said, ‘When he set forth from ʿArafat he pulled back the head of his camel until it touched or almost did, against the centre of the saddle. He gestured to the people, (calling) “Go easy!” three times until he reached Jamʿ. He then mounted al-Fadl b. Abbas behind himself. People said, “Our friend will report to us what he does.” Al-Fadl said, “He kept on at the same modest pace as the day before until he came to an open wādī and he raced off down it until the land levelled out.””

Al-Bukhārī stated that Saʿīd b. Abū Maryam related to him, quoting ʿĪbrahīm b. Suwāy, quoting ʿAbd al-ʿUmar, the freed-man of al-Muṭṭalib, quoting Saʿīd b. Jubayr, the freed-man of Wāliba al-Kūfī, quoting Ibn ʿAbbās as saying that when the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) had set off on the day of the assembly (at ʿArafat) he heard a great turmoil behind him with camels being slapped. He gestured towards them with his whip and said, “People, go easy! Piety is not (measured) by speed!”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line of transmission. Given above are the accounts of Imam Aḥmad, Muslim and al-Nasaʾī through ʿĀlī b. Abu Rabīʿ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from Usāma b. Zayd. But God knows best.

Imám Aḥmad stated that Ismāʿīl b. ʿUmar related to him, quoting al-Masʿūdī, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) set off from ʿArafat, the people hurried after him. He ordered a crier to call out, ‘People! Piety is not (measured) by the speed of a horse or a camel!’ And I saw no camel lifting its legs (in fast motion) until he had dismounted at Jamʿ.”

Imám Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn and Abu Nuʿaym related to him, quoting ʿIsrāʾīl, from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Ṣafāy, who said, “Someone who heard Ibn ʿAbbās say the following related it to me, ‘The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥḥa) did not dismount from ʿArafat and Jamʿ unless it was for urination.’”

Imám Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. Ḥarīn related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Malik, from Anas b. Ṣirīn, who said, “I was with Ibn ʿUmar at ʿArafat. When it was time for him to leave, I went along with him to the ʾimām. He prayed with him the first (prayer) and the al-ʿasr. He then (entered into the ʾumūf) rite, as did I and my companions, until the Imám set off and we did so with him. Eventually we arrived at the pass below al-Maʾzimin, where he made his camel kneel, as did we ours. We thought that he intended to pray, but his servant informed us that when the Prophet (Ṣaḥḥa) had reached that spot, he had urinated, and that he wished to do the same.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Mūsā related to him, quoting Juwayriyya who quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar as saying, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar used to combine the al-maghrīb

116. The Arabic word afiida used in this context means “to proceed forth amidst a throng of pilgrims”.
and the al-
'ishā' prayers at Jam'. However, he would pass through by the
defile through which the Messenger of God (SAAS) had passed. He would enter
it, relieve himself, perform an ablution and would not pray until he reached
Jam'."

Al-Bukhārī, may God have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this from
this line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ādām b. Abū Dhī'āb related to him from al-Zuhri,
from Sālim b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Messenger of God
(SAAS) combined the al-maghrib and the al-
'ishā', prayers at al-Jam', each one of
them with an iqāma. He did not speak any other (supererogatory) prayers between
them, nor following either of them."

Muslim narrated it from Yāḥyā b. Yāḥyā, from Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from
Sālim, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed
the al-maghrib and al-
'ishā' prayers combined together at al-Muzdalīfa.

Muslim went on to state that Ḥarmala related to him, quoting Ibn Wahb,
quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb (who said) that ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b.
ʿUmar told him that his father said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) combined
the al-maghrib and the al-
'ishā' prayers together at Jam' without (him making)
any prayer prostrations between them both. He performed the al-maghrib with
three rakahs and the al-
'ishā' with two rakahs. ʿAbd Allah used to pray at Jam'
the same way until he died."

Muslim then narrated it from a hadith of Shu'ba, from al-Ḥakam, and Salama
b. Kuhayl, from Saʿīd b. Jubayar, to the effect that he (the Prophet (SAAS))
performed the al-maghrib and the al-
'ishā' prayers at one (and the same) service
at Jam'. He then related a hadith back to Ibn ʿUmar to the effect that he (Ibn
ʿUmar) performed prayers like that. And Ibn ʿUmar related that the Messenger
of God (SAAS) acted thus.

He then narrated it through al-Thawri, from Salama, from Saʿīd b. Jubayar,
from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) combined the
al-maghrib and the al-
'ishā' at Jam', performing three rakahs for the
maghrib and
and two rakahs for the al-
'ishā' at one service with a single iqāma.

Muslim then stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting
ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayar, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Abū ʿIshāq, who said,
"Saʿīd b. Jubayar stated, 'We departed (from ʿArafāt) as pilgrims with Ibn ʿUmar.
When we reached Jam', he performed the al-maghrib and al-
'ishā' prayers at one service, and then he completed (the prayer). He said, "That is how
the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed with us at this place.'"

Al-Bukhārī stated that Khālid b. Makhład related to him, quoting Sulaymān
Yazīd al-Khaṭāmt, quoting Abū Yazīd al-ʿAnṣārī (who said) that the Messenger
of God (SAAS) combined the al-maghrib and the al-
'ishā' prayers at Muzdalīfa
on the ḥijjat al-wadāʾ.
Al-Bukhārī also narrated it in the *al-Maghāzī* from al-Qa‘nabī, from Mālik, and Muslim from a *ḥadīth* of Sulaymān b. Bilāl, and al-Layth b. Saʿd, all three of them quoting from Yaḥyā b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī, from ‘Adī b. Thābit.

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it also, from al-Fallas, from Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, from Shuʿba, from ‘Adī b. Thābit.

Al-Bukhārī then gives a section entitled, *Section on those who announced the adhān and the iqāma for each of these two (prayers).*

He went on to state that ‘Amr b. Khalīd related to him, quoting Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, quoting Abū ʿIṣḥāq (who said), “I heard ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd say, “Abd Allāh went on the pilgrimage and when we came to al-Muzdalīfah at the time for the adhān, at dusk or close thereto, he gave orders to a man and the latter announced the adhān and the iqāma. He then performed the al-maghrib prayer and two rakaʿāt thereafter. Then he called for his supper and dined. After that he ordered someone — a man, I think — and the latter announced the adhān and the iqāma.”’

‘Amr commented, ‘I know of no one but Zuhayr who expresses such doubt.’

(The *ḥadīth* continues) “He then performed the al-‘ishā’ prayer with two rakaʿāt, and when the sun came up, he said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) used to perform at this hour only this prayer in this place, on this day.” ‘Abd Allāh stated, “These were two prayers that were transferred from their (usual) times – the al-maghrib after the people arrive at al-Muzdalīfah, and the al-fajr, when the dawn rises.” He stated, “I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) do this.”

This wording, his statement, “and the al-fajr, when the dawn rises” is more clear and precise than the other *ḥadīth* narrated by al-Bukhārī from Ḥāfs b. ʿUmar b. Ghiyāth, from his father, from al-Aʿmash, from ʿAmara, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Masʿūd, who said, “I only ever saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) perform two prayers at other than their usual times: he combined the al-maghrib with the al-‘ishā’, and the al-fajr before its time.”

Muslim narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Abū Muḥāwīya and Jarīr, from al-Aʿmash. Jābir stated in his *ḥadīth*, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to bed until dawn arrived. He performed the al-fajr prayer when the morning was visible, with an adhān and an iqāma.”

ʿUrwa b. Muḍarrīs b. Aws b. Ḥāritha b. Laḥm al-Ṭāʾī witnessed this prayer along with Jābir.

Imām ʿAbd al-Fādil ʿIsāḥ b. Kāthīr stated that Hūshaym related to him, quoting Ibn Abī Khalīd and Zakariyyāʾ, from al-Shaḥībī, quoting ʿUrwa b. Muḍarrīs, who said, “I went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), when he was at Jamʿ and said, ‘Messenger of God, I have come to you from the two mountains of Ṭāʾī. I have worn myself out and exhausted my camel and, by God, I did not leave out any mountain without standing on it. Does this count for me as a ḥajj?’ He replied, ‘Whoever has

117. With reference, presumably, to the identity of the person asked to announce the call to prayer.
witnessed this prayer with us’ – meaning the al-fajr prayer – ‘at Jam’ and stood with us, then proceeded on from there, having previously proceeded from ‘Arafat, whether by day or night, such a person will have completed his hajj and accomplished the rites.”

Imām Aḥmad also narrated this, as did the ahl al-sunan, from various lines, from al-Sha’bī, from Urwa b. Muḍarris. Al-Tirmidhī categorized this as hasan ṣaḥīh.

DIVISION

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to send on ahead of himself a group of his family during the night before the departure of the people from al-Muzdalīfah to Minā.

Al-Bukhārī gives a section entitled, Chapter on those who send on ahead their family during the night; they stand at al-Muzdalīfah and pray and advance ahead after the moon has set.

He went on to state that Yahyā b. Bukayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnus, from Ibn Shiḥāb, who said, “Salīm stated, ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar used to send on ahead the weak members of his family. They would stand at the mashʿar al-ḥaram at night, speaking the name of God for as long as they wished. Then they would leave before the Imām would stand there and before he proceeded ahead. Some of them would go to Minā for the al-fajr prayer, while some would proceed thereafter. When they arrived, they would cast stones at the al-jamra,” the mound”. Ibn ʿUmar used to say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave them permission.”

(Al-Bukhārī went on) Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to us, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, from Ayyūb, from Ḥkrīmā, from Ibn Ṭābābās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched me from Jamʿ by night.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Yazīd, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as telling him, “I was one of those whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent on ahead on the night (of the assembly) at al-Muzdalīfah among the weak members of his family.”

Muslim narrated, from a ḥadīth of Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAtā, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me from Jamʿ at daybreak with the slow-movers.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, quoting Salama b. Kuhayl, from al-Ḥasan al-Urānī, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent us on ahead, along with the suckling women of Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalīb, in charge of our people who were tired. He set about slapping our thighs with his hand and saying, ‘Now, kinfolk, do not

118. The pillars or steles that symbolize Satan at Miḥrāb, the pilgrims throw stones or pebbles at these during the pilgrimage rites. The word jamra (plural jamarāt) is used to denote both the pillars and the pebbles.
cast stones until the sun rises!'" Ibn ‘Abbās went on, "I don’t imagine that anyone cast stones at the pillar until the sun rose."


Aḥmād stated that Yahyā b. Ādām related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿAḥwāṣ, from al-ʿAʾmash, from al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyaynā, from Mīqṣam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by us on the night of the sacrifice and it was already very dark. He set about slapping our thighs and saying, ‘Now, kinsfolk, proceed forth, but don’t cast stones at the pillar until the sun rises.’"

Imām Aḥmād then narrated it from a ḥadīth of al-Masʿūdī from al-Ḥakam, from Mīqṣam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent on ahead the weak members of his family from al-Muzdalīfah at night. He proceeded to advise them not to cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqāba until the sun rose."

Abū Dā‘ūd stated that Uthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting al-ʿUqba, quoting Ḥamza al-Zayyāt b. Ḥabīb, from ʿAṭā’, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would send on ahead the weaker members of his family late at night and order them” — meaning that they did not cast stones at the pillar until the sun rose.

Al-Nasāḥi narrated it thus from Māḥmūd b. Ghaylān, from Bishr b. al-Sarīr, from Sufyān, from Ḥabīb – al-Ṭabrānī stated him to be Ibn Abū Thabit – from ʿAṭā’, from Ibn ʿAbbās. Ḥamza al-Zayyāt thus moved out of his customary place (in the line of transmission). With regards to the line of transmission for the ḥadīth, it is excellent. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, from Yahyā, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, the freed-man of Asmā’, who said that Asmā’ stayed on the night (of the assembly) at Muzdalīfah and proceeded to pray and did so for an hour. ʿAbd Allāh went on, "She then asked, ‘My son, has the moon disappeared?’ I replied, ‘No,’ and so she prayed for (another) hour. Then she asked, ‘My son, has the moon disappeared?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Then set out,’ she said. So we did and continued on until she had cast stones at the pillar. She then returned and performed the al-ṣubh prayer in her dwelling. I asked her, ‘Hantah, I believe we’re still in dark of night.’ She replied, ‘Son, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission (for this prayer at this time) to women borne in litters.’"

Muslim narrated it from a ḥadīth of Ibn Jurayj.

If the account of Asmā’, daughter of (Abū Bakr) “the trusting”, casting stones before the rising of the sun, as is told here, based on established textual authority, then her account is to be preferred over that of Ibn ʿAbbās, because
the line of transmission of her hadith is more authentic than that of his. It may, however, be said that the young men are quicker and more active than the women, and so he (the Prophet (SAAS)) ordered the former not to cast before sunrise and permitted the litter-borne women to cast before sunrise, since the latter were less agile and it was more appropriate for them to be unseen. But God knows best.

If Asmā' did not do it in accord with established textual authority, then the hadith of Ibn ʿAbbās is to be preferred over what she did.

However, the former is substantiated further by the statement of Abū Daʿūd who said that Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhili related to him, quoting Yahyā b. Jurayj, quoting ʿĀṭir, quoting Mukhbir, from Asmā', who said that she cast the stones at night. (Mukhbir stated) “I told her, ‘We have cast the stones at night’ She stated, ‘We used to do that in the time of the Prophet (SAAS).’”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym related to him, quoting Aflāḥ b. Ḥumayd, from al-Qāsim, from Muḥammad, from ʿAʿisha, who said, “We stopped at al-Muzdalifa and Sawdā' asked permission from the Prophet (SAAS), to move on prior to the departure of the rest of the people. She was a woman slow of movement. He did give her permission and she left before the rest. We remained until next morning and moved out along with him. For me to have asked his permission as Sawdā' had done would in fact have been far dearer to me than any other happiness.”

Muslim gave it from al-Qaṣābī, from Aflāḥ b. Ḥumayd. Both (compilers of the sahih collections) gave it from a hadith of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ʿAʿisha.

Abū Daʿūd stated that Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, from al-Ḍāḥḥāk — meaning Uthmān’s son — from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿAʿisha, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched Umm Salama the night of the sacrifice and she cast the stones before dawn. She then left and proceeded onwards. And that was the day that would be for the Messenger of God (SAAS),” — to be with her, Abū Daʿūd added.

Abū Daʿūd is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is excellent and strong and its narrators men considered fully trustworthy.

An Account of the recitation by the Messenger of God (SAAS), of the talbiyya at al-Muzdalifā.

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shaybā related to him, quoting Abū al-ʿĀwāṣ, from ʿĪṣābāy, from Kathīr b. Mudriḵ, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd, who said, “Abū Allāh said, while we were at Jamʿ, ‘I heard him to whom the surāt al-Baqara was revealed say at this station, ‘Labbayka, Allāhumma, Labbayk! ‘At Your service, O God, at Your service.’’”
Chapter: On the \textit{wuqaf} (station) of the Messenger of God (SAAS), at the mash'\textit{ar} al-\textit{harâm}, his daf (departure) from al-Muzdalifâ before sunrise and his iy\textit{âf} (passage forth) into Wadi Mulazzis.\textsuperscript{119}


Jâbîr stated in his \textit{hadith}, “He performed the \textit{al-fajr} prayer at dawn with an \textit{adhan} and an \textit{iqâma}. He then mounted \textit{al-Mqâj} and proceeded to the al-mash‘ar al-\textit{harâm}. He went to the \textit{qibla}, spoke a prayer, praised and glorified God and asserted His oneness. He remained standing until the dawn light was strong. He proceeded onward before the sun rose, mounting \textit{al-Fadl} behind himself.”

Al-Bukhârî stated that Ḥâjjâj b. Minhâj related to him, quoting Shu‘a‘b, from Ibn Iṣḥâq, who said, “I heard ‘Amr b. Maymûn say, ‘I witnessed ‘Umar perform the \textit{al-\$ubh} prayer at Jam‘. He then stood up and said, ‘The unbelievers used not to proceed forth until the sun rose and they would call out, ‘Ashriq Thâblr! Look down upon (Mt.) Thâblr!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded forth before the sun rose.”

Al-Bukhârî stated that ‘Abd Allâh b. Raja‘ related to him, quoting Isrâ‘îl, from Abû Iṣḥâq, from ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Yazd, who said, “I left for Mecca with ‘Abd Allâh. When we reached Jam‘, he performed two prayers, an \textit{adhan} and an \textit{iqâma} accompanying each of these. Between these two prayers, he took his supper. He then performed the \textit{al-fajr} prayer when the dawn rose.” (Some narrators say “when the dawn rose” and others say, “the dawn had not risen”)

“‘Abd Allâh went on, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “These two prayers have had their times changed in this place – the people (should) not arrive at Jam‘ until they perform (the \textit{\$ihâd} prayer), and the \textit{al-fajr} prayer is at this hour.”

“He” (‘Abd Allâh) “stood there until it became light and then he stated, ‘If the Commander of the Believers were to proceed forth now, he would act in proper accord with the \textit{sunna}.’ And I don’t know whether it was his comment or the departure of ‘Uthmân that came first. And he continued to recite the \textit{talbiyya} until he cast the stones at the day of sacrifice.”


\textsuperscript{119} The words \textit{wuqaf}, \textit{daf} and \textit{iyâf} represented in this title by “station”, “departure” and “passage forth” are technical terms associated with the rites of the pilgrimage for which there are no effective English equivalents. Wâdi Muḥassir is a \textit{wâdi} close by al-Muzdalifâ.
upon their heads. Our procedure is different from theirs. They would go on from *al-mash'ar al-haram* when the sun rose over the mountain tops like mens’ turbans upon their heads. Our procedure is different from theirs.’”

He (al-Bayhaqi) went on, “Abd Allah b. Idris related it from Ibn Jurayj, from Muhammed b. Qays b. Makrama as being *mursal*.”

Imam Ahmad stated that Abu Khaliid Sulayman b. Hayyan related to him, quoting al-'Amash, from al-Hakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn 'Abbâs (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded forth from al-Muzdalifa before the sun rose.

Al-Bukharî stated that Zuhayr b. Harb related to him, quoting Wahb b. Jarir, quoting his father, from Yûnus al-Ayli, from al-Zuhri, from Ubayd Allah b. Abû Allah b. 'Abbâs, (who said) that Usâma was mounted behind the Prophet (SAAS), from 'Arafat to al-Muzdalifa. He then mounted al-Fadl behind himself from al-Muzdalifa to Mina. Each of these men said, “The Prophet (SAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he cast stones at al-'Aqaba.”

Ibn Jurayj related it from 'Aqil, from Ibn 'Abbâs.

Muslim related from a *hadith* of al-Layth b. Sa'd, from Abû al-Zubayr, from Abû Mu'âbad, from Ibn 'Abbâs, from al-Fadl b. 'Abbâs, who had been mounted behind the Messenger of God (SAAS), that the latter said on the evening of the (assembly) at 'Arafat and on the morning (of the assembly) at Jam' when they proceeded on their way, “Proceed with tranquillity.” He restrained his camel until he entered Muhammed while on his way from Mina. He said, “Gather the pebbles that will be used for casting at the *jamara*.”

Al-Fadl went on, “And the Messenger of God (SAAS) went on reciting the *talbiyya* until he had cast (stones) at the pillar.”

The *hafl* al-Bayhaqi gives the following in a section entitled, *Proceeding on into Wâdi Mu'Neill*.  


Muslim narrated it in his *saḫl* collection, from Abû Bakr b. Shayba.

Al-Bayhaqi went on to narrate from a *hadith* of Sufyân al-Thawrî, from Abû al-Zubayr, from Jâbir, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded on in a state of *al-sakina*, ‘(God’s) tranquillity’. And he ordered them to proceed with tranquillity. He went on into Wâdi Mu'Neill. He ordered them to cast stones that were like pebbles for sling shots. And he said, ‘Adopt your rites from me; I may not see you after this year.’”

120. The pebbles that the pilgrim uses in the rite of the *rami* (the stoning of Satan) are gathered at Muzdalifa.
Al-Bayhaqi then narrated from a hadith of al-Thawri, from 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Harith, from Zayd b. 'Ali, from his father, from Ubayd Allah b. Abū Raśīd, from 'Ali (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) proceeded forth from Jam' and reached Muhassir. He slapped his camel until he crossed the wādī, then he stopped. Later he mounted al-Fadl behind himself and went on to the pillar (at Minā) and cast stones at it.

He related it thus, in abbreviated form.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū ʿAlī Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allah al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Harith b. ʿAyyāsh b. Abū Raʿīs, from Zayd b. ʿAli, from his father, from Ubayd Allah b. Abū Raśīd, from ʿAli, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) stood at ʿArafāt and said, 'This is the station; and all ʿArafāt is a station.' He proceeded forth when the sun set and mounted Usāma behind himself. He began forcefully urging on his camel, while the people were jostling at his right and left. He did not turn towards them. He was saying, 'Go easy, people!'

"He then reached Jam'. There he performed both prayers with them, the al-maghrib and the al-ʾisha. He spent the night there and next morning went to Mt. Quzaḥ. He stood there and said, 'This station and all Jam' is a station.' He then proceeded on until he reached Muhassir. He stood there, then urged his camel ahead until he had crossed the wādī, whereupon he restrained it. Thereafter he mounted al-Fadl behind himself and travelled on to the pillar, at which he cast stones. He then went on to the sacrifice site and said, 'This is a sacrifice site; all Minā is a site for sacrifice.' A young girl of (Banū) Khathām then asked him to make a ruling, saying, 'My father is an old man who is mentally senile. It is time for him to fulfil God's requirement of making the ḥajj. Will he be rewarded if I accomplish it on his behalf?' 'Yes; perform it for your father,' he replied."

(The narrator) stated further, "He (the Prophet (SAAS)) turned the head of al-Fadl aside. ʿAlī ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muṭṭalibī asked him, 'Messenger of God, why did you turn aside the head of your cousin?' He replied, 'I saw a young man and a young woman, and I could not trust Satan with them.'

"A man then came up to him and asked, 'Messenger of God, I have shaved (my head) before making sacrifice.' He replied, 'Make sacrifice, despite the prohibition.' Then another man came and asked, 'Messenger of God, I have performed the circumambulation of the ḥajj before I shaved (my head).' He replied, 'Shave or cut it short; it's no problem.'

"After that he went to the kāʾba, made the circumambulation (of the ḥajj) and proceeded on to zamzam. He then said, 'Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; were it not that people would have overwhelmed you (in their wanting to emulate me) I would surely have drawn water with you.'"

Al-Tirmidhî stated, "It is ḥasan saḥîh. We know it as a hadîth of ‘Allî only through this line."

I note that there are testimonies to it from authentic lines of transmission that are given in the saḥîh collections and elsewhere. These include the story of the Khath‘amî woman; it is given in both saḥîh collections through al-Fâqîl. Reference is made to her above, in the hadîth of Jâbir. We will relate further a portion of it.

Al-Bayhaqî related it, with its (full) lines of transmission from Ibn ‘Abbâs, to the effect that the latter denied that there was movement at speed in Wâdi Muḥâassis. He said, "That was only on the part of the bedouin." And he went on, “And affirmation is to be preferred over denial.”

I note that his assertion of affirmation over it is controversial. But God knows best.

That is made authentic according to (reports) of a group of the Companions referring to (the practice of) the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It is also authenticated by the actions of the two sheikhs Abû Bakr and ‘Umar, who are referred to as having done that. Al-Bayhaqî related from al-Ḥâkim, from al-Najjâd and others, from Abû Ṭâlî, Muḥâammad b. Mu‘âṣîd b. al-Mustahîl, known as Durrân, from al-Qa‘înabî, from his father, from Hîshâm b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from al-Miswâr b. Makhrama, that as ‘Umar urged on his mount, he would recite the verse,

“My camel races towards You (O God), her bridle loose-fitting, her faith different from that of the Christians.”

Accounts of the casting by the Prophet (ṢAAS), of stones only at the pillar at al-‘Aqâba on the day of the sacrifice. How he cast them and when. And from what position he cast them, and how many they were. Also, his cessation of recitation of the talbiyya when he cast them.

It has been stated above from a hadîth of Usâma, al-Fâqîl and other of the Companions, may God be pleased with them all, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went on reciting the talbiyya until he cast (stones) at the jamra at al-‘Aqâba.

Al-Bayhaqî stated that Imâm Abû ‘Uthmân informed him, quoting Abû Ṭâhir b. Khûzayma, quoting his grandfather – the Imâm par excellence, Muḥâammad b. Ishâq b. Khûzayma, that is – quoting Ṭâlî b. Ḥajr, quoting Sharîk, from ʿAmîr b. Shaqîq, from Abû Wâîl from ʿAbd Allâh who said, “I closely watched the Prophet (ṢAAS), and he went on reciting the talbiyya until he cast the first stone at the pillar of al-‘Aqâba.”

121. The discussion relates to the movement at a fast pace through the Muḥâassis valley.
122. The camel is emaciated due to the distance and the speed of its long journey.
He (al-Bayhaqī) also stated that Ibn Khuzayma related to him, quoting `Umar b. Ḥafṣ al-Shaybānī, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, quoting Jaʿfar b. Mūhammad, from his father, from `Ali b. al-Ḥusayn, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-ʿAḍr, who said, “I proceeded on with the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) from ʿArafāt and he continued reciting the talbiyya until he cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba, saying Allāhu Akbar ‘God is most Great’ with each stone. He then broke off the recitation of the talbiyya with the final stone.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This addition is strange and it is not present in the well-known accounts attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, quoting al-ʿAḍr, even though Ibn Khuzayma did select it.”

Mūhammad b. Iṣḥāq related that Abān b. Sāliḥ related to him, from ʿIkrima, who said, “I proceeded on with ʿAlī b. (from ʿArafāt). I can still hear him reciting the talbiyya up until he cast the stone at al-ʿAqaba. When he cast it, he ceased (the recitation). I asked, ‘Why is this?’ He replied, ‘I saw my father ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālīb recite the talbiyya until he cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. And he told me that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) used to do that.’”

It is narrated above from a ḥadīth of al-Layth from Abū al-Zubayr, from Abū Mas巴d, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from his brother al-ʿAḍr, to the effect that the Prophet (ṣaṣ) ordered the people in Wādī Muḥassir to throw pebbles such as are used in sling shots in casting at the pillar.

Muslim related this.

Abū al-ʿAlīyya stated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that al-ʿAḍr related to him, saying, “The Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) said to me on the morning of the day for sacrifice, ‘Choose me some pebbles.’ So I chose him some like those used in slings. He put them in his hand and said, ‘With the like of these! With the like of these! Beware of excess; it was excess in religion that destroyed those before you.’”

Al-Bayhaqī related this.

Jābir stated in his ḥadīth, “When he reached Wādī Muḥassir, he spurred on his mount a little, then followed the middle trail that emerges at al-jamrat al-kubrā (at Minā), ‘the greater pillar’, and then he went on to the pillar and cast seven pebbles at it, glorifying God with each pebble; each pebble was small and he threw them from the centre of the wādī.”

Muslim related it thus.

Al-Bukhārī stated, that Jābir, may God be pleased with him, said, “The Prophet (ṣaṣ) cast stones on the morning of the day for sacrifice. And thereafter he cast them after the sun began to decline.”

This ḥadīth that al-Bukhārī recorded is given by Muslim from a ḥadīth of Ibn Jurayj, who stated that Abū al-Zubayr informed him that he heard Jābir state, “The Messenger of God (ṣaṣ) cast stones at the pillar on the morning of the day for the sacrifice, and thereafter, when the sun began to decline.”

In both sahih collections it is given in a ḥadīth of al-ʾAṭmash, from ʿIbrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-ʿRaḥmān b. Zayd, who said, “ʿAbd Allāh cast from the centre of the
and I commented, ‘Abd al-Rahmān, people cast stones at it from above it.’ He replied, ‘By Him other than Whom there is no God, this is the station about which revelation came in surat al-Baqara.’”

This is the wording of al-Bukhārī.

In one version he quotes, from a hadith of Shuʿba, from al-Ḥakam, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who said the following about ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd: “He came to al-jamarat al-kubrā and placed himself with the kaʿba to his left and Mīnā to his right. He cast seven (stones) and said, “This is how he to whom surat al-Baqara was revealed cast.”

Al-Bukhārī then has a section entitled, Section on those who cast seven (stones) at the mound, glorifying God with each pebble; Ibn ʿUmar stated this about the Prophet (ṢAAS).

This is only known in the hadith of Jābir, through Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, quoting his father about Jābir, (to the effect that) when the latter arrived, he would approach the pillar and cast seven pebbles, stating Allāhu Akbar! “God is most Great”, with each pebble that were of the size shot in slings.

In this section, al-Bukhārī narrated this from a hadith of al-ʿAʾmash, from Ibrāhīm, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Yazīd, about ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd (to the effect that the latter) cast seven pebbles at the pillar from the middle of the wādī, saying God is most Great! with each pebble. He then said, “It is here, by Him other than Whom there is no God, that he to whom surat al-Baqara was revealed stood.”

Muslim related it from a hadith of Ibn Jurayj, who quoted Abū al-Zubayr as stating that he heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast at the mound seven pebbles like those shot in slings.”

Ibn ʿAṣim related it to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, meaning Miqsam – from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) cast at the mound at al-ʿAqaba on the day of the sacrifice while mounted.


Al-Tirmidhī related it to him, from Abū Zaid, who said, “It is ḥasan”. Ibn Māja gave it, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Khālid al-ʿAḥmar, from al-Ḥajjāj b. Artāt.

Abū Ṭālib related it from Abū Hind b. Manṣūr, from Abū Ṭālib b. Abū Zaid, who said, “It is ḥasan”.

Ibn ʿUmar related it from Abū Bakr, from Abū Muḥammad b. Abū ʿUmar b. Abū Zaid, who said, “This is the phraseology of Abū Daʿūd.”
In one account he gave, she said, “I saw him at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba mounted. And between his fingers I saw stones, and he cast (them). The people also cast (stones). He did not stand at it.”

According to Ibn Maja, she said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the day of the sacrifice at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba. He was mounted on his mule.” He went on to complete the hadith.

The reference here to the mule is very strange.

Muslim narrated in his sahih collection from a hadith of Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, quoting Jābir b. ‘Abd Allah, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) cast at the mound while mounted on his camel on the day of the sacrifice. And he was saying, ‘You should take your rites (from me) for, I do not know, perhaps I will not make the pilgrimage after this hajja of mine.’”

Muslim also related (it) from a hadith of Zayd b. Abu Unaysa, from Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, from his grandmother Umm al-Ḥusayn. Yaḥyā related that he heard her say, “I performed the hajja al-wadā’ with the Messenger of God (SAAS). I saw him when he cast at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba and (when) he left mounted on his camel on the day of sacrifice, as he said, ‘You should take your rites (from me), for I do not know, perhaps I will not make the pilgrimage after this hajja of mine.’”

In one account, she stated, “I went on the hajja al-wadā’ with the Messenger of God (SAAS). I saw Usāma and Bilal; one of them was taking hold of the halter of the camel of the Prophet (SAAS), while the other man was raising his gown to shield him from the heat, until he cast at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba.”

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū Ahmad Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Zubayr related to him, quoting Ayman b. Nābil, quoting Qudāma b. ‘Abd Allah al-Kilabī, (who said) that he saw the Messenger of God (SAAS), cast at the mound at al-‘Aqaba from the middle of the wādi on the day of the sacrifice mounted upon a reddish-hued camel he owned. And there was no striking, no pushing away and no saying, “Keep away! Keep away!”

Ahmad also narrated it from Waki’, Muṭ’amir b. Sulaymān and Abū Qurra Mūsā b. Ṭāriq al-Zubaydī, all three of whom quoted Ayman b. Nābil. He also narrated it from Abū Qurra, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ayman.

Al-Nasa’ī and Ibn Maja gave it from a hadith of Waki’. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mānī‘, from Marwān b. Mu‘āwiya, from Ayman b. Nābil. He stated, “This hadith is ḥasan sahīh.”

Imām Ahmad stated that Nūḥ b. Maymūn related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh – meaning al-‘Umari – from Nāfis, who said, “Ibn Umar would cast at the pillar at al-‘Aqaba while mounted on his camel on the day of the sacrifice. And he did not go to any of the others thereafter unless on foot. He claimed that the Prophet (SAAS) used not to go to them unless on foot, whether going or returning.”

Abū Dā‘ūd related it from al-Qa‘nabī, from ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Umari.
Jabir stated, “Then he left for the sacrifice site, where he sacrificed 63 camels by his own hand. He allowed ‘Ali to sacrifice those that remained and had him share in his own hādī. He ordered that a piece of meat of each animal be cut out and placed in a pot, where it was all cooked. Both men ate from that meat and drank the gravy.”

We will discuss this hadīth.

Imām Ahmad b. Hanbal stated that ‘Abd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ma‘mar, from Ḥumayd al-‘Araj, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu‘ādh, from one of the men who was one of the Companions of the Prophet (SAAS). The man stated, “The Prophet (SAAS) made an address at Minā and directed them to their places. He said, ‘Let the muḥājirūn stay there.’ And he gestured towards the right side of the qibla. ‘And the ansār over here.’ And he gestured towards the left side of the qibla. ‘And let the other people stay round about them.’”

He went on, “He then instructed them in their rites. The hearing of those at Minā was accentuated so that they could hear him at their places. And I heard him say, ‘Cast at the pillar (small) pebbles like those shot from slings.’”

Abū Da‘ūd narrated it thus from Ahmad b. Hanbal, as far as the words, “And let the (other) people stay around them”.

Imām Ahmad narrated it from ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith from his father. And Abū Da‘ūd did so from Musaddad, from ‘Abd al-Wārith. Ibnu Majā gave it from the hadīth of Ibn al-Mubāرك, from ‘Abd al-Wārith, from Ḥumayd b. Qays al-‘Araj, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mu‘ādh al-Taymī, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address to us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was so accentuated that we could hear what he was saying.”

The remainder of the hadīth was then given.

Jabir b. ‘Abd Allāh narrated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) shared the hādī with ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalīb, and that the sacrificial animals brought by ‘Alī from Yemen and those brought with him by the Messenger of God (SAAS) totalled 100 camels, and that the latter sacrificed 63 animals by his own hand.

Ibn Ḥibān and others stated, “And that (figure) corresponded with his age, for he was (at the time) 63 years old!”

Imām Ahmad stated that Yahyā b. ʿAdam related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made sacrifice on the ḥajj of 100 animals of which he sacrificed 60 by his own hand. He ordered that the remainder be brought and they were sacrificed. A piece of each one was taken and placed in a pot. He ate from it and drank its gravy.”
“On the day at al-Ḥudaybiyya, he sacrificed 70 animals, including the camel of Abū Jahl. When they were blocked from the ka‘ba, they (the camels) expressed their anguish, as though yearning for their young.”

Ibn Māja narrated part of it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad did so from Wākī, quoting Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Ibn Abū Laylā.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya’qūb related to him, quoting his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, quoting a man, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Najīth, from Muḥājīd b. Jābr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) brought with him 100 animals. Of these he sacrificed 30 by his own hand, and then he ordered ʿAlī who sacrificed the remainder. He said, ‘Divide up their meat, skins and pack-saddles among the people. Do not give the butcher any of it (as payment). Take a piece of meat from each camel, place them in a single pot so that we may eat from their flesh and drink from their gravy.’ And he did so.”

It is established in both saḥiḥ collections from a ḥadīth of Muḥājīd, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from ʿAlī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) ordered me to go over to his sacrificial camels and to give away their meat, skins and pack-saddles, and told me not to give any of them to the butcher. He said, ‘We will give him some of our own.’”

Abū Dā’ūd stated that Muḥammad b. Ḥātim related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Ḥarmalā b. Ḥimrān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥarīth al-Azūdī, who quoted ʿArafa b. al-Ḥarīth as saying, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) being brought the sacrificial animals. He said, ‘Summon Abū Ḥasan to me.’ And ʿAlī was summoned to him. He then said, ‘Take hold of the lower part of the spear.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took hold of its upper part. They then used it to stab the camels. When he had finished, he mounted his mule, seating ʿAlī behind himself.”

Abū Dā’ūd is alone in giving this. There is some strangeness in both its line of transmission and its content. But God knows best.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ahmad b. al-Ḥajjāj related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh, quoting al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭā, from al-Ḥakam, from Abū al-Qāsim – meaning Miqṣam – from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba. He then made sacrifice and shaved (his head).”

Ibn Ḥazm claimed that he sacrificed cattle for his wives and sacrificed a cow at Minā. He sacrificed two fine rams for himself.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) SHAVING HIS HEAD.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Sālim, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), shaved his head on this hijja.

Al-Nasṣāḥ narrated it from Ishaq b. Ibrahīm – he being Ibn Rahawayh – from ʿAbd al-Razzāq.
Al-Bukhari stated that Abū al-Yamān related to him, quoting Shu'ayb, who said, "Nafiʾ stated, 'Abd Allah b. ʿUmar used to say, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shaved (his head) on his ʿijja."'"

Muslim related it from a hadith of Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʾ.

Al-Bukhari stated that ʿAbd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Asmaʾ related to him, quoting Juwayriyya son of Asmaʾ, from Nāfiʾ, who quoted ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmar as saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shaved (his head) as did a number of his Companions; some of them cut (their hair) short."

Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Muḥammad b. ʿUqba, from Nāfiʾ. He added, "ʿAbd Allah quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as saying, 'May God have mercy on those who shaved (their heads).' He said this once or twice. People asked, 'Messenger of God, does that apply to those who cut (their hair) short?' He replied, 'And those who cut short as well.'"

Muslim stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Wāqīʾ and Abū Daʾūd al-Ṭayalīsī, from Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, from his grandmother, who said that she heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) on the ʿihjat al-wadaʾ speak a prayer three times for those who shaved (their heads) and a prayer once for those who cut (their hair) short. Wāqīʾ did not include the words, "on the ʿihjat al-wadaʾ".

Muslim narrated this hadith thus from a hadith of Mālik. ʿUbayd Allah gave it from Nāfiʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar. ʿUmāra gave it from Abū Zurʿa, from Abū Hurayra. Al-Qāʾīb b. ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān related it from his father, from Abū Hurayra.

Muslim stated that Yahyā b. Yahyā related to him, quoting ʿHaṣā b. Ghiyāṭh, from Hishām, from Ibn Sirin, from Anas b. Malik who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to Mt. Minā, proceeded to the pillar, cast at it, went to his dwelling at Minā and made sacrifice. He then said to the barber, "Take". He gestured towards his right side (of his head), then to his left side. He began giving the hair to the people.

In one account he gives, he shaved the right side of his head and distributed it, a hair or two at a time, to the people. He gave the hair of the left side to Abū Ṭalḥa. In another account of his, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave the hair of the right side to Abū Ṭalḥa, and also gave him the hair of the left side, telling him to distribute it among the people.

Imām Ahmad stated that Sulaymān b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, "I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while the barber was shaving him. His Companions were encircling him, not wanting a hair to fall anywhere but into a man’s hand."

Ahmad is alone in giving this.

Chapter.

After having cast stones at the pillar at al-ʿAqaba, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dressed in robes, put on perfume and sacrificed his ḥadīth. Before he circumambulated the kaʿba ʿAʾisha put perfume on him.
Al-Bukhari stated that 'Ali b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Madini related to him, quoting Ṣufyān – he being Ibn ʿUyayna – quoting 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, the latter being the finest of men of his era, who said that he heard his father, the finest man of his era, say that he heard ʿAʾisha state, “I put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with these two hands of mine when he adopted the ḵilāl state and again when he declared it at an end, before he circumambulated,” and that she spread out her hands.

Muslim stated that Yaʿqūb al-Dawraqī and Aḥmad b. Manī both related to him, quoting Hushaym, quoting Maḥṣūr, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father who quoted ʿAʾisha as saying, “I would put perfume on the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before he adopted the ḵilāl state, and on the day of the sacrifice, before he circumambulated the kāba; I used perfume mixed with musk.”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated, from a hadīth of Ṣufyān b. ʿUyayna, from al-Zuhri, from Ṣurwa, from ʿAʾisha, who said, “I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for his state of ḵilzam when he affirmed it and for his state of ḵilāl after he had cast stones at the pillar at al-Aqaba, before he circumambulated the kāba.”

Al-Shafiʿī stated that Sufyān b. ʿUyayna informed him, from ʿAmr b. Dinār, from Sālim, who quoted ʿAʾisha as saying, “I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), for both his states, of ḵilzam and ḵilāl.”

ʿAbd al-Razzaq narrated it from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from ʿAʾisha.

In both saḥīḥ collections Ibn Jurayj is quoted as saying that ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUrwa informed him that he heard ʿUrwā and al-Qāsim quoting ʿAʾisha as having said, “I perfumed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), by my own hands, using perfume in powder form, on the ḥijjat al-wadāʾ, both for the ḵilzam and the ḵilāl.”

Muslim related it from a hadīth of al-Ḍahḥāk b. ʿUthmān, from Abū al-Rijjal, from his mother ʿAmra, who quoted ʿAʾisha as above.

Ṣufyān al-Thawrī stated, on the authority of Salāma b. Kuhayl, from al-Ḥasan al-ʿAwfī, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, “When you have cast stones at the pillar, your state of ḵilzam will be concluded and all things previously ḥaram will be ḥalāl for you, except for women (they will continue to be haram for you); until you circumambulate the kāba.” A man asked, “What about perfume, Abū al-ʿAbbās?” He replied, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rub musk on to his head. And is that perfume, or not?”

Muḥammad b. ʾIshāq stated that Abū ʿUbaydā related to him, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamā, from his father and his mother, Ẓaynāb, daughter of Umm Salāma, who quoted Umm Salāma as saying, “It was the night when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would circulate, the night of the sacrifice. He was with me when Wahb b. Zamā came in, accompanied by a man of the family of Abū ʿUmayya. Both men were wearing long shirts. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked them, ‘Have you performed the ḥawāf (of the ifṣāda)?’ ‘No,’ both men replied.
‘Then take off your shirts,’ he told them, and they did so. Wahb then asked him, ‘Why, Messenger of God?’ He replied, ‘This is a day when you are given permission (to wear the shirts) if you have cast (stones) at the pillar and have sacrificed animals, if you had brought some. Then you would be in a state of ḥilal for all that had previously been ḥarām for you, except for women until you have circumambulated the ka'ba. If you have cast stones but not completed the tawāf, you will remain in a state of ḥilal, until after you circumambulate the ka'ba.’”

Abū Dā‘ūd narrated it similarly from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Yahyā b. Ma‘īn, both of whom quoted from Ibn Abī ‘Adī, from Ibn Ishaq.

Al-Bayhaqī gave it from al-Ḥākim, from Abū Bakr b. Abī Ishaq, from Abū al-Muthanna al-‘Anbarī, from Yahyā b. Ma‘īn. He adds the following at the end, “Abū ‘Ubayda stated that Umm Qayys, daughter of Miḥṣan related to him, as follows, ‘Ukkasha b. Miḥṣan, along with a group of men of Banū Asad, all dressed in shirts, left my place on the evening of the day of the sacrifice. Then they returned to us that evening carrying their shirts in their hands.’ She questioned them and they told her the same as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said to Wahb b. Zam‘a and his companion.”

This hadith is very gharib. I do not know a single other scholar who quoted it.

Accounts of the visit of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to the ancient ka'ba.

Jābir stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then rode on and proceeded in a throng to the ka'ba. He performed the al-zuhr prayer in Mecca and went over to Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib who were distributing the water at zamzam. He said, ‘Dismiss Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib! Were it not for the people's preference for you having charge of the water distribution, I would have disputed with you!’ They handed him a bucket and he drank from it.”

Muslim narrated this. In this text there is evidence that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode to Mecca prior to the decline of the sun and circumambulated the ka'ba. Having finished this, he performed the al-zuhr prayer there.

Muslim also stated that Muhammad b. Rāfī‘ informed him, quoting ‘Abd al-Razzāq, quoting ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Umar, from Nāfi‘, from Ibn ‘Umar (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the tawāf (of the ifāda) on the day of the sacrifice and then returned and performed the al-zuhr prayer at Minā.

This differs from the hadith of Jābir; both are given by Muslim. If we analyze both accounts, it is possible for it to be said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the al-zuhr prayer at Mecca, then returned to Minā, found the people waiting for him there and prayed with them.” But God knows best.

It is possible that he returned to Minā within the time allotted to the al-zuhr prayers, even though he had done so much that morning, because that was in
summer and the day time was long. He proceeded that day from al-Muzdalifah well after the light of dawn had come, but before actual sunrise. He then went to Minā and began casting pebbles at the pillar at al-'Aqaba. He proceeded on to sacrifice the 63 camels by his own hand, while ʿAli sacrificed the remainder of the 100. Thereafter, a piece of the meat of each camel was taken, placed in a pot and cooked until done. He ate some of the meat and drank some of the gravy.

In the meantime, he shaved his head and put on perfume. And when he had completed all this, he rode to the kaʾba.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) delivered a major address that day; I do not know whether that was before his departure to the kaʾba or following his return thereafter to Minā. God knows best.

The outcome of this is that he did ride to the kaʾba and made seven circumambulations of it while mounted. He did not circumambulate between al-Šafāʾ and al-Marwa, as is established in the ṣaḥīḥ collection of Muslim, from Jābir and ʿAʾisha, may God be pleased with them both. He then drank from the waters of zamzam and from a beverage of dates made from water from zamzam.

All of this substantiates the assertion of those who stated, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer at Mecca, as Jābir related. And it is likely that he returned to Minā at the very end of noon and then also performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer at Minā with his companions.”

This was problematic for Ibn Ḥazm, and he did not know what to say about it. And he is to be excused for this, due to the contradictions in the various ḥadīths relating to it that are (classified as) ṣaḥīḥ, ‘authentic’. God knows best.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that ‘Ali b. Baḥr and ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Maʿnī both related to him, quoting Abū Khālid al-Aḥmar, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿAʾisha as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the ṭawāf (of the ifīʿa) on the last day (or the latter part of the day) hīna ʿallā al-ṣuḥr,123 when he had performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer. Then he returned to Minā, where he stayed for the nights of the ayyām al-tashrīq,124 casting stones at the pillar when the sun began to decline. Each time he cast seven pebbles, saying ‘God is most Great’, with each pebble.”

Ibn Ḥazm stated, “And so Jābir and ʿAʾisha agreed that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer on the day of the sacrifice at Mecca. Both of them – though God knows best – are more accurate in this than was Ibn ʿUmar.”

He went on, “This does not mean anything particular; for this account of ʿAʾisha does not determine that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer at Mecca, though that would be likely if the correct wording in the account were hattā ʿallā al-ṣuḥr (until he had performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer). If, however, the statement read hīna ʿallā al-ṣuḥr (when he performed the al-ṣuḥr

123. The words used in this ḥadīth are the subject for discussion immediately hereafter.
124. The three days of the ḥaʾīj that follow the day of the sacrifice.
prayer) – which is more likely – that, then, would be evidence that he performed the *al-zuhur* prayer at Minâ before he went to the *ka'ba*. This is more likely. But God the Almighty, may He be praised, knows best."

Ibn Ḥazm is therefore contradicting the *hadith* of Jâbir. For this would require that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) performed the *al-zuhur* prayer at Minâ before he rode to the *ka'ba*. Yet the *hadith* of Jâbir requires that he rode to the *ka'ba* before he performed the *al-zuhur* prayer, and he did perform it at Mecca.

Al-Bukhârî stated that Ābû al-Zubayr said, quoting ‘A'isha, and Ibn ‘Abbâs also said that, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) postponed it”, that is the *tawâf al-ziyâra*, until the night.

This comment given by al-Bukhârî is also narrated by the scholars from a *hadith* of Yahyâ b. Sa‘îd, ‘Ābd al-Rahmân b. Mahdi and Faraj b. Maymûn, from Sufyân al-Thawrî, from Ābû al-Zubayr, from ‘A'isha and Ibn ‘Abbâs, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) postponed the circumambulation of the day of the sacrifice until the night. The scholars of the *al-sunan* *ḥadîth* texts narrated it from a *ḥadîth* of Sufyân. Al-Tirmidhî categorized it as *ḥasan*.

Imâm Āḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allâh related to him, quoting Sufyân, from Ābû al-Zubayr, from ‘A'isha and Ibn ‘Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited it at night.

If this is interpreted as him having postponed it until after the sun had declined, meaning until the evening, then that could be true. But if this is interpreted as referring to after the setting of the sun, then that would be very unlikely, and contrary to what is established in the authentic and well-known *ḥadîth* which state that he circumambulated the day of the sacrifice during day time and drank from water drawn from zamzam.

The circumambulation for which he went out at night was the *tawâf al-wadâ‘*, "the (so-called) farewell circumambulation". Some narrators refer to it as the *tawâf al-ziyâra*, "the visit circumambulation", as we will relate, if God so wills it. Or they refer to it simply as the *tawâf ziyâra*,125 "visit circumambulation", before the *tawâf al-wadâ‘* and after the *tawâf al-ṣadar*, "the circumambulation of the return from the pilgrimage", that being the *tawâf al-fârd*, "the circumambulation of the divine ordinance".

There is another *ḥadîth* that we will quote in its proper place to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the *ka'ba* each of the nights at Minâ, this too is unlikely. But God knows best.

The ḥâfîz al-Bayhaqî related, from a *ḥadîth* of ‘Amr b. Qays, from ‘Ābd al-Rahmân, from al-Qâsim, from his father, from ‘A'isha, who stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to his Companions and they visited the *ka'ba* on the day of the sacrifice at midday, and that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) visited it at night with his wives.”

125. Without the definite article, that is.
This too is a very strange hadith. (Also) there is a statement of Tāwūs and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr that, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) postponed the circumambulation on the day of the sacrifice until night time.”

What is authentic from the accounts and what is agreed by the majority, is that he circumambulated on the day of the sacrifice during day time. What is likely is that this was before the sun declined, or perhaps thereafter. But God knows best.

What is well established is that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived in Mecca, he circumambulated the ka'ba seven times while he was mounted. He then went to zamzam where Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib were serving water to themselves and the people. From it he took a bucket from which he drank. It was then emptied over him.

As Muslim stated, “Muḥammad b. Minḥal al-Dārīr informed us, quoting Ḥumayd al-Tawīl, from Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muṣṣant, who heard Ibn ʿAbbās say, while he was sitting with him at the ka'ba, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) arrived on his camel, with Usāma mounted behind himself. They brought a vessel containing nabīḍīḥ;126 he drank from it and gave the remainder to Usāma. He said, ‘You have acted correctly and done well. Continue in this way.’”

Ibn ʿAbbās went on, “And so we do not wish to change what the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered.”

In an account from Bakr, a bedoulīn asked Ibn ʿAbbās, “How come I see your uncle’s folk pouring milk and honey, while you serve al-nabīḍīḥ? Is this because of your poverty, or your miserliness?” Ibn ʿAbbās then related to him this hadith.

Ahmad stated that Rawḥ related to him, quoting Ḥumayd, from Ḥumayd, from Bakr, from ʿAbd Allāh (who said) that a bedoulīn asked Ibn ʿAbbās, “How come Muṣṣant’s kinsfolk serve water and honey, the family of so-and-so serves milk, while you serve al-nabīḍīḥ? Is this due to your miserliness or your poverty?”

“Ibn ʿAbbās replied, ‘We’re neither miserly nor poor; however, the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to us, Usāma b. Zayd mounted behind himself, and asked to drink. We served him this’ – meaning the nabīḍīḥ – ‘and he drank from it. He said, ‘You have done well. Continue in this way.’”

Ahmad related it, from Rawḥ and Muḥammad b. Bakr, from Ibn Jurayj, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, and Daʿūd b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from Ibn ʿAbbās.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from Iṣḥāq b. Sulaymān, quoting Khalīd, from Khalīd al-Ḥadhdhāʾ, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, (who said) “The Messenger of God (SAAS) came to the watering place and asked to drink. Al-ʿAbbās said, ‘Faḍl, go to your mother and bring something from her for the Messenger of God to drink.’ The latter asked, ‘Give me to drink.’ He (al-ʿAbbās) replied, ‘Messenger of God, they are putting their hands into it.’ He asked, ‘Give me to drink!’ and he drank from it.

126. Here “unfermented date juice”.
“He then went to zamzam while they were serving its water (to the pilgrims) and working in it. He said, ‘Work, for you are engaged in proper work.’ He then said, ‘Were it not that you would be overwhelmed (by people wanting to emulate me) I would also have drawn water by placing the rope on this’—meaning his own shoulder, to which he gestured.”

He (al-Bukhari) also gives a hadith of ‘Aṣim, from al-Sha’bi, that Ibn ‘Abbas said, “I served (water) to the Prophet (ṢAAS), from zamzam, and he drank it while standing.” ‘Aṣim said, “Ikrima swore, ‘That day he rode on nothing but a ba‘ir, “a camel”.’”

In one account the wording is, “on nothing but his nāqa, ‘his (she) camel’.”

Imām Alḥmad stated that Ḥushaym related to him, quoting Yazid b. Abū Ziyād, from Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the ka‘ba while (mounted) on a camel. He saluted the “black stone” with a staff he had.

He went on, “He came to the watering place and said, ‘Serve me to drink.’ They replied, ‘The people plunge into this; but we will bring you some of it from the ka‘ba.’ He replied, ‘I don’t need that; serve me from what the people drink.’”

Abū Da‘ūd narrated from Musaddad, from Khalīd al-Ṭāḥān, from Yazid b. Abū Ziyād, from Ikrima, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arrived while we were drawing water. He circumambulated on his camel.” He went on to narrate the hadith.

Imām Alḥmad stated that Rawḥ and ‘Affān related to him, quoting Ḥammād, from Qays, and ‘Affān stated in his hadith, that Qays informed him, from Mujāhid, who quoted Ibn ‘Abbās as saying, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) came to zamzam. We drew up a bucket for him, and he drank. Then he spat into it, and we poured it into zamzam. After that he said, ‘Were it not that you would be overwhelmed (by people wanting to emulate me) I would draw it out with my own hand.’”

Alḥmad is alone in giving it; its line of transmission meets the criteria of Muslim.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not repeat the circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa a second time, being content with his first. As Muslim related in his sahih collection through Ibn Jurayj, quoting Abū al-Zubayr, who heard Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh say, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) and his Companions made only one circumambulation between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa.”

I note that the reference here to “his Companions” is to those who had brought hadis and who were performing the ḥajj al-girān.

It is similarly established in the sahih collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to ʿAisha, who had joined the ḥajj to the ‘umra and was
therefore performing the hajj al-qirān, “Your circumambulation of the ka'ba and between al-Šafā and al-Marwa (once) suffices for both your hajj and your 'umra.”

Those who support the teaching of Imām Ahmad consider that the statement of Jabir and his companions applies generally, to both those performing the hajj al-tamattu’ and those who are performing the hajj al-qirān. Imām Ahmad, therefore, laid down that for the person performing the hajj al-tamattu’, one circumambulation would suffice for both his hajj and his 'umra even if he had been (out of the state of iḥrām) during the interim.

This is a strange statement, taking literally from the hadith. But God knows best.

Those who accept the teachings of Abū Ḥanīfa regarding the hajj al-tamattu’, and also those of the Malikis and the Shāfi‘is, state that those performing the hajj al-tamattu’ are required to perform two circumambulations (of the ka'ba) and two passages (between al-Šafā and al-Marwa), though the Ḥanafis (alone) extend that rite to those performing the hajj al-qirān as well. This, however, is a rule unique to their school (of law). They maintain that the latter (the qirān) should also perform both (circumambulations), tracing this back to ʿAlī mawqūfan directly to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

We have already spoken on all that with regard to the circumbulation, and have shown that the lines of transmission for that are weak and contradict ahādīth that are categorized as sahih. But God knows best.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then returned to Minā after having performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer at Mecca, as the hadith of Jabir shows. Ibn ʿUmar stated, “He returned and performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer at Minā.”

Muslim narrated both (ahādīth relating to this), as we have given above. It is possible to reconcile between both by that having occurred at Mecca and at Minā. But God knows best.

Ibn Ḥazm discussed this issue, but reached no decisive conclusion about it. And he is to be excused for this, since the accounts considered authentic relating to it are contradictory. But God knows best.

Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿAisha as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) proceeded on (with the pilgrims) for the rest of that day, when he had performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer. Then he returned to Minā, where he stayed for the nights of ayyām al-tashriq, casting (pebbles) at the mound, when the sun began to decline, seven at each mound, and saying ‘God is Most Great!’ with each one.”

Abū Da’ūd is alone in giving this hadith.

This shows that his proceeding to Mecca on the day of the sacrifice was after the sun began to decline. This contradicts absolutely the hadith of Ibn ʿUmar.
And there is also controversy over his contradiction of the hadith of Jābir. But God knows best.

Chapter.

On that fine day the Messenger of God (SAAS) gave a wonderful address that numerous ahādīth reiterate. We will relate those of them that God, the Almighty and Glorious, so enables us.

Al-Bukhārī gave a section entitled, Chapter on the address made during the days at Mīnā.

He went on to state that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Yahlī b. Saʿīd, quoting Fuṭayl b. Ghazwān, quoting ʿIkrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address to the people on the day of the sacrifice. He said, “0 people, what day is this?” They replied, “A day that is ḥarām, ‘sacrosanct’.” “And what land is this?” he asked. “A sacrosanct land,” they replied. “And what month is this?” he asked. “A sacrosanct month,” they replied. He then said, “Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct for you, like this day of yours in this your land in this your month.”

Ibn ʿAbbās went on, “He repeated this several times. Then, raising his head, he went on, ‘0 God, have I delivered (the message well)? 0 God, I have delivered (the message).’”

Ibn ʿAbbās continued, “By Him in whose hand is my soul, it was his testament to his nation. (He then stated), ‘Let those witnessing this inform those absent. Do not revert into being unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another!’”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from al-Fallas, from Yahlī al-Qaṭṭān. He characterized it as ḥasan sabīb.

Al-Bukhārī also stated that ʿAbd Allāh b. Muhammad related to him, quoting Abū ʿĀmir, quoting Qurra, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū Bakr, from his father, and a man more worthy in my view that ʿAbd al-Rahmān Ḥumayd b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, from Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address to us on the day of the sacrifice. He said, ‘Do you know what day this is?’ We replied, ‘God and His Messenger know best.’ He was silent, so that we thought he was going to give it some different name. He then asked, ‘Is this not the day of the sacrifice?’ ‘Why, yes,’ we replied. ‘And what month is this?’ he asked. ‘God and His Messenger know best,’ we replied. He was silent, so that we thought he was going to give it some different name. He then asked, ‘Is this not Dhū al-Ḥijja?’ ‘Yes indeed,’ we replied. ‘And what land is this?’ he asked. ‘God and His Messenger know best,’ we replied. He was silent so that we thought he was going to change its name. ‘Is this not the sacrosanct land?’ he asked. ‘Yes indeed,’ we replied.

‘He went on, ‘Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you, just as this day of yours is holy for you, in this month of yours, in this land of yours, until the day you meet your Lord. And have I delivered (the message)?’ ‘Yes,’ we
replied. He went on, ‘O God, bear witness! Let those present inform those absent; and many who will be informed (of this) will be more conscious than those who hear (it now). Do not revert into being unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another.’”

Al-Bukhãrî and Muslim narrated it through several lines, from MuHAMMAD b. Sîrîn. Muslim narrated it from a hadith of ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Awn, from Ibn Sîrîn, from ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Abû Bakr, from his father. He added at its end, “He then turned aside to two fine rams, both of which he sacrificed. He also (turned towards) a herd of goats and divided them up between us.”

Imâm Ahmad stated that Ismâ’îl related to him, quoting AYYûb, from Muhammad b. Sîrîn, from Abû Bakr, (who said) “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address on his hijja, saying, ‘Time has run a course, as was its way the day God created the heavens and the earth. The year has twelve months, of which four are sacrosanct. Three follow one another in succession – Dhût al-Qa’dâ, Dhût al-Hijja and al-MuHarram. And there is Rajab of (Banû) Mu’dar, which is between Jumādâ and Sha’bân.’

“He went on, ‘And what day is this?’ We replied, ‘God and His Messenger know best.’ He was silent, so that we thought he was giving it a different name. He then asked, ‘Is this not the day of the sacrifice?’ We replied, ‘Yes indeed.’ He then asked, ‘What month is this?’ We said, ‘God and His Messenger know best.’ He was silent so that we thought he was giving it a new name. He then asked, ‘Is it not Dhût al-Hijja?’ ‘Yes indeed,’ we replied. Then he asked, ‘What country is this?’ ‘God and His Messenger know best,’ we replied. He was silent, so that we thought he was giving it a new name. Then he asked, ‘Is it not the sacrosanct land?’ We replied, ‘Yes indeed.’ He then said, ‘Your money and your possessions,’ – I think he also said ‘and your honour’ – ‘are sacrosanct for you, as this day of yours is sacrosanct in this your month and this your country. You will meet your Lord and he will question you about your deeds. Do not revert after me into error, striking the necks of one another. Have I delivered (the message well)? Let those witnessing deliver the message to those absent. And perhaps those who are informed will be more conscious of it than some of those who heard it.’”

This is how it occurs in the hadith collection of Imâm Ahmad, from Muhammad b. Sîrîn, from Abû Bakr. Abû Da’ûd narrated it similarly from Musaddad. Al-Nasâ’î gave it from ‘Amr b. Zurâra, both of whom quoted from Ismâ’îl – he being Ibn ‘Uliyya – from AYYûb, from Ibn Sîrîn, from Abû Bakr.

It is interrupted in its line of transmission because both authors of the sahih collections gave it from another route, from AYYûb and others, from MuHAMMAD b. Sîrîn, from ‘Abd al-Rahmân b. Abû Bakr, from his father.

Al-Bukhãrî stated also that Muhammad b. al-Muthannâ related to him, quoting Yazid b. Hârûn, quoting ASIM b. MuHAMMAD b. Zayd, from his father, from Ibn ‘Umar. He said, “The Prophet (SAAS) asked at Minâ, ‘Do you know what day this is?’ They replied, ‘God and His Messenger know best.’ He went
on, 'This day is sacrosanct; and do you know what land this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' He went on, 'It is a sacrosanct land.' He asked, 'And do you know what month this is?' They replied, 'God and His Messenger know best.' It is a sacrosanct month,' he said. He went on, 'And God made sacrosanct for you your blood, your possessions and your honour, like he made sacrosanct the nature of this your day in this your month in this your land.'"

Al-Bukhari gave it in various places of his sahih collection, as did the rest of the major scholars, except for al-Tirmidhi, through various routes from Muhammad b. Zayd b. Abdullah b. Umar, from his grandfather, 'Abd Allah b. Umar.

Al-Bukhari (also) stated, "And Hisham b. al-Ghaz stated that Nafi' informed him, from Ibn 'Umar, that the Prophet (SAAS) stood between the pillars on the hijja he made on his pilgrimage and said, 'This is the day of al-hajj al-akbar, "the major pilgrimage". The Prophet (SAAS) then began by declaring, 'O God, bear witness!' He then said farewell to the people and they said, 'This is the hijjat al-wada', "the farewell pilgrimage".'"

Abu Da'ud gave a line of transmission for this hadith from Mu'ammar b. al-Fadl, from al-Walid b. Muslim. Ibn Majah gave it from Hisham b. 'Ammar, from Sadaqa b. Khalid, both of whom quoted from Hisham b. al-Ghaz b. Rabia al-Jarashi Abu al-'Abbas al-Dimashqi.

His standing at the pillars to make this address renders it possible that it was delivered after his casting at the pillar on the day of the sacrifice and before his circumambulation. It is also possible that it was delivered after his circumambulation, his return to Minah and his casting (the stones) at the pillars.

However, the first possibility is strengthened by what al-Nasa'i narrated, when he said that Amr b. Hisham al-Harrani related to him, quoting Muhammad b. Salam, from Abu 'Abd al-Rahman, from Zayd b. Abu Unaysa, from Yahya b. Husayn al-A'masi, from his grandmother Umm Husayn. She stated, "I took part in the hijja of the Prophet (SAAS); I saw Bilal holding the bridle of his camel, while Usama b. Zayd raised a garment above him, sheltering him from the heat, while he was in the ihram state, until he cast at the pillar at al-Aqaba. He then made an address to the people, praising and lauding God and saying many things."

Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Zayd b. Abu Unaysa, from Yahya b. al-Husayn, from his grandmother, Umm al-Husayn. She stated, "I performed the hijjat al-wada' with the Messenger of God (SAAS). I saw Usama and Bilal; one of them was holding the bridle of the Messenger of God (SAAS), while the other raised his garment sheltering him from the heat until he cast (pebbles) at the mound at al-Aqaba."

She went on, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) said many things. I then heard him say, '(Even) if a castrated' - I think he said 'black' - 'slave should
become your commander, who leads you with God's Book, then listen to him and obey.’”

Imām ʿĀmad stated that Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh related to him, quoting al-Aʿmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ— he being Dhakwān al-Sammān—from Jābir, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to us on the day of the sacrifice and he said, ‘Which day is the most sacrosanct?’ They replied, ‘This day of ours.’ He asked, ‘Which month is the most sacrosanct?’ They replied, ‘This month of ours.’ He asked, ‘Which land is the most sacrosanct?’ They replied, ‘This land of ours.’ He then said, ‘Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you as this day of yours in this country of yours in this month of yours are sacrosanct. Have I delivered the message successfully?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. He then said, ‘O God, bear witness.’”

ʿĀmad is alone in giving it with this line; it meets the criteria of the two ṣaḥīḥ collection. Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba narrated it from Abū Muʿāwiyah, from al-ʿAʾmash.

The ḥadīth of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad is given above, from his father, from Jābir in the address given by the Prophet (ṢAAS), on the day at Mt. ʿArafāt. God knows best.


Ibn Māja narrated it from Hishām b. ʿAmmār, from ʿĪsā b. Yūnus. Its line of transmission meets the criteria of both ṣaḥīḥ collections. But God knows best.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Abū Hishām related to him, quoting Ḥāfṣ, from al-ʿAʾmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayrah, and Abū Saʿīd (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address. He asked, ‘What day is this?’ They replied, ‘A sacrosanct day.’ He said, ‘Your blood and your possessions are sacrosanct for you as this day of yours in this month of yours in this land of yours are sacrosanct.’”

Al-Bazzār went on to state, “Abū Muʿāwiyah narrated it from al-ʿAʾmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayrah and Abū Saʿīd. Abū Hishām joined both together for us, from Ḥāfṣ b. Ghiyāṯ, from al-ʿAʾmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Abū Hurayrah and Abū Saʿīd.”

I note that the account given by ʿĀmad from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṭanāfust, from al-ʿAʾmash, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Jābir b. ʿAbd Allah, is given above. Perhaps Abū Ṣāliḥ gave it from three (sources).

Hilāl b. Yasāf stated, from Sālama b. Qays al-Ashjaʿi, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said on the ḥijjat al-wadāʾ, ‘They are only four in number; do not associate anything with God; do not kill, for God has forbidden this, unless by the right; do not commit adultery; and do not steal.’”
Salama b. Qays al-Ashja'i went on, “And no one became more careful regarding these four than myself when I heard them from the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Aḥmad and al-Nasāʾī narrated this from a *ḥadīth* of Maṃṣūr, from Hilāl b. Yasāf. Sūfīyān b. ʿUayna narrated it similarly, as did al-Thawrī, from Maṃṣūr.

Ibn Ḥaẓm stated on the subject of the *ḥijjat al-waḍāʾ* that Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Anas al-ʿUdhri related to him, quoting Abū Dharr ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Ḥarwi al-ʿAṣṣārī, quoting Aḥmad b. ʿAbdān, the ḥāfiz at al-Ahwāz, quoting Sahl b. Mūsā b. Shīrzhād, quoting Mūsā b. ʿĀsim, quoting Abū al-ʿAwwām, quoting Muḥammad b. Juḥāda, from Ziyād b. ʿAlaqā, from Usāma b. Sharrīk, who said, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (SAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-waḍāʾ*, while he was delivering an address. He said, ‘Your mother, your father, your sister, your brother and then the closest to you, and the closest to you.’

Some people then came and said, ‘Messenger of God, Banū Yarba‘ attacked us!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘No person should harm any other.’ A man who had forgotten to cast stones at the pillars then asked him what he should do. He replied, ‘So cast the pebbles (now); no matter.’ Another man then came to him and said, ‘Messenger of God, I forgot to circumambulate.’ He replied, ‘So circumambulate (now); no matter.’ Another man came to him who had shaved before he had made sacrifice. He told him, ‘Make sacrifice; no matter.’ And that day whenever anyone asked him anything, he always replied, ‘No matter; no matter!’

“He then said, ‘God may make all problems go away – except for a man who borrows money from a man who is a Muslim; for him there is a problem, and he is ruined.’ He went on, ‘God brought down no disease for which He did not provide a cure – except for senility, that is.’”

Iḥām Aḥmad and the orthodox scholars give some of this text from this line. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “It is ḥasan, saḥīḥ.”

Iḥām Aḥmad stated that Ḥājjāj related to him, quoting Shuʾbā, from ʿAlī b. Mudrik, who said he heard Abū Zurʿa relate from Jarir – who was his grandfather – that the Prophet (SAAS) said on the *ḥijjat al-waḍāʾ*, “Jarir, listen to the people.” He then said in his address, “Do not revert into unbelievers after me, striking the necks of one another.”

Aḥmad then narrated it from Ghandar, and from Ibn Mahdī, both of whom quoted it from Shuʾbā. Both authors of the *saḥīḥ* collections gave it from a *ḥadīth* of Shuʾbā.

Aḥmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl, from Qays, who said, “We were informed that Jarir stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Listen to the people. I really do not know, after what I see, (whether) you will revert to being unbelievers, striking the necks of one another.’”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Numayr.

Al-Nasāʾī stated that Ḥanīnād b. al-Sarrī related to him, from Abū al-Aḥwāṣ, from Ibn Ghaqrqada, from Sulaymān b. ʿAmr, from his father, who said, “I witnessed the Messenger of God (SAAS), on the *ḥijjat al-waḍāʾ*, as he said,
‘People!’ He said this three times. ‘What day is this?’ They replied, ‘It is the day of the “greater pilgrimage”.’

“He went on, ‘Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct among yourselves as this day of yours in this land of yours is sacrosanct. Let no man do harm to his child. Satan has despairs that he will be worshipped in this your land! However, you will be obedient to him in your performance of some acts you think insignificant, and he will be pleased. All usury of the jahiliyya period is abolished. You have (the right to) your capital only. Do no wrong, and you will not be wronged.’” He proceeded to complete the hadith as above.

Abū Da‘ūd gives a section entitled, Chapter of those who stated, ‘He gives an address on the day of the sacrifice’.

He went on to state that Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, quoting ʿIkrima— he being Ibn ʿAmmār— quoting al-Hīrām b. Ziyād al-Bāhili, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) make an address to the people while on his camel al-ʿAdḥā on the day of the immolation at Mīnā.”

Aḥmad and al-Nāsīrī narrated it from several lines, from ʿIkrima b. ʿAmmār, from al-Hīrām, who said, “My father was mounted behind myself and I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) making an address to the people at Mīnā on the day of the sacrifice while on his camel al-ʿAdḥā.”

This is the wording of Aḥmad. It is from one of the three volumes of his musnad compendium.

Abū Da‘ūd stated further that Muʿāmmil b. al-Fadl al-Ḥarrānt related to him, quoting al-Walīd, quoting Ibn Jabīr, quoting Sulaym b. ʿAmīr al-Kalāʾī, who said he heard Abū Amāma say, “I heard the address given by the Messenger of God (SAAS), at Mīnā on the day of the sacrifice.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to him, from Muʿāwiya b. ʿṢāliḥ, quoting Sulaym b. ʿAmīr al-Kalāʾī, who said, “I heard Abū Umāma state, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS), one day while mounted upon al-Jaḍā’, his feet placed in the stirrups, stretching out so that people would hear. He said at the top of his voice, “Do you not hear?” One man in one of the groups of people asked, “Messenger of God, with what do you charge us?” He replied, “Worship your Lord. Perform your five (prayers). Fast for your month. And obey when you are commanded. (Then) you will enter your Lord’s garden.”’

“I (Sulaym) asked him, ‘Abū Umāma, (how old were you) at that time?’ He replied, ‘At that time I was a man of 30, controlling the camel and urging it forwards towards the Messenger of God (SAAS).’”

Aḥmad also narrated it from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb, from Muʿāwiya b. ʿṢāliḥ, and al-Tirmidhī gave it from Mūsā b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kūfī, from Zayd b. al-Ḥubāb. He stated that it was ḥasan saḥīḥ, “good and authentic”.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Mughīṭra related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbās, quoting Shuʿrāḥbīl b. Muslim al-Khawlānī who stated that he heard
Abū Umāma al-Bāhili say, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say in his address on the year of the hijjat al-wada’, ‘God has given to each worthy man his due, and so there is no testamentary inheritance for an heir. The child applies to the bed (to the parents). For the adulteress there is the stone, and their reckoning is with God. Anyone making a claim to anyone but his father or claims an association with any patron not his own, upon him shall be God’s curse that shall follow him till Judgement Day. A woman may not expend from her household (funds) except with the permission of her husband.’

“Someone asked him, ‘Messenger of God, not even for food?’ He replied, ‘That is the best of our possessions.’ He then went on to say, ‘Things borrowed must be returned.’”

The scholars of the four orthodox schools narrated it from a hadith of Ismā’īl b. ‘Ayyāsh. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as hasan, “good”.

Abū Dā’ūd, may God have mercy upon him, then gave a section entitled, Section on when he makes an address on the day of the sacrifice.

He went on to state that ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Rahīm al-Dimashqī related to him, quoting Marwān, from Hilāl b. ʿAmīr al-Muzantī, quoting Rāfīʾ b. ʿAmr al-Muzantī, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) make an address to the people at Minā when dawn arose. He was mounted on a grey she-mule. ʿAlī was speaking on his behalf. Some of the people there were standing, others were seated.”

Al-Nasaʾī narrated it from Duḥaym, from Marwān al-Fazārī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muḥāwiya related to him, quoting Hilāl b. ʿAmīr al-Muzantī, from his father, who said, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) making an address to the people at Minā on a she-mule, wearing a red cloak. And there was a man who had participated in the battle of Badr in front of him speaking on his behalf. I then advanced and placed my hand between his foot and his shoelace. I was surprised at how cool it (his foot) was.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Muhammad b. ʿUbayd related to him, quoting a sheikh of Banū Fazārā, from Hilāl b. ʿAmīr al-Muzantī, who quoted his father as saying, “I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS), mounted upon a grey she-mule; ʿAlī was speaking on his behalf.”

Abū Dāʾūd narrated it from a hadith of Abū Muḥāwiya, from Hilāl b. ʿĀmir.

Abū Dāʾūd went on to give a chapter entitled, Section on what the Imām refers to in his address at Minā.

He then stated that Musaddād related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārith, from Ḥumayd al-ʿArāj, from Muḥammadm b. ʿIbrāhīm al-Taymī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥādh al-Taymī, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address to us while we were at Minā. Our hearing was so accentuated that we could hear what he was saying while we were in our dwellings. He started off by instructing them on their rites, until he reached the (method of stoning) the pillars, at which point he raised both index fingers. Thereafter he gave orders
to the muhājirin and they positioned themselves at the front of the mosque. He gave orders to the ansār and they went behind the mosque. (The rest of) the people took their places thereafter.”

Ahmad narrated it from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārith, from his father. Al-Nasaʿi gave it from a hadith of Ibn al-Mubarak, from ʿAbd al-Wārith in similar form.

Hereabove is given the account of Imam Ahmad, from ʿAbd al-ʿRazzāq, from Maʿmar, from Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muʿādh, from a man who was one of the Companions. God knows best.

It is established in both saḥīh collections, from a hadith of Ibn Jurayj, from al-Zuhri, from ʿIsā b. Ṭalha, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (who said). “While the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was making an address to us on the day of the sacrifice, a man got up and said to him, ‘I used to think that this-and-that was before so-and-such.’ Another man then arose and said, ‘I used to think that this-and-that was before this.’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) responded, ‘Do it (thus). No matter.’”

Both compilers of the saḥīh collections gave it from a hadith of Mālik. Muslim added, “and Yūnus, from al-Zuhri”. He gives many variations, but this is not the right place to scrutinize them. The correct place is (my) work Kitāb al-ʿAḥkām.

From God help is to be sought.

In the wording of both saḥīh collections, he stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was not that day asked about anything relating (to the sequence of the ṭaʿaffūd) without him responding, ‘Do it; no matter.’”

Chapter.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) then stopped at Minā where the mosque is today, so it is said. He positioned the muhājirin to his right and the ansār to his left, with the rest of the people thereafter around them.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated that ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz informed him that ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqba al-Shaybānī of al-ʿUkṣa (related to him) quoting Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Zuhri, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. Mūsā, quoting Ṣaʿdīl, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥājir, from Yūsuf b. Māhik, from Umm Musayka, from ʿAʾisha, who said, “Someone asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘Should we not construct for you at Minā a building to shade you?’ He replied, ‘No; Minā was a residence of former people.’”

This line of transmission is not bad; however, it is not in al-Musnad, nor in the six canonical collections of traditions from this line.

Abū Daʿūd stated that Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Bāhili related to him, quoting Yahyā, from Ibn Jurayj, quoting Ḥarīz – or Abū Ḥarīz, the doubt stems from Yahyā – who stated that he heard ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Farrūkh ask Ibn ʿUmar, “When we do business (during the ḥiṣa) with the people’s goods and
one of us happens to be in Mecca, is he allowed to spend the night there (or should he return to Mina)?’ He replied, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) overnighted at Minâ and went on doing so.’

Abû Da‘îd is alone in giving this.

Abû Da‘îd went on to state that Uthmân b. Abû Shayba related to him, quoting Ibn Numayr and Abû Usâma, from Ubayd Allâh, from Nâfî’, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, ‘Al-ʿAbbâs asked permission of the Messenger of God (SAAS), to stay in Mecca for the nights (one is supposed to spend) at Minâ because of (his role in) providing the water for the pilgrims; he gave him permission.’


Al-Bukhârî traced it from Abû Usâma and ʿUqba b. Khâlid, all of them quoting Ubayd Allâh b. ʿUmar.

At Minâ the Messenger of God (SAAS) would shorten (the daily prayers of four rakaʿât) to two rakaʿât, as is established in both sahîh collections from a hadith of Ibn Mas‘ûd and Jâriîa b. Wahb, may God be pleased with them both.

This is why a number of scholars of the Mâlikî school, maintain that the shortening (of the daily prayers, where applicable, to just two rakaʿât) was part of the rites of the hajj. They say, ‘Regarding those who state that the Messenger of God (SAAS) used at Minâ to say to the people of Mecca, ‘Complete (the prayer as normal); we (shorten our prayer because) we are a people who are travelling.’’ But these people are mistaken; the Messenger of God (SAAS) only said this in the year of the conquest (of Mecca) while he was staying at al-Abtah, as we have stated hereabove. But God knows best.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to cast stones at the three pillars every day of those he spent at Minâ, after the sun had declined, as Jâbir related above. He would do so on foot, as Ibn ʿUmar stated heretofore, casting seven stones saying, ‘God is most Great!’ with each one. He would, moreover, stop and pray at the first and the second and pray to God, Almighty and Glorious is He, but he would not stop at the third.

Abû Da‘îd stated that ʿAli b. Bahr related to him, as did ʿAbd Allâh b. Saʿîd al-Mâ‘nî, who both stated that Abû Khâlid al-Aḥmar related to them, from Muḥammad b. Isḥâq, from ʿAbd al-Râhîmân b. al-Qâsim, from his father, who quoted ʿA’isha as saying, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the ṭawâf al-ifîda at the end of his day when he performed the al-zuhr prayer. He then returned to Minâ and stayed there for the nights of the ayyâm al-tashriq, casting (stones) at the pillar when the sun began to decline, seven pebbles at each pillar, and saying ‘God is most Great!’ with each one. He stood and performed prayers at the first and the second, standing at both at length and making humble entreaties to God. At the third he cast (stones) without standing at it.’’

Abû Da‘îd is alone in giving it.
Al-Bukhari narrated from more than one line, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhri, from Sālim, from Ibn Ūmar, that the latter would cast seven pebbles at the lower pillar, saying “God is most Great!” after each one. He then would go forwards and stand on level ground at length facing the qibla, praying and raising his hands. After that he would cast stones at the middle pillar, move to the north and then stand at length, on level ground, facing the qibla, praying with his hands raised. Thereafter, he would cast (stones) at the big pillar, from the middle of the wādi, but he would not stand at it. Then he would move away, saying, ‘It was thus that I saw the Messenger of God, God’s peace and blessings be upon him, do it.’"

Wabra b. ‘Abd al-Ra’ūlīn stated, “Ibn Ūmar stopped at al-‘Aqaba long enough to recite the surat al-Baqara (II).” Abu Mijlaz stated, “I estimated his stopping there to be long enough to recite surat Yūsuf (XII).”

Al-Bayhaqi gave both of these comments.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna related to him, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from his father, from Abū al-Qaḍāḥ, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the shepherds that they cast (stones) on one day and graze their flocks for a day.

Aḥmad stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr related to him, and that Rawḥ informed him, quoting Ibn Jurayj, quoting Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, from his father, from Abū al-Qaḍāḥ b. ‘Āṣim b. ‘Adī, from his father, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the shepherds to act consecutively and to cast stones on the day of the sacrifice. They would then pray for a day and a night and cast stones on the following day.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Abd al-Ra’ūlīn related to him, quoting Malik, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Bakr, from his father, from Abū al-Qaḍāḥ b. ‘Āṣim b. ‘Adī, from his father (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave permission to the camel herdsmen to overnight at Mīnā until they (could) cast stones on the day of the sacrifice. After having done this, they would also cast stones on the next day, or on the day thereafter, for two days. And they would then cast stones on the yawm al-nafr, “the day of the return from Mīnā”.

He narrated it similarly from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Malik. The scholars of the al-sunan texts narrate it from the ḥadīth of Malik, and from that of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “The account of Malik is more authentic; it is a ḥadīth that is ṣaḥīḥ.”

Chapter: Aḥādīth showing that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address to the people on the second, the middle that is, day of the ayyām al-tashriq.

Abū Dā’ūd gave a section entitled, Chapter regarding which day it was that he made an address to the people.

He went on to state that Muḥammad b. al-‘Alā’ related to him, quoting Ibn al-Mubārak, from Ibrāhīm b. Nafīs, from Ibn Abū Najīḥ, from his father, from
two men of Banū Bakr, both of whom stated, “We saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) make an address around the middle of the days of the ayyām al-tashriq; we were close by his camel. This was the address he made at Minā.”

Abū Dā‘ūd is alone in giving this.

Abū Dā‘ūd then stated that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Abū ʿĀṣim, quoting Rabīʿa b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥuṣayn, quoting his great-grandmother Sarraʾ, daughter of Nabān, who had headed a household before the coming of ʿĪsām. She said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address to us on the yawn al-rūʿūs, the day of the heads. He (Rabīʿa) asked, ‘And what day is that?’ We stated, ‘God and His Messenger know best!’ He asked, ‘Is that not the middle day of the ayyām al-tashriq?’”

Abū Dā‘ūd was alone in giving this.

Abū Dā‘ūd went on, “The uncle of Abū Ḥurrat al-Raqaṣhī stated that he made the address on the middle day of the ayyām al-tashriq.”

Imām ʿAḥmad narrated this hadith with a fully connected line of transmission and at length. He stated that Uthmān related to him, quoting ʿUmmād b. Saʿlāma, quoting ʿAlī b. Zayd, from Abū Ḥurrat al-Raqaṣhī, from his uncle, who said, “I was holding the reins of the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS), in the middle of the days of the ayyām al-tashriq, keeping the people away from him. He said, ‘O people, do you know on which day of which month and in which land you are?’ They replied, ‘On a sacrosanct day, of a sacrosanct month, in a sacrosanct land.’ He went on, ‘Your blood, your possessions and your honour are sacrosanct for you, as is this your day, in this your month, in this your land, on until you meet Him.’” He went on, ‘Listen to me and live. Do not do wrong! Do not do wrong! Do not do wrong! The property of a Muslim is not permitted to you, except by his wish. All blood, money and deeds done in the jahiliyya are (crushed) beneath these feet of mine until Judgement Day. The first blood debt abolished is that of Ibn Rābiʿa b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib – he was fostered among Banū Saʿd, and Hudhayl killed him. All the usury charges of the jahiliyya are abolished. God has decreed that the first usury charges to be abolished are those of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. Your capital is your own; do not do wrong and you will not be wronged.’

‘Time has revolved as was its fashion the day God created the heavens and the earth.’ He then recited, ‘The number of the months with God is twelve months in God’s ordinance since the day He created the heavens and the earth. Of these four are sacrosanct. That is the correct reckoning. Therefore do not harm yourselves regarding them’ (sūrat al-Tawbah (al-Barāʾa); IX, v.36). ‘Do not revert after me into unbelievers, striking the necks of one another. Satan has despaired that those who pray will worship him. However, he is present in the dissent between yourselves.

‘Fear God in (your relationships) with women. They are (as) captives with you. They own nothing but themselves. They have rights over you, and you have rights over them – that they not allow anyone other than yourselves to set foot
in your furnishings, and that they not give permission (to anyone you dislike) to enter your homes. If you fear those of them who are fractious, then admonish them and leave them in the beds and strike them, but not viciously. They have rights to their provisions and their clothing, in kindness. It was only by God's covenant that you took them; and it is by God's word that you are permitted access to their sexual organs. And whoever has a covenant should discharge it to whomever entrusted it to him.'

"He then spread out his hands and said, 'Have I delivered the message? Have I delivered the message?' He went on, 'Let those witnessing inform those absent. Many of those who are informed are happier than those who hear.'"

Humayd stated that when these words reached al-Hasan he commented, "They have indeed delivered the message to peoples who were happier by it."

Abu Da'ud narrated an account in the Kitab al-Nikah chapter of his work al-Sunan, from Mūsā b. Ismā'il, from Ḥammād b. Salama, from ʿAlī b. Zayd b. Jadān, from Abū Ḥurrat al-Raqqāshī – his given name being Ḥanifa – from his uncle, that makes some reference to the "women who are fractious" (in the above hadith).

Ibn Hazm stated, "It is said that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made an address on the yawm al-ruwaṣ, that being the second day, following the day of the sacrifice, as the Meccans do not dispute. It is said also that this is the awsat, 'the middle', of the ayyām al-tashriq. It is likely that the word awsat is being used here in the sense of ashrat, "most noble", as in the words of God Almighty, "And likewise we have made of you a nation that is awsat, 'most noble'" (ṣūrat al-Baqara; II, v.143).

This view adopted by Ibn Hazm is implausible. But God knows best.

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that al-Walid b. ʿAmr b. Miskīn related to him, quoting Abū Ḥammām Muḥammad b. al-Zabraqān, quoting Mūsā b. ʿUbayda, from ʿAbd Allah b. Dīnār and Ṣadāqa b. Yāsār from ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmar, who said, "This sūrat was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at Minā during the awsat of the ayyām al-tashriq, on the hijjat al-wadāc 'When God's help and the victory came' (ṣūrat al-Naṣr, CX, v.1). He knew that it was the farewell, and he ordered that his camel al-Qaṣwā be brought. It was saddled for him and he mounted it and stood for the people at al-Ṭaqaba. There assembled around him as many of the Muslims as God wished. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God and then he said, 'To proceed: O people! All blood debts of the jahiliyya are made null and void; the first blood debt so rendered is that of Ibn Rabīʿa b. al-Ḥārith – who was sucked among the Banū Layth and killed by Hudhayl. All usury of the jahiliyya is abolished. The first such usury abolished is that of al-ʿAbbas b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

"O people! Time has revolved as is its fashion (since) the day God created the skies and the earth. The number of the months with God is twelve, of which four are sacrosanct. (These are) Rajab of (Banū) Muḍar that is between Jumādā and Shaʿbān, Dhū al-Qaʿda, Dhū al-Ḥijja and al-Muḥarram. "That is the correct
faith; do not wrong yourselves in them” (sūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.36). And “al-nas‘, ‘intercalation’, is an excess of disbelief; by it those who disbelieve are led astray. One year they make it permissible and another year they make it prohibited, in order to conform (outwardly) with the number that God made sacred” (sūrat al-Tawba; IX, v.37). One year they would make Ṣafar ḥalāl and another year they would make al-Muḥarram ḥarām. One year they would make Ṣafar ḥarām and another they would make al-Muḥarram ḥalāl. That is al-nas‘, ‘intercalation’.

“O people, those having deposits should award them to those who entrusted them with them. 0 people, Satan has despaired that he will be worshipped in your land till the end of time. Yet he may be pleased with you, by (your) despicable acts. Beware of him (harming) your religion by despicable acts. O people! Women are (as) captives with you. You took them with God’s covenant and you are permitted access to their sexual organs by God’s word. You have rights over them and they have rights over you. One of your rights you have over them is that they not allow others than yourselves to set foot upon your furnishings. And they should not disobey you in (your) permissible requests. If they so obey, then you have no right to (chastise them). They are due their food and their clothing in kindness. If you strike (them), then do so without viciousness. No man should have access to his brother’s funds, unless with his goodwill. O people! I have left among you that with which, if you adopt it, you will not go astray, the Book of God; behave by it.

“O People! What day is this?” They replied, ‘A sacrosanct day.’ He said, ‘What land is this?’ They replied, ‘A sacrosanct land.’ He asked, ‘What month is this?’ They replied, ‘A sacrosanct month.’ He said, ‘God has made sacrosanct your blood, your possessions and your honour, just as this day in this land and this month are sacrosanct. Let those of you who witness inform those of you who are absent. There will be no prophet after me, and no nation after you.’ He then raised his hands and said, ‘O God, bear witness!’”

REFERENCES TO A HADITH IN WHICH IT IS STATED THAT THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS) WOULD VISIT THE KA’BA EVERY NIGHT OF THOSE AT MINA.

Al-Bukhārī stated, “It is recounted from Abū Ḥassān from Ibn ʿAbbās, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the ka’ba during the days at Minā.”

He related it thus, with a comment that it was a weak tradition.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbdān informed him, quoting Ahmad b. ʿUbayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting al-ʿUmārī, quoting Ibn ʿArāra, who said, “Muʿādh b. Ḥishām presented us a document, saying, ‘I heard it from my father; he did not read it.’ He went on, ‘In it it states, “from Qatāda, from Abū Ḥassān, from Ibn ʿAbbās (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would visit the ka’ba every night for so long as he was at Minā.” He commented, ‘I never saw anyone agree with him over this.’”
Al-Bayhaqi stated that al-Thawri narrated in the book *al-jami‘*, from Ibn Tawus, from Tawus, from Ibn ‘Abbas (who said) “The Messenger of God (SAAS) would perform the circumambulation (of the *ka'ba*) every night” – those at Minā, that is. This *hādith* is *mursal*.

Chapter.

The sixth day of Dhū al-Ḥijja, according to some, is said to have been known as the *ya’um al-zina*, “the day for decoration”, because on it the sacrificial camels would be adorned with garlands and other things.

The seventh day is known as the *ya’um al-tarwiyya*, “the day for the provisioning with water”, because on it they refresh themselves with the water and carry away what they need of it for the *al-wuqūf*, “the stationing” (at ‘Arafāt), and thereafter.

The eighth day is known as *ya’um Minā*, “the day at Minā”, because pilgrims proceed then from al-Abtaḥ to Minā.

The ninth day is known as *ya’um ‘Arafāt*, “the day at Mt. ‘Arafāt”, because they stand upon it that day.

The tenth day is known as *ya’um al-nahr*, “the day of the sacrifice”, and *ya’um al-‘aḏhān*, “the day of the immolation”, and as *ya’um al-ḥajj al-akbaru*, “day of the greater *ḥajj*”.

The day following that is known as *ya’um al-qarr*, “the day of rest”, since on that day pilgrims rest. It is also known as *ya’um al-ruṭūs*, “the day of the heads”, because on that day they eat the heads of the animals sacrificed. It is the first of the *ayyām al-tashriq*.

The second day of the *ayyām al-tashriq* is known as the *ya’um al-nafir al-awwal*, “the first day of the departure”, because it is permissible to leave on it. It is also said to refer to the day known as the *ya’um al-ruṭūs*.

The third day of the *ayyām al-tashriq* is known as the *ya’um al-nafir al-‘akhir*, “the other day of the departure”. God Almighty stated, “Those who hasten away in two days shall not be considered sinful; and those who remain behind are not considered sinful” (*sūrat al-Baqara*; II, v.203).

On the *ya’um al-nafir*, the third day of the *ayyām al-tashriq*, that being a Tuesday, the Messenger of God (SAAS) and the Muslims with him got upon their mounts. He departed with them from Minā and stopped at al-Muḥāṣṣab, a *wādī* between Mecca and Minā. There he performed the *al-‘asr* prayer.

It is also narrated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *al-zuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr* at al-Abtaḥ; that is al-Muḥāṣṣab. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhari (also) stated that ʿAbd al-Muttaʿal b. Ṭalib related to him, quoting Ibn Wabh, quoting ʿAmr b. al-Ḥārith, (who said) that Qatāda related to him that Anas b. Mālik related to him that, “The Prophet (SAAS) performed the *al-zuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā* prayers and laid down to rest at al-Muḥāṣṣab, rode to the *kaʿba* and circumambulated it.”

I note that he is referring to the *tawāf al-wadā*, the farewell circumabulation (after completion of the *ḥiḍa*).

Al-Bukhari stated that ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿAbd al-Wahhab related to him, quoting Khalīd b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “ʿAbd Allâh was asked about al-Muḥāṣṣab and so Ḥubayd Allâh related to us, from Nafiʾ, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed there, as did ʿUmar and Ibn ʿUmar.’”

And from Nafiʾ (it is narrated that), “Ibn ʿUmar would pray there – meaning al-Muḥāṣṣab – for the *al-zuhr* and the *al-ʿaṣr* prayers. I think he said, ‘and the *al-maghrib* prayer.’” Khalīd b. al-Ḥārith stated, “I have no doubt about the *al-ʿishā* prayer. He would then lie down and sleep; and he would narrate that about the Prophet (SAAS).”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Nūḥ b. Maymūn related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allâh, from Nafiʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abū Bakr, ʿUmar and ʿUthmān stayed at al-Muḥāṣṣab.

I saw it thus in the *musnad* of Imām Aḥmad, from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allâh al-ʿUmari, from Nafiʾ.


Al-Tirmidhi stated, “And on this subject (there are *ahādīth*) from ʿAʿisha, Abū Raʾf and Ibn ʿAbbās. The *ḥadīth* of Ibn ʿUmar is *ḥasan gharib*. And we only know it from a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Ḥubayd Allâh b. ʿUmar.”

Muslim narrated it from Muḥammad b. Māhrān al-Rāzī, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Maʿīmar, from Ayyūb, from Nafiʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abū Bakr and ʿUmar would stay at al-Abtaḥ.

Muslim also narrated it from a *ḥadīth* of Ṣakhir b. Juwayriyya, from Nafiʾ, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) that he would stay at al-Muḥāṣṣab, and that he would perform the *al-zuhr* prayer on the *yawm al-nafr* at al-Ḥasaba.

Nafiʾ stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) stayed at al-Muḥāṣṣab, and that the caliphs did so after him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting Ḥammād – meaning Ibn Salama – from Ayyūb and Ḥumayd, from Bakr b. ʿAbd Allâh, from Ibn ʿUmar, (who said) “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the *al-zuhr*, the *al-ʿaṣr*, the *al-maghrib* and the *al-ʿishā* prayers at al-ʻAbtaḥ and he then slept. Thereafter he entered” – meaning Mecca – “and circumambulated the *kaʿba*.”
Abū ʿAbdullāh (also) narrated it from ʿAffān, from Ḥammād, from Ḥumayd, from Bakr, from Ibn ʿUmar.

At the end of this hadith he added, "Ibn ʿUmar would do this."

Abū Daʿūd narrated it like this from Abū ʿAffān, Ibn ʿAlīn, from ʿAlīn, from ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that as from tomorrow, the day for the sacrifice at Miʿād, (they would stay in the khayf): ‘Tomorrow we will stay at the khayf of Banū Kināna, where they pledged disbelief to one another.’" By this he was referring to al-Muḥāṣṣab.

Muslim narrated it from Zuhayr b. Ḥarb, from al-Walīd b. Muslim, from al-Awzāʿī. He related it the same.

Imām ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhārī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, from ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān, from Usāma b. Zayd, who said, "I asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), ‘Where will you stay tomorrow?’ This was on his hijja. He replied, ‘Has ʿĀqil left us anywhere to stay?’ He then said, ‘Tomorrow, if God wills it, we will stay at the khayf of Banū Kināna’ - meaning al-Muḥāṣṣab - ‘where they made a pact of unbelief with Quraysh.’"

This referred to how Banū Kināna made a pact with Quraysh regarding Banū Ḥāshim - that they would not intermarry, nor ally with them, nor accommodate them - until the latter had delivered over to them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that is.

He (the Prophet ṢAAS) went on to say, "Muslims shall not inherit from unbelievers, nor unbelievers from Muslims."

Al-Zuhārī stated that the word al-khayf meant al-wādi, "the dry river bed".

They (the authors of the two sahīh collections) both gave it from a hadith of ʿAbd al-Razzāq.

These two aḥādith provide evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) planned to stay at al-Muḥāṣṣab to spite them for the agreement the Quraysh unbelievers had made when they signed the pact to boycott Banū Ḥāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib until they delivered over to them the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as we have explained above in the appropriate place.

He similarly stayed there in the year of the conquest (of Mecca). His having stayed there therefore constitutes a sunna to be emulated. This is one of the two comments made by the scholars.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Naʿīm related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from ʿAisha, who said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) only stayed there since it would be more convenient for his departure." This reference was to al-ʿAbṭah.

127. Al-Zuhārī is quoted hereafter as interpreting this obscure word to mean wādi, "dry river bed".
Muslim gave it from a *hadith* of Hashim. Abu Dā'ūd narrated it from Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, from Yahyā b. Sa'īd, from Hishām, from his father, from ʿAmīsha who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) only stayed at al-Muḥaṣṣab so that it would be more convenient for his departure. It is not a *sunna*. Staying there is a matter of personal preference."

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him, quoting Sufyān, who said, "ʿAmr stated, quoting ʿAtaʾ from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "Al-Taḥṣib is nothing (of importance); it is just somewhere the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed."

Muslim narrated it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, and others from Sufyān, the latter being Ibn ʿUyayna.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba al-Maʿnī and Musaddad stated that Sufyān related to them, quoting Sālīḥ b. Kaysān, from Sulaymān b. Yaṣār, who said, "Abū Rāfīʾ stated, 'He'—meaning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)—'did not order me to stay there. However, his pavilion was pitched and so he did stay there.'"

Abū Dāʾūd quoted Musaddad as stating, "He was in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS)." Abū Dāʾūd also quoted ʿUthmān as stating that this (place) reference was to al-ʿAbṭaḥ.

Muslim narrated it from Qutayba, Abū Bakr and Zuhayr b. Ḥarb from Sufyān b. ʿUyayna.

The outcome of the above is that all of these are agreed that the Prophet (ṢAAS) did stay at al-Muḥaṣṣab when he left from Minā. However, they do differ somewhat. Some (scholars) maintain that he had not actually planned to stay there but had done so by chance and for the conveneince of his departure. Others interpret his words to imply his having stayed there intentionally. This is more likely.

That is because the Prophet (ṢAAS) ordered people that they spend their last time there at the *kaʿba*; before that they would leave from all parts, as Ibn ʿAbbās stated. And so he ordered people that their last time there should be at the *kaʿba*—this reference being to the *tawāf al-wadāʾ* "the farewell circumambulation". The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wanted himself and those Muslims there with him to perform the *tawāf al-wadāʾ*. He had departed from Minā at around noon and had not been able to come to the *kaʿba* for the rest of that day, to circumambulate it and travel on into the outskirts of Mecca on the Medina side, since that would have been impossible for so numerous a throng. And so he needed to spend the night near Mecca.

There was no place more appropriate for him to stay than al-Muḥaṣṣab, where Quraysh had made a pact against Banū Ḥāshim and Banū al-Muṭṭalib. But God did not fulfill anything for Quraysh, but crushed and defeated them instead, making His religion dominant, aiding His Prophet and enhancing his influence. God fulfilled for him the true religion and through him made clear the straight path.
And so he went on pilgrimage with the people and made clear to them God’s rites and regulations. He had made his departure after having completed the rituals and then stayed in that place where Quraysh had sworn a pact for evil, aggression and boycott. There he performed the prayers for the al-ṣuḥr, the al-ṣaːr, the al-muḥrīb and the al-ʿiṣāːl and then he went to sleep.

He had dispatched ʿAʾisha, “mother of the Believers”, along with her brother ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, to perform the al-ʿumrā from al-Tanʾim and to come to him after finishing. When she had completed her ʿumrā and returned, he gave permission to the Muslims to proceed to the ancient kāʾba.

As Abū Daʿūd stated, “Wahb b. Baqiyya related to me, quoting Khālīd, from Aflāḥ, from al-Qāsīm, from ʿAʾisha, who said, ‘I declared myself in a state of ihram for the ʿumrā from al-Tanʾim, entered Mecca and performed it. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) waited for me at al-Abtaːl until I had finished and then ordered the people to set off. He went to the kāʾba, circumambulated it and left.’”

Both (authors of the saḥīḥ collections) included it, from a ḥadīth of Aflāḥ b. Ḥumayd.


Abū Daʿūd stated, “Ibn Bashshār mentioned her having been sent to al-Tanʾim. She said, “I then came (back shortly) before daybreak. He gave his Companions permission to depart and did so himself. He passed by the kāʾba before the al-ṣuḥb prayer. When he left, he circumambulated it and proceeded off to Medina.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Bashshār.

I observe that it is clear that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the al-ṣuḥb prayer with his Companions that day at the kāʾba. In that prayer of his, he recited, “By Mt. al-Ṭūr and a book inscribed on a stretched leather! By the inhabited house and the raised roof! And by the swelling sea” (sūrat al-Ṭūr, L.II, v.1–6).

This (conclusion) stems from what al-Bukhārī narrated. He stated that Iṣmāʾīl related to him, quoting Malik, from Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nawfal, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr, from Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama, from Umm Salama, the wife of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, “I complained to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), telling him I was in pain. He replied, ‘Circumambulate at the rear of the people, while mounted.’ I did so while he was praying that day beside the kāʾba and reciting, ‘By Mt. al-Ṭūr and a book inscribed . . . ’”

The rest of the scholars of the aḥadith, except for al-Tirmidhi, gave it from a ḥadīth of Malik, with a similar line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from a ḥadīth of Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from Zaynab, from Umm Salama, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)
was at Mecca and wished to leave; however, Umm Salama had not yet circumambulated but wanted to leave. He then told her, “When the al-$ubh prayer is being performed, circumambulate on your camel while the people are praying.” He then gave the rest of the hadith.

Imām Ahmad narrated that Abū Mu‘āwiya related to him, quoting Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, from Zaynab, daughter of Abū Salama, from Umm Salama, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), “ordered her to circumambulate at Mecca with him at the time of the al-$ubh prayer on the day of the sacrifice”.

This obviously has a line of transmission that meets the criteria of both sahih collections. However, no one (else) gave it with this terminology from this line. Perhaps this is because of the words “the day of the sacrifice” – an error from the narrator or from the copyist. In fact it was the yawm al-nafr, “the day of the departure”. This is substantiated by the account we have given above from al-Bukhārī. But God knows best.

The outcome of this is that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had completed the al-$ubh prayer, he performed seven circumambulations of the ka’ba and stood at the al-multazam that is between the corner bearing the “black stone” and the door of the ka’ba. He said a prayer to God, the Almighty and Glorious, and pressed his body close to the ka’ba.

Al-Thawri stated, from al-Muthannā b. al-Ṣabbāh, from ‘Amr b. Shu‘ayb, from his father, who quoted his grandfather as saying, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) press his face and his chest to the al-multazam.”

Al-Muthannā is a weak source.

Chapter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then made his departure from the lower part of Mecca. As ‘A‘isha stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca from its upper part and left from its lower part.” Both sahih collections include this.

Ibn ‘Umar stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered from the upper pass at al-Bat’hā, and left by the lower pass.”

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated this.

In one version the wording is, “He entered from Kadā and left from Kudā.”

Imām Ahmad stated that Muḥammad b. Fudayl related to him, quoting Ajlāh b. ‘Abd Allāh, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) departed from Mecca at sunset. He did not pray until he reached Sarif, which is nine miles from Mecca.”

This is very strange. There are differing views about Ajlāh. Perhaps this related to some occasion other than the hijjat al-wadā. As we have stated above, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) circumambulated the ka’ba after the al-$ubh prayer. What could have delayed him until sunset? This is very strange.

128. The word means here, “the place against which the faithful press while supplicating God”.

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Unless, that is, the claim made by Ibn Ḥazm is true. Namely, that he returned to al-Muḥaṣṣab from Mecca after his having made the ṭawāf al-wadāʾ circumambulation. The only evidence he gave for this was the statement of ʿAʾīshah when she returned after having made her ʿumra from al-Tanʿīm, meeting the Prophet (ṢAAS), at Saʿdah, whether while he was going down to the people of Mecca or while she was descending and he ascending.

Ibn Ḥazm stated, “One thing beyond doubt is that she was going up from Mecca and that he was descending. This is because she had come in for the ʿumra and he was waiting until she came. He then arose to make the ṭawāf al-wadāʾ and met her on his way out to al-Muḥaṣṣab from Mecca.”

Al-Bukhārī gave a section entitled, Chapter on those who stayed at Dhū Ṭuwān when he returned from Mecca.

Al-Bukhārī went on to quote Muhammad b. Ḥassā as stating that Ḥammād b. Zayd related to him, from Ayyūb, from Nāfiʿ, to the effect that when Ibn ʿUmar came (on the pilgrimage to Mecca) he spent the night at Dhū Ṭuwān and went in (to Mecca) next morning. When he departed (from Mecca) he would pass by Dhū Ṭuwān where he would pass the night till next morning. He would relate that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did this.

He related this thus, with a fully connected line of transmission, and in certainty. He, along with Muslim, substantiated this from a ḥadīth of Ḥammād b. Zayd; however, there is no mention in it of staying at Dhū Ṭuwān on his return. God knows best.

An invaluable addendum that gives the information that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took away some of the water of zamzam with him.

The ḥāfīz Abū ʿĪsā al-Tirmidhī stated that Abū Kurayb related to him, quoting Khallād b. Yazīd al-Juʿfī, quoting Zuhayr b. Muʿawiya, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, from ʿAʾīshah, (who said) that she would carry water from zamzam and she reported that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would carry it.

He (al-Tirmidhī) then stated, “This ḥadīth is ḥasan gharīb; we know of it only from this line.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muhammad b. Muqṭīl related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh – he being Ibn al-Mubārak – quoting Mūsā b. ʿUqba, from Sāлим and Nāfiʿ, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar (who said) “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from a military expedition or from the ḥajj or the ʿumra, be would thrice proclaim, ‘God is most Great!’. Then he would say, ‘There is no god but God alone! He has no associate! Power is His, and praise. He has control over everything. We return, repenting, worshipping, prostrating to our Lord, praising. God has fulfilled His promise, given aid to His servant, and defeated the factions (by Himself) alone.’”

The accounts stating this are numerous. And to God all praise and reliance are due.
Chapter: On the narration of the hadith showing that the Prophet (SAAS) gave an address in a place between Mecca and Medina on his way back from the hajjat al-wada', near al-Juhfah, a place called Ghadir Khumm.

At this place he made clear the virtue of ‘Ali b. Abu Talib and how his honour was untainted by the charges made against him by some of those who had been with him in Yemen on account of the awards he had issued then that some thought to be unjust, inadequate and miserly. However, he was in the right in this.

When, therefore, the Prophet (SAAS) had finished explaining the pilgrimage rituals and returned to Medina, on the way he clarified that issue, making a major address on the 18th of Dhūl-Hijja that year. It was a Sunday; it was delivered beneath a tree at Ghadir Khumm and in it he clarified a variety of concerns. He emphasized ‘Ali’s virtues, his trustworthiness and his closeness to himself, all of which erased the doubts that many people had about him.

We will, through God’s power and help, present the most significant of the accounts relating to this, making clear what in them is authentic and what is questionable.

Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Jarir al-Ṭabari, author of the Qurʾān exegesis and the history, greatly concerned himself with this hadith. He collected two volumes of material relating to it, giving its variations in lines of transmission and terminology. He distinguished between the authentic and inauthentic reports (contrary) to the practice of many of the early authorities on the hadith literature, who presented in this section all that came to them without discriminating between those of doubtful quality from others of clear authenticity. The same may be said of the great ḥāfiz Abū al-Qasim b. Ḥasan, who gave many ahādīth relating to this address.

We will give the major relevant accounts with notice that none of it (contains material) from the Shi‘a community; what we will present and explain will provide them neither support nor evidence.

To proceed — and God’s help is sought — Muḥammad b. Isḥāq stated in his text on the hajjat al-wada’ that it was related to him by Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū ‘Amra, from Yazīd b. Ṭalḥa b. Yazīd b. Rukana, who said, “When ‘Ali arrived from Yemen to meet the Messenger of God (SAAS) in Mecca, he hurried ahead leaving behind one of his men in command of his troops. The latter proceeded to dress each of his men in a special robe made from the cloth that ‘Ali had.

“When the army approached, he (‘Ali) went out to meet them and was surprised to see them dressed in robes. ‘What is all this?’ he asked. He (his deputy commander) replied, ‘I dressed up the men so that they would look well when they arrive among the people.’ ‘Confound you!’ ‘Ali exclaimed. ‘Take them off before you get to the Messenger of God.’ His deputy proceeded to remove their robes and replaced them in the store of cloth. The army expressed complaints at how he (‘Ali) had treated them.”
Ibn Ishāq went on to state that 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ma'īmar b. Ḥāzm related to him, from Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Ka'b b. 'Ujra, from his aunt Zaynab, daughter of Ka'b, who was married to Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī, who quoted Abū Sa'īd as saying, "People complained about 'Alī and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) arose among us to make an address. I heard him say, 'People! Don't complain about 'Alī! I swear by God, he is too rigorous regarding God and His cause than for him to be the object of complaint.'"

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from a hadith of Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting him as stating, "He is very rigorous regarding God and His cause."

Imām Aḥmad also stated that al-Faḍl b. Dukayn related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Ghaniyya, from al-Hakam, from Sa'īd b. Jibyrr, from Ibn 'Abbās, from Burayda, who said, "I went on the expedition to Yemen with 'Alī and considered his behaviour harsh. When I reached the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), I referred to 'Alī with criticism. I saw the expression on the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) change and he said, 'Burayda, do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves?' 'Yes indeed, Messenger of God,' I replied. He said, 'Whoever has myself as his lord, so is 'Alī his lord.'"

Al-Nasā'I narrated it thus from Abū Da'ūd al-Ḥarrānī, from Abū Nu'aym al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Ghaniyya; his line of transmission is similar. This line is excellent and firm; all the men quoted are considered trustworthy.

Al-Nasā'I narrated in his al-sunan from Muḥammad b. al-Muthanna, from Yahyā b. Hāmīd, from Abū Muʿāwiya, from al-Aʿmash, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thābit, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who quoted Zayd b. Arqam as having said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the hijjat al-wadaʾ and stayed at Ghadir Khumm, he ordered that the area under the large trees be swept. He then said, 'It is as if I have received an invitation and have accepted. I have left among you the two treasures: the Book of God and my family, my household. Watch how you succeed me in both these. They will never split apart until they come to me at al-lzawrj."

"He then said, 'God is my Lord, and I am the guardian of every believer.' He then took 'Alī by the hand and said, 'Whoever has myself as his lord, so is this (man) his guardian. O God, protect all who protect him, and oppose all who oppose him.'"

"I (Abū al-Ṭufayl) asked Zayd, 'You actually heard this from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?' He replied, 'There was no one in the tents who did not see him with his own eyes and hear him with his own ears.'"

Al-Nasā'I is alone in giving this from this line.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Dhahabī said that this was an authentic hadith.

129. The pool or basin near which on Judgement Day the Prophet (ṢAAS) is to meet his community.
Ibn Maja stated that 'Ali b. Muhammad related to him, quoting Abū al-Husayn, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from 'Ali b. Zayd b. Ju'dān, from 'Adī b. Thabit, from al-Bara'i b. 'Azib, who said, “We came (to Mecca) with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the ḥijjat al-wādā‘ that he attended. He made a halt on the way and gave orders that there be a general prayer. He took 'Ali by the hand and said, ‘Do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves?’ They replied, ‘Yes, indeed!’ He then asked, ‘Do I not have a higher claim on each Muslim than he has on himself?’ ‘Yes, indeed,’ they replied. He then said, ‘This (man) is the lord of all those whose lord I am. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose all who oppose him.’ ”

‘Abd al-Razzaq narrated it thus, from Ma'mar, from 'Ali b. Zayd b. Ju'dān, from 'Adī, from al-Bara'i.

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Ya'sā al-Mawṣīlīt and al-Hāsan b. Sufyān stated that Hudba related to them, quoting 'Abd al-Malik, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Khādī, from Zadḥān Abu 'Umar, who said, “I heard 'Ali at al-Rāba' while he was addressing the people saying, ‘Who witnessed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), on the day at Ghadir Khumm when he spoke as he did?’”

Zadḥān went on, “Twelve men arose and bore witness that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘Those whose lord I have been have 'Ali as their lord.’”

'Abd Allah, son of Imam Ahmad, stated in his father’s musnad ḥadīth collection, “A ḥadīth of 'Ali b. Ḥakim al-'Azdi quoted Sharīk, from Abū Iṣḥāq, from Sa'id b. Wahb, and from Zayd b. Yuthayr, who said, ‘'Ali addressed those
at al-Raḥba, asking, “Anyone who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak on the day at Ghadir Khumm should rise.”

“Six men arose on behalf of Saʿīd, while six men arose on behalf of Zayd. They testified that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say to ʿAlī on the day at Ghadir Khumm, “Is not God more solicitous of the Muslims than (they are) of themselves?” “Yes indeed,” they replied. He then asked, “O God, those whose lord I have been have ʿAlī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.””

ʿAbd Allāh went on to state that ʿAlī b. Ḥakīm related to him, quoting Sharīk, from Abū Ishāq, from ʿAmr Dhū Amr, a ḥadīth similar to that of Abū Ishāq, from Saʿīd and Zayd, that is. He added to it the words, “Aid those who aid him and forsake those whom he forsakes.”

ʿAbd Allāh stated that ʿAlī related to him, quoting Sharīk, from al-ʿAqā, from Ḥabīb b. Abū Thabit, from Abu al-Tufayl, from Zayd b. Arqam, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as above.

AI-Nasāʾī stated in the book Ḳhāṣṣaṣ ʿAlt that al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥabīb related to him, quoting al-Faḍl b. Ṭūs, from al-ʿAqā, from Abū Ishāq, from Saʿīd b. Wahb, who said, “ʿAlī said at al-Raḥba, ‘I adjure by God any man who heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), that day at Ghadir Khumm say, “God is the lord of the Believers and those whose lord I have been have this (man) as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him, oppose those who oppose him, and favour those who favour him; hate those who hate him and aid those who aid him’” (to rise and so testify)”

Shuʾba narrated it thus from Abū Ishāq. And this is an excellent line of transmission.

AI-Nasāʾī also narrated it from a ḥadīth of Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishāq, from ʿAmr Dhū Amr, (who said) “ʿAlī adjured the people at al-Raḥba and some men got up and bore witness that they had heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadir Khumm, ‘Those whose lord I have been (now have) ʿAlī as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him, oppose those who oppose him, and favour those who favour him; hate those who hate him and aid those who aid him.’”

Ibn Jarir narrated it from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishāq, from Zayd b. Ṭūs and ʿAbd Khayr, from ʿAlī.

Ibn Jarir also narrated it from ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Ubayd Allāh b. Muṣa, who is a Shīʿa considered a trustworthy source, from Maṭʿar b. Khalifah, from Abū Ishāq, from Zayd b. Ṭūs, Zayd b. Yūthayr, and ʿAmr Dhū Amr (who said) that ʿAlī adjured the people at al-Kūfah. He then gave the ḥadīth as above.


130. This phrase, necessary for the sense of the text, seems to have been omitted in error from this one narration.
day at Ghadir Khumm, say, “Anyone whose guardian I have been, has 'Ali as his guardian” to get up and so testify.”

‘Abd al-Rahmān went on, “So twelve men arose; it is as though I am at this moment looking at one of them. They said, ‘We testify that we heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say on the day at Ghadir Khumm, ‘Do I not have a higher claim on the Muslims than they have on themselves? And are not my wives like their own mothers?’ ‘Yes indeed, Messenger of God,’ we replied. He went on, ‘Those whose lord I have been have ‘Ali as their lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.”

This line of transmission is ḍaʿif gharth, “weak and anomalous”.

‘Abd Allah b. Aḥmad stated that Ahmad b. Numayr al-Wakiī stated, quoting Ṣayd b. al-Ḥubāb, quoting al-Wāḥid b. ‘Uqba b. Ḍirār al-Qaysī, quoting Ṣimāk, from Ubayd b. al-Wāḥid al-Qaysī, who said, “I went in to ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā and he related to me that he witnessed ‘Alī at al-Raḥba. He said, ‘He adjoined any man who had heard and witnessed the Messenger of God (SAAS) on the day at Ghadir Khumm to rise; only those who had actually seen him should arise. Twelve men got up and said, ‘We saw and heard him when he took ‘Ali by the hand, saying, ‘O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him. Aid whoever aids him and forsake anyone who forsakes him.” (All) except three (who had heard him) stood up; these three did not. He then cursed them (the three) and his curse was effective.”

It was also narrated from ‘Abd al-A‘la b. Amīr al-Thalabī and others, from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Laylā.

Ibn Jarīr stated that Aḥmad b. Maṣūr related to him, quoting Aḥmad al-A‘qīdī and Ibn Abū Aṣīm narrated, from Sulaymān al-Ghallaḥī, from Abū Aḥmad al-A‘qīdī, quoting Katbīr b. Ṣayd, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, from his father, from Abū ʿAlī (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was present near a tree at Khumm. He went on to relate the hadīth which contained the words, “Whose lord I have been, has ‘Alī as his lord”.

Some authorities narrated it from Abū ‘Aḥmad b. Katbīr, from Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, from ‘Alī, with a line of transmission that is ṭanqīfī.

Isma‘īl b. Aḥmad al-Bajālī – he being a weak source – stated, from Mis‘ar, from Ṣa‘īd b. Muṣāfir, from Umayra b. Sa‘īd (who said) that he witnessed ‘Alī on the minbar adorning the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who had heard the latter on the day at Ghadir Khumm (to stand up). Twelve men did stand; these included Abū Hurayra, Abū Sa‘īd and Anas b. Mālik. They testified that they had heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.”

Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā narrated it from Ḥanī b. Ayyūb – he being considered a trustworthy source – from Ṣa‘īd b. Muṣāfir.

‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad stated that Ḥajjāj b. al-Shā‘īr related to him, quoting Shabāba, quoting Nuṣaym b. Ḥakīm, quoting Abū Maryam and a man who was
a close companion of 'Ali, who quoted 'Ali as saying that, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said on the day at Ghadir Khumm, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been, has ‘Ali as his lord.’ He went on to say that, ‘Some people add to that the words, “protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.”’”

Abū Da'ūd narrated with this line of transmission the *hadith* of al-Mukhdij. Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and Abū Nu'aym al-Ma'nī both stated that Qaṭān quoted Abū al-Ṭūfayl as having said, “‘Ali assembled the people at al-Raḥbā – meaning the courtyard of the mosque at al-Kūfah – and said, ‘God calls upon all who heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) speak at Ghadir Khumm to stand (and say) what they heard.’ Many people did stand and testified to his having taken ‘Ali by the hand and having asked the people, ‘Do you know that I have a higher claim on the people than they have on themselves?’ They replied, ‘Yes, Messenger of God.’ He continued, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Ali as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.’”

“I then left, feeling somewhat disturbed, and met Zayd b. Arqam. I told him what I had heard ‘Ali say. He asked, ‘What is it you are disputing? I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say that to him.’”

Imām Aḥmad related it thus in the *musnad* ascribed to Zayd b. Arqam, may God be pleased with him.

Al-Nasā‘ī narrated it from a *hadith* of al-‘Ar(selector) from Ḥābib b. Abū Thabit, from Abū al-Ṭūfayl, from Zayd b. Arqam. This is given above.

Al-Tirmidhī gave it from Bandār, from Ghundār, from Shu‘ba, from Salama b. Kuhayl, who said, “I heard Abū al-Ṭūfayl relate from Abū Sāriḥah” – or Zayd b. Arqam, Shu‘ba was unsure – “that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Ali as his lord.’”


Imām Aḥmad stated that Affān related to him, quoting Abū ‘Awānā, from al-Mughirah, from Abū ‘Ubayd, from Maymūn Abū ‘Abd Allāh, who said, “Zayd b. Arqam said, while I listened, ‘We made a halt at a place called Wādi Khumm. He ordered prayers and performed it at midday.

“‘He made an address to us. The Messenger of God (SAAS) was protected from the sun by a cloth placed over a tree. He said, “Do you not know” – or “do you not bear witness” – “that I have a higher claim on any believer than he has on himself?” “Yes indeed,” they replied. He went on, “Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Ali as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.””

Aḥmad proceeded to narrate it from Ghundar, from Shu‘ba, from Maymūn Abū ‘Abd Allāh, from Zayd b. Arqam, up to the words, “Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Ali as his lord”. Maymūn then stated, “Some authorities quote Zayd as saying that the Messenger of God (SAAS) also said, ‘O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.’”
This line of transmission is excellent. Its sources are men considered trustworthy according to the criteria of the Sunan. Al-Tirmidhi categorized as ṣaḥīḥ a tradition with this line of transmission dealing with al-rayth, “tardiness”.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥya b. Adam related to him, quoting Ḥanash b. al-Ḥārith b. Laqt b. ‘Āsh rgba, from Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “A group of men came to ṢAlī at al-Raḥba and said, ‘Peace be upon you, lord of ours!’ He replied, ‘How can I be your ‘lord’ when you are Arabs?’ They responded, ‘We heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say on the day at Ghadīr Khumm, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has this man as his lord.’’”

Rabbāḥ went on, “When they left, I went in after them and asked, ‘Who were those?’ They replied, ‘A group of ānṣār; Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī was one of them.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥanash related to us, from Rabbāḥ b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “I saw a group of ānṣār go in to see ṢAlī at al-Raḥba. He asked, ‘Who are these people?’ They replied, ‘Your mawāli, ‘subjects’, Commander of the Believers.’” And he completed the ḥadīth similarly.

This is his phraseology; the ḥadīth is one of those that only he gives.

Ibn Jarir stated that Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān Abū al-Jawzā related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Khalid b. ʿAthama, quoting Musā b. Yaʿqūb al-Zamʿi – he being entirely trustworthy – quoting Muḥājir b. Mīsār, from Ṭalίṣa, daughter of Ṣaʿd, who quoted her father as saying, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) speak on the day at al-Juḥfa. He took ṢAlī by the hand and made an address. Then he said, ‘People, I am your guardian.’ ‘You are right,’ the people responded. He then raised ṢAlī’s hand and said, ‘This is my wāli, “my deputy”, and muʿaddi, “the one deputized by me”. God is the protector of those who protect him and the opponent of those who oppose him.’”

Our teacher al-Dhahabi stated, “This ḥadīth is ḥasan gharīb, “good yet anomalous”.

Ibn Jarir then narrated it from a ḥadīth of Yaʿqūb b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Bakr, from Muḥājir b. Mīsār. His version tells of the Prophet (ṢAAS) stopping until those behind him caught up and of his ordering back those who had advanced. He then addressed them as in the ḥadīth above.

Abū Jaʿfar b. Jarir al-Ṭabarī stated in the first part of his book Ghādir Khumm, that his teacher Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī stated that he found the following in a manuscript quoting Ibn Jarir as stating that Muḥmūd b. ʿAwf al-Taʿṣī related, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. Yūnus, quoting ʿĪsā b. Ṣaʿd, from ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar – Ibn Jarir stated, “I think he added, ‘from ʿUmar’, but that is not in my notes” – who said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, as he held the hand of ṢAlī, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has
this man as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him, and oppose those who oppose him.”

This hadith is gharib; indeed, it is munkar, “objectionable”, and its line of transmission is da'if. Al-Bukhari stated that Jamil b. ‘Ammārā is a questionable source.

Al-Mu’talib b. Ziyād stated, quoting from ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl, who heard Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh say, “We were at the dry-well at Ghadir Khumm when the Messenger of God (SAAS) came out to us and said, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Ali as his lord.’”

Our teacher, al-Dhahabi, stated, “This hadith is hasan, ‘good.’” Ibn Lahi’a narrated it from Bakr b. Sawāda and others, from Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, from Jābir similarly.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yahyā b. ʿĀdīm related to him, that Isrāʾīl related to them both, from Abū ʿIṣḥāq, from Ḥābashī b. Jaṇāda — who had, Yahyā b. ʿĀdīm stated, been present on the hijjat al-wādī’ — and stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Alī is of me, and I am of him; and only I or Alī direct from me.’”

Ibn Abū Bukayr said (that the words spoken were), “No one settles debts on my behalf except myself or ‘Ah.”

Aḥmad also narrated it thus from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, from Isrāʾīl.

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Zubayrī related to him, quoting Shurayk, from Abū ʿIṣḥāq, from Ḥābashī b. Jaṇāda in similar terms, “I”, (Shurayk) “asked Abū ʿIṣḥāq, ‘Where did you hear him say this?’ He replied, ‘He stood over us on a mare at our majlis, “assembly”, at the al-Sabrc cemetery.’”

Aḥmad narrated it similarly, from Aswad b. ʿĀmīr, as did Yahyā b. ʿĀdīm, from Shurayk. Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Isra’īl b. Alqīf, from Shurayk. Ibn Majā did so from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, as also did Suwayd b. Saʿīd and Isra’īl b. Mūsā, all three of these quoting it from Shurayk. Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, from Yahyā b. ʿĀdīm, from Isrāʾīl. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as hasan saḥīh gharib.

Sulaymān b. Qarrī — whose traditions are rejected — narrated it from Abū ʿIṣḥāq, from Ḥābashī b. Jaṇāda, who heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say on the day at Ghadir Khumm, “Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.” He went on to narrate the hadith.

The hāfīz Abū Yaḥyā al-Mawsīlī stated that Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Shurayk, from Abū Yazīd al-Aẓdī, from his father, who said, “Abū Hurayra came in to the mosque and the people gathered about him. One young man went up to him and said, ‘I adjure you by God to tell whether you heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “Anyone whose lord I have been has ‘Alī as his lord. O God, protect those who protect him and oppose those who oppose him.” “Yes,” he replied.’”
Ibn Jarir narrated it from Abū Kurayb, from Shādhān, from Shurayk. Idrīs al-Azdī concurred with him, quoting it from his brother Abī Yazīd, whose name was Dāʿūd b. Yazīd. Ibn Jarir also narrated it from a hadīth of Idrīs and Dāʿūd, from their father, from Abū Hurayra.

Also there is the hadīth narrated by Dāmra from Ibn Shawdhab, from Māṭar al-Warrāq, from Shahr b. Hawshāb, from Abū Hurayra, which states, “When the Messenger of God (ṣaṣā) took ʿAlī by the hand, he said, ‘Anyone whose lord I have been has ʿAlī as his lord.’ And so God the Almighty and Glorious revealed, ‘Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favours upon you’” (ṣūrat al-Mīdād; V, v.3).

Abū Hurayra went on, “This was the day at Ghadir Khumm; whoever fasts the 18th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja has credited for him a fast of 60 months.”

This is a highly objectionable hadīth; indeed it is mendacious! Because contradictory material is established in both saḥīh collections from the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, to the effect that this verse was revealed on the Friday, the day at ʿArafat, while the Messenger of God (ṣaṣā) was standing there. We have given this above.

Similarly, his statement, “whoever fasts the 18th day of Dhū al-Ḥijja has credited for him a fast of 60 months” is untrue. For what is established in the saḥīh collections is that fasting the month of Ramaḍān brings credit of 10 months. And so how could it be that fasting one day would be counted as 60 months? This is nonsense.

After relating this hadīth, our teacher, the ḥafiz Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī commented, “This hadīth is extremely objectionable.”

Hābshūn al-Khālīl and ʿAḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAḥmad al-Nirī, both highly trustworthy sources, narrated it from ʿAlī b. Saʿīd b. al-Ramālī, from Dāmra, who said, “This hadīth is narrated from those (traced to) ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Mālik b. al-Huwaiyriḥ, Anas b. Mālik, Abū Saʿīd and others, with weak lines of transmission.”

Dāmra went on, “The beginning part of the hadīth is successively given, with high certainty that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣā) spoke it. Regarding the words, ‘O God, protect those who protect him’, it is an addition that has strong lines of transmission. This reference to fasting, however, is inauthentic. And, by God, this verse quoted was definitely revealed on Mt. ʿArafat, some days before that at Ghadir Khumm. But God, Almighty is He, knows best.”

minbar, gave praise and thanks to God and said, 'People, Abu Bakr never did me harm; give him credit for that. People, I am well pleased with Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmân, 'Ali, Talha, al-Zubayr, 'Abd al-Rahmân b. 'Awf and the initial muhâjirin. Give them all credit for that. People, preserve me in my Companions, my relatives and my friends. God does not seek for you to harm any one of them. People, keep your tongues off the Muslims, and if one of them should die, then say good of him.'"

THE YEAR 11 AH.

This year commenced after the return of the noble Prophet (SAAS), to that city of prophecy, Medina, "the purified", following his completion of the hijjat al-wada'.

Momentous events took place that year, among the most shocking being the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS). However, he was in fact transported by Almighty God from this transient abode away into eternal ease in an elevated place on high, the most exalted and most splendid level of paradise. As the Almighty stated, "The afterlife is better for you than the former; your Lord will give to you, and you will be pleased" (sûrat al-Doâra; XCIII, v.4).

That was after he had completed carrying out the mission that God Almighty had ordered him to announce. He had given advice to his nation and had directed them to the very best that he knew for them. He had warned them and restrained them from what would have harmed them here on earth and in their afterlife.

We have given above the hadith of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb narrated by both authors of the sahih collections, to the effect that the words of the Almighty: "Today I have perfected for you your religion and completed My favours upon you, and willed that Islam be your religion" (sûrat al-Ma'idâ; V, v.3) were revealed on Friday, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was standing on 'Arafât.

We have narrated, from a fine line of transmission, that when this sûrat was revealed, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb wept. He was asked, "What makes you weep?" He replied, "After perfection there can only be loss." It was as though he had sensed the death of the Prophet (SAAS).

The latter pointed to this in what was narrated by Muslim from a hadith of Ibn Jurayj, from Abû al-Zubayr, from Jabir, that, "the Messenger of God (SAAS) stood at the pillar at al-'Aqaba and said to us, 'Take from me your rituals, for I may perhaps not make the pilgrimage after this year.'"

We have given above what the two ḥâfîz Abû Bakr al-Bazzâr and al-Bayhaqî narrated from the hadith of Mûsâ b. 'Ubayda al-Rabdhî, from Šâdaqa b. Yâsîr, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "This sûrat: '(Remember) when God's help and the victory came' (sûrat al-Nâsîr; CX, v.1) was revealed in the middle days of al-tashriq, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) knew that it meant the farewell.
He therefore ordered that his camel al-Qaṣwā' be brought, and it was saddled.” He went on to refer to the address the Prophet (SAAS) made that day, as is told above.

‘Abd Allah b. ‘Abbās, may God be pleased with him, spoke similarly to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb when he asked him about the interpretation of this surat in the presence of many of the Companions, to show them the virtue of Ibn ‘Abbās, his superiority and knowledge. This related to his having been brought forwards and seated (in a prominent position) with the elders who had participated in the battle of Badr. He (‘Umar) said, “You know from where he came.” He proceeded, in the presence of Ibn ‘Abbās, to question them on the interpretation of this surat: “(Remember) when God’s help and the victory came and you saw the people entering God’s religion in droves. Give joyful praise to your lord, and seek His forgiveness. He is Forgiving” (surat al-Nasr; CX v.1–3). They replied, “We were ordered, after having been given (God’s) help, to speak His name, to praise Him and to seek His forgiveness.”

“He (‘Umar) asked, ‘What do you say, Ibn ‘Umar?’ He replied, ‘It (referred to) the impending death of the Messenger of God (SAAS); he was being notified of it.’ ‘Umar commented, ‘I know of it only what you know.’”

We have referred, in our exegesis of this surat, to the various sources substantiating Ibn ‘Abbās’s statement, even though that does not contradict interpretations offered by the Companions.

What is narrated by Imam Ahmad is similar. (He stated) that Waki’ related to him, from Ibn Abī Dhī‘b, from Šalih, the freed-man of al-Tawḥama, from Abū Hurayra, (who said) that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) went on the pilgrimage accompanied by his wives, he said, “There will only be this hijja, and then they will remain in confinement.”

Ahmad is alone in giving it from this line. Abū Da‘ūd narrated it in his work al-sunan, from another excellent line.

What is implied here is that this year the people sensed the (impending) death of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

We will refer to all that and present the accounts and evidences relating thereto. And God’s help is to be sought.

In way of preface to that, we will refer to what the imām Muhammad b. Ishāq b. Yasar, Abū Ja‘far b. Jarir and Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi narrated prior to his death, in their enumerations of his pilgrimages, military expeditions and raids, documents and messages to rulers. Our references will be concise and abridged, and we will follow this material with the death.

In both sahih collections, it is stated in a hadith of Abū Ishāq al-Sabri, from Zayd b. Arqam, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) went on nineteen military expeditions and, following his hijra, performed the hijjat al-wadā’ but made no pilgrimage thereafter.

Abū Ishāq stated that there was one other at Mecca.
Abū Ishāq al-Sabīr stated the same. Zayd b. al-Ḫubāb stated, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Jaʿfar b. Muhammad, from his father, from Jābir, (who said) that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made three pilgrimages — two before his Hijra and one thereafter, along with which he also performed an 'umra. To the latter he brought thirty-six camels for sacrifice and 'Aīr brought the complement thereto from Yemen.

We have presented information above given in both ṣaḥīḥ collections from more than one of the Companions, including Anas b. Malik, to the effect that the Prophet (ṢAAS) performed the 'umra four times, that at al-Ḫudaybiyya, the 'umrat al-qatf, the 'umra from al-Jiʿrānā, and the 'umra that accompanied his ḥijjat al-wadaʾ.

Regarding the military expedition, al-Bukhārī narrated, from Abu Gaṣūn al-Nabīl, from Yazd b. Abū ʿUbayd, from Salama b. al-Akwaʾ, who said, “I participated in seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and in nine with Zayd b. Ḥāritha, whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had appointed in command of us.”

In both ṣaḥīḥ collections a hadīth is given from Qutayba, from Ḥātim b. Ismāʿil, from Zayd, from Salama who said, “I went on seven military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and on nine others he dispatched (without himself participating). On one Abū Bakr was in command of us, and on another it was Usama b. Zayd.”

In the ṣaḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī, there is a hadīth from Isrāʾīl, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Baraʾ, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went out on fifteen military expeditions.”

In both ṣaḥīḥ collections it is stated in a hadīth from Shuʿba, from Abū Ishāq, from al-Baraʾ, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made nineteen expeditions, in seventeen of which he participated. The first of these was that to “al-ʿUshayr” or “al-ʿUsayr”.

Muslim narrated from Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, from Muʿtamir, from Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan, from Ibn Burayda, who quoted his father as saying that he participated along with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in sixteen military expeditions.

There is also an account of Muslim, through al-Ḥusayn b. Waqīd, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda, who quoted his father as saying that he participated in nineteen military expeditions with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in eight of which he engaged in combat.

In another account from him with this line of transmission, it is said that he dispatched twenty-four military expeditions, and that he engaged in the battles of Badr, Uhud, al-Ahzāb, al-Muraysiʾ, Khaybar, Mecca and Ḥunayn.

In the ṣaḥīḥ collection of Muslim, from a hadīth of Abū al-Zubayr, Jābir is quoted as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) engaged in twenty-one military expeditions. I took part with him in nineteen, and did not fight at Badr or Uhud because my father prevented me. When the latter was killed at Uhud, I never missed any military expedition he sent out.”
'Abd al-Razzaq stated that Ma'mar related to him, from al-Zuhri, who said, "I heard Sa'd b. al-Musayyab say, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) organized eighteen military expeditions.' And once I heard him say that they totalled twenty-four. But I don't know whether I imagined that or heard it thereafter."

Qatada stated, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) organized nineteen military expeditions in eight of which he himself engaged in combat. He also sent out twenty-four missions. His expeditions and raids together totalled forty-three."

Urwa b. al-Zubayr, al-Zuhri, Musa b. 'Uqba, Muhammad b. Ishâq b. Yasîr and other scholars expert in this subject state that the Prophet (SAAS) fought at Badr in Ramadân in 2 AH, then at Uhud in Shawwâl of 3 AH, at al-khandaq and against Banû Qurayza, also in Shawwâl, of 4 AH — for which date 5 AH is also given — against Banû al-Muštâliq at al-Muraysî in Sha'ban of 5 AH, and at Khaybar in Safar of 7 AH, dated by some as 6 AH. What is correct is that it occurred at the beginning of 7 AH and the end of 6 AH. Then he fought against the Meccans in Ramadân of 8 AH, and against Banû Hawâzin, then besieged the inhabitants of al-Ta'if in Shawwâl and part of Dhu al-Îjā'în 8 AH, as is told above in detail. In 8 AH 'Attâb b. Usayd, the Governor of Mecca, made the pilgrimage with the people and then in 9 AH, Abû Bakr, "the trusting", did so. Thereafter, in 10 AH the Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the pilgrimage with the Muslims.

Muhammad b. Ishâq stated, "The number of military expeditions which the Messenger of God (SAAS) organized totalled twenty-seven. These were, in order, Waddân, also known as al-Abwâ'; Buwât, over towards Radwa; al-'Ushayra, in the Yanbu' valley; the first Badr battle, in pursuit of Kurz b. Jâbir; 'the great battle of Badr', in which God slew the Quraysh chiefs; Banû Sulaym, proceeding as far as al-Kudr; al-Sawiq, in pursuit of Abû Sufyân b. Ḥarb; Ghatafân, also known as Dhû Amârr; Bahrân, a mine in Ḥijâz; Uhud; Ḥamrâ' al-Asad; Banû al-Naḍîr; Dhât al-Riqâ' of Nakhl; the 'other' battle of Badr; Dûmat al-Jandal; al-khandaq; Banû Qurayza; Banû Liyyân of Ḥudhayl; Dhû Qarad; Banû al-Muštâliq of Khuzâ'î; al-Ḥudaybihyya, where he did not intend to do battle and was blocked by the polytheists; Khaybar; the 'umrat al-qadî pilgrimage; al-Âthâr; Ḥunayn; al-Ṭâ'îf; and Tabûk."

Ibn Ishâq went on, "He actually engaged in combat in nine expeditions—Badr; Uhud; al-khandaq; Qurayza; al-Muštâliq; Khaybar; al-Âthâr; Ḥunayn; and al-Ṭâ'îf."

I note that all this is narrated in detail above in the appropriate places and with reference to various witnesses and evidence. And to God praise is due.

Ibn Ishâq went on to state that the missions and raids he dispatched totalled thirty-eight. And he proceeded to present details of these.

All or most of this material we have presented above in the proper place. And to God goes all praise and credit.
Let us, then summarize what Ibn Ishāq referred to here: the dispatch of 'Ubayd b. al-Ḥarīth to below Thaniyat Dhū al-Marwa; the dispatch of Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to the coast, over towards al-Ṭūs; some predate this to the dispatch of 'Ubayd, as mentioned hereabove. God knows best.

The dispatch of: Saʿd b. ʿAbī Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār; ʿAbī Allāh b. Jaḥsh to Nakha; Zayd b. Ḥarīthah to al-Qarada; Muḥammad b. Maslama to Kaʿb b. al-Ashraf; Marthad b. ʿAbū Marthad to al-Rajʿī; al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr to Bīr Maʿṣūna; ʿAbī Ubaydah to Dhū al-Qaṣṣā; ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to Turba in Banū ʿAmir territory; ʿAlī to Yemen.

(The dispatch of) Ghalib b. ʿAbī Allāh al-Kalbi to al-Kadid, where he fought Banū al-Mulawwah. He attacked them by night, killed a number of them and took away their livestock. Some of them pursued to retrieve the livestock and when they drew near a ṭālīt, a flood intervened. On their way the Muslims captured ʿAbd al-Jail b. Malik b. al-Barṣāت.

Ibn Ishāq gave account of this here, as we have dealt with it above.

(Ibn Ishāq went on), “The dispatch of: ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib to the territory of Fadak; Abū al-Awja to al-Sulami to Banū Sulaym, both he and his men being killed; Ḥuṣayn b. al-Ghamra; Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Asad to Qaṭān, a well in Najd belonging to Banū Asad; Muḥammad b. Maslama to al-Qartūṣ of Ḥawāzin; Bashir b. Saʿd to Banū Murra at Fadak; also Bashir b. Saʿd out towards Ḥunayn; Zayd b. Ḥarīthah to al-Jumūt, territory of Banū Sulaym.”

Regarding the expedition of Zayd b. al-Ḥarīthah to Judhām, territory of Banū Khushayn. Ibn Hishām commented that this was part of the territory of Ḥashmi. The reason for this, as told by Ibn Ishāq and others, was that when Dihya b. Khalīfa returned from his trip to the Byzantine emperor, having taken to him the document from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), inviting him to God and having received treasures and gifts, he arrived in a valley in Banū Judhām territory called Shanār. At that time al-Hunayd b. ʿUṣ and his son ʿUṣ b. al-Hunayd, men of (Banū) al-Ḍulaṣ, a clan of Judhām, attacked him. They took all he had with him. One group of them, who had accepted Islam, fled from them, retrieving for Dihya what had been seized from him.

(Ibn Ishāq went on), “When Dihya returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he told him what had happened and asked his permission to take the blood of al-Hunayd and his son ʿUṣ. Thereupon the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) dispatched Zayd b. Ḥarīthah with a force of men against them. They approached from near al-Awlağ, attacking Māqīṣ from the direction of the lava field. They captured the men and property they could find and killed al-Hunayd, his son, two men of Banū al-ʿAlmaṣ and one of Banū Khaṣīb.

“After Zayd had captured their livestock and families, a group of them met with Rifaʿāt b. Zayd, who had received a letter from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),
inviting them to Islam. Rifa‘a read it out to them and a group responded. Zayd b. Ḥarīthah did not, however, know this.

“After three days riding they reached the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā) in Medina. They gave him the letter and he ordered that it be read out in public. He then asked aloud, three times, ‘What should I do about those slain?’ One of their men, named Abū Zayd b. ʿAmr, replied, ‘Release those who are alive, Messenger of God. Those dead are already beneath these feet of mine.’

“The Messenger of God (ṣAṣā) ordered ‘Ali b. Abū ʿAlī to accompany them. ‘Ali responded, ‘Zayd will not obey me.’ And so the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā) gave him his own sword as a sign. ‘Ali then left with them, riding one of their camels. At Fayḍ al-Faḥlatayn they met up with Zayd, and ‘Ali gave back to them all that had been taken from them; they lost nothing at all.

“He also dispatched Zayd b. Ḥarīthah to Banū Fazāra at Wādī al-Qurā, where a number of his men were killed. He was wounded, along with those killed. When he returned home, he swore that no water would touch his head after a *janabah* until he had attacked them again. When he had recovered from his wound, the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā) sent him off once more in command of a force. He fought them at Wādī al-Qurā, taking prisoner Umm Qīra, Fāṣima, daughter of Rābiʿa b. Badr, the wife of Mālik b. Ḥudhayfah b. Badr, who was accompanied by a daughter of hers. Zayd b. Ḥarīthah gave orders to Qās b. al-Musahhar al-Yaʿmūrī and he killed Umm Qīra, allowing her daughter to live. Umm Qīra had been held in very high honour, maxims being in common use referring to her nobility. Salāma b. al-Akwa took charge of her daughter and he petitioned the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā), to award her to him, which he did. Thereafter the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā) presented her to his (Salāma’s) uncle, Ḥāzn b. Abū Wabh, to whom she bore his son ʿAbd al-Ḥaqqān.

“He twice sent ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawaḥa to Khaybar. On one expedition he killed al-Yusayr b. Rizām who had been assembling Ghatafs to attack the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā). The latter therefore dispatched ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawaḥa with a force of men that included ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays. When they approached al-Yusayr b. Rizām, they wished to conduct him back to the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā). He did proceed with them, but when they were at al-Qarqara, some six miles from Khaybar, al-Yusayr regretted having come. His son, ʿAbd Allāh, attacked him while he was drawing his sword and used his own to strike him, cutting off his father’s leg. Al-Yusayr struck him back on the head with a *shawkat* wood. Each Muslim then attacked and killed his Jewish companion. One of them, however, escaped on foot.

“When ʿAbd Allāh b. Unays arrived, the Messenger of God (ṣAṣā) spat upon his head and his wound did not suppurate or cause him pain.”

133. The word in Islamic practice means a “major ritual impurity”. That is, he would abstain from sexual relations until he had again fought Banū Fazāra.

134. In the version of Ibn Iṣḥāq translated by Guillaume, it was Salāma who presented the woman to his uncle. *Op. cit.* page 665.
I note that I think the other expedition to Khaybar to have been when the Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched him to the date-palms at Khaybar. But God knows best.


Ibn Ishāq narrated here his story at length. Reference is made to him in the account of events of 5 AH. But God knows best.

He sent Zayd b. Ḥarītha, Ja‘far and ‘Abd Allah b. Rawāḥa to Muṭa in Syria, where they were killed as was related above.

He sent Ka‘b b. Umayr (and a force) to Dhat Atlaḥ, in Syria, and they too were killed.

He sent Uuyayn b. Ḥisn b. Hudhayfā b. Badr to Banū al-‘Anbar of Ṭamīm, whom he attacked. He killed a number of their men and then a delegation from them accompanied the prisoners to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He set some of them free and accepted ransom for others.

He also sent Ghālib b. ‘Abd Allah to Syria where Mirdas b. Naḥīk, their ally from al-‘Urqa of (Banū) Juhayna was struck down. He was killed by Usāma b. Zayd and one of the anfār who overtook him. When they drew their swords upon him, he uttered the words, “There is no god but God” (but they still killed him). When the two men returned, the Messenger of God (SAAS) criticized them severely. They excused themselves by maintaining that he had only spoken these words to avoid being killed. He asked Usāma, “And so did you tear up his heart (to learn whether he was feigning belief)?” He began saying to Usāma, “And what will happen to you on Judgement Day, when confronted by the statement ‘There is no god but God’?” Usāma said, “And he went on repeating this until I wished I had myself not become a Muslim before that (incident).” We have discussed this above.

He sent ‘Amr b. Ḥādhāra to Dhat al-Salasil in Banū ‘Udhra territory to encourage the Arabs to attack Syria. This was because the mother of ‘Amr b. Wa‘il was from Bāt; the Messenger of God (SAAS) therefore sent ‘Amr to enlist them, believing he would be received most favourably by them.

When he reached a well of theirs called al-Salsal, he grew fearful of them. He therefore sent to the Messenger of God (SAAS) for help. The latter dispatched to him a force that included Abū Bakr and ‘Umar and was commanded by Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāh. When they reached him, ‘Amr took command over them all, saying, “You have only been dispatched as reinforcements for myself.” Abū ‘Ubayda, an easy-going man who cared little for prestige, accepted submissively. ‘Amr would lead the prayer with all of them. Upon his return, therefore, he asked, “Messenger of God, who is your favourite person?” “A’isha,” he replied. “And of the men?” ‘Amr asked. “Her father,” he responded.

He dispatched ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Ḥadrād to the Iqam valley. That was prior to the conquest of Mecca. The story of Muhallim b. Haththātha, given above with reference to 7 AH, is narrated at length above.
He also dispatched Ibn Abū Ḥadrād to al-Ghāba.

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**THE DISPATCH OF ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿAWF TO DŪMAT AL-JANDAL.**

Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq stated that someone above suspicion quoted ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Rabāḥ as having said, “I heard a man from Bāṣra ask ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb about a man’s allowing his turban, if wearing one, to fly freely behind him.” ʿAbd Allāh stated, “I will tell you about that, if God so wills it. You should know that I was the tenth in a group of Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS), in his mosque. The others were Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, ʿAlī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Ibn Masʿād, Muṣāḥh b. Jābal, Ḥudhayfā b. al-Yāmān, and Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. I was there with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when a young anṣārī came in, greeted him and sat down. He then asked, ‘Messenger of God, which of the Believers is the best? ’ ‘The most virtuous,’ he replied. He then asked, ‘And which of the Believers is the most intelligent?’ ‘The one who is the most aware of death and best prepared for it before it comes; those like that are the most intelligent.’ The young man became silent.

“The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then came over to us and said, ‘Muḥāfīrs, there are five faults that I pray to God will never befall you. If immorality ever settles upon and overcomes a people, plague and disease will appear among them such as never did among their forefathers. If they give short measure and weight, they will be overwhelmed by famine and the ruler’s tyranny. If they ever refuse to give the zakāt from their wealth, they will be deprived of moisture from the sky; for were it not for the animals, no rain would fall on them. If ever they break the pact with God or His Messenger, an enemy will overpower them and take some of what they had. If their māms should ever rule without God’s book and what God revealed, then He will bring calamity among them.’

“He then ordered ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf to make preparations for an expedition on which he was sending him. Next morning he wore a turban made of black cotton. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked him to approach, and untied and then rearranged the turban so that four or so fingers’ length were lying behind him. He said, ‘That’s the way, Ibn ʿAwf. Put your turban on thus—that is better and more usual.’

“He then told Bilāl to present him with the banner, and he did so. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praised God, spoke a prayer for himself and said, ‘Take it, Ibn ʿAwf. Combat all in God’s cause and do battle against those who disbelieve in Him. Do not defraud or use deceit, mutilate, or kill children. This is God’s covenant and the way of your Prophet among you.’

“And so ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took the banner.” Ibn Ḥishām added, “He proceeded out to Dūmat al-Jandal.”

He also despatched Abū ʿUbaydah b. al-Jarrāḥ. They were some 300 riders who travelled to the coast. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) provisioned him with a stock of dates. The story of the ʿanbar, “the great whale”, cast ashore from the
sea, relates to this expedition. It provided food for them all for close to a month. It restored them to health and they cut it up into steaks to provision themselves for their return to the Messenger of God (SAAS). They gave him some of it and he ate it. This story is narrated above.

Ibn Hishām stated, “There were other expeditions to which Ibn Isḥāq did not refer here.” There was the dispatch of ‘Amr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to fight Abū Sufyān Ṣakhir b. Ḥarb, after the killing of Khubayb b. Ṭādī and his companions. We have related above what became of him.

With ‘Amr b. Umayya there was Jabbar b. Ṣakhir. It did not so happen that they killed Abū Sufyān; in fact, they killed a different man and brought down Khubayb’s body from his stake.

He sent Sālim b. ʿUmayr, one of the ḥababūna, “the weepers”, to Abū ʿAfak of Banū ʿAmr b. Ṭāfīl. He had made his hypocrisy apparent when the Messenger of God (SAAS) killed al-Barith b. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmīt, as was told above. He mourned him with the following verses, criticizing—may God damn him—his acceptance of the faith:

“I have lived for an age and I have never seen a house
nor a group
More true, when called upon, to promises, nor more trustworthy to those who have compacted with them
Than the sons of Qayla in their assembly, making mountains shake and never submitting.
A rider who came to them split them apart (by saying)
‘Permissible!’ ‘Forbidden!’ to various things.
If you had believed in glory or kingship, you would have followed Tubbāt.”

The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked, “Who will take care of this foul fellow for me?” And so this man Sālim b. ʿUmayr volunteered and killed him.

Umama al-Mundīyya spoke the following verses on this subject:

“You deny the veracity of God’s religion and the man
Aḥmad! By the life of him who bore you, evil is he who did so!
A ḥanīf presented you with a thrust in the night,
(saying) ‘Take that, Abū ʿAfak, despite your age!’”

He dispatched ʿUmayr b. ʿAdī al-Khaṭṭātī to kill al-ʿAṣmāʾ, daughter of Marwān, of Banū ʿUmayya b. Zayd. She had been satirizing Islam and those practising it. When Abū ʿAfak, mentioned above, was killed, she made her hypocrisy plain, speaking the verses:

“Confound Banū Mālik, al-Nabīt, ʿAwf and Banū al-Khazraj!

135. A reference to the supposed ancestry of the anṣār of Medina.
You have obeyed a stranger not of yourselves, not a man
of (Bani) Murad or (Bani) Madhiij.
You have hopes of him, after his having killed the
chiefs, as you might hope for blossoms after fruit
ripen!
Is there no proud man to ambush him and so
destroy the hope of the pretender?

Hassan b. Thabit answered her with the verses:

"Bani Wlil, Bani Waqif and Khatma are beneath Bani al-Khazraj.
Having asked for folly, may woe
be upon her
in
her
lamenting; and death will come.
She upset a hero affine ancestry, a man noble both in
his entering and in his exit.
He smeared her with blood shortly after the daytime and
he has no regrets."

When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had heard her words, he had said, "Will
no one rid me of Marwan's daughter?" Umayr heard this and the evening of that
night he attacked and killed her. Next morning, he went to the Messenger of
God (SAAS), and said, "Messenger of God, I have killed her!" He responded,
"Umayr, you have given help both to God and to His Messenger." Umayr
asked, "Messenger of God, will I be held accountable for what happened to her?"
He replied, "Not even two goats will clash about her!"

Umayr returned to his people who were in disagreement about her death;
she had five sons. Umayr said, "It was I who killed her! Come at me, all of you;
don't wait!" That was the first day that Islam gained strength among Banu
Khadija. A large number of them became Muslims when they recognized the
power of Islam.

Ibn Islaq went on to refer to those who captured Thumama b. Uthai al-Hanafi
and the circumstances relating to his acceptance of Islam. We have referred to
this above in relating authentic ahadith.

Ibn Hisham stated that it was in relation to him that the Messenger of God
(SAAS) said, "The Believer eats with one stomach, the unbeliever with seven!"
This was because of the little food Thumama ate after his acceptance of Islam.
He related how, having left Medina, he entered Mecca to make the 'umra, reciting
the talbiyya. The Meccans forbade him from doing this, but he disobeyed them,
threatening to cut off their supply of grain from Yamama. When he returned
home there, he did deny them grain until the Messenger of God (SAAS) wrote
to him and he restored it to them. A man of Banu Hanifa said, "Among us is
he who recited the talbiyya in Mecca, though forbidden, in spite of Abu Sufyan,
in the sacrosanct months."

He sent Alqama b. Mujazziz al-Mudlij to take vengeance for his brother
Waqqas b. Mujazziz the day he was killed at Dhul Qarad. He asked permission
from the Messenger of God (SAAS) to follow their tracks; he gave it and
appointed him commander of a force of men. When they were on their way, he ordered a group of them to come to him, and he appointed ‘Abd Allâh b. Ḥudhâfa to be their leader. He liked to joke. He lit a fire and ordered the men to enter it. When some were about to do so, he said, “I was only joking!” When this reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), he commented, “Do not obey someone who orders you to disobey God.”

The hadith on this subject was related by Ibn Hishâm from al-Darâwardi, from Muhammad b. ‘Amr b. Alqama, from ‘Amr b. al-Ḥakam b. Thawbân, from Abû Sa‘îd al-Khudrî.

He sent Kurz b. Jabir to fight those men who had come to Medina. They were of Qays of (Banû) Bajîla. They found Medina unhealthy and became sick and so the Messenger of God (SAAS) told them to go out to his camels and to drink their urine and their milk. When they recovered, they butchered Yasâr, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was the camels’ herdsman and stuck thorns into his eyes. They then took away all the milch-camels. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent after them Kurz b. Jabir with a force of his men and they brought them back from Bajîla following the return of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from the expedition to Dhu Qarad. He gave his order and their hands and feet were cut off and their eyes were gouged out.

It may well be that these are the men referred to in the well-accepted hadith of Anas – a group of eight men of ‘Ukî or ‘Urayna who came to Medina with the same consequences. It seems obvious that these were they; we have narrated their story at length above. Should they have been different men, we have given here the major information given by Ibn Hishâm. God knows best.

Ibn Hishâm went on to relate the expedition (to Yemen) made twice by ‘Ali b. Abû Ṭâlib. Ibn Hishâm quotes Abû ‘Amr al-Madani as stating, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched ‘Ali to Yemen and Khâlid with a different force. He had stated that if the two forces were to combine, then ‘Ali b. Abû Ṭâlib was to be their commander.

He (Ibn Hishâm) went on, “Ibn Is’hâq made reference to the dispatch of Khâlid, but did not include it in the total of expeditions and raids dispatched by the Messenger of God (SAAS). The number of these he should have given would be 39.”

Ibn Is’hâq stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) dispatched Usâma b. Zayd b. Ḥâritha to Syria. He ordered him to have the cavalry patrol the al-Balqâ‘ and al-Darûm regions of Syria. The men equipped themselves and it was the initial muhâjirûn who accompanied Usâma.”

Ibn Hishâm added, “This was the last expedition dispatched by the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Al-Bukhârî stated that Ismâ‘îl related to him, quoting Malik, from ‘Abd Allâh b. Dinâr, from ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Umar, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent out a force under the command of Usâma b. Zayd, but that the people criticized his appointment. The Prophet (SAAS) therefore arose and said, “Your criticism
of his leadership is similar to your earlier criticism of his father's appointment to command. The former was, by God, qualified for command and one of those most beloved by me. And this man is also of those most loved by me.”

Al-Tirmidhi narrated it from a hadith of Malik. He categorized it as a hadith that was sahih hasan.

A large number of the senior initial muhajirin and ansār took part in this army. The most important of these was ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Those who say that Ābu Bakr was among them are in error. The illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was increasing in severity while the force was encamped at al-Jurf. The Prophet (ṢAAS) at that time appointed Ābu Bakr to lead the prayer, as will be recounted. How, then, could he have been in the army while being the imām for the Muslim community, by permission of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from the lord of the worlds? Even if it be supposed that he had proceeded out with them, the law-giver (the Prophet) selected him out from among them by appointing him to leadership of the prayer, one of the most important of the pillars of Islam. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, Ābu Bakr sought ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb’s exclusion (from the expedition) from ‘Usāma, so the latter allowed ‘Umar to remain at the side of Ābu Bakr. Ābu Bakr, “the trusting”, then led ‘Usāma’s force (for a short distance to the outskirts of Medina).

THE VERSES IN THE QUR’ĀN AND AHADĪTH FOREWARNING OF THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS), AND HOW THE ILLNESS FROM WHICH HE DIED COMMENCED.

God Almighty stated, “You (will be) dead and they shall be dead. Then, on resurrection day, you will be contending with one another before your Lord” (ṣūrat al-Zumar; XXXIX, v.30–31). And, “We ordained no immortality for any person before you; and if you die, shall they be immortal?” (ṣūrat al-Anbiyyā‘; XXI, v.34). And, “Every soul will taste death, and you shall only be fully paid your wages on the day of resurrection. Those drawn away from the fire and brought into paradise will be those who succeed. Life on earth is nothing but the baggage of vanity” (ṣūrat Al ‘Imrān; III, v.285).

The Almighty also stated, “Muḥammad is nothing but a messenger; messengers have passed away before him. If he dies or is killed, you might turn away on your heels. Whoever runs away on his heels will cause no harm to God. And God will reward the grateful” (ṣūrat Al ‘Imrān; III, v.144). It was this verse that Ābu Bakr, “the trusting”, recited on the day of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). When the people heard it, it was as though they had not done so previously.

The Almighty also stated, “(Remember) when God’s help and the victory came and you saw the people entering God’s religion in droves. Give joyful praise to your Lord, and seek His forgiveness. He is forgiving” (ṣūrat al-‘Naṣr; CX, v.13).
Umar b. al-Khattab and Ibn ‘Abbās stated, “This was (referring to) the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), of which he was being informed” Ibn ‘Umar stated, “This was revealed in the middle part of Tishrin, during the ḥijjat al-wada‘, ‘the farewell pilgrimage’. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew it meant farewell and he delivered to the people an address in which he gave them instruction and prohibition.” This famous address was as given above.

Jābir stated, “I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), casting at the pillars. He stopped and said, ‘You should take your rites and ceremonies from me. I might perhaps not perform the pilgrimage after this year.’”

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said the following to his daughter Fāṭimah, “Gabriel would review the Qurʾān with me once each year; he did so twice this year. I can only think that this means the approach of my death.”

In the saḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī, it is narrated from a hadīth of Abū Bakr b. ’Ayyāsh, from Abū Ḥusayn, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, that Abū Hurayra stated, “Each month of Ramaḍān the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would practise ḥittāj, withdraw into seclusion (in the mosque) for ten days. The year he died he so withdrew for twenty days. The Qurʾān was reviewed to him each Ramaḍān; the year he died, it was reviewed to him twice.”


“While the people were engaged in that, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) began to suffer from that illness in the course of which God took him away to that mercy and honour He wished for him. This occurred shortly before the end of Ṣafar or early in Rabi‘ al-Awwal.

“When the first symptoms appeared from which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) suffered, so I have been informed, he went out to Baqī‘ al-Gharqad in the middle of the night and prayed for forgiveness for them (the dead), then returned home to his family. Next morning and from that day on he began suffering pain.

“Abū al-Ḥakam, from Ābd Allāh b. Ja‘far related to me, from ‘Ubayy b. Jubayr, the freed-man of al-Ḥakam, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀs, from Abū Muwayhīhība, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent me out in the middle of the night, saying, ‘Abū Muwayhīhība, I have been ordered to ask for forgiveness for those in this Baqī‘. So come with me.’

“I left with him and when he halted among them, he said, “Peace be upon you, you people in the graves! May you be content that you do not experience the same as people here. Troubles come like dark portions of the night, following one another in succession, the last being worse than the first.”

136. The cemetery outside Medina.
“He then came over to me and said, “Abū Muwayhiba, I have been given the keys to the treasuries of the world, remaining here a long time and the (going to) paradise. I have been given the choice between this and meeting my Lord and (going to) paradise (soon).”

“I said, “By my parents’ lives, choose the keys of the world’s treasuries, long life here, and then paradise.” He replied, “No, Abū Muwayhiba, I have, by God, chosen to meet my Lord and paradise.”

“He then proceeded to pray for forgiveness for the dead of al-Baqī’, then left. And so began the illness in which God took him.”

None of the authors of the books (of traditions) gave this. However, Aḥmad did narrate it from Ya‘qūb b. Ibrāhīm, from his father, who quoted Muḥammad b. Ishaq.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Nadr related to him, quoting al-Ḥakam b. Fudayl, quoting Ya‘qūb b. ʿAṣār, from Ḫubayr b. Yahyā, who quoted Abū Muwayhiba as saying, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ordered to pray for the dead at al-Baqī’. He prayed for them three times and after the third, he said, ‘Abū Muwayhiba, saddle up my mount.’

“He rode while I walked until we reached them. He then dismounted. I held the mount, while he stood” — or he said “he remained standing” — “over them. He then said, ‘May your present state make you more happy than the people are. Troubles come like dark portions of the night, following one another in succession, the last being worse than the first. So may your present state make you more happy than the people are.’

“He then came back and said, ‘Abū Muwayhiba, I have been awarded’ — or he said ‘asked to choose between’ — ‘the keys of what will be conquered by my nation after myself and then paradise, or meeting my Lord.’

“I said, ‘By my father and mother, choose us!’ He replied, ‘To reverse what God intended? I have chosen to meet my Lord!’

“And it was no more than seven or eight days thereafter that he died.”

ʿAbd al-Razzaq stated, from Maʿmar, from Ibn Tawūs, who quoted his father as saying, “I was given aid through terror and was awarded the treasuries. Then I was given the choice between remaining (alive) to see what would be conquered for my people and acceleration (of my death). I chose acceleration.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This hadīth is mursal; it does testify to the hadīth of Abū Muwayhiba.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, “Yaʿqūb b. Utba related to me, from al-Zuhri, from Ubayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Utba, from Ibn Masʿūd, who quoted ʿAʾisha as stating, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) returned from the cemetery and found me suffering from a pain in my head. I was complaining, ‘O my head!’ He commented, ‘I swear by God, ʿAʾisha, I’m the one with the headache!’ He then asked, ‘Would you mind if you died before me, and I were to stand over you, put you in your shroud, pray over you and bury you?’ I replied, ‘I imagine that if you did
that you would return to my house and celebrate a wedding night there with one of your wives!

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) smiled. The pain persisted in him while he visited in turn his wives. He was overcome by it in the home of Maymūna. He summoned his wives and asked their permission to be nursed in my home; this was agreed.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then left, being helped along by two men of his household, al-Fadl b. 'Abbās and another man. He had his head bound and he was dragging his feet when he entered my house."

'Ubayd Allāh stated, "I related this to Ibn 'Abbās and he said, 'Do you know who the other man was? That was 'Ali b. Abū Ta'lib."

This hadith has testimonials that will come shortly.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that al-Hakīm informed him, quoting al-Asamm, quoting Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, from Yūnus b. Bulayr, from Muhammad b. Ishāq, quoting Ya'qūb b. Utba, from al-Zuhri, from 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abbās, who quoted 'A'isha as having said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) came in to me while suffering from a headache while I was complaining about my own head. I said, 'O my head!' He said, 'I swear by God, 'A'isha, I'm the one with headache!'

"He then said, 'Would you mind, if you were to die before myself, if I were to take care of you, prayed over you and buried you?' I replied, 'I swear by God, I believe that if that happened, you would closet yourself with one of your wives in my house as soon as the day was over!' The Messenger of God (SAAS) laughed."

"His pain persisted and became severe while, visiting his wives in turn, he was at the house of Maymūna. His family assembled, and al-Abbās said, 'We think the Messenger of God has pleurisy. Let's give him medicine through the corner of his mouth.' They did so and the Messenger of God (SAAS) came to. 'Who did this?' he asked. 'It was your uncle al-Abbās; he is afraid you have pleurisy.' The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'It is from Satan! God would never have inflicted me with it! You should not omit giving medicine to anyone in my house except for my uncle al-Abbās!' And all the household were given medicine - even Maymūna, who was fasting. That was done in the sight of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"Thereafter he asked permission of his wives to be nursed in my house; he received permission. So he left, between al-Abbās and another man" - she did not name him - "his feet dragging on the ground."

'Ubayd Allāh said that Ibn 'Abbās stated, "The other man was 'Ali b. Abū Ta'lib."

Al-Bukhārī stated that Sa'id b. Ufayr related to him, quoting al-Layth, quoting Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, who quoted 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abbās Allāh b. Utba as stating that 'A'isha, the wife of the Prophet (SAAS) said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) became ill and his pain intensified, he asked permission from his wives to be nursed in my home. And he was given permission. He left
between two men, dragging his feet on the ground between ‘Abbas, Ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, that is, and another man.”

‘Ubayd Allah said, “I told ‘Abd Allah” — meaning Ibn ‘Abbas — “what ‘A’isha had said. He asked me, ‘Do you know who was the other man whom ‘A’isha did not name?’ I replied, ‘No.’ He said, ‘It was Alī.”

‘A’isha, wife of the Messenger of God (SAAS), used to relate, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) entered my house and his pain was severe, he said, ‘Pour over me from seven water-skins the tops of which have not been untied so that I will (be well enough to) give advice to people.’

“We seated him in a tub belonging to Ḥafṣa, the wife of the Prophet (SAAS). Then we set about pouring over him water from those skins until he gestured to us with his hand saying, ‘You have done it now.’

“He then went outside to the people, spoke a prayer for them and made them an address.”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it in other places in his saḥīḥ collection. Muslim gave it with various lines of transmission from al-Zuhri.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā‘īl related to him, quoting Sulaymān b. Bihāl, quoting Hishām b. ‘Urwa, quoting his father, who quoted ‘A’isha as having said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would ask during the illness in which he died, “Where will I be tomorrow? Where will I be tomorrow?” He was referring to ‘A’isha’s day (for his visit to her). His wives permitted him to be wherever he wished, so he was in ‘A’isha’s house until he died there.

(The account narrates that) “‘A’isha, may God be pleased with her, stated, ‘He died on the day he would come to visit me in my house. God took him while his head lay between my breasts and my throat. His saliva mixed with mine.’”

She went on, “‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf b. Ḥabīb came in carrying a tooth-pick with which he was cleaning his teeth. The Messenger of God (SAAS) looked over at him and I asked ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf, ‘Give me the tooth-pick, ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf.’ He gave it to me, and I chewed and softened it and gave it to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He cleansed his teeth with it while he rested against my chest.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhārī stated that ‘Abd Allah b. Yūsuf informed him, quoting al-Layth, quoting Ibn al-Had, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ‘A’isha as saying, “The Prophet (SAAS) died while between my breast and my chin. And I no longer abhor the death throes of anyone after (those of) the Prophet (SAAS).”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Hibban related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allah, quoting Yūnus, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, “Urwa informed me that ‘A’isha narrated to him that whenever the Messenger of God (SAAS) was in pain, he would breathe over himself, recite the al-mu‘awwidhāt (137) and wipe his hands over his body. And so when he was in pain during the illness from which he died, I set about reciting

137. The final two sūrat of the Qur’ān.
the al-mu’awwidhāt over him, breathing over him as he had, and using the hand of the Prophet (SAAS) to wipe over him.”

Muslim narrated this from a hadith of Ibn Wahb, from Yūnūs b. Yazīd al-Ayyīl, from al-Zuhrī. Al-Fāllās and Muslim gave it from Mūhammad b. Ḥātim and all of them.

It is established in both sahih collections from a hadith of Abū ʿAwāna, from Fīrās, from al-Shaḥī, from Mārūq, who quoted ʿA’īsha as having stated, “The wives of the Messenger of God (SAAS) all assembled around him; none of them was left out. Fāṭima came in, her footsteps not missing the style of his own walk. He said, ‘Welcome indeed to my daughter!’ He sat her down at his right, or his left. He then spoke something confidentially to her, and she wept. He then spoke to her quietly again, and she laughed. I commented to her, ‘The Messenger of God speaks secrets to you alone, and yet you cry!’

“When she arose, I asked her, ‘Tell me what he spoke to you.’ She replied, ‘I could not disclose a secret of the Messenger of God.’ After he had died, I asked her, ‘I ask you, by my rights over you, to tell me.’ She replied, ‘Now I can do so. The first comment he made in confidence to me was, “Gabriel would review the Qurʾān with me once each year. This year he has done so twice. I can see this only as meaning the approach of my death. Fear God and be patient; I am a worthy predecessor to you.” And so I wept. He then whispered to me again, saying, “Will it not please you to be mistress of the women of the Believers, or mistress of (all) the women of this nation?” I laughed.’”

This hadith has various lines of transmission from ʿA’īsha.

Al-Bukhārī narrated from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh and al-Fāllās, as did Muslim b. Mūhammad b. Ḥātim, all of them quoting from Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Qattān, from Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Mūsā b. Abū ʿA’īsha, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿA’īsha, who said, “We poured medicine into the corner of the mouth of the Messenger of God (SAAS), during his illness and he began gesturing to us not to do so. We said, ‘It’s just the dislike of a sick person for his medicine.’ When he recovered somewhat, he asked, ‘Did I not forbid you to put medicine in my mouth?’ We replied, ‘(We thought it) dislike of a sick person for his medicine.’ He then said, ‘Let all in the house have medicine poured into their mouths while I look on – except for Abū ʿAbdās who did not witness what you did.’”

Al-Bukhārī stated, “Ibn Abū al-Zinād narrated it from Hishām, from his father, from ʿA’īsha, who quoted the Prophet (SAAS).”

Al-Bukhārī also stated that Yūnūs stated that al-Zuhrī quoted ʿUrwa as saying, “ʿA’īsha stated, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) would say during the illness in which he died, “ʿA’īsha, I still suffer pain from the food I ate at Khaybar. At this time I sense my aorta being severed by that poison.”’”

Al-Bukhārī gave this as being mušallaq.

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqī gave it from al-Ḥākim, from Abū Bakr b. Mūhammad b. ʿAbdād b. Yaḥyā al-ʾAshqar, from Yūnūs b. Mūsā, from Abū Ḥamūd b. ʿAbd Mūṭaḥar, then to ʿAbdās from Yūnūs b. Yazīd al-Ayyīl, from al-Zuhrī.
Al-Bayhaqi stated that al-I‘akim informed him, quoting al-A‘ashm, quoting Ahmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbar, from Abū Mu‘awiya, from al-A‘mash, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Murra, from Abū al-‘ᾲwās, from ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd, who said, “I would prefer to swear nine times over that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was murdered than to do so once that he was not killed! That is because God assigned him to be a prophet and a martyr as well.”

Al-Bukhari stated that Isḥāq related to him, quoting Bishr b. Shu‘ayb b. Abū Hamza, quoting his father, from al-Zuhri, who said, “‘Abd Allāh b. Ka‘b b. Malik al-Anṣārī – Ka‘b b. Malik having been one of the three men who had received forgiveness¹³⁸ – informed me that ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbas told him when ‘Alī b. Abū Ṭalib came out after having been with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during the illness in which he died, people asked him, ‘Abu al-‘ᾲasan! How is the Messenger of God, doing this morning?’ He replied, ‘Thanks be to God, he is recovered.’

“‘Abbas b. ‘Abd al-Malik took ‘Alī by the hand and said, ‘Three days from now, I swear by God, you will be ‘slave of the staff’.¹³⁹ I swear, I can see that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) will die from this illness. I well know how members of the ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib family look when near death. Let us go to the Messenger of God, and ask him to whom rule will go. If to us, then we will know it; if to someone other than us, we can tell him and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) can tell him to care for us.’

“‘Alī stated, ‘I swear by God, if we asked the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) for it (the rule) and he refused it, then the people would never give it to us after him. So I swear, I’ll not ask the Messenger of God for it.’”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Sufyān, from Sulaymān al-Ahwal, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, who said, “Ibn ‘Abbas stated, ‘What a terrible Thursday that was! The illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) worsened. Then he asked, “Bring me writing materials with which I can write you a document after which Yūsuf will never go astray.” People disputed over this – and there should never be disputation in the presence of a prophet. Some said, “What is wrong with him; is he delirious? Question him.” So they went to him to ask him. He told them, “Leave me alone; my present condition is better than that to which you invite me.” He then advised them to do three things. He said, “Remove the unbelievers from the Arabian peninsula. Treat with dignity delegations as you saw me treat them.” And he either did not speak the third request, or he spoke it but I have forgotten it.’”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it elsewhere; Muslim gave it from a ḥadīth of Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna.

Al-Bukhārī then stated that ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh, ¹³⁸ A reference to the three Muslims who had held back from participation in the attack on Tabuk ordered by the Prophet (ṢAAS). See above, Vol. IV, pages 29–33.
¹³⁹ Under a new ruler, that is.
from Ibn 'Abbâs, who said, “When death was close for the Messenger of God (SAAS), and there were men present in his home, he said, ‘Come close; I will write a document for you after which you will never go astray.’ Some of them then said, ‘(But) the Messenger of God is overcome by illness, and you have the Qurân. God’s Book is enough for us.’

“The household differed among themselves and disputed. Some said, ‘Go over near him and let him write something after which you will never stray.’ Others said the contrary. When their disputation increased, the Messenger of God (SAAS) told them, ‘Go away!’

‘Ubayd Allah said, ‘Ibn ‘Abbâs stated, “It was truly disastrous that, due to their noise and disputation, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was prevented from writing that document for them.””

Muslim narrated it from Muhammâd b. Ra‘î, as did ‘Abd b. Hûmâyîd, both quoting from ‘Abd al-Razzâq in the same way. Al-Bukhârî gave it in various places in his hadîth collection from a hadîth of Ma‘mar and Yûnûs, from al-Zuhrî.

This hadîth has served to feed the imaginations of certain foolish persons, who advocate improper innovative practices. These adherents of the Shi‘a and others, all claimed that the Messenger of God (SAAS) wished to write in the document referred to above what they purpose in their own statements. This claim of theirs constitutes adherence to reasoning by allegory and disregard for what is fully established.140

Orthodox scholars accept what is fully established and reject what might be viewed as allegorical. This is the methodology of those firmly rooted in knowledge, al-râsîkhûna fi al-‘ilm, as God, the Almighty and Glorious characterized them in His Book (sûrat Al ‘Imrân; III, v.7).

This area is one of those where the feet of many of the noisesome slip. Orthodox scholars, however, follow no ‘school of thought’ but pursue the truth alone, moving with it along whatever path it leads.

Whatever the Messenger of God (SAAS) wished to write came previously in those hadîths that lend themselves to clear and unambiguous interpretation.

Imâm ‘Abd said that Mu‘âmmil related to him, quoting Na‘îf, from Ibn ‘Amr, quoting Ibn Abû Mulayka, from ʿÂishâ who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) was suffering from that illness from which he died, he said, ‘Summon Abû Bakr and his son, so that no one will lust after, or aspire to, Abû Bakr’s role.’ He went on, ‘God and the Believers reject that.’ He said this twice.”

ʿÂishâ is quoted as then having said, “And God and the Believers did indeed reject that!”

‘Abd is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Ahmâd stated that Abû Mu‘âwiya related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Raḥmân b. Abû Bakr al-Qurashi, from Ibn Abû Mulayka, who quoted ʿÂishâ, who said,

140. The Arabic terms are mutashâbih and mubkam.
“When the illness of the Messenger of God (SAAS) worsened, he told 'Abd al-Rahmân, Abu Bakr's son, ‘Bring me a shoulder bone’ or a tablet so that I can write for Abu Bakr a document about which no one can dispute.’ When 'Abd al-Rahmân went to do this, he said, ‘God and the Believers reject there being any disagreement over you, Abu Bakr!’”

Aḥmad is also alone in giving this from this line of transmission.

Al-Bukhârî narrated from Yahlîd b. Yâhîyâ, from Sulaymân b. Bîlâl, from Yahlîd b. Sa‘îd, from al-Qâsîm b. Muḥammad, who quoted ‘A‘îshah as stating that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “I plan to send for Abu Bakr and his son to make a covenant, lest people argue or have ambitions.’ He went on, ‘Either God rejects or the Believers impel, or God impels and the Believers reject.’”

In the saḥîh collection of al-Bukhârî and in that of Muslim, there is a hadîth of Ibrâhîm b. Sa‘îd, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Jûbâyr b. Mû’tam, who quoted his father as saying, “A woman came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he told her to return to him again. She asked, ‘But supposing I came and did not find you?’ – she seemed to be implying his death. He replied, ‘If you do not find me, then go to Abu Bakr.’”

It seems obvious – though God knows best – that she only said that to the Messenger of God (SAAS), during the illness from which he died.

On the Thursday, five days before he died, the Messenger of God (SAAS) had delivered an address in which he had asserted the superiority of Abu Bakr, “the trusting”, over the other Companions, as part of his direction that he (Abu Bakr) lead them (in prayer).

It may perhaps be that this address should be viewed as a substitution for what he intended to write in the document.

He had washed himself prior to making that noble address. They had sprinkled over him water from seven water-skins, the openings of which had not been untied. This is referred to (in the saḥîh collections) in the chapter, Seeking a cure by seven (washings); another hadîth referring to this are also given elsewhere than in this section.

The point here is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) washed, went out and performed prayer with the people, and then made an address to them. This is shown above in the hadîth quoting ‘A‘îshah, may God be pleased with her.

THE AHâDÎTH MAKING REFERENCE TO THAT.

Al-Bayhaqî stated that al-Ḥâkim informed him, quoting al-Āṣâmm, from Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Jabbâr, from Yûnûs b. Bûkayr, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from al-Zuhri, from Ayyûb b. Bashir, who stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said during his illness, ‘Pour water over me from seven water-skins from seven different wells so that I can go out and make a covenant with the people.’”

141. Paper not yet having been invented, sources tell us that Arabs wrote on large bones and pieces of leather, etc.
“They did so and he went out and sat upon the minbar. The first thing he did, after praising and thanking God, was to refer to his Companions who had attended the battle of Uhud; he asked God’s forgiveness for them and said a prayer for them. He then said, ‘Muhajirun, you have become very numerous while the ansar have remained as they were and have not increased in number. They are my saviours, those with whom I sought refuge. Honour them for their exploits and disregard their shortcomings.’

“He went on, ‘People, one servant of God has been given by God to choose between what is upon earth and what is with God. And he has chosen what is with God.’

“Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was one among the people there who understood this and he wept, saying, ‘We would redeem you with ourselves, our children and our possessions!’ But the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Take it easy, Abu Bakr! Look at these doors leading in to the mosque and close them all off, except for the one from Abu Bakr’s house. I know of no one whom I consider a finer Companion than him.’”

This hadith is mursal, incomplete in its line; there are many testimonies to it. Al-Waqidi stated that Farwa b. Zabid b. Taws related to him, from ‘A’isha, daughter of Sa’d, from Umm Dharr, who quoted Umm Salama, wife of the Prophet (SAAS), as saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went outside wearing a piece of cloth around his head. When he sat down on the minbar people stared hard at the minbar and flocked around him. He said, ‘By Him in whose hand is my soul, I am at this hour standing at the hawd, “the pool”.’ He then spoke the shahada. When he had finished this, the first words he spoke were to ask forgiveness for the martyrs killed at Uhud. He then said, ‘One servant of God has been asked to choose between this world and that with God; and this servant has chosen that with God.’

“Abu Bakr wept; we were surprised at his weeping. He said, ‘By my father and my mother! We would redeem you with our fathers, our mothers, ourselves and our possessions!’ It was the Messenger of God (SAAS), who had been given the choice, and Abu Bakr was the most aware of us what the Messenger of God (SAAS) had meant. The latter then said to him, ‘Take it easy, Abu Bakr!’”

Imam Ahmad stated that Abu ‘Amir related to him, quoting Fulayh, from Sālim Abū al-Nadr, from Bishr b. Sa’id, who quoted Abū Sa’īd as saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) made an address to the people and said, ‘God had a worshipper make a choice between this world and that with him. That worshipper chose that with God.’

“Abu Bakr wept. We were surprised at his weeping at the Messenger of God (SAAS), having made a reference to a ‘worshipper’. For it was the Messenger of God (SAAS) who had been given the choice and Abu Bakr was the most aware of us what he meant. The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘The person most faithful to myself in his friendship and his wealth is Abu Bakr. If I were to take any other than God as my Companion, I would so take Abū Bakr. However,
(what I do have with him) is the companionship of Islam and his love. Every
door in the mosque has been shut except that of Abū Bakr.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it thus from a hadith of Abū Āmir al-ʾAqādī.

Imām Aḥmad narrated it from Yūnūs, from Fulayḥ, from Sālim b. Abū
al-Naḍr, from ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn and Bishr b. Saʿīd, from Abū Saʿīd.

Al-Bukhārī narrated it similarly, as did Muslim, from a hadith of Fulayḥ;
Malik b. Anas gave it from Sālim, from Bishr b. Saʿīd and ʿUbayd b. Ḥunayn,
both of whom quoted from Abū Saʿīd in similar terms.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Walīd related to him, quoting Hishām,
quoting Abū ʿAwāna, from ʿAbd al-Malik, from Ibn Abū al-Muʿalla, from his
father (who said) “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) one day made an address and
said, ‘A man has been given by his Lord to choose between living on earth so
long as he wishes and eating on earth whatever he wishes, and between meeting
his Lord. And he has chosen to meet his Lord.’

“Abū Bakr wept. The Companions of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked
one another, ‘Aren’t you surprised at this sheikh and the Messenger of God,
referring to a fine man to whom God has given the choice of remaining on earth
or meeting his Lord and him choosing to meet his Lord?’ For it was Abū Bakr
who was most aware of what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had meant. And
Abū Bakr responded, ‘No, we will redeem you with our possessions and our
children!’ And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘No person is more
faithful to us in his friendship and generosity than (Abū Bakr) Ibn Abū Quḥāfa.
And were I to take someone as my Companion, that person would be Ibn Abū
Quḥāfa. However, there (is between us) love, brotherly feelings and faith. Your
friend is the companion of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.’”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. The correct name in the above line of trans­
mission is “Ibn Saʿīd b. al-Muʿalla”. However, God knows best.

The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī narrated through Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm – he being Ibn
Rahawayh – who quoted Zakariyyāʾ b. ʿAdī, quoting ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭামr
al-Raqī, from Zayd b. Abū Anṣār, from Ṭāmr b. Ṭarīq, from Ṭāmr Allāh b.
al-Hārith, who quoted Jundab as having said that he heard the Messenger
of God (ṢAAS) saying, five days before his death, “From (all of) you I have
had brothers and friends. I release each companion from his companionship. If
I were to take from my nation one companion, then that would be Abū Bakr. My
Lord has taken me as His Companion, as He did Abraham. A people who came
prior to yourselves treated the graves of their prophets and holy men as mosques.
Do not treat graves as mosques; I prohibit you from doing that.”

Muslim narrated this in his saḥīḥ collection, from Iṣḥāq b. Rahawayh in
similar terms.

This day that preceded his death by five days was that Thursday referred to
above by Ibn ʿAbbas.

We have given this address from Ibn ʿAbbās. The ḥāfiẓ al-Bayhaqī stated
Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, quoting Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb – he being Ibn ʿAwāna al-Isfaraynī – who said, “Muḥammad b. ʿAbū Bakr related to us, quoting Wahb b. Ṣaʿr, quoting his father, who said, ‘I heard Yaʿīṣ b. Ḥakīm relate from Ikrima, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as saying, “The Prophet (ṣaṣṣ) went outside during the illness from which he died with his head bandaged by a piece of cloth. He mounted the minbar, gave praise and thanks to God, then said, ‘Not one of the people has been more faithful to me with both himself and his possessions than ʿAbū Bakr. If I were taking any one of the people as a companion, that person would be ʿAbū Bakr. However, (what I have with him) is the companionship of Islam, which is best. Close off from me every entry-way into the mosque except that of ʿAbū Bakr.’””

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from ʿUbayd Allah b. Muḥammad al-Juʿfī, from Wahb b. Ṣaʿr b. Ḥazīm, from his father. In the words of the Prophet (ṣaṣṣ), “Close off from me every khawja, ‘entry-way’” – by which he meant the small doors into the mosque except that of ʿAbū Bakr”, he was making a reference to the caliphate. That is, so that he (ʿAbū Bakr) could pass through it to lead the prayer with the Muslims.

Al-Bukhārī also narrated it from the hadīth of ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān b. Ḥanzāla b. al-Ghāsīl, from Ikrima, from Ibn ʿAbbās. He stated that the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) came out in the illness from which he died with his head wrapped in a blackish cloth, with a mantle over his shoulders and sat upon the minbar. Ibn ʿAbbās went on to quote the address, including his counsel to the ansār, and concluded with the words, “It was the last meeting the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) attended until he died.” By this he meant that this was the last address made by the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ).

This hadīth is also recorded (as follows) from an anomalous and different line of transmission from Ibn ʿAbbās; its wording is also ghārīb, “anomalous”.


“People assembled and the Messenger of God (ṣaṣṣ) arose to address them. He said, ‘To proceed, my absence from among you is near at hand. You will not longer see me among you in this place. I have been thinking that there was no one who could dispense with my affairs unless I do it among you (personally). If there is anyone whose back I have whipped, then here is my own back; let that person retaliate. Anyone whose money I took: here is mine from which he may take. Anyone against whose honour I have cursed should retaliate against me.
Let no man say, 'I fear rancour from the Messenger of God.' Indeed not; rancour is not my nature or my character. Those of you I like best are those who will either take their due if I am in their debt or release me therefrom, that I meet Almighty God, without any injustice on anyone because of me.'

"One of the men arose and said, 'Messenger of God, you have three dirhams of mine.' He replied, 'I will not give the lie to anyone, nor will I ask him to swear an oath. Why do I have your money?' The man answered, 'Don't you remember how once a beggar passed you and you gave me orders, so I awarded him three dirhams?' He said, 'Give it to him, Faḍl!' And he told the man to sit.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then returned to his original address and said, 'Anyone of you who still has anything resulting from deception should return it.' A man got up and said, 'Messenger of God, I have three dirhams I took by deceit.' 'Why did you do so?' he asked. 'I needed it,' he replied. 'Take it from him, Faḍl,' the Messenger of God (SAAS) said.

"He again reverted to his original address, then said, 'People, if any of you are troubled, stand and I will say a prayer for you.'

"One man arose and said, 'Messenger of God, I am a hypocrite, a liar and I sleep to excess.' 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb interjected, 'Confound you, fellow! God would have covered for you (your shortcomings) if only you had done so for yourself!' The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Quiet, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb! Scandal on earth is easier to bear than scandal in the afterlife! O God, favour him with veracity and faith and take away his sleep, if he so wishes that.'

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said, 'Umar is with me, and I with 'Umar. And the truth after me is with 'Umar.'"

In both the line of transmission and the text of this hadith there is much that is anomalous.

An Account of the order by the Messenger of God (SAAS), to Abū Bakr, 'The Trusting', to lead the prayer with all the Companions, in the presence of them all. And how the Messenger of God (SAAS) came out and prayed behind him, emulating him in some of the prayers, as we shall relate, and how the latter acted as imām for the former and for those of the Companions after him.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaṣṣūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, quoting Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, quoting 'Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Hārith b. Hishām, from his father, from 'Abd Allah b. Hishām, from his father, from 'Abd Allah b. Zam'a b. al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib b. Asad, who said, "When the illness of the Messenger of God (SAAS) grew more intense, I was there with him, along with a group of his Companions. Bilāl made the call to prayer and he (the Prophet (SAAS)) said, 'Tell someone to lead the people in prayer.'"
“So I went off and found ʿUmar among the people, Abū Bakr being absent. I said, ‘ʿUmar, get up and lead people in prayer.’ When ʿUmar made the declaration that ‘God is most Great!’ the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) heard his voice—he was a man with a loud voice—and asked, ‘Where is Abū Bakr? God refuses that, as do the Muslims! God refuses that, as do the Muslims!’

“He then sent for Abū Bakr and he came after ʿUmar had led that prayer. And then Abū Bakr prayed with the people.”

ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa went on, “ʿUmar said to me, ‘Confound you! What have you done, Ibn Zamʿa! By God, I only thought that it was the Messenger of God who told me to do it. Otherwise, I would not have led the prayer.’ I replied, ‘I swear that was not what the Messenger of God ordered. However, when I did not see Abū Bakr, I thought you the most deserving man present at the prayer.’”

That is also how Abū Daʿūd narrated it, from the ḥadīth of Ibn Ishaq quoting al-Zuhri. Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated it from Ibn Ishaq, quoting Yaʿqūb b. ʿUrba, from Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa, as above.

Abū Daʿūd stated that Ahmad b. ʿĀsī related to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, quoting Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ishaq, from Ibn Shihab, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUrba, (who said) that ʿAbd Allāh b. Zamʿa related to him the following account, “When the Prophet (ṢAAS) heard ʿUmar’s voice, he came out, so that his head could be seen looking out from his room. Then he exclaimed, ‘No! No! Only Ibn Abū Quḥāfa shall lead the people in prayer!’ He spoke this in anger.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣ related to him, quoting his father, quoting al-ʿArmānī, from Ibrāhīm (who stated that) al-Aswād said, “We were with ʿAʾisha at her home and made reference to the assiduity (of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)), to prayer and to her. She said, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was suffering from the illness from which he died, and the time for the prayer arrived and Bilāl made the call to it, he said, ‘Tell Abū Bakr to lead the people in prayer!’ He was told, “Abū Bakr is a grievously sad man; if he were to stand up in your place, he would not be able to proceed with the prayer.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) repeated what he had said and the same response was given him. He said it a third time, then went on, “You women are like Joseph’s companions. Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer with the people!”

“Abū Bakr went out (to perform the prayer). The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) felt somewhat better and went out, being helped forward between two men; I seem to see now his two feet dragging in pain. Abū Bakr wanted to stay back, but the Prophet (ṢAAS) gestured to him to remain in his place. He was then brought and seated at his side.”

(Al-Bukhārī’s account continues) “Someone asked al-ʿArmānī, ‘Was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) praying and Abū Bakr praying as he did, with the people then following the prayer of Abū Bakr?’ Using his head, al-ʿArmānī answered in the affirmative.”
Al-Bukhari went on, "Abū Da‘ūd narrated this in part from Shu‘ba. Abū Mu‘āwiya added the following to the account given by al-A‘mash, ‘He sat at the right side of Abū Bakr; Abū Bakr was standing as he prayed.’"

Al-Bukhari narrated this in several places in his work. Muslim, al-Nasā‘ī and Ibn Māja narrated it along various lines of transmission from al-A‘mash. In one of these al-Bukhari gave it from Qutayba; Muslim gave it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba and Yahyā b. Yahyā, from Abū Mu‘āwiya.

Al-Bukhari also stated that ‘Abd Allah b. Yūsuf related to him, quoting Malik, from Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from ʿA’isha, to the effect that she stated, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said during his illness, ‘Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people.’’"

Ibn Shihab stated, ‘ʿUbayd Allah b. ʿAbd Allah quoted ‘A’isha as having said, ‘I opposed the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) in this; the only thing making me oppose him was my concern that the people would perceive Abū Bakr’s praying as an evil portent, though I knew that would be the case no matter who took his place. What I wanted was to have the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) deflect this away from Abū Bakr to someone else.’’"

In the Sahih collection of Muslim, it is stated in a hadith of ʿAbd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, who said, ʿHamza b. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmar informed me that ʿA’isha stated, ‘When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came into my house, he said, ‘Tell Abū Bakr to lead the people in the prayer.’ I said, ‘Messenger of God, Abū Bakr is a sensitive man; if he recites the Qurān, he will not be able to restrain his tears. What if you were to tell someone else?’’ ʿA’isha went on, ‘I swear by God, I only did this out of my dislike that the people would blame the first man who prayed in place of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) as an evil portent. I reiterated this two or three times, but he said, ‘Let Abū Bakr lead the prayer for the people. You women are like Joseph’s companions.’’"

In both Sahih collections there is a hadith of ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmayr, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, who quoted his father as stating, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was ill and said, ‘Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people.’ ʿA’isha said, ‘Messenger of God, Abū Bakr is a sensitive man; when he stands up in your place, he won’t be able to pray with the people.’ He said, ‘Tell Abū Bakr to lead the prayer for the people. You women are like Joseph’s companions.’ And so Abū Bakr did lead the prayer throughout the (remainder of) the life of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’’

Imām Ahmad stated that ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdi related to him, quoting Zāida, from Mūsā b. Abū ʿA’isha, from ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh, who said, ‘I went in to ʿA’isha and asked, ‘Would you tell me about the illness of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?’ She replied, ‘Certainly. When he became very ill, he asked, ‘Have the people prayed?’ We replied, ‘No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God.’ He then said, ‘Pour some water into the wash basin for me.’’ We did so. He then washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted.
When he recovered, he asked, “Have the people prayed?” We replied, ‘No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God.” “Pour some water into the wash basin for me,” he asked. We did so and he washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted. When he recovered, he asked, “Have the people prayed?” We replied, “No; they are waiting for you, Messenger of God.” He said, “Pour some water into the wash basin for me,” he asked. We did so and he washed and made as if to get up to leave, but fainted. When he recovered, he asked, “Have the people prayed?” We replied, “No; they are waiting for you.””

‘A>isha went on, “The people were still in the mosque, waiting for the Messenger of God (SAAS), for the al-‘isha’ prayer. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent a message to Abu Bakr saying that he should lead the people in prayer. Abü Bakr was a sensitive man and he asked, ‘Umar, you lead the people in prayer.’ He replied, ‘No; you are more worthy of that.’ But he did lead them in prayer for those days.

“Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) recovered somewhat and went out, being led between two men, one of them al-‘Abbâs, to perform the al-zuhr prayer. When Abü Bakr saw him, he went to move to the back, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) gestured to him not to do so and ordered the two men to seat him beside Abü Bakr. Abü Bakr began praying, standing while the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed while seated.”

‘Ubayd Allah went on, “I then went in to Ibn ‘Abbas and said, ‘Should I tell you what ‘A‘isha told me about the illness of the Messenger of God (SAAS)?’ ‘Let’s hear it,’ he replied. So I did tell him, and he contradicted nothing. He did ask, ‘Did she name to you the man who was with al-‘Abbâs?’ I replied, ‘No.’ ‘That was ‘Ali,’ he said.”

Both al-Bukhâri and Muslim narrated it from Aḥmâd b. Yûnus, from Za‘ida. In one account, the text states, “Abû Bakr began praying with the prayer of the Messenger of God (SAAS) while standing; the people repeated the prayer delivered by Abû Bakr, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained seated.”

Al-Bayhaqî stated, “In this it is stated that the Prophet (SAAS) led that prayer and that Abû Bakr joined his prayer to it.”

He went on, “Al-Aswad and Urwa related it thus, from ‘A‘isha. Al-Arqâm b. Shu‘râhblî narrated it thus from Ibn ‘Abbâs.”

By this he is referring to the hadîth narrated by Imâm Aḥmâd, who stated that Yaḥyâ b. Zakâriyya’ b. Abû Za‘ida related to him, quoting his father, from Abû Ishâq, from al-Arqâm b. Shu‘râhblî, from Ibn ‘Abbâs, who said, “When the Prophet (SAAS) became sick, he ordered Abû Bakr to lead the people in prayer. He then recovered and went out. When Abû Bakr became aware of him, he wanted to withdraw, but the Prophet (SAAS) gestured to him and he sat down next to Abû Bakr, on his left. He commenced with the verse at which Abû Bakr, may God be pleased with him, had finished.”

He then narrated it again from Wâski, from Isrâ‘îl, from Abû Ishâq, from Arqâm, from Ibn ‘Abbâs at greater length.
Waki' stated one time, “Abū Bakr would follow the Prophet (SAAS) (in that prayer) and the people, Abū Bakr.”

Ibn Māja narrated it from 'Ali b. Muḥammad, from Waki', from Isrā'il, from Abū Isḥāq, from Arqam b. Shurahbil, from Ibn 'Abbās.

Imām Ahmad stated that Shabāba b. Sawwār related to him, quoting Shu'ba, from Nu'aym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Wā'il, from Masrūq, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as saying, “During the illness from which he died, the Messenger of God (SAAS), while seated, prayed behind Abū Bakr.”

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasāʾī narrated this from the ḥadīth of Shu'ba and al-Tirmidhī categorized it as hasan saḥīḥ.

Ahmad stated that Bakr b. Īsā related to him that he heard Shu'ba b. al-Ḥajjāj quote from Nu'aym b. Abū Hind, from Abū Wā'il, from Masrūq, who quoted ʿĀʾisha as stating, “Abū Bakr led the people in prayer while the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in the row (of worshippers).”

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. al-Fādr al-Qādīn informed him, quoting ʿAbd Allah b. Ja'far, quoting Ya'qūb b. Sufyān, quoting Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, quoting Shu'ba, from Sulaymān al-ʿAmnash, from Ibrāhīm, from al-Aswad, from ʿĀʾisha, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) prayed behind Abū Bakr.

The line of transmission for this is excellent; they (the major compilers) did not give it.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “Ḥumayd narrated it thus, from Anas b. Malik, as did Yūnus, from al-Ḥasan as being n miraculous. He then gave this from the line of Husaym, quoting Yūnus from al-Ḥasan.”

Hushaym stated that Ḥumayd informed him, from Anas b. Malik, (who said) that, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went out while Abū Bakr was leading the people in prayer and sat down by his side. He was wearing a cloak, the ends of which he crossed over. Abū Bakr prayed, as did the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Al-Bayhaqī stated that ʿAlī b. Ahmad b. Ṭādān informed him, quoting Ahmad b. Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ubayd b. Shurayk, quoting Ibn Abū Maryam, quoting Muḥammad b. Ja'far, quoting Ḥumayd, who said that he heard Anas say, “For the last prayer performed by the Messenger of God (SAAS) with the people, he was wearing one piece of clothing wrapped around himself, and he was positioned behind Abū Bakr.”

I note that this line of transmission is excellent and conforms with the criteria of the (compilers of) the saḥīḥ collections; they did not include it.

This addendum is excellent — that it was the final prayer that the Prophet (SAAS) performed with the people.

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through Sulaymān b. Bilāl and Yahyā b. Ayyūb, from Ḥumayd, from Anas, that the Prophet (SAAS) prayed while behind Abū Bakr, wearing one garment the ends of which were crossed over. When he wished to get up, he said, “Call Usāma b. Zayd for me.” He came and the Messenger of
God (SAAS), rested his back against Usama's chest. This was the last prayer he performed.

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "In this there is evidence that this prayer was that of the morning of Monday, the day on which his death occurred, because that was the last prayer he performed and because it is established that he died in the forenoon of Monday."

What al-Bayhaqi stated here he had taken intact from the work on the military expeditions by Mūsā b. 'Uqba, for he related it thus. Abū al-Aswad narrated it similarly, from Urwa.

That conclusion is weak. This was indeed the last prayer he performed with the people, as is in accord with his addendum given above in the other account. Because (both) are one (in meaning) it is necessary to understand the general mutlaq tradition in light of the specific muqayyad tradition.

Moreover, it is not possible that this be the prayer of the early morning of the Monday that was the day he died. Because he did not perform it with the community, but in his home; this was due to his weak condition.

Proof of this is what al-Bukhari stated in his sabīḥ collection. He stated that Abū al-Yaman related to him, quoting Shu‘ayb, from al-Zuhri, quoting Anas b. Mālik, who had followed the Prophet (SAAS), and been his servant and companion. He stated, "Abū Bakr would pray before them during the illness from which the Messenger of God (SAAS) died. This was until the Monday. They (the Muslims) were in lines for the prayer when the Prophet (SAAS) withdrew the curtain across his chamber and looked out at us. He was standing, and his face was like that of a sheet from a musṭajāb. He smiled and laughed. We were becoming overwhelmed with delight at sight of the Prophet (SAAS), when Abū Bakr turned around to straighten the line. He thought that the Prophet (SAAS) was coming out for the prayer. But the latter gestured to us to complete the prayer. He then drew down the curtain. That was the same day he died."

Muslim narrated it from a hadīth of Sufyān b. 'Uyayna, Sabīh b. Kaysān and Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhri, from Anas.

Al-Bukhari then stated that Abū Ma‘mar related, quoting ‘Abd al-Warīth, quoting ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) did not come out for three days. Then the prayer was held. Abū Bakr went to advance and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Take the screen.’ He raised it. And when the face of the Prophet (SAAS) became visible, we felt as though we had never seen any more wonderful sight than it. The Prophet (SAAS) gestured to Abū Bakr to go forward. The Prophet (SAAS) then released the screen. He remained incapacitated (thereafter) until he died."'  

Muslim narrated it from a hadīth of ʿAbd al-Šamād b. ʿAbd al-Warīth, from his father.

142. The word means a book or manuscript and is commonly applied to the Qur‘ān. A footnote in the Arabic printed text states that the phrase suggests the beauty of the face and the clarity and luminosity of his skin.
This provides very clear evidence that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not perform the al-ṣuhūr prayer with the people on the Monday, and that he had withdrawn from them, not having gone out to them for three days.

We note that therefore the last prayer he performed with them was that of al-zuhr, as is clearly stated in the ḥadīth given above from Ā'isha. That would have been on the Thursday, not the Saturday, nor the Sunday, as al-Bayhaqī told it from the work on the military campaigns by Mūsā b. Uqba. That ḥadīth is weak, especially in light of the address he made following it, and of his having been absent from them on the Friday, Saturday and Sunday, these being those full days.

Al-Zuhri stated, quoting Abū Bakr b. Abū Sabra, that Abū Bakr led them in prayer 17 times. Others give that number as 20. God knows best.

Then his noble visage appeared before them early in the morning of the Monday, and he bade them farewell with a gaze that almost overwhelmed them with delight. That was the last occasion on which he gathered with them. One who might have spoken for them would have agreed with the poet, who said:

“I looked on as though death were only an hour away; how would it be if the time remaining were to end with Judgement Day!”

It is strange that al-Bayhaqī would give this ḥadīth from these two lines and then say, in effect, “Perhaps the Prophet (SAAS) remained secluded from them for the first raka‘a then emerged for the second raka‘a and performed the prayer behind Abū Bakr, as Īrwā and Mūsā b. Uqba stated, that fact not being apparent to Anas b. Mālik. Or perhaps he gave part of the information, but remained silent about the rest of it.”

This statement of his is all the more improbable because Anas said, “He remained incapacitated (thereafter) until he died.” In one account he stated, “That was his last contact with them.” Precedence is to be accorded to the statements of the al-ṣahīḥī, “a Companion”, over that of the al-tābi‘ī, “an authority of the following generation”.

But God knows best.

The outcome is that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did select Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, as imām for all the Companions in the prayer assembly, what is in actuality the most important of the pillars of Islam.

Sheikh Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ash‘arī stated, “This selection (of Abū Bakr) is a fact about the religion of Islam necessarily to be recognized.”

He went on, “The selection of him by the Prophet (SAAS) is proof that Abū Bakr was the Companion who was the most learned and the best reciter (of the Qur‘ān). This is established in that statement of the Prophet (SAAS), accepted as authentic by the scholars, in which he said, “The person to act as the people’s
imām is to be the one who best recites the Book of God. Should several be equal in this, then the imām should be the one most knowledgeable in the sunna. If equal in this too, then the oldest of them. If equal in this, then the one of them who first accepted Islam."

I note that these words of al-Ash'ārī, may God have mercy upon him, ought to be inscribed in gold! All these qualities, moreover, were combined in Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

The fact that the Messenger of God (SAAS) himself prayed behind Abū Bakr at some of the prayers, as we have narrated above in authentic accounts, does not (of course) negate the statements recorded in the sahih collection to the effect that Abū Bakr in fact followed him (in prayer). This is because those occasions were at different prayer assemblies, as al-Shāfi‘ī and other imāms, may God the Almighty and Glorious have mercy upon them all, state.

In addition, Mālik, al-Shāfi‘ī and a group of scholars including al-Bukhārī drew evidence from the Messenger of God (SAAS) performing the prayer seated, as Abū Bakr imitated him while standing, the people meanwhile imitating Abū Bakr. This, they maintain, renders invalid the statement of the Messenger of God (SAAS), reported in the sahih hadith, which tells of when, while seated, he performed prayer with some of his Companions. He had fallen from a horse and his side had been injured. They then prayed while standing behind him. He gestured to them to sit. When he had completed (the prayer), he said, "Thus should you pray. By Him who bears my soul in His hand, would you behave like the practice in Persia and Byzantium? It is they who stand over their elite who sit!" He also said, "The imām is made solely to be imitated; if he says Allāhu Akbar! ‘God is most Great!', then you say it. If he performs a rak'ā, then you do so. If he gets up, you get up. If he prostrates, you prostrate too. If he prays seated, then you all pray seated."

They stated, "Then while he was ill, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was seated while acting as their imām and they remained standing."

This indicates the abrogation of what is stated above. But God knows best.

The scholarly community has responded in many and various ways to this evidence. The proper place to deal with it is in my large work al-A{zkamal-Kabir, if God so wills it, and in Him is all trust and reliance.

In summary, there are those who claim that the Companions sat in accord with his previous order while Abū Bakr only remained standing to report to them from him.

Others maintain that Abū Bakr was actually and essentially acting as the imām, as some of the narrators affirm, as was told above. And that Abū Bakr, due to extreme politeness with the Messenger of God (SAAS), would not act prior to him but imitated him. Thus it was as though the Prophet (SAAS) acted as the imām of the imām. This is why they did not sit — because of their imitating Abū Bakr while he stood. And Abū Bakr did not sit because he was an imām and
because he was reporting to them the times of movement, being stationary and
the transitions in which the Messenger of God (SAAS) was engaging. But God
knows best.

Yet others maintain that there is a difference between a situation when the
prayer begins behind the imām when he is standing and continues to do so, even
if he might happen to sit during the prayer, as was the case here, and a situation
when the prayer begins behind the imām when he is seated. In such a latter case
it would be necessary to sit, because of the hadith narrated above. But God’s
knows best.

THE MANNER OF HIS DYING, AND HIS ACTUAL DEATH.

Ismā’il Aḥmad stated that Abū Muḥāwiya related to him, quoting al-ʿAʾmash,
from ʿĪbrāhīm al-Ṭayyīrī, from ʿAlī b. Sūwāydir, from ʿAbd Allāh, he being
Ibn Māṣūd, who said, “I went in to the Prophet (SAAS), when he was ill and
I touched him. I told him, ‘Messenger of God, you are seriously ill.’ ‘Yes,’ he
replied. ‘I am ill enough for two!’ I commented, ‘You shall be doubly rewarded.’
‘Yes,’ he agreed, ‘by Him in whose hand is my soul, every single Muslim who
suffers illness shall have God cast away his sins, just as a tree drops its leaves.’”

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim gave it through various lines from Sulaymān b.
Mahrān al-ʿAʾmash.

The ḥadīth Abū Yaḥṣa b. Mawsili stated in his musnad collection that Ishāq b.
Abū Isrāʾīl related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Razzāq, quoting Maʾmar, from Zayd
b. Aslam, from “a man”, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (who said) that he placed his
hand upon the Prophet (SAAS), and told him, “By God, I can’t bear to place my
hand upon you, your fever is so severe!” The Prophet (SAAS) replied, “For us
prophets affliction is doubled, just as our rewards are doubled. If one is a true
prophet one might be afflicted unto death by lice. A man might be so afflicted by
nakedness as to take his ʿabaʿa and make a jubba out of it.” People should rejoice
in deprivation as they do in prosperity.”

The line of transmission for this hadith contains reference to “a man”, who is
utterly unidentified. God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī and Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Sufyān al-Ṭahwīrī
and Shuʾbā b. al-Ḥajjājī, to whom Muslim added Jarīr. All three quote from al-ʿAʾmash,
from Abū Wālīl, the brother of Ibn Salāmā, from Ṣamrūq, from Ṣāʿīd, who said,
“I never saw the pain of any person more intense than that of the Messenger of
God (SAAS).”

In the saḥīḥ collection of al-Bukhārī, from a hadith of Yazīd b. al-Ḥādī, from
ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, Ṣāʿīd is quoted as saying, “The
Messenger of God (SAAS) died (while resting) his head between my breast and
my chin. And I no longer abhor the death throes of anyone after (those of) the
Prophet (SAAS).”

143. That is, turn a lightweight wrap into a long, wide-sleeved outer garment.
There is another hadith narrated by al-Bukhari in his sahih collection that states, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Those persons most suffering affliction are the prophets. Then come the pure, and then so on down. A man is afflicted to the degree of his faith; if firm in his faith, he will be severely afflicted.’”

Imām Ṭaḥaf stated that Ya’qūb related to him, quoting his father, quoting Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, quoting Sa’d b. ‘Ubayd b. al-Sabbāq from Muḥammad b. Usāma b. Ṣayd, from his father Usāma b. Ṣayd, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) became severely ill, I came down, along with others, to Medina. I went in to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and found him totally silent, not speaking at all. He began raising his hands towards the sky, then dropped them down to me. I know that he was praying for me.”

Al-Ṭirimidhī narrated this from Abū Kurayb, from Yūnus b. Bukayr, from Ibl Iṣḥāq. He categorized it as ḥasan gharib.

In his work al-Muwatta’ Imām Mālik quoted Iṣmā‘īl b. Abū Bakr as saying that he heard ‘Umar b. Abī-‘Azzīz say, “The last of the statements made by the Messenger of God (SAAS) was, ‘May God destroy the Jews and the Christians! They have adopted the graves of their prophets as mosques. Two religions shall not remain on the land of the Arabs!’”

He narrated it thus in the mursal mode from the Commander of the Believers ‘Umar b. Abī-‘Azzīz, may God have mercy upon him.

Al-Bukhari and Muslim narrated from a hadith of al-Zuhārī, from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abbās b. Utba, from ‘A‘ishah and Ibn ‘Abbās, both of whom stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) received revelation, he would immediately throw a khamisah1 over his face. If he felt depressed, he would take it off his face. While thus, he once said, ‘May God damn the Jews and the Christians! They have adopted the graves of their prophets as mosques!’ He was cautioning against what they did.”


In one hadith it is narrated by Muslim from al-‘Amarsh, from Abū Sufyān Ṭalḥa b. Nafī‘, who quoted Jābir as stating, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Let none of you die without thinking well of God, Almighty is He.’”

In another hadith narrated by Muslim, God Almighty is quoted as having stated, “I am as My worshippers regard Me; let them therefore think well of Me.”


144. A black-bordered cloak.
when his death approached was, '(Uphold) prayer; and (care for) what your right hands possess'. (He was saying this) until he began to gurgle over it and his tongue could not pronounce it clearly.'

Al-Nasāʻî narrated this from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh, from Jarir b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd; Ibn Māja gave it from Abū al-Ash'ath, from Mu'tamir b. Sulaymān, who quoted it from his father.

Imām ʻAṭṭār stated that ʻAbdāt b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting al-Taaymi, from Qatāda, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, "The general testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when his death approached was, '(Uphold) prayer; and (care for) what your right hands possess', until his chest began to gurgle as he spoke, and his tongue could scarcely express it.'

Al-Nasāʻî and Ibn Māja narrated it from a ḥadīth of Sulaymān b. Ṭārkhān, he being al-Taaymi, from Qatāda, from Anas.

It is also given by al-Nasāʻî from Qatāda, from a companion of his, from Anas.

ʻAbdullāh b. Muṣārīf b. 'Ishaq narrated to him, quoting Qatāda, from Abū Mūsā, from ʻAbd Allah b. Abū al-Aswad, from Anas, who said, "The general testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when his death approached was, '(Uphold) prayer; and (care for) what your right hands possess' until he was gurgling with it in his chest and his tongue was not producing it.'

Al-Nasāʻî narrated it thus from ʻAbd Allah b. Mūsā, from Yazīd b. al-Khālid, from ʻAbd Allāh b. Abū al-Aswad, from Anas, who said, "He narrated it from ʻAbd Allah b. Abū al-Aswad, from Anas, who said, "He narrated it from ʻAbd Allah b. Mūsā who gave it similarly.'

Ahmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Zayd b. al-Ḥadd, from ʻAbd Allāh b. Mūhārak, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, who said, "He narrated it from Saifina who gave it similarly.'

Ahmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Zayd b. al-Ḥadd, from ʻAbd Allāh b. Mūhārak, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, who said, "He narrated it from Saifina who gave it similarly.'

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān stated that Abū al-Nu'mān Muḥammad b. al-Fudayl related to him, quoting Abū ʻAwāna, from Qatāda, from Saifina, from Umm Salama, who said, "The general testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), at his death was, prayer and what your right hands possess' until he was gurgling with it in his chest and his tongue was not producing it.'

Al-Nasāʻî narrated it thus from ʻAbd Allah b. Mūsā, from Yazīd b. ZuRain, from Saifina, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, "He narrated it from Saifina who gave it similarly.'

Al-Bayhaqī stated, "What is true is what ʻAffān narrated, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Saifina, from Umm Salama.'

Al-Nasāʻî also narrated it thus, as did Ibn Māja, from a ḥadīth of Yazīd b. Ḥarīrī, from Hammām, from Qatāda, from Saifina, from Abū al-Khalīl, from Saifina, from Umm Salama.

Al-Nasāʻî also narrated it from Quṭayba, from Abū ʻAwāna, from Qatāda, from Saifina, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). He then narrated it from Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Muḥārak, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, who said, "He narrated it from Saifina who gave it similarly.'

Ahmad stated that Yūnus related to him, quoting al-Layth, from Zayd b. al-Ḥadd, from ʻAbd Allāh b. Mūhārak, from Yūnus b. Muḥammad, who said, "I watched the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), while he was dying. With him there was a vessel containing water. He would put his hand into the vessel then wipe his face with the water. Then he would say, 'O God, spare me the pangs of death.'"
Al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa’i and Ibn Maja narrated it from a hadith of al-Layth. Al-Tirmidhi categorized it as ghariib.

Imam Ahmad stated that Waki’ related to him, from Isma’il, from Mu‘aib b. Ishāq b. Ṭalḥa, from A‘īsha, who quoted the Prophet (SAAS) as saying, "It eases me that I have seen the whiteness of A‘īsha’s palm in paradise."

Ahmad is alone in giving this; its line of transmission is not bad.

This gives evidence of the intensity of the love of the Messenger of God (SAAS) for A‘īsha, may God be pleased with her.

People have made many comments relating to the magnitude of love, but none of them has reached this extent. They, moreover, exaggerate in their words that have no truth to them. These words are truth, definitely and unquestionably.

Ḥamād b. Zayd stated, from Ayyūb, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who said, "A‘īsha stated, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) died in my house. And he died between my chest and my throat. Gabriel would protect him by saying a prayer when he was sick; I started to ask God to protect him, and he raised his sight to the sky. And he said, ‘With the Highest Companion! With the Highest Companion!’"

‘ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr came in carrying a fresh date-palm leaf. He looked at it, and I thought he needed it. So I took it and chewed on it and gave it to him. He cleaned his teeth with it with more care than he ever did. He then went to give it to me, but it fell from his hand. And so God mixed my saliva with his on his last day on earth, (which was) also his first day in the Hereafter.’"

Al-Bukhari narrated it from Sulaymān b. Ḥarb, from Ḥamād b. Zayd.

Al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū ‘ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥafīz informed him, quoting Abū Nasr Ahmad b. Sahīl, the jurist at Bukhara, quoting Sāliḥ b. Muhammad al-Ḥafīz of Baghdaḏ, quoting Dā‘ūd, from ʿAmr b. Zuhayr al-Ḍabbi, quoting ʿIsā b. Yūnus, from ʿUmar b. Saʿīd b. Abū Ḥusayn, quoting Ibn Abū Mulayka (who said) that Abū ʿAmr Dhakwān, the freed-man of A‘īsha informed him that A‘īsha used to say, "It is one of God’s blessings to me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died on the day of my turn, in my house, between my chest and my neck, and that he mixed my saliva with his at his death."

She went on, "My brother came in carrying a palm-wood toothpick. I was resting the Messenger of God (SAAS), on my chest and saw him looking at the toothpick. I knew that he was accustomed to and enjoyed using them. I asked him, ‘Shall I get it for you?’ He nodded in assent. I softened it for him and he used it in his mouth. Between his hands he was holding a pot or a tin containing water. He began putting his hand in the water and wiping his face with it. After that he raised his hands and said, ‘There is no god but God! Death has its pangs.’ Then he lifted his left (fore-finger) and began saying, ‘With the Highest Companion! With the Highest Companion!’ until he died and his hand slipped into the water."

Al-Bukhari narrated this from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd), from ʿIsā b. Yūnus.
Abū Dā‘ūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated that Shu‘ba related to him, from Sa‘d b. Ibrahīm, who said that he heard Urwa quote ʿA‘īsha as having said, “We used to tell one another that a prophet would not die until given to choose between this world and the hereafter. And during the illness of the Messenger of God (SAAS), from which he died, I offered him a seed and heard him say, ‘With those prophets, holy men, martyrs and men of purity – they would be fine Companions.’ And we thought that he had been given to choose.”

Both compilers of the sāhiḥ collections gave this from Shu‘ba.

Al-Zuhri stated that Sa‘d b. al-Musayyab and ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr were among various scholars who quoted ʿA‘īsha as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to say – while healthy – that no prophet would be taken by death until he had seen his resting place in heaven and had been asked to make a choice. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) put his head down upon my thigh, he lost consciousness for a period. Then he came to and fixed his gaze upon the ceiling. He said, ‘O God, the Highest Companion!’ I know it related to what we had been talking about when he was healthy, that a prophet would not be taken in death before he had seen his resting place in heaven and had been offered a choice. So I commented, ‘Then he is not choosing (to remain with) us.’ And those words, ‘the Highest Companion’ were the final words uttered by the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Both compilers of the sāhiḥ collections gave them on more than one line of transmission from al-Zuhri. Sufyān – Sufyān al-Thawrī, that is – quoted from Ismā‘īl b. Abū Khalīd, from Abū Burda, from ʿA‘īsha, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) lost consciousness while he was in my lap. I set about wiping his face and praying for a cure for him. He said, ‘No; I ask God, the Most Gracious, the Highest Companion, with Gabriel, Mīkā‘il and Isrā‘īl.’”

Al-Nasā’ī narrated it from a ḥadīth of Sufyān al-Thawrī.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Ḥafīz and others informed them that Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Aṣāmī related to them, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, quoting Anas b. ʿİyād, from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from ʿAbbād b. ʿAbd Allah b. al-Zubayr, that ʿA‘īsha narrated to him that she heard the Messenger of God (SAAS), and listened to him before he died while resting on her chest, saying, “O God, forgive and have mercy on me; and let me join the Highest Companion!”

Both compilers of the sāhiḥ collections gave it from a ḥadīth of Hishām b. ʿUrwa.

Imām Ahmad stated that ʿAqīb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishāq, quoting Ibn ʿAbbād b. ʿAbbās b. al-Zubayr, from his father ʿAbbād, who quoted ʿA‘īsha as saying, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died between my chest and my neck and in my domain. And I did not do harm to anyone therein. And it is because of my comfort and my youth that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was taken while in my lap. Then I placed his head upon a pillow and arose to slap myself and strike my face along with the women.”
Imām Ahmad stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, quoted Kāthīr b. Zayd, from al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Allāh, who quoted ʿAṣira as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to say, ‘Every single prophet has his spirit taken, and he sees the reward and thereafter it is returned to him; and he is made to choose between having it returned to him or joining (God).’ I had learned that from him. As I rested him against my chest, I looked at him as he turned his neck and I said, ‘He has decided.’ I knew what he had said. I was looking right at him when he raised himself up and stared. I said, ‘Then, by God, he is not choosing us!’ He said, ‘With the Highest Companion, in paradise with those prophets, men of trust, martyrs and men of purity . . . fine, those men, as companions.’”

Ahmad is alone in giving this. They (the other major compilers of the traditions) did not include it.

Imām Ahmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Ḥammām, quoting Hishām b. Urwā, from his father, who quoted ʿAṣira as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while his head was between my breast and my neck. And when his soul came forth, I had never experienced a finer scent than it.”

This line of transmission is saḥīh, according to the criteria of both saḥīh collections; not one of the compilers of the six (canonical) books of traditions gave it.

Al-Bayḥaqī narrated it from a ḥadīth of Ḥanbal b. Ḥishāq, from ʿAffān. Al-Bayḥaqī stated that Abū Ḥāfiẓ Abī al-ʿAbbas al-ʿAṣamm, quoting Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār, quoting Yūnūs, from Abī Maʿṣhar, from Muhammad b. Qays, from Abūūrwa, from Umm Salama, who said, “I placed my hand upon the chest of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the day he died, and a mouthful passed on to me. And (even though) I perform the ablutions the scent of musk never leaves my hand.”

Al-Bayḥaqī stated that both ʿAffān and Bahz stated to him, “Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra related to us, quoting Ḥumayd b. Hilāl, from Abū Burda, who said, ‘I went in to visit ʿAṣira and she brought out to us a coarse wrap like those made in Yemen and one of those garments they call al-mulābbada, “closely woven”. She said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while wearing these.”’”

All the scholarly community narrated this, except for al-Nasāʾī, from several lines, back to Ḥumayd b. Hilāl. Al-Tirmidhī characterized it as hasan saḥīh.

Imām Ahmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salām, quoting Abū Imrān al-Jawātī, from Yazīd b. Bāḥānūs, who said, “I and a companion went to ʿAṣira and asked if we could visit with her. She set down a cushion for us and threw a veil over herself. My companion asked, ‘Mother of the Believers, what do you have to say about the al-ʿirāk, “the death agony”? She replied, ‘What do you imply with that word, al-ʿirāk? I knocked against my companion’s shoulder and she commented, ‘Careful! You hurt your brother!’ She went on, ‘By al-ʿirāk do you mean al-mahīd, “menstruation”? Speak what
God, Almighty and Glorious is He, said about menstruation! Well, the Messenger of God (SAAS) would put a cloak over me and touch my head. There would be a blanket between myself and him when I was menstruating.

"Whenever the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed by my door, he would speak words with which God would help me. One day he went by without saying anything. Then he passed by again twice or thrice without speaking. I told my servant girl, "Put out a cushion for me at the door." I then bandaged up my head. He passed by and asked, "What is wrong with you, 'A'isha?" "My head hurts," I replied. He commented, "And mine too!"

"Soon after that he was brought back, being borne in a cloth. He entered my quarters and sent a message to the (other) wives saying, "I am ill and unable to make my round to you. Permit me to remain with 'A'isha." I would nurse him, though I had never nursed anyone before. One day, while he was resting on my shoulder, he turned his head towards mine. I thought he wanted something from my head, but a cold discharge came from inside his mouth and fell at the opening of my neck. My skin shivered at it, and I thought he had fainted. So I covered him with a blanket.

"'Umar and al-Mughira arrived and asked to come in; I invited them in, drawing the veil over myself. 'Umar then looked at him and exclaimed, "What a faint! The Messenger of God is totally unconscious!" They both arose, and when they drew near the door, al-Mughira said, "'Umar, the Messenger of God has died." I exclaimed, "You're lying! You must be planning some mischief! The Messenger of God would not die before God had wiped out the hypocrites!"

"'Abu Bakr came. I drew aside the veil and he looked at him. Then he said, "To God we belong, and to Him we return! The Messenger of God has died!" He then moved towards his head, lowered his own mouth and kissed his forehead. He then said, "Alas for a prophet! He raised his head, lowered his mouth and kissed his forehead, saying, "Alas for a man of purity!" Again he raised his head, lowered his mouth and kissed his forehead, saying, "Alas for a bosom friend. The Messenger of God (SAAS) is dead."

"'Abu Bakr then spoke, praising and thanking God and went on to say, "God states, 'You (will be) dead and they (will be) dead' (surat al-Zumar; XXXIX, v.30), reciting the verse to its conclusion. He went on to recite, "Muhammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him. If he were to die or be killed, would you turn on your heels? And those who turn on their heels" ... (surat Al 'Imrān; III, v.143).

"'He continued, "To those of you who have been worshipping God, (I say) God is alive and will not die. To those of you who have been worshipping Muhammad, (I say) Muhammad is dead."
“Umar asked, “And is that in God’s Book? I never was aware that that was in God’s Book!” He went on, “People, this is Abū Bakr. He is the most prominent of all the Muslims. Pledge allegiance to him!” And they did pledge allegiance to him.”

Abū Da’ūd and al-Tirmidhī narrated it in al-Shamlīl, from a ḥadīth of Marhum b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-‘Aţîr, from Abū ʿĪmān al-Jawntī, who gave it in part.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfīz, quoting Abū Bakr b. Ishaq, quoting Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥṭān, quoting Yahyā b. Bukāyir, quoting al-Layth, from Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, quoting Abū Salama, from Abū Raḥmān, who stated that ʿAṭīsha told him that Abū Bakr rode in on his horse from his house in al-Sunh. He dismounted and entered the mosque, but did not speak to the people before he went in to see ʿAṭīsha. He went over to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who was shrouded in a striped cloak. He uncovered his face, bent over him, kissed him and wept. He then said, “How I wish I could ransom you with my father and mother! I swear by God, God will not ever lay upon you two deaths, and you have now suffered the death decreed for you.”

Al-Zuhri stated that Abū Salama related to him, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Abū Bakr came out while ʿUmar was speaking with the people. He said, “Sit down, ʿUmar.” But ʿUmar declined to sit. Again he said, “Sit down, ʿUmar!” but again ʿUmar declined to sit. Abū Bakr made the invocation, “I testify that there is no god but God and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God” and the people assembled around him. He then said, “To proceed, to those of you who have been worshipping Muḥammad, Muḥammad has died. To those of you who have been worshipping God, God will not die. God, Almighty is he, recited, ‘Muḥammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him. If he were to die or be killed, would you turn on your heels?’” (ṣūrat Aṭ-ʾĪmān; III, v.143).

Ibn ʿAbbās went on, “And I swear by God, it was as though the people did not know that God had revealed this verse until Abū Bakr recited it. The people all learned it from him and that was all you could hear, people reciting it.”

Al-Zuhri stated, “Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab informed me that ʿUmar said, ‘I swear by God, no sooner did I hear Abū Bakr reciting it than I knew that it was the truth and I was so awe-struck that my legs would not bear me, and I fell to the ground. And I knew, when I heard him recite it, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died.’”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Yahyā b. Bukāyir.

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī narrated through Ibn Lahiṭa, quoting Abū al-Aswad, from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr concerning the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as follows, “ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then got up to address the people, threatening anyone who might say that he died by violence. He was saying, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would be under a covering if there had been any violence.’ ʿAmr b. Qays b. Zāʿīda b. al-ʿĀṣamm b. Umm Maktūm was at the back of the mosque, 145. A suburb of Upper Medina.
reciting, ‘Muhammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him’ while the people there in the mosque were weeping in confusion, not listening.

“'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Mut'alaib then went out to the people and said, ‘People, does any one of you have any agreement from the Messenger of God (SAAS), relating to his death about which he should tell us?’ ‘No,’ they replied. He then asked, ‘Umar, do you have (any such) knowledge?’ ‘No,’ he replied.

‘Al-'Abbas went on, ‘Bear witness, people, that no one is testifying that they have any claim against the Messenger of God (SAAS), due upon his death. I swear by the God than whom there is no other, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) has tasted death.’

‘Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then arrived on his camel from al-Sun'ūl and dismounted at the door of the mosque. He came in looking grief-stricken and depressed. He asked permission to enter the apartment of his daughter ‘A>isha and she invited him in. He entered. The Messenger of God (SAAS) had died on the mattress, and the women were all around him. They veiled their faces, concealing themselves from Abū Bakr, except in the case of ‘A'isha. He uncovered the Messenger of God (SAAS), and bent over him, kissing him and weeping, saying, ‘Whatever Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb says is nothing; the Messenger of God (SAAS) is dead, by Him who holds my life in His hands! May God have mercy upon you, Messenger of God! How fine you are, alive or dead!’ He then covered him with the cloth.

Thereafter he hurried into the mosque, passing through the throng of people, and reached the minbar. ‘Umar sat down when he saw Abū Bakr approaching. Abū Bakr stood beside the minbar and called out to the people, who sat down and listened. He reiterated the shahāda several times, then said, ‘God, Almighty and Glorious is He, has announced to His Prophet his own death. Yet He is alive among you and is making announcement to you too, of death. Eventually none of you will remain – (all will die) except God, Almighty and Glorious is He. The Almighty stated, “Muhammad is no more than a messenger. And the messengers have passed away before him.”’

‘Umar asked, ‘And this verse is in the Qur'ān? By God, I never knew before today that this verse had been revealed! God Almighty did say to Muhammad, “You (will be) dead and they (will be) dead” (sūrat al-Zumar; XXXIX, v.30). And He did say, “Every thing perishes except for His face. Judgement is His, and to Him you shall be returned” (sūrat al-Qāṣās; XXVIII, v.88). And He said, “Every one upon it will pass away; and the face of Your Lord, Possessor of glory and honour, shall endure” (sūrat al-Rahmān; LV, v.26, 7). And he also said, “Every soul shall taste death and you will only receive your rewards in full on Judgement Day”’ (sūrat Āl-ʿImrān; III, v.184).

‘He (Abū Bakr) went on, ‘God gave life to Muhammad (SAAS), and kept him alive until he had established God’s religion, made God’s orders plain, delivered His message and fought in His cause. Thereafter God took him to Himself and
left you upon the path. And none shall perish except after clear signs and pain. Those whose Lord is God (shall know) that God is alive and will not die. For those who worshipped Muhammad and treated him as a god (should know) that their god has expired. Fear God, people! Hold fast to your religion and put your trust in your Lord. God’s religion is established. God’s word is complete. God will help those who support Him and who revere His religion. God’s Book is among us. It is both the light and the cure. By it God led Muhammad (SAAS). In it it states what God considers *ḥalāl*, “permissible”, and what *ḥaram*, “prohibited”. And, by God, we will not care who of God’s creation descend upon us. God’s swords are still unsheathed; we have not yet put them down. We will fight vigorously against those who oppose us, just as we fought with the Messenger of God (SAAS). Let no one depend upon other than himself.”

The *muhajirun* then left with him for the Messenger of God (SAAS). The *ḥadīth* proceeds to relate his being washed, and placed in a shroud, how prayers were spoken over him and he was buried.

I note that we will relate all this in full detail and all evidence hereafter, if God Almighty so wills it.

Al-Waqidi narrated from his sheikhs. They stated, "When there was doubt about the death of the Prophet (SAAS), some people said, ‘He is dead!’ Others said, ‘He is not dead.’ Asmā’, daughter of ‘Umayr, then placed her hand between the shoulders of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and said, ‘The Messenger of God (SAAS) is dead. And the “seal” has been removed from between his shoulders!’ It was by this that his death was known.”

The *ḥadīth* proceeds to relate his being washed, and placed in a shroud, how prayers were spoken over him and he was buried.

Al-Waqidi and others have given many reports about the death that are very strange and objectionable. We have omitted most of these, due to the weakness of their lines of transmission or the objectionable nature of their content, especially material given by many of the tellers of narratives, and others; much of that is definitely invented.

In the authentic and good *ahādīth* related in the famous works, material containing untruths and of unknown lines of transmission are avoided. And God knows best.

Section: An account of important events that occurred after the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and before his burial.

One of the most important and significant of these in consequence for Islam and its followers was the pledging of allegiance to Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, may God be pleased with him.
What happened was that on the day of the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abu Bakr had performed the al-suhb prayer with the people. At that time the Messenger of God (SAAS) had briefly recovered from the throes of the illness from which he was suffering; he had drawn aside the curtain to his apartment and had looked out at the Muslims lined up in prayer behind Abu Bakr. This sight delighted him and he smiled at the Muslims, who, in their pleasure at seeing him, were almost distracted from the prayer in which they were engaged. And Abu Bakr had been about to return to the line of worshippers, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) signalled to them to remain where they were and let down the curtain. This was their last experience of him.

When Abu Bakr had completed the prayer, he came in to him and said to ‘A’isha, “I see that the illness of the Messenger of God (SAAS) is somewhat alleviated. This is the day assigned to Bint Kharija.” He was referring to one of his two wives, who resided in al-Sunh, over towards the east side of Medina. He then mounted a horse he owned and went to his house there.

The Messenger of God (SAAS) died in the late morning of that day; some say after the sun had passed the zenith. But God knows best.

Upon his death, the Companions fell into disagreement. Some said he had died, some that he had not. Salim b. Ubayd went after Abu Bakr in al-Sunh and told him of the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS). The latter left his house when he received the news and went in to the apartment of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He drew back the covering from over his face, kissed him and established that he had died.

Then he went out to the people and, from the side of the minbar addressed them. He told them about the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS), as we have related above, and put an end to their confusion and doubt. All the people came back around him, and a number of the Companions pledged their allegiance to him in the mosque.

Some of the ansar had doubts and it occurred to certain of them that it would be acceptable to appoint one of the ansar as khalifa, “caliph”, “successor”. Others of them compromised and suggested that one leader be appointed for the muhajirin and one for the ansar. Eventually Abu Bakr made clear to them that the caliphate could only be from Quraysh. They therefore came back to him and resolved unanimously on him, as we will narrate and elucidate.

The Story of the hall of Banu Sa’ida.

Imam Ahmad stated that Isa al-Tabba related to him, quoting Malik b. Anas, quoting Ibn Shihab, from ‘Ubayd Allah b. ‘Utba b. Mas‘ud, who said that Ibn ‘Abbas reported to him that ‘Abd al-Rahman b. ‘Awf returned to his baggage. Ibn ‘Abbás stated, “I had been teaching ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf to recite and (on his return) he found me waiting for him; that was at Minâ, during the last hajj performed by ‘Umar b. al-Khattab. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Awf
said, 'A man came to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and said, "So-and-so is saying that if 'Umar were to have died, I would have pledged allegiance to so-and-so." At this 'Umar said, "I intend to stand up among the people this evening, if God so wills it, and I will warn them against that band who wish to seize power over them!"

"‘Abd al-Raḥmān went on, 'I told him, "Commander of the Believers, don't do that; the pilgrimage brings together all kinds of low-class riff-raff and they will be in the majority in your assembly should you rise to address the people. I am afraid you may say something they will report all over the place without understanding or placing in the right context. You should first arrive in Medina, the seat of the Hijra and the home of the sunna, and which only consists of scholars and the leading men. Say (in Medina) whatever you want in security. They will understand and properly interpret your words.""

"'Umar replied, "If I reach Medina safely, I certainly will tell the people of it at the first assembly I hold.""

"After reaching Medina, at the end of Dhī al-Ḥijja, when it was Friday, I hurried over in (a state of) ṣalāh. [I, (Isāq b. 'Isā al-Ṭabāt) asked Mālik, "What did the narrator mean by ṣalāh?" He replied, "It means approximately when one doesn't care what the time is or how hot or cold it may be."]

"‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf went on, 'I found Saʿd b. Zayd at the right corner of the minbar, he having preceded me there. I sat down facing him, my knee touching his. 'Umar was there right away. When I saw him, I said, "This evening he is going to speak on this minbar what no one has ever expressed before.""

"Saʿd b. 'Umar disputed this, saying, 'What might he say that no one has said before?"

"‘Umar sat on the minbar and when the muezzin had finished making the call to prayer, he got up and gave appropriate praise to God. Then he said, "To proceed, I am about to speak what it was decreed for me to say. I do not know whether it will prove to be immediately before my death. Those who listen and understand it should talk about it wherever they may travel. Those who do not understand it I do not permit to tell lies about me."

"'God sent Muhammad with the truth and revealed the Book to him. One part of what He revealed to him was the verse relating to stoning. We recited it and fully appreciated and understood it. The Messenger of God (SAAS) cast stones, and we did so after him. I fear that eventually people may say, 'We don't find any verse referring to the stoning to be present in God's Book.' And so they will go astray by abandoning an ordinance revealed by God the Almighty and Glorious. The stoning in God's Book is a punishment upon married men and women who commit adultery when proof is present, or there is a pregnancy or a confession.'"

"Moreover, we used to recite, 'Do not deny your own forebears, for it is unbelief for you to deny your forebears.' And the Messenger of God (SAAS) also said, 'Do not praise me to excess as people would do about Jesus, son of Mary. I am only a servant; say (he is), "The servant and Messenger of God."'"
"It has reached me that one of you is saying, 'If Umar had died, I would
have pledged allegiance to so-and-so.' Let no man deceive himself by saying,
'The allegiance paid to Abū Bakr was accidental and then became established.'
Indeed, it was that way, except that God prevented it causing evil. There is none
among you today who could command such allegiance as was the case for Abū Bakr. He was the best of us when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died."

"Ali, al-Zubayr and their associates withdrew to the house of Fātimah, daughter of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) while all the ansār went off in
opposition to the hall of Banū Sa'īda. The muhājīrūn assembled around Abū Bakr.

"I told him, 'Abū Bakr, let us go and join our ansār brothers.' We set off to
join them and were met by two fine men. They reported to us what the people
were doing. They asked, 'Where are you muhājīrūn going?' I replied, 'We want
to join our ansār brothers.' They replied, 'No; you should not go near them.
Make your own decision, you muhājīrūn.' I told them, 'I swear by God, we will
go to them!'

"We proceeded further and joined them in the hall of Banū Saqīfā. They
were assembled there and among them was one man heavily shrouded. I asked,
'Who is that?' They replied, 'That is Sa'd b. 'Ubāda.' I asked, 'What's wrong with
him?' They replied, 'He is ill.'

"When we sat down, their speaker arose, spoke appropriate praise for God,
and went on, 'To proceed, we are the ansār of God, the “squadron of Islam” and
you muhājīrūn are the people of the Prophet (ṢAAS). But apparently a group of
you wish to sever us from our origins and block us from gaining authority.'

"Umar continued, "When he had finished, I wanted to speak, for I had
readied a speech I much liked that I wanted to deliver before Abū Bakr and
mitigate some of his tartsness. But he was wiser and more dignified than myself,
and, by God, when I remained silent he did not omit a word that I would have
wished to utter, and he did so better.

"What he said was, 'To proceed, you fully deserve every credit of which
you spoke. However, the Arabs will recognize this authority only in this tribe of
Quraysh, for they are the finest of the Arabs in descent and residence. I therefore
recommend to you either of these two men you might prefer.' He then took my
hand and that of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. This was the only thing he had said
that I disliked. I would rather have been taken off to be beheaded without having
committed a sin, or when dying, to have had my soul succumb to temptation,
than to be given command of those that included Abū Bakr!

"One of the ansār then arose and said, 'I am, as it were, my people's
rubbing post, and their fruitful, propped-up date-palm. One ruler should come
from us, and another from you, Quraysh.'

"I asked Mālik, 'What does he mean by “rubbing post” and “fruitful,
propped up date-palm”?' He replied, 'He's saying, 'I am their most clever
man'.
“Voices rose in heated debate so that we feared a break-up. I then said, ‘Hold out your hand, Abū Bakr!’ He did so, and I pledged allegiance to him, as did all the muhājirūn and then the anṣār did so too. And we leaped upon Sa’d b. Ubāda.”

Someone shouted, ‘You have killed Sa’d!’ I responded, ‘(May) God kill Sa’d!’”

“Umar went on, ‘We felt we could not have been more successful than we had been, in having allegiance pledged to Abū Bakr. We had feared that if we had left them without there having been a pledge, one would have been made after we had left; either we would have had to accept their decision that we did not want, or we would have had to oppose them, which would have meant disaster. Allegiance made to a leader without consultation with the Muslim community is invalid for the person making it, as is that of someone who so pledges out of fear of being killed.’”

Mālik stated, “Ibn Shihāb quoted Urwa as having said, ‘The two men who met them were Uwaym b. Sā‘īda and Mā‘n b. ‘Adī.’”

Ibn Shihāb stated, “Sa’d b. al-Musayyab reported to me that the ‘rubbing post’ was al-Ḥubab b. al-Mundhir.”

The scholarly community all gave this hadith in their works, along various lines from Mālik and others, all of whom drew it from al-Zuhri.

Imām Ahmad stated that Mu‘āwiyah related to him from ‘A’mr, quoting Zā‘ida, quoting ‘Āṣim, and I have also been informed by Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, from Zā‘ida, from ‘Āṣim, from Zā‘ir, from ‘Abd Allāh – he being Ibn Mas‘ūd – who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, the anṣār said, ‘A leader from us and a leader from you.’ Umar went to them and said, ‘Anṣār, do you not know that the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered Abū Bakr to act as the people’s imām? Who of you would feel at ease taking precedence over Abū Bakr?’”

“The anṣār responded, ‘We seek refuge in God from ever taking precedence over Abū Bakr!’”

Al-Nasāʿī narrated it from Ishāq b. Rāhawayh and Ḥannād b. al-Sarrī, from Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ju‘fī, from Zā‘ida.

‘Alī b. al-Madīnī narrated it from Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, who said, “It is saḥīh. I know it only from a hadith of Zā‘ida, from ‘Āṣim.”

Al-Nasāʿī also narrated it from a hadith of Salama b. Nubayṭ, from Nubaym b. Abī Hind, from Nubayt b. Shariṭ, from Sālim b. ‘Ubayd, from ‘Umar similarly. It is also narrated from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb similarly through another line of transmission.


146. The Arabic phrase given is wa nazawa‘allī Sa‘d, that is, we “jumped upon”, “mounted!” or “served” Sa‘d. Sa‘d had offered an anṣārī candidate for Caliph. The text suggests that the muhājirūn had thwarted Sa‘d’s plans, rather than done violence to him. In any case, Sa‘d, an important figure in the early history of Islam, went into retirement thereafter and died some two years after ‘Umar’s accession to the caliphate.
said, ‘Muslims, the one most worthy of the authority of the Prophet of God should be the second of the two who were in the cave;’ and Abū Bakr is the foremost and the senior (candidate).’

‘I then went to take his hand but an anṣār anticipated me and touched his hand before I did. I then took his hand and the (other) people followed.’

Muḥammad b. Sa’d narrated it from ʻĀrim b. al-Faḍl, from ʻHammād b. Zayd, from Yahyā b. Sa’d, from al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. His account is similar to the above; he gave the name of the man who preceded ʻUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr as Bashīr b. Sa’d, the father of al-Nu‘mān b. Bashīr.

An Account of the recognition by Sa’d b. ʻUbāda of the truth of what Abū Bakr stated that day at the hall.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʻAffān related to him, quoting Abū ʻAwana, from Dā‘ūd b. ʻAbd Allāh al-Azdi, from Ḥumayd b. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān, who said, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was in his summer residence outside Medina.

‘He arrived, uncovered his face and kissed him, saying, ‘Would that my mother and my father could ransom you! There was none finer than you, alive or dead! Muḥammad has died, by the lord of the ka’ba.’”

He went on to narrate the ḥadīth as above and stated, “Abū Bakr and ʻUmar hurried off and joined them. Abū Bakr spoke, omitting nothing that had been revealed about the anṣār or that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said about them. He stated, ‘You well know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘If the people were to take a path along a valley while the anṣār followed a different one, I would take that of the anṣār.’ You well know, Sa’d, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said – while you were seated – ‘Quraysh are those entrusted with this authority. Those of the people who are righteous are but followers of the righteous (of Quraysh), while the sinners would do the same.’ Sa’d said to him, ‘You are right; we are the viziers, you the princes!’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʻĀlī b. ʻAbbās related to him, quoting al-Walid b. Muslim, quoting Yazīd b. Sa’d b. Dhū ʻĀdwan al-ʻAbst, from ʻAbd al-Malik b. ʻUmayr al-Lakhmi, from Rāfī al-Ṭāhī, the companion of Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, on the expedition to Dhū al-Salāsil, who said, “I asked him what had been said when allegiance was pledged to him. He replied, (while telling him what the anṣār had been discussing, what he had said to them and what ʻUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb had said to the anṣār) and he reminded them of my being appointed their imām by order of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), during his illness. And they therefore pledged allegiance to me, and I accepted this from them. I was worried that (otherwise) there would be unrest after which would come secession.’”

The line of transmission for this is excellent and strong.

The implication of this is that Abū Bakr only accepted the appointment as imām due to his concern that there would be unrest worse than if he had refused to accept it.

I note that this activity took place during the remainder of that Monday. On the morning of the following day, Tuesday, the people gathered in the mosque where the pledge of allegiance was made by the entire body of the muhājirīn and the anṣār. This preceded the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hishām, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrt, who quoted Anas b. Malik as having said that he heard the final address when ‘Umar sat upon the minbar. That was the day following that of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Abū Bakr was there, not speaking. ‘Umar said, “What I wanted was for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to live on until he dabbarana” — by this word” he meant until he was the last one of them alive — “however, even if he has died, God has placed among you a light by which you may be guided. God led Muḥammad (ṢAAS) aright; Abū Bakr, his Companion and ‘the second of two’ is the Muslim most fitted to have authority over you. Come forward and pledge allegiance to him.”

A group had pledged allegiance to him before that, in the hall of Banū Sāʿīda; the general pledge occurred at the minbar.

Al-Zuhrt quoted Anas b. Malik as having said, “I heard ‘Umar say that day to Abū Bakr, ‘Mount the minbar.’ And he kept on saying this until Abū Bakr did mount the minbar and there was a general pledge of allegiance made to him.”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq stated that al-Zuhrt quoted to him Anas b. Malik as having said, “When Abū Bakr received the pledge of allegiance in the hall, it being the day after (the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS)), Abū Bakr was seated on the minbar. ‘Umar arose and spoke prior to Abū Bakr. He spoke appropriate words of praise and thanks to God, then he said, ‘People, I made a new address to you yesterday, one I did not find in God’s Book, and one that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had not authorized me to deliver. However, I had thought that he would dabbara us’ — he meant ‘be the last of us’. ‘God has preserved among you His Book by which He gave guidance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). If you adhere to it, then God will lead you to that to which He led him. God has given responsibility for your affairs to the very best man among you, the Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), the second of two when they were together in the cave; arise and pledge allegiance to him.’

“And the people did make a general pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr after the pledge made at the hall.

“Abū Bakr then spoke. He gave appropriate praise and thanks to God, then said, ‘To proceed: people, I have assumed authority over you, even though I am not the best of you. If I do well, then help me. If I err, then set me straight.

148. The word can also, more normally, mean “organize”, “arrange”.
Honesty is loyalty; dishonesty is perfidy. It is the weak among you who are powerful in my view until I can do away with their infirmity. It is the strong among you who are weak until I can draw forth from them the right, if God so wills it. No people abandons the fight for God’s cause without God afflicting them with degradation. Depravity never spreads over a people without God making them experience calamity. Obey me for as long as I obey God and His Messenger. If I disobey God and His Messenger, then I should expect no obedience from you. Proceed with your prayer, and may God have mercy upon you!”

This has a line of transmission that is sahih.

His statement, “I have assumed authority over you, even though I am not the best of you” stems from (a sense) of forbearance and modesty. They were united in belief that he was the most virtuous and best of them, may God be pleased with them all.


‘‘The spokesman for the anṣār arose and said, “You should know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one of the muhājarīn and that his successor will be from the muhājarīn. We have been the anṣār, ‘the Helpers’, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and we will be the anṣār of his caliph, just as we were his anṣār.’

ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb then arose and said, “Your speaker is correct. If you had said anything other than this, we would not have agreed with you.” He then took the hand of Abū Bakr and said, “This is your leader; pledge allegiance to him.” ʿUmar pledged allegiance to him, as did the muhājarīn and the anṣār.’

He went on, “Abū Bakr mounted the minbar and, looking out into their faces, he did not see al-Zubayr. And so he summoned al-Zubayr and said, ‘I ask, would you, the nephew of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his disciple, wish to break asunder the staff of the Muslims?’ He replied, ‘Let there be no reproof, Caliph of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ And he arose and made his pledge of allegiance to him.

“Abū Bakr then looked out into the faces of the people and did not see ʿAlī. He then summoned ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb, and he came. Abū Bakr said, ‘I ask, would the nephew of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and his son-in-law, wish to break asunder the staff of the Muslims?’ He replied, ‘Let there be no reproof, Caliph of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ And he pledged to him his allegiance. This is approximately what was said.”
Abū Ḍali al-Ḥafīẓ stated, “I heard Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq b. Khuzayma say, ‘Muslim b. Ḍalāl came to me and asked me about this ḥadīth; I wrote it down for him on a scrap (of cloth) and read it aloud to him.’

“This ḥadīth is worth a camel offered in sacrifice.”

I say it certainly is; indeed, it is worth a whole hoard of cash!

Al-Bayhaqī then narrated it from al-Ḥakīm and Abū Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Maṣḥūrī, both of whom quoted from Abū al-ʿAbbāṣ Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-ʿĀshāmī, from Jāfār b. Muḥammad b. Shākir, from ʿAffān b. Ṣalām, from Wuhayb. However, he reported that it was Abū Bakr, not ʿUmar, who responded to the ʿanṣār spokesman. And in that account he stated that it was Zayd b. Thābit who took the hand of Abū Bakr and said, “This is your leader; pledge him allegiance.” He stated that, “They then left, and when Abū Bakr mounted the minbar, he looked out into the faces of the people there and, not seeing ʿAlī, asked after him. Some of the ʿanṣār then got up and brought him.” He proceeded thereafter to refer to the account relating to al-Ẓubayr. God knows best.

Imām ʿAḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated it from trusted authorities from Wuhayb, in abbreviated form. ʿAlī b. ʿAṣīm narrated it from al-Jaʿārī, from Abū ʿNaḍra, from Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī. His account is similar to the above.


This account has clear value; it refers to the pledge of allegiance made by ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālīb, either on the first day or the second following the death. This is true. For ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālīb never once, at any time, opposed Abū Bakr and never failed to be present behind him at any one of the prayers, as we will relate. He also went out with him to Dhu ʿQiṣṣa when Abū Bakr proceeded forth, his sword unsheathed, to do battle with those in secession from Islam.

However, when it so happened that Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, criticized Abū Bakr because she fancied that she had rights to inherit from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), this was due to her not having known what Abū Bakr told her of the latter’s statement, “What we leave shall not be inherited but will become a ṣadaqa, ‘a charitable trust’”. He therefore blocked her and others of the wives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as well as his uncle from the inheritance, due to this clear statement as we will explain in its proper place. She then asked him that ʿAlī look into the land at Khaybar and Fadak made into a ṣadaqa. Abū Bakr did not, however, respond favourably in this because he – that man who was truthful, pious, upright and virtuous – thought it his duty to administer all those matters entrusted to him by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She, a very human woman with no aspirations for infallibility, felt resentful and angry and never again spoke to Abū Bakr before she died. ʿAlī was obliged to respect her feelings somewhat. When she died, some six months following the death of her father (ṢAAS), ʿAlī thought it best to renew his pledge of allegiance
to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, in addition to the pledge he had made earlier, prior to the burial of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

The authenticity of all this is further established by the statement made by Musa b. Uqba in his work on the military expeditions of the Prophet (SAAS). In it he quotes from Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm, quoting his father, to the effect that his father, Ābd al-Raḥmān b. Āwff, was with Umar and that Muḥammad b. Maslama broke the sword of al-Zubayr.

(The hadith states) “Abū Bakr then made an address in which he apologized to the people, saying, ‘I was never ambitious for power, not for a single day or night; I never asked for it, secretly or openly.’ And the muhājirūn accepted his statement.”

‘Alī and al-Zubayr both stated, “The only thing that angered us is that we were too late for the mashūrā, ‘the consultation activity’. We consider that Abū Bakr is the most deserving of the people for power. He is the ‘companion of the cave’ and we well know his nobility and goodness. And the Messenger of God (SAAS) did, while alive, appoint him to lead the people in prayer.”

The line of transmission for this is excellent. And to God be all praise and credit.

DIVISION

Anyone contemplating what we have been reporting will clearly recognize that the precedence awarded by both the muhājirūn and the anṣūr to Abū Bakr was unanimous. They will see in this proof of the statement made by the Messenger of God (SAAS) that “God and the Believers would reject anyone but Abū Bakr”.

It will be apparent to them, nevertheless, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not assign the caliphate to any specific person, not to Abū Bakr, as one group of the orthodox maintain, nor to ‘Alī, as a group of the al-rafi‘ū, “the rejectionists”, argue.

He did, however, make an indication (of preference) so strong that any person of perception and intelligence would recognize, for Abū Bakr, as we have shown above and will refer to hereafter. And to God be praise.

It is similarly established in both hadith collections from a hadith of Hishām b. ‘Urwa, from his father, from Ibn ‘Umar, that when ‘Umar was stabbed, he was asked, “Will you not appoint a successor, Commander of the Believers?” He replied, “If I were to appoint a successor, someone better than myself did so” — meaning Abū Bakr — “and if I do not, someone else better than myself did not” — meaning the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Ibn ‘Umar went on, “I knew, when he mentioned the Messenger of God (SAAS), that he was not going to appoint a successor.”

149. From the verb rafī‘a, “reject”, the term, sometimes used perjoratively, is applied to the Shi‘i community of Islam who “rejected” the legitimacy of the succession to the caliphate of al-shaykhayn, “the two elders”, Abū Bakr and ‘Umar.
Sufyān al-Thawrī stated that ‘Amr b. Qays quoted ‘Amr b. Sufyān as having said, “When ‘Ali took command over the people, he said, ‘People, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left us no instructions regarding power. We considered it appropriate to appoint Abū Bakr as his successor. And he took various action, and so it went until he passed away. Then Abū Bakr decided to appoint ‘Umar as his successor. And he took various actions and so it went till he passed away’ — or he said, ‘until his authority was formally established’. And so on.”

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū Nu‘aym related to him, quoting Shurayk, from al-Aswād b. Qays, from ‘Amr b. Sufyān, who said, “A man made an address at the battle of Basra at which ‘Ali was victorious and ‘Ali spoke, saying, ‘(Regarding) this uneven speaker, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) came first, Abū Bakr came second and ‘Umar came third. After them we were rocked by disorders in which God performed His will.’”

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Hāfiz informed him, quoting Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ahmad al-Zakī of Merv, quoting ‘Abd Allah b. Rawlī al-Madīm, quoting Shabāb b. Sawwār, quoting Shu‘ayb b. Maymūn, from Ḥuṣayn b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, from al-Shābī, from Abū Wā’il, who said, “‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalib was asked, ‘Will you not appoint a successor over us?’ He replied, ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not appoint a successor, so should I appoint one? If God wishes the people well, He will unite them, after me, behind the best man among them, as He united them behind the best man among them after their prophet.’”

The line of transmission for this is excellent; the compilers of the sahih collections did not give it.

We have quoted hereabove al-Bukhārī’s account of the ḥadīth of al-Zuhri, from ‘Abd Allah b. Ka‘b b. Mālik, from Ibn ‘Abbas, to the effect that when ‘Abbas and ‘Ali came away from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), a man asked them, “How is the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) this morning?” ‘Ali responded, “Thanks be to God, he is recovered.” Al-‘Abbas then said, “Three days from now, I swear by God, you will be ‘slave of the staff’. I well know how members of Banu Hashim look when near death. And I see death in the face of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Let us go to him and ask him to whom rule will go. If to us, then we will know it; if to someone other than us, we can tell him and he (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) can tell him to care for us,” ‘Ali said, “I’ll not ask him that, I swear by God. If he refused it to us, the people would never give it to us after him.”

Muḥammad b. Ishāq gave this from al-Zuhri. That account, “They both went in to him the day the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died”, ends with the words “and he died when the heat grew intense of the late morning of that day”.

I note that this was a Monday, the day on which he died; this is evidence that the Prophet (ṢAAS) died without leaving a testamentary statement concerning the leadership.
In both *sahih* collections Ibn 'Abbās is quoted as having stated, "It was truly disastrous that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was prevented from writing that document."

We have narrated above how the Prophet (ṢAAS) sought to write a document for them after which they would not go astray, and how, when disputes and differences were expressed in his presence, he said, "Leave me alone; my present condition is better than that to which you invite me."

We also quoted him above as having stated thereafter, "God and the Believers would reject anyone but Abu Bakr."

In both *sahih* collections it is stated from a *hadith* of 'Abd Allah b. 'Awn, from Ibrahim al-Taymi, that al-Aswad is quoted as having said, "Someone told 'A'isha that people were saying that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement appointing 'Ali as his successor. She asked, 'Regarding what?' He did ask for a bowl in which to urinate while I was resting him against my chest, and he then turned aside and died, without my sensing it. How is it they say he made a testamentary statement appointing 'Ali as his successor?""

In both *sahih* collections it is stated from a *hadith* of Malik b. Mighwāl which quotes Talha b. Muṣrif as saying, "I asked 'Abd Allah b. Abu Awfā whether the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had made a testamentary statement. He replied, 'No.' I asked, 'So he made us no testamentary statement?' He replied, 'He commended to us the Book of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.'"

Talha b. Muṣrif stated that Hudhayl b. Shuraqāl said, "Abū Bakr is behaving like a ruler on the basis of a testamentary statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! Abū Bakr wishes he had found some (written) testament from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), but the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died (without doing so)." Abū Bakr would have been delighted – if he had found a testament from the Prophet (ṢAAS) to have applied it diligently.

It is also stated in both *sahih* collections, from a *hadith* of al-A'mash, from Ibrahim al-Taymi, who quotes his father as having said, "'Ali b. Abū Ṭalib, may God be pleased with him, made an address to us in which he said, 'Whoever claims that we have anything to read that is not in God's Book and on this sheet' – referring to a sheet suspended on his sword that contained some camel's teeth and items taken from wounds – 'is telling lies!'"

Concerning it (the sheet) he said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated (in it), 'Medina is sacrosanct, from Mt. Ayr to Mt. Thawr. Whoever commits a sin inside it or provides sanctuary for someone who has sinned shall have upon him the curses of God, the angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation. Anyone claiming descent from someone not his father or who claims connection to those not his protectors shall have upon him the curses of God, the angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation. Inviolability of Muslims, even those of the lowest ranks, is all one; any person who violates his pact with a Muslim shall be cursed by God, the
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angels and the people combined. God will not accept from him on Judgement Day any repentance or compensation.”

This *ḥadīth* established in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections and elsewhere from ‘All, may God be pleased with him, refutes the claim of the ‘rejectionist’ faction that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement appointing him to the succession. Were it to have been as they claim, none of the Companions would have rejected it. They were too obedient to God and to His Messenger, both during his life and after his death, to use their own judgement contrary to his and to give their preference to someone other than his choice, or to downgrade someone to whom he had given preference in his own test. Far from it, definitely, and why ever?

Whoever would think that of the Companions, may God be pleased with them, any would have ascribed to them sinfulness and collusion in resistance to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and opposition to his decision and his document? Anyone who reaches this point has taken off the mantle of Islam and expressed disbelief in the concensus of the famous *imāms*. Spilling the blood of such persons would be more permissible than the spilling of wine!

Moreover, if ‘All b. Abu Talib, may God be pleased with him, did in fact possess a document why did he not use it to argue against the Companions to establish his power over them and his role as their *imām*?

If he could not put into effect that document, then he was weak, and a weakling is not fit for power. If he were able and did not act, then he was a traitor; and such a sinful traitor should be denied and kept away from power. If he did not know of the existence of the document, then he was ignorant.

And then could others after him have known of it? This is impossible – a lie, foolishness and error.

This would only seem appropriate to persons of ignorance and depravity, human beings who are totally misled. Satan provides embellishment for them without evidence or proof but with mere use of imagination, irrationality, mendacity and false accusations.

Refuge is to be sought with God from the delirium, inadequacy, madness and disbelief they suffer, refuse with God by adherence to the *sunna*, the Qurʾān, fidelity to Islam and to faith, by reliance upon certainty, the weight of evidence, to escape the flames and to attain heaven. And God is Munificent, Benign, Merciful and Compassionate.

In this *ḥadīth* from ‘All, firmly based in both *ṣaḥīḥ* collections that we have given above, there is refutation of the claims made by those numerous ignorant cultists and storytellers who claim that the Prophet (ṢAAS) made a testamentary statement awarding him power. Their statements asserting this are many and various, claiming that the Prophet (ṢAAS) told him, “‘All, do this!”’; “‘All, do not do that”’. “‘All, anyone doing this and that would be such-and-such.” They employ phraseology that is weak and express concepts that are largely absurd.
Many of their statements are on paper and are not worth the ink! But God knows best.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi gave a hadith through Hammād b. 'Amr al-Naṣībī – he being one of those unmitigated liars – from al-Sarrt b. Khallād, from Jāfār b. Muhammad, from his father, from his grandfather, from 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalīb, who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "'Ali, I am entrusting a commandment to you; honour it and you will be well for as long as you keep to it. 'Ali, the believer is distinguished by three characteristics – prayer, fasting and payment of the zakāt."

Al-Bayhaqi went on, "He proceeded to give a lengthy hadith concerning motivations and morals. The hadith is fabricated. And I stipulated at the beginning of the book that I would not include any hadith I know to be fabricated."

He proceeded to relate through Hammād b. 'Umar, this being from Zayd b. Rufay', from Makhūl al-Shāmī, who said, "This is what the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated to 'Ali b. Abū Ṭalīb when he returned from the military expedition to Ḥunayn and surat al-Nāsir (CX) was revealed to him."

Al-Bayhaqi stated, "He went on to relate a long hadith concerning al-fīma, 'civil disorder'; this too is an objectionable hadith that is without proper foundation. Yet there are enough authentic aḥādīth; success is through God."

Let us here offer comments made upon the life of Hammād b. 'Amr b. Abū Ismā'īl al-Nasībī. It is narrated from al-A'mash and others, as well as from Ibrahim b. Musa, Muhammad b. Māhrūn, Mūsā b. Ayyūb and others. Yahyā b. Maʻān stated, "He is one of those who lie and who fabricate aḥādīth." 'Amr b. 'Ali al-Fallas and Abū Jātīm stated, "His aḥādīth are objectionable; very weak." Ibrahim b. Ya'qūb al-Jawzānī said, "He would lie." Al-Bukhārī stated, "His aḥādīth are objectionable." Abū Zur'a said, "His aḥādīth are feeble." Al-Nasa'ī stated, "To be ignored." Ibn Hibbān said, "Completely fabricates aḥādīth." Ibn ʻAdi stated, "His whole body of aḥādīth are such that none of the trustworthy authorities quote him." Al-Dārquṭnī said, "Weak." Al-Ḥakīm Abū ʻAbd Allāh commented, "He narrates from the trustworthy authorities aḥādīth that are fabricated; he is simply notorious."

And then there is the hadith given by the ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī, who stated that Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh al-ʻ Ḥāfīz related, quoting ʻAmīn b. al-ʻAbbās al-ʻAQābī of Baghdād, quoting ʻAbd Allāh b. Rawḥ al-Madāfīnī, quoting Sallām b. Sulaymān al-Madāfīnī, quoting Sallām b. Sulaym al-Ṭawīl, from ʻAbd al-Malik b. ʻAbd al-ʻRahmān, from al-ʻHasān al-Maqbūrī, from al-ʻAshāth b. Ṭalq, from Murra b. Ṣhārāhīl, from ʻAbd Allāh b. Masʻūd, who said, "When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became seriously ill, we gathered in Ṭiṣa's home. As the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) looked over at us, his eyes welled with tears. He then told us, 'The time for the parting is near.' And he went on to tell us of his impending death. He then said, 'Welcome to you all; may God give you long life. May He give you guidance, help, benefit, success, instruction,
protection, support and acceptance. I commend you to fear of God; I commend you to God and ask Him to take charge of you. I am to you all a clear harbinger, warning you not to go against God by being haughty towards His worshippers and His land. God said to me and to you, "That abode, the Hereafter, We assign to those who do not seek self-agrandisement on earth or iniquity; reward shall come to the pious" (sūrat al-Qaṣaṣ; XXVIII, v.83). He also stated, "Is there not in hell an abode for the conceited?" (sūrat al-Zumar; XXXIX, v.60).

'We asked him, 'When will your death come, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'It is near; as is the return to God, to the al-sidrat al-muntahā,' to the most bountiful cup and the highest furnishings.' We asked, 'Who is it who will wash you (after death), Messenger of God?' He replied, 'The very closest menfolk of my household, along with many angels who see you from where you do not see them.' We asked, 'In what should we shroud you, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'In these clothes of mine, if you wish, or in a Yemeni cloth or a white one from Egypt.'

'We asked, 'Who will pray over you, Messenger of God?' He wept and we did so too. He said, 'Easy! May God forgive you and reward you well on behalf of your Prophet! When you have washed me, embalmed me, wound me in a shroud and placed me at the edge of my grave, then depart from me for a while. The first person to pray for me shall be my two Companions and friends, Gabriel and Mikaʾil, then Isrāʾīl, then the angel of death, along with troops of angels, upon whom be peace. Let the men of my own household begin prayers for me; then the women, then let others come in groups and as individuals. Do not harm me by weeping, lamenting or screaming. Give my greetings to those of my Companions who are absent. I ask you to bear witness that I send greetings to all who have entered into Islam and to those who have followed me in this faith of mine, from this day and on to the Day of Judgement.' We said, 'Who will place you in your grave, Messenger of God?' He replied, 'The very closest of the men of my household, along with many angels who see you from where you do not see them.'"

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, "Aḥmad b. Yūnus concurred with him, quoting from Sallām al-Ṭawīl. Sallām al-Ṭawīl is the only person who gave this."

I note that his refers to Sallām b. Ṣalam, known as Ibn Ṣalīm and also as Ibn Sulaymān. The first version is more correct – (in full) al-Ṭamīmī al-Sağīr al-Ṭawīl. It is narrated from Jaʿfar al-Ṣadīq, Ḥumayd al-Ṭawīl and Zayd al-ʿĀmir and a group. From Sallām a group of persons quote, including Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus, Asad b. Mūsā, Khalaf b. Ḥishām al-Bazzār, ʿAlī b. al-Jaʾd and Qaḥīs b. ʿAqība.


150. The reference is to a lote tree that grows to the right side of the throne of God.
However, the ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār narrated this hadīth with this entire text from a line that does not include this Sallām. He stated that Muhammad b. Ismā'īl al-ʿAlmasi narrated it to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Muhārib, from Ibn al-Isbahānī, who quoted it from Murra, from ʿAbd Allāh. He gives the hadīth in full.

Al-Bazzār then stated that this hadīth was narrated from Murra, from several closely similar lines, and that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Isbahānī did not hear this from Murra. However, it is given from those who related it from Murra. I know of no one who narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh quoting from Murra.

Section: Accounts of the time at which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died, his age at the time of his death, how he was washed, placed in a shroud and buried, and the site of his grave.

There is no disagreement over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) having died on a Monday.

Ibn ʿAbbās stated, “Your Prophet (ṢAAS) was born, became a prophet, left Mecca as a muhājir, entered Medina and died, all on Mondays.”

Imām ʿĀlim and al-Bayḥaṭī both narrated this.

Sufyān al-Thawrī stated, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, who quoted ʿAʾisha as having said, “Abū Bakr asked me, ‘On what day did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) die?’ I answered, ‘On Monday.’ ‘I hope I die on that day,’ he commented. And he did so.”

Al-Bayḥaṭī narrated this from a hadīth of al-Thawrī.

Imām ʿĀlim stated that Aswād b. ʿAmīr narrated to him, quoting Ḥuraym, quoting Ibn Isḥāq, from Ābd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿAʾisha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday; he was buried on the night of the Wednesday.”

ʿĀlim is alone in giving this.

Urwa b. al-Zubayr stated in his work on the military campaigns, as did Mūsā b. Uqba from Ibn Shihab (who said), “When the pain of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became severe, ʿAʾisha sent a message to Abū Bakr, and she dispatched Ḥafṣa to ʿUmar and Fāṭima to ʿAlī. However, they did not gather together until the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had died, while resting on ʿAʾisha’s chest and on the day scheduled for his visit to her. This was on Monday, as the sun passed its zenith, early in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal.”

Abū Yaḥḥāf stated that Abū Khayyāma related to him, quoting Ibn ʿUyayna, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “The last look I had at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was on the Monday. He withdrew the screen; there were people behind the screen and others behind Abū Bakr. His face appeared to me like a sheet of a document. The people wanted to move away, but he gestured to them to stay. He then drew the screen across. He died late in that day.”
This *hadith* is in the * Sahih * collections; it provides evidence that the death occurred after the sun had passed the zenith. But God knows best.

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān narrated, from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb, and from ʿAṣfāwīn, from ʿUmr b. ʿAbd al-ʿWāḥid, both of whom quoted from al-Awzāʿī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday before the middle of the daytime.”


Al-Waqidi stated that Abū Maʿṣhar related to him, from Muḥammad b. Qays, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, before the middle of the daytime.”

This was the assertion made by Muḥammad b. Saʿd, his scribe. He added, “And he was buried on the Tuesday.”

Al-Waqidi stated that Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū al-ʿAbyāq related to him, from al-Maqbūrī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Rāfiʿ, from Umm Salama, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, before the middle of the daytime. While the pain was light, he continued to perform the prayer; when it became severe, Abū Bakr performed it in his stead.”

Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, before the middle of the daytime. While the pain was light, he continued to perform the prayer; when it became severe, Abū Bakr performed it in his stead.”

Al-Waqidi stated, “That is what is fully established among us. Muḥammad b. Saʿd, his scribe, asserted it.”

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān quoted Yahyā b. Bukayr as having said that al-Layth stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died on Monday, before the middle of the daytime.”
Sa’d b. Ibrāhīm al-Zuhri stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday, two days after the beginning of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, at the end of ten years after his arrival in Medina.”

Ibn ‘Asakir narrated this. Al-Waqidī narrated it from Abū Ma‘ṣhar, from Muḥammad b. Qays, exactly as above. Khalīfa b. Khayyāt also stated this.

Abū Nu‘aym al-Fadl b. Dukayn stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday at the beginning of Rabi‘ al-Awwal in 11 AH, the year of his arrival in Medina. Ibn ‘Asakir narrated it also.

It was narrated above from Urwa and Mūsā b. ʿUqba and al-Zuhri also, as we quoted from the works of the military expeditions. But God knows best.

What is most widely known is the statements made by Ibn Ishaq and al-Waqidī. Al-Waqidī narrated it from Ibn ʿAbbas and ʿA‘isha, may God be pleased with them both. He stated that Ibrāhīm b. Yāzīd related to him, from Ibn Ṭāwnts, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbbas, and Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh related to him from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, from ʿA‘isha. Both accounts stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday, twelve days following the beginning of Rabi‘ al-Awwal.

Ibn Ishaq narrated it from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr b. Ḥazm, from his father in similar words; he added, “and he was buried on the night of Wednesday”.

Saʿīd b. ʿUmar narrated, from Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-ʿArzami, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqsam, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had completed his farewell pilgrimage, he travelled back to Medina, where he remained for the rest of Dhū al-Ḥijja, al-Muḥarram and Ṣafar. He died on a Monday, ten days after the beginning of Rabi‘ al-Awwal.”

It is also narrated from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa. In a hadith of Fāṭima from Urwa, from ʿA‘isha, the statement is similar, except that Ibn ʿAbbās initially stated, “some days having passed since its beginning”. And ʿA‘isha’s wording given was, “after some days of it had passed”.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī stated in his work al-Rawād words to the effect that it is impossible to conceive of him (the Prophet (SAAS)) having died on Monday, the 12th of Rabi‘ al-Awwal of 11 AH. That is because the Messenger of God (SAAS) was present at one of the stations on the ḥijjat al-wādi‘ of 10 AH on a Friday. The first day of Dhū al-Ḥijja was a Thursday. On the basis of calculating the months thereafter either as full in length or shortened, or any combination of these, it is unimaginable that the 12th of Rabi‘ al-Awwal could have been a Monday.

This conclusion, made in these words, has become widely known.

A number of scholars have attempted to refute this. It can only, however, be refuted in one way, by there having been a difference in the moon’s rising. This view required the people of Mecca to have seen the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijja on the night of the Thursday, while the people of Medina did not see it until the night of the Friday.
This is supported by the statement of 'A'isha, and others as well, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) left Medina on the *hijjat al-wadā* five days prior to the end of Dhū al-Qa'da.

It is clearly established, as we noted above, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) set forth (on the pilgrimage) on Saturday, not on Thursday as Ibn Ḥazm asserted, for he remained (away) for more than five days, without doubt. It is not possible that he left on the Friday, because Anas stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) performed the al-*zuhr* prayer of four *rakā'at* in Medina and the al-*fajr* prayer of two *rakā'at* at Dhu al-Ḥulayfah. It is well established that he left (there) on Saturday, five days before the end of that month.”

In light of this, the people of Medina saw the new moon of Dhū al-Ḥijjah on the eve of Friday. If that was on the first day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, a Friday, with the people of Medina and the months thereafter are calculated in full, then the first day of Rabi' al-Awwal would be a Thursday, and the twelfth day would be a Monday. But God knows best.

It is established in both *ṣaḥiḥ* collections from a *ḥadīth* of Mālik, from Rabī‘a b. Abū al-Raḥmān, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was neither very tall, nor short. He was neither pure white nor deep brown. His hair was neither curly nor straight. God, the Almighty and Glorious, gave him His mission when he was forty years old. He resided in Mecca ten (more) years and then for ten years in Medina. God took him to Himself early in his sixtieth year. At that time he did not have twenty white hairs in his head and beard.”

Ibn Wahb narrated it thus, from ‘Urwa, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, and from Qurra b. Rabī‘a, from Anas, similarly to the above.

The *ḥadīth* Ibn ‘Abdīlkhâr stated, “The *ḥadīth* of Qurra from al-Zuhri is *gharib*. However, the account of Rabī‘a from Anas is narrated thus by a group (of scholars).”

He then gave it with a line of transmission through Sulaymān b. Bilāl, from Yāḥyā b. Sa‘īd and Rabī‘a from Anas, (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS), was sixty-three years old when he died.

He then gave it through Malik; al-Awza‘ī, Mis‘ar, Ibrāhīm b. Ṭahmān, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar, Sulaymān b. Bilāl, Anas b. Bilāl, Anas b. Ayād, al-Dārāwīdī and Muhammad b. Qays al-Madānī all gave it from Rabī‘a, from Anas, who stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died when he was sixty years of age.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū al-Ḥusayn b. Bishrūn reported to him, quoting Abū ‘Amr b. al-Sammāk, quoting Ḥanbāl b. Iḥṣāq, quoting Abū Ma‘mar ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr, quoting ʿAbd al-Wārīth, quoting Abū Ḥalīl b. al-Bahlī, who said, “I asked Anas b. Malik, ‘How old was the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he received his mission?’ He replied, ‘He was forty years of age.’ ‘What happened then?’ I asked. He replied, ‘He was in Mecca for ten years and then ten in Medina. He had reached sixty by the time he was taken by God, the Almighty and Glorious. He was the strongest, finest, most handsome and well-built of men.’”
Imām Aḥmad narrated it from ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. ʿAbd al-Wārizh, from his father. Muslim narrated from Abū Ghassān Muḥammad b. ʿAmr al-Ražī, known as Rubayy, from Ḥakkām b. Salm, from ʿUṯmān b. Zāʿīda, from al-Zubayr b. ʿAdī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three; Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three, and ʿUmar similarly, when he too was sixty-three.”

It is established in both sahīh collections from a ḥadīth of al-Layth b. Saʿd, from Ṭaʿlīl, from al-Zuhri, who quoted ʿAʾisha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-three.”

Al-Zuhri stated that it was reported to him similarly by Saʿd b. al-Musayyab. Mūsā b. Uqba, ʿUqayl, Yūnus b. Yazīd and Ibn Jurayj narrated it from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, from ʿAʾisha. She said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three.” Al-Zuhri stated, “And Saʿd b. al-Musayyab told it to me similarly.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nuʿaym narrated to him, quoting Shaybān, from Yahyā b. Abū Katthir, from Abū Salāmā, from ʿAʾisha, and Ibn ʿAbbas, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained in Mecca for ten years receiving revelation of the Qurān, and also ten years in Medina. Muslim did not include it.

Abū Dāʿūd al-Tayālīst stated in his musnad collection that Shuʿba related to him, from Abū ʿIṣḥāq, from ʿĀmīr b. Saʿd, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Muʿāwiya b. Abū Suʿfān, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) died when he was sixty-three years old. Abū Bakr also died at age sixty-three, as did ʿUmar.”

Muslim narrated it thus from a ḥadīth of Gḥundar, from Shuʿba. It is one of the ḥadīths that he alone gives, one not included by al-Bukhārī. Some give its line of transmission from ʿĀmīr b. Saʿd, from Muʿāwiya. The correct line is as we have given it, from ʿĀmīr b. Saʿd, from Jarīr, from Muʿāwiya.

We also narrated it through ʿĀmīr b. ʿAṣārīl, from al-Shaʿbtī, from Jarīr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bajālī, from Muʿāwiya.

The ḥāṣīb Ibn ʿAṣākir gave it through al-Qaṣīd Abū Yūsuf, from Yahyā b. Saʿd al-Anṣārī, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-three. Abū Bakr died when he was sixty-three, as did ʿUmar.”

Ibn Lāḥūṣī stated, from Abū al-ʿAswād, from Urwa, from ʿAʾisha, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) and Abū Bakr made mention of their ages at my home. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was older than Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at the age of sixty-three; Abū Bakr died after him, also at the age of sixty-three.”

Al-Thawrī stated that al-Aʿmash quoted al-Qāsim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, died at the age of sixty-three.”

Ḥanbal stated that Imām Aḥmad related to him quoting Yahyā b. Saʿd, from Saʿd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) (first) received revelation
at the age of forty-three. He stayed ten more years in Mecca and lived on in Medina for ten.”

This (line of transmission) is ghariib from him, but sathib, “authentic” up to him. Ahmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Da’ud b. Abu Hind, from al-Sha’bi, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) became a prophet at age forty; he stayed there for three years, then Gabriel was sent to him with his mission. Thereafter he remained there for ten years, then went into exile to Medina. He died at age sixty-three.”

Imam Abu Al-Abd Allah Ahmad b. Hanbal stated, “What is clearly established in our view is (that he died) at age sixty-three.”

I note that it was thus that Mujahid narrated it, from al-Sha’bi; it was also narrated from a hadith of Ismail b. Abu Khalid.

In both sathib collections it is stated from a hadith of Rawth b. Ubada, from Zakariyyah b. Isabq, from ‘Amr b. Dinar, from Ibn Abbas (who stated) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Mecca thirteen years and died when he was sixty-three years of age.

In the sathib collection of al-Bukhari it is stated, from a hadith of Rawth b. Ubada also, from Hisham, from Ikrama, from Ibn Abbas, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) received his mission at the age of forty. He remained in Mecca for thirteen years and then was ordered to go into exile; he did so for ten years. Then he died at the age of sixty-three.”

Imam Ahmad narrated it from Rawth b. Ubada, as did Yahya b. Sa’id and Yazid b. Harun, all of these quoting from Hisham b. Hassun, from Ikrama, from Ibn Abbas.

Abu Ya’la al-Mawsili narrated it from al-Hasan b. Umar b. Sufyan, from Ja’far b. Sualayman, from Hisham b. Hassun, from Muhammad b. Surt, from Ibn Abbas, in similar words. He then gave it similarly through several lines from Ibn Abbas.

Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Hammad b. Salama, from Abu Jamra, from Ibn Abbas (who said) that the Messenger of God (SAAS) remained in Mecca receiving revelation for thirteen years. He lived on for ten years in Medina and died at age sixty-three.

The hadith Ibn Asakir gave its line of transmission through Muslim b. Junada, from Abul-Abd Allah b. Umar, from Kurayb, from Ibn Abbas, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died when he was sixty-three.” He gave this in the hadith of Abu Naqra from Sa’id b. al-Musayyab, from Ibn Abbas.

This statement is the most widely accepted and promulgated.

Imam Ahmad stated that Ismail related to him, from Khalid al-Hadhah, quoting ‘Ammar, the freed-man of Banu Hashim, who said he heard Ibn Abbas say, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died when he was sixty-five years of age.”

Muslim narrated it from a hadith of Khalid al-Hadhah.
Ahmad stated that Hasan b. Mūsā related to him, quoting Hammād b. Salama, from 'Amār b. Abī 'Ammār, from Ibn 'Abbās (who said), “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stayed in Mecca for fifteen, eight or seven years, during which he saw the light or heard the sound and then eight or seven more receiving revelation. And he lived thereafter in Medina for ten years.”

Muslim narrated it from a ḥadīth of Hammād b. Salama.

Ahmad also stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Zuray‘, quoting Yūnus, from ‘Ammār, the freed-man of Banū Hashim, who said, “I asked Ibn ‘Abbās how old the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was the day he died. He replied, ‘I did not know there was anyone in your tribe unaware of this.’ I replied, ‘I have asked people but received different replies. I wanted to know what you would say about it.’ He asked, ‘Can you count?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Then take forty years at which point he received his mission. Then add fifteen he stayed on in Mecca feeling both secure and afraid, and ten more for his life in exile in Medina.’”

Muslim narrated it thus from a ḥadīth of Yazīd b. Zuray‘ and Shu‘bā b. al-Ḥajāj, both of whom quoted Yūnus b. Uqayl, from ‘Amr, from Ibn ‘Abbās in similar words.

Imām Ahmad stated that Ibn Numayr related to him, quoting al-‘Ala b. Ṣāliḥ, quoting al-Minhāl b. ‘Amr, from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr, who said that a man came to Ibn ‘Abbās, asking, “Did the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) receive revelation for ten years in Mecca and ten in Medina?” “Who says so?” he asked. “He received revelation for fifteen years in Mecca and ten in Medina; and (he died at) over sixty years of age.”

This is one of the ḥadīths unique to Ahmad both in its line of transmission and in its content.

Imām Ahmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Ṭālḥ b. Zayd, from Ynsuf b. Mahran, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-five.”

Ahmad is alone in giving this.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated in his book al-Shamīl, as did Abū Ya‘lā al-Mawsīlī and al-Bayhaqī, from a ḥadīth of Qatūdā, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, from Daghfāl b. Ḥanḍzalā al-Shaybānī al-Nasībā, that the Prophet (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-five.

Al-Tirmidhī commented, “We do not know of any quotation Daghfāl cited from the Prophet; he was a man during his time.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This accords with the account of ‘Ammār and those who quoted him, from Ibn ‘Abbās.”

The account of the group quoting from Ibn ‘Abbās that his age was sixty-three are more correct. They are more reliable and more numerous, their account according with the authentic statement given from ‘Urwā who quoted ‘A‘ishah. They agree with one of the accounts quoting from Anas and the authentic account from Mu‘āwiya. That is the statement of Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab, ʿAmir al-Sha‘bānī and Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, may God be pleased with them all.”
I note that this also applies to 'Abd Allah b. Uqba, al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, al-Ḥasan al-بغش, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn and others.

One of the strange statements given is that narrated by Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, from Muṣād b. Hīshām, quoting his father, from Qatāda, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two.”

Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān narrated it from Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, from Muṣād b. Hīshām, from his father, from Qatāda, similarly. Zayd al-ʿUmā also narrated it, from Yazīd, from Anas.

Also similar is the account of Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir, from al-Qāsim b. Hūmayd, from al-Nūmān b. al-Mundhir b. al-Ghassāni, from Makhlūl, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty-two and several months.”


Even stranger than all the above is what is narrated by Imam Al-mad from Rawḥ, from ʿAṣād b. Abū ʿArūba, from Qatāda, from al-Ḥasan, who said, “The Qurʾān was revealed to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), over a period of eight years in Mecca and ten after he went into exile.”

Although this al-Ḥasan agrees with the majority who state that the Prophet (ṢAAS), received revelation at the age of forty, he held the view that he lived to the age of fifty-eight. This is very strange.

However, we have narrated through Musaddad, from Hīshām b. ʿAbbās, from al-Ḥasan, who stated that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died at age sixty.

Khalīfa b. Khayyāt stated that Abū ʿĀsim related to him, from Ashʿath, from al-Ḥasan, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) received his mission at age forty-five. He remained in Mecca for ten years and for eight in Medina. He died at age sixty-three.”

This information, so stated, is very strange.

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**DESCRIPTIONS OF HOW THE PROPHET (ṢAAS) WAS WASHED (PRIOR TO HIS BURIAL).**

We have stated above that the Companions, may God be pleased with them, were engaged in making their pledge of allegiance to Abū Bakr for the remainder of the Monday and part of the Tuesday. Having gone through all the preliminary stages of this and brought it to completion, they began to prepare for the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), relying in all this upon Abū Bakr in what he directed them.

Ibn ʿIṣḥāq stated, “When Abū Bakr had received the pledge of allegiance, the people began preparing, on the Tuesday, for the burial of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”
It has been narrated above, from the hadith of Ibn Ishaq, from 'Abd al-Rahman b. al-Qasim, from his father, from A'isha, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Wednesday night.

Abu Bakr b. Abu Shayba stated that Abu Muawiya related to him, quoting Abu Burda, from Alqama b. Yazid, from Sulayman b. Burayda, from his father, who said, "When they set about washing the Messenger of God (SAAS), a voice cried out to them from inside, saying, 'Do not remove the shirt of the Messenger of God!'"

Ibn Majah narrated it from the hadith of Abu Muawiya, from Abu Burda — his full name being 'Amr b. Yazid al-Tamimi Kufi.

Muhammad b. Ishaq stated that Yahya b. 'Abbad b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr related to him, from his father, who stated that he heard A'isha say, "When they wished to wash the Prophet (SAAS), they said, 'We don't know whether we should remove the clothes from the Messenger of God (SAAS), as we do from our dead, or should we wash him with his clothes on?'

"When they differed over this, God cast sleep over them, so that everyone of them soon had his chin on his chest! Then a voice that they could not recognize addressed them from the direction of the house, saying, 'Wash the Messenger of God (SAAS), with his clothes on.'"

"They got up and went over to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and washed him while he was still in his shirt. They poured water on the shirt and rubbed with the shirt, not their hands. A'isha used to say, 'Had I known first what I later learned, only the wives would have washed the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Abu Da'ud narrated this from a hadith of Ibn Ishaq.

Imam Ahmad stated that Ya'qub related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Ishaq, quoting Husayn b. 'Abd Allah, from Ikrara, from Ibn Abbas, who said, "The people gathered to wash the Messenger of God (SAAS); there were only his own family in the house — his uncle al-'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Mutallib, Ali b. Abu Talib, al-Hashim b. al-'Abbas, Uthman b. Zayd b. Haritha and Salih, freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

"When they gathered to wash him, Aws b. Khawla b. Banu 'Awf b. al-Khazraj, who had fought at Badr, called out from the back of the crowd to Ali b. Abu Talib, 'Ali, we plead with you, by God and our fine experience of the Messenger of God (SAAS)! 'Ali replied to him, 'Come inside.' He did so and was present at the washing of the Messenger of God (SAAS); he did not participate at all in washing him.

"Ali rested him (the Prophet (SAAS), who was still dressed in his shirt, upon his own chest, while al-Hashim and Qutham, along with 'Ali were turning him over, while Usama b. Zayd and Salih, his freed-man, both poured water upon him. As 'Ali set about washing him, not seeing from the Messenger of God (SAAS), any of what usually is emitted from the dead, he called out, 'By my father and my mother! How sweet-smelling you are, alive or dead!'"
"When they had finished washing the Messenger of God (SAAS), having done so using water and lote-tree balm, they dried him. Then there was done to him what is normally done to the dead. After that he was wrapped in three cloths, two white and one striped cloak.

"Al-'Abbas then summoned two men. He told them, ‘One of you should go to Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarraḥ. ’ Abū 'Ubayda would make graves for the Meccans. Al-'Abbas went on, ‘The other of you should go to Abū Ṭalḥa b. Sahl al-Anṣārī. ’ Abū Ṭalḥa would make the burial niche for the people of Medina.

"Al-'Abbas then said, as he dispatched the two men, ‘O God, choose for your messenger!’

"The two men left. However, the one looking for Abū 'Ubayda could not find him; the man seeking Abū Ṭalḥa did locate him and he came and prepared the niche for the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Abū Dā‘ud is alone in giving this.

Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from al-Mundhir b. Tha‘labah, from al-Salih, from al-'Albār b. Abhmar, who said, “As 'Ali and al-Fadl were washing the Messenger of God (SAAS), a voice called out to 'Ali, 'Raise your sight to the sky!’”

This is munqat,' "incomplete in its chain".

I note that the ahl al-sunan quote 'Ali as having said that the Messenger of God (SAAS), had told him, "'Ali, do not make your thigh visible. And do not look at the thigh of anyone, alive or dead.’"

This implies that he was issuing him an order relating to himself. But God knows best.

The ḥadīth Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū ‘Abd Allah al-Ḥāfiz informed him, quoting Muhammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā, quoting Dāmrah, quoting 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ziyād, quoting Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “'Ali stated, ‘As I washed the Messenger of God (SAAS), I watched for any discharge such as comes from a dead person, but saw nothing. He was sweet-smelling alive and dead (SAAS).’”

Abū Dā‘ud narrated it in his work al-Marāṣīl.

In the account from which he quotes the above, al-Bayhaqi adds the following words from Sa'īd b. al-Musayyab: “Four persons took charge of the burial of the Messenger of God (SAAS). These were: 'Ali, al-'Abbas, al-Fadl and Sāliḥ, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS). They placed him in his niche and erected bricks over it as a marker.”

A number of the tabi‘Un, including 'Amr al-Sha‘bī, Muḥammad b. Qays, ‘Abd Allah b. al-Ḥārith, narrate approximately the same in various phraseology; it would be too lengthy to give them here.

Al-Bayhaqi stated that it was narrated by Abū 'Amr Kaysān, from Yazīd b. Bilāl, who stated that he heard ‘Ali say, “The Messenger of God (SAAS)
instructed that no one but myself should wash him and that ‘anyone who sees my private parts will have his eyes lose their sight’.

‘Ali said, ‘Al-‘Abbās and Usāma would hand me the water from behind the curtain. Whenever I took hold of a limb it was as if there were 30 men turning it over along with me, until I had finished washing him.’”

The ḥāfiz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār gave the following line of transmission for this in his musnad collection. He stated that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. al-Nuʿmān, quoting Kaysān Abū ‘Amr, from Yazīd b. Bilāl, who said, “‘Ali b. Abū Ṭalīb stated, ‘The Prophet (SAAS), instructed me that no one but myself should wash him and said, “anyone who sees my private parts will have his eyes lose their sight”.’

“‘Ali went on, ‘Al-ʿAbbās and Usāma were handing me the water from behind the curtain.’”

I observe that this is very strange.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al- Faḍl informed us, quoting Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Āṣamī, quoting ʿUsayd b. ʿĀṣim, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥafṣ, from Ṣufyān, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. Jūrāy, who said he heard Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Abū Jaʿfar say, “The Prophet (SAAS) was washed three times with lote-tree balm. He was washed while he still wore his shirt. The water came from a well called al-Ghars at Qubāʾ that was the property of Saʿd b. Khaythama. The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to drink from it. ʿAlī and al- Faḍl took charge of washing him; al- Faḍl cradled him, while al-ʿAbbās poured the water. Al- Faḍl began crying, ‘Relieve me! You’re cutting my heart artery! Something is making me feel faint!’”

Al-Waqīdī stated that ʿĀṣim b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī related to him, from ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Yes; that well, the well called Gharas is one of the water-sources of heaven. Its water is the very sweetest.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) would have its sweet water drawn for him, and he was washed with water from the Gharas well.”

Sayf b. ʿUrāma stated, from Muḥammad b. ʿAdī, from Ḥikrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When the grave had been completed and the people had performed the al-ṣuḥr prayer, al-ʿAbbās proceeded to wash the Messenger of God (SAAS), and a sheet of close-woven netting made in Yemen was placed above him. He was positioned in the middle of the house, inside the netting. Al-ʿAbbās then called for ʿAlī and al- Faḍl. When he left for the well to bring water for the two men, he called for Abū Sufyān b. al- Ḥarith and brought him inside, along with men of Banū Ḥashim positioned behind the netting, and some of the anṣār who had requested entry from my father. These men included Aws b. Khwālī, may God be pleased with them all.”

Sayf (b. ʿUmar) went on to quote from al-Daḥhāk b. Yarbuʿ al- Ḥanāfi, from Māḥān al- Ḥanāfi, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who related the construction of the cover of netting, how al-ʿAbbās brought ʿAlī, al- Faḍl, Abū Sufyān and Usāma inside it, and men of Banū Ḥashim; all stood inside the house behind the netting. He.
narrated, “A drowsiness overcame them and they heard a voice saying, ‘Do not wash the Messenger of God; he was unsullied.’ Al-‘Abbās responded, ‘No; we must.’ The members of the household said, ‘The voice spoke the truth, so do not wash him.’ But al-‘Abbās said, ‘We can’t give up a hallowed sunna practice because of some voice we can’t identify.’

“Then drowsiness overcame them a second time and a voice called out, ‘Wash him with his clothes on!’ The members of the household responded, ‘No; no!’ Al-‘Abbās said, ‘I certainly will.’ They then set about washing him, while he was still dressed in his shirt and an open mijwal. They washed him in the clear water, perfumed him with camphor on the parts of his body which he would prostrate in prayer and on his joints. His shirt and his mijwal were squeezed dry. He was then wrapped in his winding-sheet and they burned incense and perfumes over him. They picked him up, placed him on his bed and shrouded him.”

This text is very strange.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SHROUD OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS).

Imām Ahmad stated that al-Walīd b. Muslim related to him, quoting al-Awza‘ī, quoting al-Zuhri, from al-Qāsim, who quoted ʻĀ’ishah as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was wrapped in a striped cloth, but then it was removed from him.”

Al-Qāsim stated, “The remains of that cloth are still with us.”

This line of transmission meets the criteria of the compilers of the two sahih collections; Abū Da‘ūd, however, narrated it from Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Nasā‘ī from Muḥammad b. Muthanna. Muṣāfī differentiated between these two men. All quoted from al-Walīd b. Muslim.

Imām Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idris al-Shāfi‘ī stated that Mālik related to him, from Hishām b. ʻUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʻĀ’ishah as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was shrouded in seven white cloths from Saḥāl; these did not include a shirt or a turban.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Ismā‘īl b. Abū ʻUways, from Mālik.

Imām Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Idris al-Shāfi‘ī stated that Malik related to him, from Hishām b. ʻUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʻĀ’ishah as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was wrapped in a striped cloth, but then it was removed from him.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting al-Aswāq b. Ghiyāth, from Hishām b. ʻUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʻĀ’ishah as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was wrapped in a striped cloth, but then it was removed from him.”

Muslim gave it from a hadith of Sufyān b. ʻUyayna. Al-Bukhārī gave it from Abū Na‘aym, from Sufyān al-Thawrī. Both authorities gave it from Hishām b. ʻUrwa.

Abū Da‘ūd stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth, from Hishām b. ʻUrwa, from his father, who quoted ʻĀ’ishah as having said, “The

152. The word may be interpreted, as in a footnote to the Arabic printed text, as a white cloth placed over the hand of the person shuffling the arrows in the ancient Arabian gambling game of maysur. Dictionaries also have the word as referring to a short skirt-like garment.

153. Located in Yemen.
Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white Yemeni cloths made of cotton; these did not include a shirt or a turban."

'Urwa went on, "It was reported to 'Aṣīha that he was shrouded in two cloths and a striped cloak. She commented, "The cloak was brought to him, but they rejected it and did not shroud him in it.""

Muslim also narrated it thus, from Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba, from Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyath.

Al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥafīẓ informed him, quoting Abū al- Faḍl Muhammad b. Ḫibrāhīm, quoting ʿAḥmad b. Salāma, quoting Ḥannād b. al-Ṣarrī, quoting Abū Muḥāwiya, from Ḥishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, who quoted 'Aṣīha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three cotton white cloths from Ṣaḥūl; these did not include a shirt, nor a turban. The ceremonial gown people had doubts about. It had been bought especially as a shroud for him, but it was put aside. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr took it, saying, 'I'm going to keep it for myself to be buried in!' He added, 'If God had been pleased with it for His Prophet (ṢAAS), He would have buried him in it.' He sold it, giving its price to charity."

Muslim narrated it in his Ṣaḥīḥ collection from Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā and others, from Abū Muḥāwiya.

Al-Bayhaqi then narrated it from al-Ḥakīm, from al-Ąṣāmm, from ʿAḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabbar, from Abū Muḥāwiya, from Ḥishām, from his father, who quoted 'Aṣīha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in a striped cloak that belonged to ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr. He was wrapped up in it, but it was then removed. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr had obtained that ceremonial gown to be buried in himself when he died. He commented, after he received it back, 'I'd not keep for myself something that God kept from being used as the shroud of His Messenger.' ʿAbd Allāh donated its cost to charity."

Imām ʿAḥmad stated that ʿAbd al- Ṭawāẓ related to him, quoting Māʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from ʿUrwa who quoted 'Aṣīha as having said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths from Ṣaḥūl."

Al-Nāṣrī narrated it from ʿIṣaḥ b. Rāhawayh, from ʿAbd al- Razzāq.

Imām ʿAḥmad stated that Miskīn b. Bakr related to him, from Saʿīd - meaning Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz - who quoted Makhūl as quoting ʿUrwa that 'Aṣīha said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three Yemeni fine-mesh cloths."

ʿAḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Yaḥyā al- Māwṣūlī stated that Sahī b. Ḥabbīb al- Anṣārī related to him, quoting 'Aṣīm b. Hilāl, the imām of the mosque of Ayyūb, quoting Ayyūb, from Najīf, from Ibn 'Umar, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three white cloths from Ṣaḥūl."

Sufyān stated, from 'Aṣīm b. ʿUbayd Allāh, from Sālim, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three pieces of clothing.
In some accounts the wording is given as, “two pieces of clothing of Suḥrār, and a striped cloak”.

Imām ʿĀhmād stated that Ibn Idrīs related to him, quoting Yazīd, from Miqṣām, from Ibn ʿAbdās, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three pieces of clothing – the shirt in which he died, and a ceremonial gown from Najrān, the latter consisting of two garments.

Abū Daʿūd narrated it from ʿĀhmād b. Ḥanbal, while ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba and Ibn Mājī did so from ʿAllī b. Muḥammad, all three further quoting from ʿAbd Allāh b. Idrīs, from Yazīd b. Abū Ziyād, from Miqṣām, from Ibn ʿAbdās, as above.

This is very strange.

Imām ʿĀlmad stated also that ʿAbd al-Razzāq related to him, quoting Ṣafyān, from Ibn Abū Laylā, from al-Ḥakam, from Miqṣām, from Ibn ʿAbdās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two white garments and a red cloak.”

ʿĀhmād is alone in giving this.


Abū Yaʿṣā related that Sulaymān al-Shadhkāni related to him, quoting Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Ḥaytham, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿAṭī, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbdās, from al-Fāḍl, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two white garments from Saḥṭūl.”

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā added, “and a red cloak”.

Several authorities narrated it from Ismāʿīl al-Muʿadib, from Yaʿqūb b. ʿAṭī, from his father, from Ibn ʿAbdās, from al-Fāḍl, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in two white garments.” And in one account the garments were stated to be from Saḥṭūl. But God knows best.

The ḥāfīẓ Ibn ʿAsākir narrated through Abū Taḥīr al-Mukhallīṣ, quoting ʿĀhmād b. Ishāq, from al-Bahlūl, quoting Abābīd b. Yaʿqūb, quoting Sharīk, from Abū Ishāq, who said, “I happened to attend a meeting of Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, many of them being present. I asked them, ‘In how many pieces of cloth was the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) shrouded?’ They stated, ‘In three garments, without a shirt, a qībāṣ, “a long-sleeved outer garment”, or a turban.’ I asked them, ‘How many of you were taken prisoner at the battle of Badr?’ ‘Al-ʿAbbās, Nawfāl and ʿAqīl,’ they replied.”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated through al-Zuhūrī, from ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was shrouded in three garments, one being a striped cloak.”

154. A footnote in the Arabic printed text suggests that the word refers to the mountain by that name above ʿArmān.
The hadith narrated above by al-Bayhaqi, quoting from al-Ash'ath Q. Taliq and al-Bazzar from a hadith of al-Ishbañ, both quoting from Murra, from Ibn Mas'ud, tells of the instruction made by the Prophet (SAAS), that he should be washed by the men of his household. In it he is also quoted as having said, “Shroud me in these clothes of mine, or in a Yemeni cloth, or a white one from Egypt.” After placing him in his shroud, they were to place him on the edge of his grave, then leave him until the angels had prayed over him, after which the men of his household were to pray over him, with the other people to follow thereafter individually.

The hadith is given above in full. There is some dispute over its authenticity, as we have stated. God knows best.

Muhammad b. Ishâq stated that al-Husayn b. ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUbayd Allah b. ʿAbbás related to him, quoting Ikrama, from Ibn ʿAbbás, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, the men were brought in and they prayed over him in groups and without an imām. When the men had finished, the women were brought in and they prayed over him. Then the children came and
prayed, then the slaves. All these prayed over him in groups, without anyone acting as imám."

Al-Waqidi stated that Ubayy b. ‘Ayyāsh b. Sahl b. Sa’d related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had been wrapped in his shroud, he was placed on his bed. After that he was placed on the edge of his grave and the people came in (to pray) over him in groups, without anyone acting as their imám.”

Al-Waqidi also stated that Musa b. Muhammad b. Ibrahim related to him, that, “I have discovered a document in the handwriting of my father. In it it states that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was wrapped in his shroud and placed on his bed, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them, arrived, accompanied by a group of muhājirūn and ansār as large as the house could contain. The two men said, ‘Peace be upon you, Prophet, along with God’s mercy and blessings.’ The muhājirūn and the ansār made the same salutation as had Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, and then they arranged in lines, though without anyone acting as their imám.

“Abū Bakr and ʿUmar – they being in the first line – then spoke, facing towards the Messenger of God (SAAS), saying, ‘O God, we bear witness that he has delivered the message that was revealed to him and that he has properly advised his nation. He strove hard in God’s cause until God made His religion firm and completed His word; He has become worshipped alone and without associate. Make us, O God, of those who follow the words revealed with him. Unite us with him, letting him know us, and making us know him. He was always forgiving and merciful towards the believers. We seek no alternative to having faith in him, and we would never exchange it at any price.’

“At this, those present called out Amen! Amen! They then left and others came in. This went on until all the men had prayed, then the women and then the children.”

It has been said that they prayed over him following the sun’s passing its zenith on Monday until the same time on the Tuesday, and also that they continued praying over him for three days, as will be explained shortly. But God knows best.

This practice, their having prayed over him individually without anyone acting as their imám is accepted unanimously, without any disagreement.

However, there is dispute over interpreting this. If the hadīth we have given from Ibn Masʿūd is authentic, then it constitutes documentary evidence. This (behaviour) would constitute ʿal-taʿabbud “an act of religious devotion”, the purpose of which is difficult to explain. It is not up to anyone to say, “This was because they had no imám”, because we have explained above that they only began preparing him for burial after completion of the pledge of allegiance made to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

Some scholars have stated that no one acted as their imám only in order that each person might engage in direct, personal prayer over him. This was also because of the constant repetition of the prayers of the Muslims over him, one
following the other, each of the Companions, the men, their women, their children and their slaves, both male and female, acting as individuals.

Al-Suhayl stated, in essence, that God had informed him (the Prophet (SAAS)) that He and His angels would pray over him, and ordered that each individual Muslim should pray directly for him after his death in this way. He stated, “And also the angels act for Us as \textit{imāms} in that.” But God knows best.

Later adherents of the Shafī‘ school differ over the question of the legality of others than the Companions subsequently praying over his grave. Some assert the positive, because his body remained fresh in his grave, because God forbad the earth to spoil the bodies of prophets, as is stated in the \textit{hadith} in the \textit{al-sunan} collections of the traditions as well as elsewhere; he is still just as a person dead today would be. Others disagreed, saying that this should not be done, because the early Muslims who came directly after the Companions did not do this. If it had been in accord with the \textit{sharī‘a}, they would have done this early on and kept up the practice. But God knows best.

\section*{Descriptions of the Burial of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and Where He Was Buried. Reference to the Differences Over Whether He Was Buried by Night or by Day.}

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū al-Ruzzāq reported that Ibn Jurayj, quoting his father, Abū Azīz b. Jurayj, as having said, “The Companions of the Prophet (SAAS) did not know where to bury him until Abū Bakr stated, “I heard the Prophet (SAAS) say, ‘Every prophet has been buried wherever he died.’ And so they took away his bed and dug a grave beneath it.”

This \textit{hadith} has a link missing between Abū Azīz b. Jurayj and Abū Bakr, the former not having met the latter. However, the \textit{hadīth} Abū Ya‘ṣīṣ narrated it from a \textit{hadīth} of Ibn ‘Abbās and A‘īsha, from Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with them all. He stated that Abū Mūsā al-Harawi related to him, quoting Abū Mu‘āwiyah, quoting Abū l-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, from Ibn Abū Mula’ikha, who quoted A‘īsha as having said, “There was disagreement over the burial of the Prophet (SAAS), after his death. Abū Bakr stated, ‘I heard the Prophet (SAAS) say, “A prophet only dies in the places most loved by him.” He went on, ‘Bury him where he died.’”

Al-Tirmidhī related this similarly, from Abū Kurayb, from Abū Mu‘āwiyah, from Abī l-Raḥmān b. Abū Bakr, from Ibn Abū Mula’ikha, who quoted A‘īsha as having said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, there was disagreement over his burial. Abū Bakr stated, ‘I heard from the Messenger of God (SAAS) something I have not forgotten. He said, “A prophet always dies in that place where he wishes to be buried.” Bury him where his bed is positioned.””

Al-Tirmidhī classified Abi-Mula’ikha as a weak source and then stated, “This \textit{hadith} is also narrated from a different line. Ibn ‘Abbās related that Abū Bakr quoted this statement from the Messenger of God (SAAS).”
Al-Umawi quoted his father, from Ibn Ishaq, from a man who quoted from Urwa, from Aisha, who said that Abu Bakr stated, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, ‘No prophet has ever been buried in any place other than that where he died.’”

Abu Bakr b. Abū al-Dunya stated that Muhammad b. Sahl al-Tamimi related to him, quoting Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Tayālīsī, from Hammād b. Salama, from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, who quoted Aisha as having said, “There were two grave diggers in Medina, and when the Prophet (SAAS) died, people asked, ‘Where should we bury him?’ Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, ‘In the place where he died.’ One of the grave-diggers would make a niche, the other would dig a pit. The one who made niches did arrive, and he did so for the Prophet (SAAS).”

Mālik b. Anas narrated it from Hishām b. Urwa, from his father, with a line of authorities that was minqāi.

Abū Ya'la stated that Ja'far b. Mahrān related to him, quoting Abū al-'Aṣār, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq, quoting ʿUsayn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “When they wanted to dig a grave for the Prophet (SAAS), there was Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ who would dig down a pit as the Meccans favoured and Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl, who would dig for the Medinans and would make a niche. Al-Abbās called to two men. To one he said, ‘Go and fetch Abū Ubayda.’ To the other he said, ‘Go and fetch Abū Ṭalḥa.’ (He then said) ‘O God, choose for Your messenger!’”

He went on, “The man sent to Abū Ṭalḥa did locate him. He came and made a grave with a niche for the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) had been prepared for burial on Tuesday, he was placed on his bed in his house. The Muslims were in disagreement about his burial. One said, ‘We should bury him in his mosque.’ Another suggested, ‘We should bury him with his Companions.’ Abū Bakr said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “Every prophet who died was buried where he died.”’

“The bed of the Messenger of God (SAAS), on which he had died, was taken away and they dug a grave beneath it. The people were then brought in to pray over him in groups. When the men had finished, the women were brought in. When they had finished the children were brought. No one acted as imām for the people over the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was buried in the middle of Wednesday night.”

Ibn Māja narrated it similarly from ʿAbd al-Jahdāmi, from Wahb b. Jarir, from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ishaq; that account has the same line of transmission. At its end, he added, “ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib, and al- Faḍl b. Qutham, the two sons of ʿAbbās, along with Shuqra, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS) went down into his tomb. And Aws b. Khuwālā—Abū Laylā, that is—asked ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib, ‘I charge you by God and our fine experience of the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ ‘Alī told him, ‘Come down then.’
“Shuqran, the freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), took a cloak the Messenger of God (SAAS) would wear and put it in the grave. He said, ‘I swear by God, no one will ever wear it after you!’ And it was buried with him.”

Imam Ahmad narrated it from Uthaysan b. Muhammed, from Jarir b. Hazim, from Ibn Ishaq, in abbreviated form. Yunos b. Bukayr and others narrated it similarly from (Ibn) Ishaq.

Al-Waqidi narrated from Ibn Abi Habiba, from Da’ud b. al-Husayn, from Ikrama, from Ibn Abbas, from Abu Bakr, “the trusting”, who quoted from the Messenger of God (SAAS) as having said, “Every prophet who died was buried where he died.”

Al-Bayhaqi narrated from al-Hakim, from al-Ashamm, from Ahmad b. Abd al-Jabbar, from Yunus b. Bukayr, from Muhammed b. Ishaq, from Muhammed b. Abd al-Rahman b. Abd Allah b. al-Husayn or Muhammed b. Ja’far b. al-Zubayr, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died there was disagreement over his burial. People asked, ‘How should we bury him? With the people? Or in his apartments?’

“Abu Bakr said, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “Every prophet who died was buried where he died.” And so he was buried where his bed had been; the bed was lifted away and a (grave) was dug beneath it.’”

Al-Waqidi stated that ‘Abd al-Hamid b. Ja’far al-Akhnasi quoted from ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Sa’id - he being Ibn Yarb – who said, “When the Prophet (SAAS) died, there was disagreement over the position of his grave. One person said, ‘In al-Baqi’; he made many prayers for (God’s) forgiveness for them (buried) there.’ Another said, ‘At his minbar.’ Another said, ‘In his own chapel.’

“Abu Bakr came and said, ‘I have knowledge and a comment about that. I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “Every prophet who died was buried where he died.”’”

The hafiz al-Bayhaqi stated, “It is also given in a hadith of Yahya b. Sa’id, from al-Qasim b. Muhammed, and in a hadith of Ibn Jurayj, from his father, both of whom quote from Abu Bakr, who quoted the Prophet (SAAS). The hadith is mursalan.”

Al-Bayhaqi also stated, quoting al-Hakim, from al-Ashamm, from Ahmad b. Abd al-Jabbar, from Yunus b. Bukayr, from Salama b. Nubayt b. Shurayt, from his father, from Salim b. Ubayd – one of those who had resided at al-Ṣuffa – who said, “Abu Bakr went in to the Messenger of God (SAAS), when he died, and then he left again. He was asked ‘Has the Messenger of God died?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. And people knew it to be as he said.

“He was asked, ‘Should we pray over him? And how should we pray?’ He replied, ‘You should come in in groups and then pray.’ And they knew it should be as he said.

155. A shelter that was attached to the Prophet’s mosque in Medina that was used by guests and homeless people.
“They asked, ‘Will he be buried, and where?’ He replied, ‘In the place where his soul was taken. His soul would only have been taken in a good place.’ And they knew it should be as he said.”

Al-Bayhaqi narrated from a hadith of Sufyân b. ‘Uyayna, from Yahya b. Sa’îd al-Ansârî, from Sa’îd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “‘A’ishah described to her father a vision she had seen; he was one of the most highly skilled of men in interpretation. She said, ‘I saw three moons fall into my lap.’ He responded, ‘If your vision is accurate, then three of the finest men on earth will be buried in your house.’

“When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, he told her, ‘‘A’ishah, this is the best of your moons!’”

Mâlik narrated this with an incomplete chain, from Yahya b. Sa’îd, from ‘A’ishah.

She is quoted in both sâhib collections as having said, “The Prophet (SAAS) died in my house, on the day of his visit to me, and resting between my chest and neck. And God joined my saliva with his in his last moments on earth and his first in the Hereafter.”

In the sâhib collection of al-Bukhârî, it is related from a hadith of Abû ‘Awâna, from Hîlal al-Warrâq, from ‘Urwa, who quoted ‘A’ishah as having said, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say during the illness from which he died, ‘May God curse the Jews and the Christians who adopt the graves of their prophets as places of worship.’”

‘A’ishah went on, “Had it not been for that, he would have made a prominent tomb; he feared, however, that it would be adopted as a mosque.”

Ibn Mâja stated that Ma’mûd b. Ghaylân related to him, quoting Hâshim b. al-Qâtîm, quoting Mubârak b. Fadîla, quoting Hûmayd al-‘Tawîl, from Anas b. Mâlik, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, there was in Medina one man who specialized in making wall niches in graves and another who dug trench graves. People said, ‘We will let God choose; we will send for both. And we’ll let the one do it who arrives first.’ They were sent for and the one who made the niches arrived first. And so they dug for him a grave with a niche.”

Ibn Mâja is alone in giving this. Imâm Ahmad narrated it from Abû al-Nâdir Hâshim b. al-Qâtîm.

Ibn Mâja also stated that ‘Umar b. Shâbba b. Ubaydîa b. Zayd related to him, quoting Ubayd b. Tufayl, quoting ‘Abd al-Raḥmân b. Abû Mulayka, quoting Ibn Abû Mulayka, from ‘A’ishah, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, there was disagreement over whether he should be buried in a niche or in a trench grave. The dispute became intense, with voices raised. ‘Umar said, ‘You shouldn’t make a hubbub near the Messenger of God (SAAS), whether dead or alive’—or words to that effect. So they summoned both a man who dug trench graves and another who dug graves with niches. The man who made the niches arrived and so he dug one for the Messenger of God (SAAS), who was then buried.”
Ibn Maja was alone in giving this.

Imām Ahmad stated that Wāki' related to him, quoting al-'Umar, from Nāfi', from Ibn ʿUmar, and also from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, who quoted ʿAḥṣa as having said that a grave with a niche was dug for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Jahiz is alone in giving this from both these lines.

Imām Ahmad also stated that Yahyā b. Shuʿba and Ibn Jaʿfar related to him, quoting Shuʿba, quoting Abū Jamra, who said that Ibn ʿAbbās stated, “A red velvet cloth was placed in the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Muslim, al-Tirmidhī and al-Nasaḥī narrated this from several lines, from Shuʿba. Wāki narrated it from Shuʿba.

Wāki stated, “This was done exclusively for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Ibn ʿAsakir narrated this.

Ibn Saʿd stated that Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī informed him, quoting Ashʿath b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḥumrānī, from al-Ḥasan, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was laid out with a red velvet garment beneath him that he had used to wear. Al-Ḥasan said, “The earth was damp.” Ḥushaym b. Manṣūr quoted al-Ḥasan as having said, “A cloth of red velvet was placed in the grave of the Prophet; he had won it at the battle of ʿHunayn.”

Al-Ḥasan went on, “This was done because the ground at Medina is marsh-like.”

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated that Ḥammād b. Khalid al-Khayyāt related to him, from ʿUqba b. ʿAbū al-Šaḥbāb who said that he heard al-Ḥasan say, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Lay out for me a piece of velvet in my niche, for the earth should not be given power over the bodies of prophets.’”

The ḥāfīṣ al-Bayhaqī narrated from a ḥadīth of Musaddad, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahīd, quoting Maʿmar, from al-Zuhri, from Saʿd b. al-Musayyab, who said, “ʿAlī stated, ‘I washed the Prophet (ṢAAS), and I set about looking for any such discharge as comes from the dead, but I saw nothing; he was sweet-smelling both alive and dead.’”

He went on, “There were four persons who, more than the other people, took charge of the burial and refilling the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS). These men were ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās, al-Fadl and ʿAlī, the freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS). A niche was dug in his grave and unburnt bricks were placed over it as a marker.”

Al-Bayhaqī reported, from some sources, that nine bricks were placed as a marker over his grave.

Al-Wāqīḍī narrated from Ibn Abū Sabra, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maʿbad, from ʿIkrama, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was placed upon his bed from when the sun had begun to decline on the Monday until it began to decline on the Tuesday. The people prayed over him while his bed was positioned at the edge of his grave. When they wished to bury him, they turned the bed towards his feet and placed him in from there. ʿAlī, ʿAlī, Qutham, al-Fadl and Shuqrān went into his grave.”
Al-Bayhaqi narrated from a hadith of Ismā’īl al-Suddi, from Îkrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “Those who entered the grave of the Messenger of God (SAAS) were al-‘Abbās, ‘All, and al-Fadl. An ansāri arranged the grave-niche; it was he who had arranged the niches of the graves of the martyrs killed at the battle of Badr.”

Ibn ‘Asākir stated, “The correct wording should be ‘at the battle of Uhud’.”

Here above we have given the account of Ibn Ishāq from Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allah, from Îkrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “Those who went down into the grave of the Messenger of God (SAAS) were ‘All, al-Fadl, Qutham and Shuqrān.” He also mentioned the fifth person, who was Aws b. Khawlī and went on to report the story of the (red) velvet cloak that Shuqrān placed in the grave.

The hāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated that Abu Tahir al-Khudaibadhi informed him, quoting Abu Qūāba, quoting Abu Gāfin, quoting Sufyan b. Sa’īd - al-Thawri, that is - from Ismā’īl b. Abu Khalid, from al-Sha’bi, who quoted Abu Marhāb as having said, “It’s as if I can still see them now, those four men in the grave of the Prophet (SAAS). And one of them was ‘Abd al-Raḥman b. ‘Awf.”

Abū Da’īd narrated it thus from Muḥammad b. al-Sabāḥ, from Sufyan, from Ismā’īl b. Abu Khalid.

He then went on to narrate it from Aḥmad b. Yūnus, from Zuhayr, from Ismā’īl, from al-Sha’bī, quoting Marhāb or Ibn ‘Amīn Marhāb (who said), “They took with them ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf. When ‘All had finished, he said, ‘Only a man’s family should follow him.’”

This hadith is extremely strange. Its line of transmission is very strong, and we know of it only from this line.

Abū ʿUmar b. ‘Abd al-Barr stated in his study, “The given name of Abū Marhāb is Suwayd b. Qays.” He also mentioned another Abū Marhāb, saying, “But I don’t know anything about him.”

Ibn al-Athir stated in his work al-Ghi’aba, “It is likely that the narrator of this hadith is the first of these two men; or it could be a third person, someone other than either of these. And to God be praise.”

**Accounts of who was the last person to be with the Messenger of God (SAAS).**

Imám Aḥmad stated that Yaʿqūb related to him, quoting his father, from Ibn Iṣḥāq, quoting his father, Iṣḥāq b. Yaṣār, from Miqsam Abū al-Qāsim, the freedman of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Nawfāl, from his freed-man, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, who said, “I went on the ‘umra pilgrimage with ‘All in the reign of ‘Umar – or ‘Uthmān – and ‘Ali stopped to visit his sister Umm Hanāʾ, daughter of Abu Ṭalib. When he had finished performing the ‘umra, he returned (to her home) and she poured out water for him with which he washed.
"When he had finished washing, a group of men from Iraq came in to see him and asked, 'Abū Ḥasan, we have come to ask you to tell us about something.' He responded, 'I imagine al-Mughira b. Shu'ba is telling you how he was the last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).' 'Yes, that's right', they answered. 'That's what we have come to ask you about.' He replied, 'The last person to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), was Qutham b. 'Abbās.'"

Ahmad is alone in giving this from this line.

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated it from Muḥammad b. İshāq exactly the same, except that he added to the beginning (of the chain) Muḥammad b. İshāq, who said, "Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba used to say, 'I took my ring and threw it into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, when the people left, 'My ring has fallen into the grave.' I dropped it there deliberately so that I would touch the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) with it and so be the last person to be with him.'"

 Ibn İsḥaq went on, "My father İsḥaq b. Yasar related to me, from Miqṣam who quoted his freed-man 'Abd Allāh b. al-İjarīth as having said, 'I went on the 'umra pilgrimage with 'Alī . . .'" and he proceeded to narrate the hadīth as above.

This material narrated from al-Mughira b. Shu'ba does not necessarily mean that it occurred as he had hoped. It could be that 'Alī, may God be pleased with him, did not permit him to go down into the grave and that he directed someone else to do so, and the latter gave it to him (al-Mughira). According to the information given above, it would have been Qutham b. 'Abbās whom he asked to take it.

Al-Waqīdī stated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinnād related to him, from his father, who quoted Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utbā as having said, "Al-Mughira b. Shu'ba threw his ring down into the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). And 'Alī commented, 'You only did that to say, "I went down into the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS)."' And he then went down himself and gave it back to him — or he told another man to do so, who returned it."

İmām Ahmad stated that Bahz and Abū Kāmil related to him that İmām b. Salama related to them both, from Abū Umrān al-Jawnī, from Abū 'Aṣīb — or Abū 'Aṣīm — who quoted Bahz as having said that he witnessed the prayers being spoken over the Prophet (ṢAAS), and that people asked, "How should we pray?" He (presumably Abū Bakr) replied, "Go in in groups." And they entered from one door, prayed over him and then went out through the other door.

Bahz went on, "When he had been placed in his niche, al-Mughira said, 'You did not properly arrange (the shroud over) part of his feet.' They told him, 'Well, you go down and do it.' So he did enter the grave and placed his hand inside (the shroud) and touched both his feet. He then said, 'Now pass down some earth to me.' They did so until it was covering half his legs. He then came out. He used to say, 'I was later than any of you to be with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)!'"
WHEN THE BURIAL OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (SAAS) TOOK PLACE.

Yunus quoted Ibn Ishāq as having stated, “Fatimah told me, she being the daughter of Muḥammad, the wife of ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Bakr, who let me in to visit her so that I heard it from her. She cited from ‘Amra, who quoted ‘A’isha as having said, ‘We did not know about the burial of the Prophet (SAAS), until we heard the sound of the spades in the middle of the Wednesday night.’”

Al-Waqidi stated that Ibn Abū Sabra related to him, from al-Ḥalāys b. Hishām, from ‘Abd Allah b. Wahb, who quoted Umm Salama to say, “While we were gathered together we wept; we did not sleep while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was there in our apartments. We took comfort in seeing him on the bed. Then we heard the sound of the pickaxes in the pre-dawn night. We screamed in lament and those in the mosque did so too. The whole town was screaming with one voice. Then Bilal made the dawn call to prayer. When he mentioned the Prophet (SAAS), he wept and lamented. His pain increased our own. Then people began going in to his grave, but they were shut out. What a disaster that was! Any later tragedy we came to suffer was alleviated when we recalled our disastrous loss of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Imām Ahmad narrated from a ḥadīth of Muḥammad b. Ishaq, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim, from his father, from ‘A’isha, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday and was buried on the night of Wednesday.

Several narrations similar to this have been given above. This represents the view accepted by many of the imāms, both early and later. These include Sulaymān b. Ṭarkhān al-Taymi, Ja’far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣadiq, Ibn Ishaq, Mūsā b. Uqba and others.

Ya’qūb b. Sufyān narrated from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, from Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb, from al-Awza‘ī, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday before the middle of the day, and he was buried on Tuesday.”

Imām Ahmad narrated this similarly from ‘Abd al-Razzāq, from Ibn Jurayj, who said, “I was told that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died in the forenoon of Monday and was buried in the forenoon of the next day.”

Ya’qūb stated that Sufyān related to him, quoting Sa‘īd b. Mansūr, quoting Sufyān, from Ja’far b. Muḥammad, from his father and from Ibn Jurayj, from Abū Ja’far, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday and that he remained (unburied) for that day, that night and up to the end of the daytime of Tuesday.

This statement is strange. What is most widely accepted is, as we have given above, that he died on Monday and was buried on the Wednesday night.

One other strange statement made in this regard is that narrated by Ya’qūb b. Sufyān from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Bakkār, from Muḥammad b. Shu‘ayb, from Abū al-Nu‘mān, from Makhfūl, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was born
on Monday, received revelation on Monday, went into exile on Monday and died on Monday at age sixty-two and a half. He remained unburied for three days, with people coming in and praying in groups, not standing in lines and without imams to lead them.

His words, “He remained unburied for three days”, is strange. What is factual is that he remained unburied for the remainder of Monday and all of Tuesday and was buried on the eve of Wednesday, as we have stated above. But God knows best.

An opposing view is that narrated by Sayf, from Hisham, from his father, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday, was also washed on Monday and was buried on the night of Tuesday.”

Sayf went on, “Ya'laya b. Sa'id on one occasion related all this to me from 'A'ishah.”

This is very strange.

Al-Waqidi stated that 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far related to him, from Ibn Abu 'Awn, from Abū 'Attāq, from Jabir b. 'Abd Allāh, who said, “The grave of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was sprayed with water. The person who did this was Bilal b. Rabbaḥ, using a water-skin. He began at his head, from his right side, and finished with his legs. He then struck the water on the wall, but was not able to turn around from the wall.”

Sa'id b. Mansūr stated, from al-Darāwīdī, from Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abū Yaman, from Umm Salama, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday.”

Ibn Khuzayma stated that Muslim b. Ḫammād related to him, from his father, from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, from Kurayb, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday.”

Al-Waqidi stated that Ubayd b. 'Ayyāsh b. Sahl b. Sa’id related to him, quoting his father as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday and was buried on Tuesday.”

Abū Bakr b. Abū al-Dunyā quoted Muḥammad b. Sa’id as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) died on Monday, 12 days after the beginning of Rābi‘ al-Awwal, and he was buried on Tuesday.”


Sa’id b. al-Musayyab said the same, as did Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Rahmān and Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir.

Section: On the descriptions of the grave of the Prophet (SAAS).

It has been reiterated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) was buried in the apartment of 'A'ishah which had been set aside for her to the east of the mosque,
in the south-west corner of the room. Later on, after him, Abu Bakr and then 'Umar, may God be pleased with them both, were also buried there.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Muḥammad b. Muqatil related to him, quoting Abu Bakr b. Ayyāsh, who stated to him that Sufyān al-Tammār narrated to him that he had seen the grave of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as a convex pile.

Abū Da’ūd stated that Aḥmad b. Sāliḥ narrated to him, quoting Ibn Abū Fudayk, quoting ‘Amr b. ‘Uthmān b. Hāmī, from al-Qāsim, who said, “I went in to ‘A’isha and asked her, ‘Expose for me the grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and those of his two Companions.’ She then exposed three graves that were neither elevated nor recessed and inscribed on the red surface of the floor were (the words) ‘The Prophet’, (ṢAAS), ‘Abū Bakr’, may God be pleased with him, and ‘Umar’, may God be pleased with him.”

Abū Da’ūd is alone in giving this.

Al-Ijākīm and al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a ḥadīth of Ibn Abū Fudayk, from ‘Amr b. Uthmān, from al-Qāsim, who said, “I saw the Prophet (ṢAAS) in front; the head of Abū Bakr was resting between the shoulders of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The head of ‘Umar was at the leg of the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “This narrative shows that their graves were flat, because gravel only remains stable on what is flat.”

This is a strange comment for al-Bayhaqī, may God have mercy upon him, to make. For there is no mention in the account whatsoever of gravel. In that regard, it could well have been made convex, with the gravel buried in the clay and other earth.

Abū Wāqīdī narrated from al-Darawardi, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, from his father, who said, “The grave of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was flat.”

Al-Bukhārī stated that Farwa b. Abu al-Maghra’ related to him, quoting ‘Alī b. Mushir, from Hishām, from ‘Urwa, who quoted his father as having said, “When the wall collapsed in the era of al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik, they set about rebuilding it. A foot became visible to them and they were extremely shocked, thinking it to be the foot of the Prophet (ṢAAS). No one could be found who knew about it, but eventually ‘Urwa told them, ‘No, I swear by God, that’s not the foot of the Prophet (ṢAAS); that’s ‘Umar’s foot.’”

It is also given from Hishām, from his father, who said that Ḥāsīna instructed ‘Abd Allah b. al-Zubayr, saying, “Don’t bury me with them. Bury me with my companions in (the cemetery of) al-Baqī’. There I’ll never receive inappropriate praise.”

I note that when al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik came to power, in the year 86 AH, he began building the Damascus mosque. He wrote to his governor in Medina, his cousin ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aṭīz, telling him to expand the Medina mosque. He did so, including its eastern side, and so the apartment of the Prophet (ṢAAS) became encompassed within it.

Ibn ‘Asākir narrated the ḥāfīz with a line of transmission from Zādān, the freed-man of al-Farrāfīṣa, who built the Mosque of the Prophet (ṢAAS), during
Accounts of the great afflictions that befell the Muslims upon the death of the Prophet (SAAS).

Al-Bukhari stated that Sulayman b. Ḥarb related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Thabit, from Anas, who said, “When the illness of the Messenger of God (SAAS) grew intense, he was overwhelmed by agony. Fāṭima exclaimed, ‘What agony, father!’ He responded, ‘Your father will suffer no more agony after today.’

“When he died, she said, ‘O for father! He has responded to a Lord Who has summoned him! O father, whose abode is (now) the garden of paradise! O father, we make Gabriel aware of your death.’

“When he was buried, Fāṭima asked, ‘Anas, are you men pleased to be piling earth over the Messenger of God (SAAS)?’”

Al-Bukhari, may God have mercy upon him, was alone in giving this.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazīd related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Zayd, quoting Thabit al-Banāṭ, who quoted Anas as having said, “When the Prophet (SAAS) was buried, Fāṭima said, ‘Anas, are you men now pleased that you have buried the Messenger of God (SAAS), in the earth and have come back?’"

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, in abbreviated form from a ḥadīth of Ḥammād b. Zayd. According to him, Ḥammād stated, “When Thabit related this ḥadīth he would weep so hard his chest would heave.”

This should not be considered tantamount to lamentation. It is, rather, the expression of just admiration for him, may he receive the very best of prayers and salutations. We have made this comment only because the Messenger of God (SAAS) forbade lamentation.

Imām Aḥmad and al-Nasāʾī narrated from a ḥadīth of Shu’bā, who quoted Qatāda, quoting Muṭarrif, from Ḥakīm b. Qays b. Ṭāsim, from his father who, leaving instructions for his children, said, “Do not lament over me; no lamentation was made over the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Ismā’īl b. Iṣḥāq al-Qadi narrated it in his al-Nawādir, from ʿAmr b. Maymūn, from Shuʾbā. He then narrated it from ‘Ali b. al-Madīnī, from al-Mughīra b. ʿSalama, from al-Ṣaʿīd b. Ḥasan, from al-Qasīm b. Muṭṭayyab, from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, from Qays b. Ṭāsim, who said, “Do not lament for me. Lamentation was not made for the Messenger of God (SAAS), and I heard him forbid lamentation.”

He then narrated it from ‘Ali b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl, from al-Sāʾīd, from al-Qasīm, from Yūnus b. ʿUbayd, from al-Ḥasan, from ʿĀsim.

The ḥadīth of Abu Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ʿUqba b. Sīnān related to him, quoting ʿUthmān b. ʿUthmān, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, from Abū Salama,
from Abū Hurayra, that no lamentation was made for the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Imām Ahmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān, quoting Thabit, from Anas, who said, "On the occasion of the return of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to Medina, everything was brightly lit up. The day he died everything there became dark."

"And no sooner had we finished with the Messenger of God (SAAS), than we were overcome by doubts."

Both al-Ṭirmidhī and Ibn Maja narrated it thus, from Bishr b. Hilāl al-Ṣawwaf, from Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍabī.

Al-Ṭirmidhī stated, "This hadith is sahīh gharib."

I note that its line of transmission satisfies the criteria of the sahīh collections. And it is correct from a hadith of Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān. The scholastic community gave it from him, and the people at large do so similarly.

Al-Kudaymī, he being Muḥammad b. Yūnus, may God have mercy upon him, narrated a hadith that could be considered gharib, in this regard. He stated that Abū Walīd Hisām b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṭayalīsī, quoted Jaʿfar b. Sulaymān al-Ḍabī, from Thabit, from Anas, who said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, Medina became so dark that we could not see one another. One would stretch out one's hand but not see it" – or "not catch sight of it". "No sooner had we completed his burial than we were overcome by doubts."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly through that line.

He also narrated it similarly through a different line of ḥujja, from Abū Walīd al-Ṭayalīsī, as we have given it above. It is the correct version, but God knows best.


Ibn Maja stated that Ishaq b. Maṣūr related to us, quoting ʿAbd al-Wahhab b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Tحلīlī, from Ibn ʿAwn, from al-Ḥasan, from Ubayy b. Kaʿb, who said, "While we were with the Messenger of God (SAAS), we were (united) in one direction, and when he died, we looked (disunited) here and there."

He also stated that Ibrahim b. al-Mundhir al-Ḥizāmī related to us, quoting his uncle Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Muṭṭalīb b. al-Saʿīb b. Abū Wadāʿa al-Saḥmī, quoting Muṣā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Umayya al-Makhṭūmī, quoting Muṣāb b. ʿAbd Allāh, who quoted Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, the wife of the Prophet (SAAS), as having said, "At the time of the Messenger of God (SAAS), if someone arose to pray he would do so without allowing his sight to rise from the position of his feet. Then he died and there was Abū Bakr (in command) and
if someone arose to pray, he would not allow his sight to move from the spot where his head rested (during prostration). Then Abū Bakr died and there was 'Umar (in command) and if someone arose to pray he would not allow his sight to move away from the qibla. Then 'Umar died and there was 'Uthmān (in command) and dissension arose, and at that time people would look everywhere, to right and to left.”

Imām Ahmad stated that 'Abd al-Samad related to him, quoting Ḥarmād, from Thābit, from Anas, that Umm Ayman wept when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died. She was asked, “Why are you weeping over the Prophet (ṢAAS)?” She replied, “I knew the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would die; what I'm lamenting for is the revelation that was taken from us.”

He narrated it thus, in a condensed form.

Al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥafiz informed us, quoting Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb, quoting Muḥammad b. Nūṣaym and Muḥammad b. al-Nāḍir al-Jārūḥī, both of whom said, “Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Khulānī related to us, quoting ʿAmr b. Ḵālīf al-Kīlābī, quoting Sulaymān b. al-Mughīrā, from Thābit, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went to visit Umm Ayman and I accompanied him. She brought him a cordial. He was either fasting or did not want it, and he refused it. She then went over to him to make him laugh. After the death of the Prophet (ṢAAS), Abū Bakr said to 'Umar, ‘Let’s go and visit Umm Ayman.’ When we arrived to see her, she wept. The two men asked her, ‘What is making you weep? Being with God is good for His Messenger.’ She replied, ‘I swear by God, I’m not weeping because I don’t realize that to be with God is good for His Messenger, I’m weeping that revelation from heaven has ceased.”’

“She aroused them to tears, and they began weeping.”

Muslim alone (of the major scholars) narrated it, from Zuhayr b. Ḵālīf, from ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣīm.

Mūsā b. ʿUqba stated, in his account of the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and of Abū Bakr’s address on that occasion, as follows, “And the people came back after Abū Bakr had finished the address and there was Umm Ayman sitting weeping. She was asked, ‘What is making you cry? God has honoured His Prophet (ṢAAS), taken him into His garden and given him rest from worldly cares.’ She responded, ‘I am only weeping for that news of heaven that used to come to us like a fresh fruit every day and night. Now it has been cut off and ended, and I weep for it.’

“People were much impressed by her words.”

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj stated in his saḥīḥ collection that it was related to him from Abū Usāma, by, among others, Ibrāhīm b. Saʿīd al-Jawhari, quoting Abū Usāma, quoting Burayd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Abū Burda, from Abū Mūsā, from the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, “When God wished to grant mercy to some
nation of his worshippers, he would first take away their prophet and make of him a precursor and forerunner who could bear witness for them. If God wished to destroy a nation, He would chastise them while His Prophet was still alive; He would destroy them while His Prophet looked on. And this destruction of them would please the latter since they would have disbelieved him and disobeyed his commands."

Muslim is alone in giving this, both in regard to its line of transmission and its content.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that Yusuf b. Mūsā related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Majīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Sufyān, from ʿAbd Allah b. al-Sāḥīb, from Zadhān, from ʿAbd Allah – he being Ibn Masʿūd – who quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, "God has angels who will travel all around and pass on to me greetings from my nation."

The went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘My life is a good thing for you; you take action and it comes to pass for you. And my death is a good thing for you; your actions will be shown to me. For that which I have seen to be good I have praised God. For that which I have seen to be evil, I have asked God’s forgiveness for you.’”

Abū Bakr al-Bazzār then stated, “We know of the latter part of this hadith being narrated from ʿAbd Allah only from this line.”

I note that the first part of this hadith consists of the words of the Prophet (ṢAAS), “God has angels who will travel all around and pass on to me greetings from my nation.” Al-Nasāʾī narrated it from several lines, from Sufyān al-Thawrī and from aI-Aʾmash, both of whom gave it from ʿAbd Allah b. al-Sāḥīb, who quoted it from his father.

Imām Ahmad stated that Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Juʿfī related to him, from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yazīd b. Jābir, from Abū al-Ashʿath al-Ṣanʿānī, from Aws b. Aws, who said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “Friday is one of the best of your days. On it Adam was created and on it he died. On it (life began with) a breath, and on it (life will end with) a thunderbolt. Pray for me often on that day, for your prayer will be made known to me.”

People asked, “Messenger of God, how will our prayers be made known to you when you will have arimtā, ‘disintegrated’?” By this word he meant balīta, “decayed”. He replied, “God has forbidden the earth to eat the bodies of prophets, may peace be upon them.”

Abū Daʿūd narrated it thus from Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allah, and from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. Al-Nasāʾī gave it from Iṣḥāq b. Manṣūr, all three of them quoting it from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī. Ibn Māja narrated it from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shaybah, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, from Ibn Jābir, from Abū al-Ashʿath, from Shaddād b. Aws.

Our teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Hajjāj al-Mīzzi stated, “That line of transmission quoted by Ibn Māja is imagined; the correct name is Aws b. Aws, he being known as ‘al-Thaqafi’, may God be pleased with him.”
I note that this is confirmed as widely known to be correct by a copy of the line of transmission I have in my possession, just as Ahmad, Abū Da‘ūd and al-Nasāʻī narrated it – from Aws b. Aws, that is.

Ibn Māja confirmed that ‘Amr b. Sawwād al-Miṣrī narrated to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Wāḥib, from ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārith, from Sa‘d b. Abū Hīlāl, from Zayd b. Ayman, from ‘Ubādah b. Nusayy, who quoted Abū al-Daráḥ as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Pray for me often on Friday, for it will be witnessed by the angels. Whenever anyone shall pray for me his prayer will be made known to me, right on until he finishes it.’ And what about after (your death)?’ He replied, ‘God has forbidden the earth to eat the bodies of prophets, may peace be upon them.’ The Prophet of God is alive and sustained (in his grave).”

This is one of the ḥadīths that are given only by Ibn Māja, may God have mercy upon him.

At this point in his work the Ḥaḍīth Ibn ‘Asākir gives a section presenting those ḥadīths narrated about visitation to his sacred grave, may God’s prayers and salutations be for him until Judgement Day! The proper place to examine this is in my work al-Abkāmah, if God so wills it.

REFERENCE TO THE EXPRESSIONS OF CONSOLATION MADE REGARDING THE DEATH OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Ibn Māja stated that al-Walīd b. ‘Amr b. al-Sukayn related to him, quoting Abū Ḥammām, he being Muhammad b. al-Zibraqān al-Ahwāzī, quoting Mūsā b. ‘Ubayya, quoting Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad, from Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, who quoted ‘Aīsha as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) opened a door between himself and the people” – or lifted aside a screen – “and there they were praying behind Abū Bakr. He gave praise at having seen them in such fine condition, and hoping that he would be succeeded by the one he was looking at. He said, ‘People, should any person, any believer, suffer some disaster, let him derive strength from the suffering he was made to endure because of (my departure). For none of my nation will suffer after myself any disaster more severe than that caused by (my departure).’”

Ibn Māja is alone in giving this.

The Ḥaḍīth al-Bayḥaqī stated that Abū Iṣḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Faqrī informed him, quoting Shāfi‘ī b. Muḥammad, quoting Abū Ja‘far b. Sālama al-Taḥawī, quoting al-Mīzzi, quoting al-Shāfi‘ī, from al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Ḥafs, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, from his father, that some men of Quraysh went in to visit his father, ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn. The latter said, “Should I talk to you about the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)?” Please do, they asked. And so he related to us about Abū al-Qāsim – the Prophet (ṢAAS) – saying, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) became ill, Gabriel came to him and said, ‘Muḥammad, God has dispatched me to you to express special honour and
respect for you, to ask you about what He knows better than yourself: How are you?’ ‘Gabriel, I am much afflicted. Gabriel, I am in agony.’

‘Gabriel returned to him the second day, asked him the same and the Prophet (SAAS) responded to him as he had on the first day. Gabriel then came to him a third day, asking as he had on the first, and the response was the same. Then he came to him accompanied by an angel named Isma’il, who had charge of 100,000 angels, each angel in charge of another 100,000 angels. He asked to introduce him, and he (the Prophet (SAAS)) asked about him. Gabriel told him, ‘This is the angel of death who asks permission to visit you, having never asked such permission of any human being before yourself, and never will of any person after you.’ The Prophet (SAAS) responded, ‘Allow him in’, and Gabriel did so.

‘He (Isma’il) entered and said, ‘Muḥammad, God has sent me to you. If you order me to take your soul, I will do so. If you order me to leave you alone, I will do so.’ ‘Would you really do that, angel of death?’ he asked. ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘That was what I was ordered, and I was ordered to obey you.’

‘The Prophet (SAAS) looked over at Gabriel and Gabriel said to him, ‘God is longing to meet you.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) then said to the angel of death, ‘Proceed as you were ordered.’ And he took away his soul.

“When the Prophet (SAAS) died, and condolences came, people heard a voice from the direction of the house, saying, ‘Peace be upon you all, people of the house, and the mercy and blessings of God. In God there is consolation from all disaster, substitute for all that perishes, permanence from all transience. And so, put in God your trust and in Him hope. Those truly afflicted are those forbidden reward.’

“Ali, may God be pleased with him, asked, ‘Do you know who that is? This is al-Khidr, may peace be upon him.’

This hadīth is mursal. There is weakness in its line of transmission with regard to al-Qāsim al-Umari. Several of the imāms have categorized him as a weak source, while others of them totally exclude him. Al-Rabī’ narrated it from al-Shāfi‘ī, from al-Qāsim, from Ja‘far, from his father, from his grandfather, from whom he narrated only the story of the consolation with a full line of transmission. In that line there is reference to the aforementioned al-Umari. We mention him here so that there be no delusion about him.

However, the ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī did narrate it, from al-Hākim, from Abū Ja‘far al-Baghdādī, quoting ‘Abd Allah b. al-Ḥarīth, or ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Murtāzīd al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Abū al-Walīd al-Mahzūmī, quoting Anas b. Ḥuyyā‘, from Ja‘far b. Muḥammad, Ja‘bir b. ‘Abd Allah, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, a voice called out to people; they could hear the voice but not see the speaker. It said, ‘Peace be upon you, people of the house, and mercy, and His blessings. In God there is consolation from all disaster and permanence from all transience. Put your trust in God and in Him hope. Those truly deprived
are those deprived of reward. Peace be upon you all, and God's mercy and blessings.'"

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, "Even though one of these two lines of transmission is weak, the one does substantiate the other, and shows that it originates from the hadith of Ja'far. But God knows best."

Abū 'Abd Allah al-Hāfiz informed us, quoting Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Bälawayh, quoting Muhammad b. Bishr b. Maṭar, quoting Kāmil b. Ṭalḥa, quoting 'Abbād b. 'Abd aI-Samad, from Anas b. Malik, who said, "When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, his Companions stared at him and gathered around him weeping. Then a large, handsome man with a white beard arrived who watched them and wept. He then turned to the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and said, 'There is in God consolation for every disaster, compensation for everything that passes away, and substitute for all that perishes. Return to God and express to Him your wishes. His gaze is towards you in your distress, so look. The afflicted are those not restored.' He then left."

"They asked one another, 'Do you know this man?' Abū Bakr and 'Āli replied, 'Yes; this is al-Khīqr, the brother of the Messenger of God (SAAS)."

Al-Bayhaqi then stated, "'Ayyād b. 'Abd aI-Samad is a weak source. And this (tradition) is extremely objectionable."

Al-Hārīth b. Abū Usāma narrated from Muḥammad b. Sa'd, quoting Ḥāshim b. al-Qāsim, quoting Ṣāliḥ al-Mizzi, from ʿAbū Ḥāzim al-Madani, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) was taken away by God, the Almighty and Glorious, the muhājirūn went in in groups, praying over him and then leaving. The anṣār would go in next and do the same, then the people of Medina followed. After the men had finished, the women went in. From among them there came cries of the kind that occurred in the past.

Then they heard a thud inside the house and knew and kept silent. Suddenly a voice spoke, "In God there is consolation from all that passes away and compensation from all disaster, substitute for all that perishes. The person restored is one whom the reward (of God) has restored; the one (truly) afflicted is he whom the reward does not restore.'"

Section: Narratives telling of the knowledge of 'The People of the Book' (the Christians and the Jews) of the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated that 'Abd Allah b. Idrīs related to him, from Ismā'īl b. Abū Khalīd, from Qays b. Abū Ḥāzim, from Jarir b. 'Abd Allah al-Ba'jāh, who said, "I was in Yemen and met two men from there, (one named) Dhū Kalā', the other Dhū 'Amr. I began talking with them about the Messenger of God (SAAS). They told me, 'If what you say is true, your master passed away three days ago.'"

"I continued on, as did they with me. On the road a party travelling from Medina appeared before us. We questioned them and they told us, "The
Messenger of God (SAAS) has passed away and Abu Bakr was appointed his successor; the people are fine."

He went on, "The two Yemenis then said to me, 'Tell your master that we came; perhaps we will return, if God the Almighty and Glorious so wills it.'"

"The two men did return to Yemen. When I arrived, I informed Abu Bakr what they had said. He asked, 'Why did you not bring them?'

"Later, Dhu 'Amr said to me, 'Jarir, I owe you a favour; I'm going to inform you of something. You Arab people will continue to be fine for so long as whenever one of your leaders dies you appoint another to power. If, however, it happens by the sword, you'll end up a kingdom, enduring the rage of the kings and being pleased when they so please.'"

Imām Ahmad narrated it thus, as did al-Bukhārī, from Abu Bakr b. Abu Shayba. Al-Bayhaqi also narrated it thus, from al-Hākim, from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, from Ya'qūb b. Sufyān.

Al-Bayhaqi stated that al-Hākim informed him, quoting 'Ali b. al-Mutawakkil, quoting Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Ya'qūb b. Ishaq al-Hāḍrami, quoting Za'īda, from Ziyād b. 'Alaqa, from Jarir, who said, "A high priest met me in Yemen and told me, 'If your master was a prophet, he died on Monday.'"

That is how al-Bayhaqi narrated it.

Imām Ahmad stated that Abū Sa'īd related to him, quoting Za'īda, quoting Ziyād b. 'Alaqa, from Jarir, who said, "A high priest in Yemen told me, 'If your master was a prophet, he died today.'" Jarir added, "And he died on Monday."

Al-Bayhaqi stated that Abū al-Husayn b. Bishrān al-Mu'addil of Baghdad informed him, quoting Abu Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Amr, quoting Muḥammad b. al-Haytham, quoting Sa'īd b. Kathîr b. Uffayr, quoting 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ka'b b. 'Alaqa b. Ka'b b. 'Adi al-Tantūkhī, from 'Amr b. al-Ḥārith, from Nasīm b. Ajbal, from Ka'b b. 'Adi, who said, "I arrived in a delegation from the people of al-Hira to the Prophet (SAAS), and he explained Islam to us. We accepted Islam and then left for al-Hira."

"Soon news reached us of the death of the Prophet (SAAS). My friends were confused by this and said, 'Well, if he were a prophet, he would not have died!' I replied, 'The prophets before him died.' So I remained firm in my Islam. Later I left for Medina and passed by a monk without whose advice we never decided anything. I asked him, 'Would you advise me about something that is bothering me?' He replied, 'Bring me some name.' I brought him a bone dice." He said, 'Cast it into this text', referring to a text he had brought out. So I cast the bone into it. He then leafed through the text and came upon the description of the Prophet (SAAS), just as I had seen him. And it was foretold that he would die at the time his death actually occurred.

156. The word used is kāb,' an oblong bone from an animal's foot that was used as a dice. The game of kāb' was forbidden in the Qur'ān. The narrator's name is also "Ka'b", so it is possible that he brought the monk, who had asked for a name, something that bore his own name.
“And so my conviction in my faith was strengthened. I went to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and told him of this, then I remained there with him. After that he dispatched me to Chosroes, and I later returned. Ūmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb also dispatched me to him and I delivered to him his (Ŭmar’s) letter. Then the battle of Yarmūk took place, without my having knowledge of it. He (Chosroes) asked me, ‘Do you know that the Byzantines have killed and routed the Arabs?’ I replied, ‘Not possible!’ ‘Why not?’ he asked. I replied, ‘God promised His Prophet that he would give him victory over all religions, and He is not one to break His promise.’ He told me, ‘Your Prophet spoke the truth to you. The Byzantines were killed. And God did kill ʿĀd.’ He then asked me about the most important Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and I told him of them. He gave gifts to Ūmar and to them also. Those to whom he made gifts were ʿAlī, ʿĀbd al-Ḥamīm and al-Zubayr.”

The sub-narrator stated, “And I think he also named ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Rasūl.”

Ka’b went on, “I had been a partner of Ūmar in a cloth business during the jāhiyya. When Ūmar imposed the diwān system, he put me in charge of Banū ʿAd b. Ka’b.”

This is a strange tradition and contains surprising information. It meets the criteria for the category of sabih.

**DIVISION**

Muhammad b. Ishāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, the Arab tribes seceded. Judaism and Christianity became arrogant and hypocrisy spread. The Muslims became like sheep in the rain on a winter’s night at loss of their Prophet (SAAS), until God united them around Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.”

Ibn Ḥishām stated, “Abū ʿUbayda and other scholars related to me that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, most of the Meccans considered leaving Islam — and indeed were intending to do so. ʿAttāb b. Usayd,” may God be pleased with him, was afraid of them and went into hiding. But then Suhayl b. ʿAmr, may God be pleased with him, arose, gave praise and thanks to God, then made reference to the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He said, ‘That event has only increased the strength of Islam; and we will behead anyone doubting it!’ And so the Meccans reconsidered and gave up what they had been considering. ʿAttāb b. Usayd reappeared. This is the position the Messenger of God (SAAS) prophesied that Suhayl would take, as shown by his words to Ūmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When, that is, ’Ūmar made reference to pulling out Suhayl’s two front teeth when he was among the prisoners at the battle of Badr, the Messenger...

157. The system instituted by the Caliph Ūmar that regulated both taxation and payments for governmental employees, both civilian and military.
158. Ibn Ishāq is apparently quoting ʿAbī Ḥāṣa in these words. See Guillaume, op. cit. page 689.
159. The Muslim governor of Mecca.
of God (SAAS), had said, ‘He may well take a position for which you certainly won’t blame him!’”

We have recounted elsewhere the apostacy that occurred in many Arab tribes after the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and events involving Musaylima b. Ḥabib, the self-professed prophet in al-Yamāma, and the uprising of al-Aswād al-‘Ānsī in Yemen. We have there shown what became of these people, until they retracted and came back to God, expressing repentance and regret for the great stupidity and ignorance they had displayed in seceding, attitudes to which they had been seduced by Satan. God then gave them aid and settled them down, restoring them to His true religion at the hands of his caliph, Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, may God be pleased with him.

DIVISION

Ibn Iṣṭaqq and others quote poems by Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, on the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS). One of the finest and most eloquent of these is that narrated by ‘Abd al-Malik b. Hishām, may God be pleased with him, from Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī, in which Ḥassān b. Thābit, may God be pleased with him, mourns the Messenger of God (SAAS):

“At Tayba traces remain of the Messenger, and a light-emitting locality, though traces may often fade and disappear.

The signs of a sacred building with the minbar the guide would mount will never disappear.

It signs are clear, its features lasting, and that home with a chapel and a mosque.

There are chambers amidst which light from God would descend, giving illumination and fire,

Knowledge that will never be effaced, signs which, if removed become renewed.

There I knew the Messenger’s design and commission and a grave in whose dust he was hidden and buried.

I remained there weeping for the Messenger, though the eyes of the spirits were delighted,

Recalling those blessings of the Messenger. I see my soul unable to enumerate and so is confused.

My spirit is tormented, drained by loss of Āḥmad, as it goes on enumerating the wonders of the Messenger.

It cannot manage to account for one-tenth of all his deeds, and my soul has still more to suffer.

I stood long there at the mound of that grave containing Āḥmad, my eyes weeping all they could.

160. In Ibn Kathīr’s work al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya.
You are blessed indeed, grave of the Messenger, and blessed you, that land where the wise and rightly-guided one resided.

Blessed be that grave that contains a good man, over which stands a structure of broad stones in tiers.

Hands poured earth over him, eyes their tears, and at that the stars set.

They sent away wisdom, knowledge and mercy, that night they covered him, pillowless, with dirt.

Then they left sadly, their Prophet not among them, their backs and arms feeling weak,

Weeping for one whose death-day the heavens and the earth mourn, and the people were more sad.

Could ever mourning for a dead man equal that of the day when Muhammad died?

A day when the site of revelation was taken from them, a source of light that gave benefit and help.

Leading to the Merciful One those who imitated him, saving them from the horror of shame, guiding aright,

An imam for them energetically leading them to the truth, a teacher of truth; those obeying him found happiness,

Forgiving their errors, accepting their excuse; if they behaved well, God was very generous with reward.

If disaster struck them too hard to bear, from Him came ease for what pained them

While they enjoyed God's favour, a guide amidst them to show the way to be followed.

It hurt him if they strayed from the true path, and he was eager that they go straight in right guidance.

He was sympathetic towards them, not excluding any from his protection, leading them towards shelter.

While there in that light an arrow sent by death struck into their light,

And so Muhammad was sent back to God while the angels mourned him while giving praise.

The sites in the land of the sacred places became desolate at the absence of the revelation it had known,

Deserted, except for that spot with the grave where our long-lost friend rests, between Balat and Gharqad

And his mosque and those places deserted at his loss are an empty area where once he stood and prostrated.

And the great stoning mound there, the houses, vacant land, encampments and birth-sites miss him.

161. Balat was the area between Medina's mosque and the market, and Gharqad was its graveyard. The words mean, respectively, “even ground” and “box tree”.

Weep tears, eye, for the Messenger of God, and may I never know you with your tears dried up!

What is wrong with you, eye, that you do not weep for that generous man whose ample robe encompassed the people?

Shed tears copiously and mourn aloud at loss of him the like of whom will never again exist.

The ancients never lost the like of Muhammad, and his like will never be mourned again till Judgement Day.

Nor any one more kind or trustworthy in obligation after obligation, nor anyone more generous, one never ill-tempered.

Nor anyone more munificent with wealth both newly acquired and long-held; while others are generous, some are niggardly with their inheritance.

Nor anyone more noble in descent in the clans when ancestry is checked, not more noble in ancestry to leaders of the (Mecca) valley,

Nor anyone more fortified by eminence, nor more secure in a prominence that is supported by towering supports.

Nor anyone more firm in his roots and his branches and his trunk, watered by rain clouds, his trunk strong and supple.

It was an illustrious Lord who reared him, bringing him to perfection in the most fine of deeds.

Instruction for the Muslims rested with him, and knowledge was not kept back, nor was opinion disapproved.

I say, and no one could complain at my words, unless devoid of sense and out of touch,

That it is not my intent to refrain from praising him; it may be that I will reside in paradise forever, and to attain that day I will constantly strive.”

The ḥāfiz Abū al-Qāsim al-Suhaylī stated at the end of his book al-Rawaḍ that Abū Sufyān b. al-Ḥārith Ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib said, in mourning over the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),

“I lay awake, my night endless, and the night of the friend of one struck down is ever long.

My weeping cheered me, and my mourning was little indeed compared to what the Muslims had lost.

Our disaster was enormous, momentous, that evening when it was said that the Messenger had died.

Our very earth, because of what had afflicted it, seemed ready to quake.

We had lost the divine inspiration and its revelation among us, that had been brought by Gabriel as he came to and fro.
That man was fully worthy to have the souls of the people flow out to him, or almost so.

A Prophet who would lift doubt away from us, by what was revealed to him, and what he said.

He guided us, and we never feared going astray, the Messenger being our guide.

O Fāṭimah, you have excuse indeed to mourn, but if you do not, that is the (right) path.

For the grave of your father is the most important grave of all, and in it lies the most important of men, the Messenger.”

Chapter: Information showing that the Prophet (ṣaas) did not leave a dinár, a dirham, a slave, a slave-girl, a sheep, a camel, nor anything to be inherited from him — except for land, all of which he left as a charitable offering to God, the Almighty and Glorious.

The world and all things thereon were to him — as they are to God — too insignificant for him to strive after, or to leave as inheritance — may God’s prayers and greetings be upon him and upon his brother prophets and messengers, fully and constantly, until Judgement Day.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Qutayba related to him, quoting Abu aI-AI)Wat;, from Abu Isl:taq, from ‘Amr b. al-Barith, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṣaas) did not leave a dinár, a dirham, a slave, a slave-girl — nothing except his white mule that he used to ride, his weapons and land that he left as a charitable bequest for wayfarers.”

Al-Bukhārī is alone in giving this; Muslim did not. Al-Bukhārī narrated it in various places in his sahih collection, from various lines of transmission from Abu al-Ahwaṣ, Sufyān al-Thawrī and Zuhayr b. Muqāwiya.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from a hadith of Isrā’īl. Al-Nasā’ī gave it also, from a hadith of Yūnus b. Abu Isḥaq, all of them quoting from Abu Isḥaq. ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sabi’ī, from ‘Amr b. al-Hārith b. al-Muṣṭaliq b. Abū Dīnār, the brother of Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith, “the mother of the Believers”, may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Al:tmad stated that Abū Muqāwiya related to him, quoting al-A’mash and Ibn Numayr, from al-A’mash, from Shaqīq, from Masrūq, from ʿĀ’isha, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṣaas) did not leave a dinár, a dirham, a sheep, a camel, nor did he leave testamentary statements over anything.”

Muslim is alone in narrating it, al-Bukhārī not having given it. Abu Da’ūd, al-Nasā’ī and Ibn Māja gave it from several lines from Sulaymān b. Mahrān al-A’mash, from Shaqīq b. Salama Abū Wātīl, from Masrūq b. al-ʿAjda’, from the mother of the Believers, ʿĀ’isha, “the trusting lady”, the daughter of (Abū Bakr) “the trusting”, the beloved of him beloved by God, the lady declared innocent from above the seven heavens, may God be pleased with her and give her pleasure.
Imām Aḥmad stated that Ḥabīb b. Abī al-Ḥārīm related to him, from Sufyān, from Ṭālha, from Zīr, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a dinār, a dirham, a slave-gir, a slave, a sheep or a camel.”

(Imām Aḥmad also stated), “ʿAbd al-Rahmān related to us, from Sufyān, from Ṭālha b. Zīr, from ʿĀʾisha (who said), ‘The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a dinār, a dirham, a slave or a camel.’”

Sufyān stated, “That is the extent of my knowledge; I have doubts about (the reference to) the slave and the slave-gir.”

Al-Tirmīzī narrated it thus in al-Shamā’il from Bindar, from ʿAbd al-Rāḥmān b. Mahdī.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wāki‘ related to him, quoting Misʿār, from Ṭālha b. Abū al-Nujūd, from Zīr, who quoted ʿĀʾisha, as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a dinār, a dirham, a slave, a female slave, a sheep or a camel.”

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus, without (expression of) doubt.

Al-Bayḥaqī narrated it from Abū Zakariyya b. Abū Isḥāq al-Muzakki, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Wahhab, quoting Jaʿfar b. Ḥārīm, quoting ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī, from ʿĀʾisha, who said, “Are you asking me about the inheritance left by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)? He did not leave a dinār, a dirham, a slave or a slave-born female.”

Misʿār is quoted as having said, “I think he said, ‘or a sheep or a camel’.”

Al-Bayḥaqī went on to state that Misʿār informed him, from ‘Ādi b. Thābit, from Abūl Ḥusayn, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a dinār, a dirham, a slave or a slave-born female.”

It is established in both saḥīḥ collections, from a hadīth of al-Aʾmash, from ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Zayd b. Ḥārūn, from ‘Āʾisha, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died while his armour was mortgaged to a Jew for 30 sāʾ of barley.”

Al-Bayḥaqī went on to state that ‘Ādi b. Thābit informed him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥanūsah, quoting Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Qālānīṣī, quoting ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Qālānīṣī, quoting Adam, quoting Shaybān, from Qatāda, from Anas, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was invited to a meal of barley bread and rancid fat.” Anas went on, “And I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘By 162. The Arabic printed text quotes al-Bukhārī as adding, ‘For 30 sāʾ weight of barley, that is.”
Him who holds the life of Muhammad in his hands, Muhammad's family has no longer a sa'i's weight of wheat or of dates.' At that time he had nine wives. He had pawned a coat of armour he had to a Jew in Medina in exchange for food; and he had not found money to redeem it up to his death.'

Ibn Maja narrated some of this from a hadith of Sufyân b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Naâwi, from Qatâda.

Imâm Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Samad related to him, quoting Thabit, quoting Hilal, from Ïkrama, from Ibn 'Abbâs who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) gazed towards Mt. Uḥud and said, 'By Him who holds my soul in His hand, how it would please me if Mt. Uḥud belonged to Muhammad's people and I could spend it in God's cause! The day I die I would have two dinârs worth of it; these, however, I would set aside for debt.'"

"He did die, but did not leave a dinâr, a dirham, a slave, nor a slave-born female. He left his armour still pledged to a Jew for thirty weight of barley."

Ibn Maja narrated the latter part of this, from 'Abd Allâh b. Mu'âwiya al-Jumâhi, from Thabit b. Yazid, from Hilal b. Khabbâb al-Abâlî al-Kûfî. For the first part there is testimony in the collections from a hadith of Abû Dharr, may God be pleased with him.

Imâm Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Samad, Abû Sa'id and 'Affân related to him, quoting Thabit— Ibn Yazid, that is— quoting Hilal— Ibn Khabbâb, that is— from Ïkrama, from Ibn 'Abbâs, that 'Umar came in to see the Prophet (SAAS), while he was lying on a straw mat that had left a mark on his side. 'Umar asked, 'Prophet of God, should you not have a more comfortable bed than this?' He replied, 'I'm not concerned with worldly things; I am merely like a rider travelling on a summer's day, resting for a while during the day time beneath a tree, then moving away and leaving it behind.'"

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. Its line of transmission is excellent. There is testimony to it from a hadith of Ibn 'Abbâs, from 'Umar, regarding the two women who protested to the Messenger of God (SAAS); and also in the story of the abstinance from marital relations. The hadith, and others like it, relating this will come later in discussion of the asceticism of the Prophet (SAAS), and his disinterest in and disavowal of worldly things; all this will substantiate our statements that he cared nothing for things of this world.

Imâm Ahmad stated that Sufyân related to him, quoting 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Rufay', who said, "I and Shaddâd b. Ma'qîl went in to see Ibn 'Abbâs, who told us, 'The Messenger of God (SAAS) left nothing except what is contained between these two covers.' We then went to see Muḥammad b. 'Ali and he told us the same."

Al-Bukhârî narrated this similarly, from Qutayba, from Sufyân b. 'Uyayna. Al-Bukhârî stated that Abû Nu'aym related to him, quoting Malik b. Mîghwâl, from Ŧalhâ, who said, "I asked 'Abd Allâh b. Abû Awfâ, 'Did the Prophet (SAAS) leave a will?' 'No,' he replied. I asked, 'Why was it, then, recorded that
the people should make wills or that they were ordered to do so?” He replied, ‘He bequeathed the Book of God, Almighty and Glorious is He.’”

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim, and all the orthodox scholars, except Abū Dā’ūd, narrated this, from several lines of transmission, from Mālik b. Mi‘wāl. Al-Tirmidhī stated, “It is ḥasan ṣaḥīḥ ḡarīb; we know of it only from the ḥadīth of Mālik b. Mīghwāl.”

NOTICE.

Many ḥadīth exist that we will give shortly after this section, relating to dwellings, apartments for his wives, slaves both female and male, horses, camels, weapons, a mule, a donkey, clothes, furnishings, a ring and various other things owned by the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) during his life. We will give the evidences and lines of transmission for the statements relating to all this.

Perhaps the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ) gave many of these away as gifts to charity during his life; and he manumitted his slaves, both male and female. He also set aside some of his belongings, along with the two tracts of land of Banū al-Naḍīr, and that at Khaybar and Fadak to which God entrusted him, for the benefit of the Muslims.

We will explain all this, if God so wills it. However, he did not leave any of that to be inherited absolutely from himself, as we will show shortly. And God’s help is to be sought.

Chapter: Evidence to the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ) having said, ‘We will not leave (property for) inheritance’.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān related to him, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-ʿAraj, from Abū Hurayra to whom this evidence came. He once said, “The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) said, ‘My heirs will not inherit a dinār nor a dirham; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees, is to be treated as a charity.’”

Al-Bukhārī, Muslim and Abū Dā’ūd narrated it from various sources from Mālik b. Anas, from Abū al-Zinād ʿAbd Allāḥ b. Dhakwān, from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Hurmuz al-ʿAraj, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) said, “My heirs will not inherit a dinār nor a dirham; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees, is to be treated as a charity.”

This is the text of al-Bukhārī.

Al-Bukhārī went on to state that ʿAbd Allāḥ b. Maslama related to him, from Mālik, from Ibn Shihāb, from Urwa, from Aḥīsah, who stated that, following the death of the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ), his wives wished to send ʿUthmān to Abū Bakr for him to ask about their inheritances. Aḥīsah said, “But did the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) not say, ‘We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity?’”
Muslim narrated it thus, from Yahyā b. Yahyā. Abū Dā’ūd gave it from al-Qā‘īnabī, al-Nasā‘ī from Qutayba. All of them quoted it from Mālik.

This comment was from one of the inheriting wives – if inheritance had been decreed – who acknowledged that the Messenger of God (SAAS) established his estate for charity, not inheritance. It is clear that the remainder of “the mothers of the Believers” agreed with what she narrated and remembered what had been said to them in that regard. Her expression shows that this was a matter well established among them. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Ismā‘īl b. Abān related to him, quoting ʻAbd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī, from ʻUrwa, from ʻA‘īsha, who said that the Prophet (SAAS) stated, “We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity.”

Al-Bukhārī also stated, under the section entitled, The statements made by the Messenger of God (SAAS) as follows, “ʻAbd Allāh b. Muhammad related to us, quoting Hishām, quoting Ma‘mar, from al-Zuhrī, from ʻUrwa, from ʻA‘īsha, that ʻAtīma and al-ʻAbbās went to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, to receive their inheritance from the Messenger of God (SAAS). They were, at that time, seeking his land at Fadak and his share of Khaybar. Abū Bakr told them, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.”’”

“Abū Bakr went on, ‘I swear by God, I will never omit doing anything I saw the Messenger of God (SAAS) doing.’”

“ʻAtīma then left him and did not speak to him again from then to her death.”

Imām Ahmad narrated it thus from ʻAbd al-Razzāq, from Ma‘mar.

Ahmad then narrated it from Ya‘qūb b. ʻIbrāhīm, from his father, from Ṣalīḥ b. Kaysān, from al-Zuhrī, from ʻUrwa, from ʻA‘īsha, that following the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS), ʻAtīma asked Abū Bakr for her inheritance from what he had left that God had provided him. Abū Bakr told her, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.’” ʻAtīma grew angry and left Abū Bakr; she continued avoiding him up to her death.

Ahmad stated, “ʻAtīma lived on for six months following the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS).” And he proceeded to narrate the hadith.

Imām Ahmad stated it thus. Al-Bukhārī narrated this hadith in his work Kitāb al-Maghrāzi within his sahih collection, from Ibn Bukayr, from al-Layth, from ʻAqīl, from al-Zuhrī, from ʻUrwa, from ʻA‘īsha, as is given above. And he added, “When she died, ʻAlī buried her at night. He did not inform Abū Bakr; he did pray over her.”

(ʻA‘īsha stated,) “During the life of ʻAtīma, ʻAlī had great prestige among the people. When ʻAtīma died, he lost this special position and set about making peace with Abū Bakr and pledging allegiance to him. He had not pledged allegiance for those months. So he sent a message to Abū Bakr, saying, ‘Come to
us, but don’t bring anyone else.’ He did not want ‘Umar to come because of what he knew of ‘Umar’s severity. ‘Umar said, (to Abu Bakr), ‘Don’t go in to them alone, by God!’ Abū Bakr replied, ‘What could they do to me? I shall go to them, by God!’

‘Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, then set off. ‘Ali spoke the shahāda and went on, ‘We well know your virtue and what God has awarded you. We’ll not envy you for the good to which God has led you. But you monopolized power, to which we thought, because of our close relationship to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we had a right to share.’ ‘Ali went on talking until Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, wept. The latter then said, ‘By Him in whose hand is my soul, I would prefer to do good to relatives of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), than to my own! Regarding the question of the properties that inspired antagonism between us, I am not inclining in this away from what is right; I would never omit doing anything that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had himself done.’

“When Abū Bakr had finished performing the al-zuhr prayer, he mounted the minbar and spoke the shahāda. He then made reference to ‘Ali’s having been late in pledging allegiance to him and the excuses he had made that had been accepted. ‘Ali, may God be pleased with him, then spoke the shahāda and emphasized Abū Bakr’s right and went on to refer to his virtue and precedence. He stated that his actions had not been influenced by any jealousy towards Abū Bakr. He then went up to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, and expressed his allegiance to him. The people gathered around ‘Ali saying, ‘You have done well!’ ‘Ali became very popular when he rejoined the common cause.”

Al-Bukhārī also narrated this, as did Muslim, Abū Da‘ūd, and al-Nasa’ī, from several lines of transmission, from al-Zuhri, from ‘Urwa, from ‘A’isha in similar form.

This pledge of allegiance made by ‘Ali, may God be pleased with him, to Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, came after the death of Fatimah, may God be pleased with her. It affirmed the peace between them. It was subsequent to that pledge to which we referred first on that day in the hall, as was narrated by Ibn Khuzayma and declared authentic by Muslim b. al-Ḥajjaj. ‘Ali had not been avoiding Abū Bakr for these six months, but had been performing the prayer behind him and attending al-mashwara, “the consultative assemblies”, with him. He had also accompanied him to Dhū al-Qiṣṣa.

In the sahīh collection of al-Bukhārī it is stated that Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, performed the al-‘asr prayer some nights following the death of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and, leaving the mosque, found al-Ḥasan, ‘Ali’s son, playing with the other boys. He carried him on his back and began chanting,

“Oh, by my father, the image of the Prophet, but not the image of ‘Ali!”

‘Ali was laughing. However, when this second pledge of allegiance took place, some narrators believed that ‘Ali had not spoken a pledge before that, and denied
that he had done so. But what is positively affirmed takes precedence over what is negative, as we have shown and stated above. But God knows best.

As for the anger being expressed by Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her and give her pleasure, against Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him and give him pleasure, I cannot account for it.

If it was due to his refusal to award her the inheritance for which she asked him, he had given her a reason that had to be accepted. This was his reference to the statement by her father, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, “Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.” She was one of those who submitted to the text of the law-giver that had been unknown to her before she asked about inheritance, just as it was unknown to the wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS), until Ṭāḥitha informed them all of it; and they accepted it.

It should not be thought of Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, that she was making some accusation to (Abū Bakr) “the trusting”, may God be pleased with him, for what he had told her – heaven forbid that, both for her and for him! How could this be, since ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, ʿĀl b. Abū Ṭalib, al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Saʿd b. Abū Waqqās, Abū Hurayra and ʿAʾisha had all agreed with him in his narration of this hadith, as we will shortly demonstrate. And even if it had been an account narrated solely by Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, it would still have been incumbent upon the whole world to accept it, and to yield to him in the matter.

If her anger related to what she had asked Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, these lands were a public charity, not an inheritance that her husband should supervise. His reason amounted to his assertion that, because he was the successor of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he considered it his duty to do as the former had done, and to rule as he had. The hadith quotes him as saying, “I will never omit doing anything I saw the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) doing.” And it goes on, “Fāṭima then avoided him and did not speak to him again from then to her death.”

This circumstance and her estrangement from him opened a broad field for the “rejectionist faction” and extensive foolishness, because of which they intruded themselves where they had no business.

Had they properly understood, they would have credited Abū Bakr with his virtue and accepted the reason he gave as it should be by everyone.

However, they are a forsaken faction, a contemptible group, people who stubbornly maintain the dubious, while ignoring what is accepted as definite and incontrovertible by the great imāms of Islam, the Companions and their immediate successors, and the well-respected scholars who followed them throughout the ages and everywhere – may God be pleased with them all and give them pleasure!
Al-Bukhārī stated that Yahyā b. Bukayr narrated to him, quoting al-Layth, from ‘Aqīl, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, “Mālik b. Aws b. al-Ḥadathān informed me” — and Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Mut‘im also narrated part of this hadith, saying that he went in to him, (Mālik) and asked him and that he replied to him as follows: “I had gone in to see Umar, when his doorkeeper, Yarfā came and asked him, ‘Would you like to see Uthmān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, al-Zubayr and Sa‘d?’ He replied, ‘Yes, let them come in.’ Yarfā then asked, ‘And ʿAlī and ʿAbbās too?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.’

ʿAbbās asked, ‘Commander of the Believers, give judgement between myself and this man (ʿAlī).’ Umar replied, ‘I charge you by God through whose permission the heavens and the earth exist, do you know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity”, and that by this he (the Prophet) was referring to himself?’ The group agreed that he had indeed said that. Umar then approached ʿAlī and ʿAbbās and said, ‘Do you both know that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said that?’ They replied, ‘Yes, he did say that.’

Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb went on, ‘I will talk to you about this matter. God chose His Messenger for this fa‘rābī, as something he had not given to anyone else. As God stated, ‘What God had awarded as fa‘rābī for His messenger . . . has power over all things’ (sūrat al-Ḥāshr; LIX, v.6).

‘That property was therefore specifically for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He did not, however, I swear by God, keep it for himself or withhold it from you, but gave out its income which he distributed to you so that the present property remained. And from it he would provide the yearly expenses for his family, treating whatever remained as God’s property. He acted in this way throughout his life. I adjure you by God, do you know that?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied. Umar then asked ʿAlī and ʿAbbās, ‘I adjure you by God, do you two men know that?’ ‘Yes,’ they replied.

‘Umar went on, ‘Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) died and Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, said, ‘I am the successor of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ And he took that property and managed it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. Then Abū Bakr died and I said, ‘Now I am the successor of the successor to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ And I took that property for two years, managing it as the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had done. Then you both came to me, each saying the same thing and making the same case. Eventually you (ʿAbbās) came to me asking me for your share from the property of your nephew (the Prophet (ṢAAS)). After that, this man (ʿAlī) came requesting
the share of his wife from her father. I told you both, 'If you wish, I will give it to you to be managed in the same way.' Are you now seeking from me a different judgement? By God by whose permission the heavens and earth exist, I'll never give you any decision that is different, not even till Judgement Day! If you are incapable of managing it, then return it to me, and I'll take care of it for you!""

Al-Bukhari narrated this in various places in his *sahih* collection. Muslim and the other orthodox scholars gave it from various lines, from al-Zuhri.

In one narrative in both *sahih* collections, 'Umar is quoted as saying, "Then Abū Bakr became in charge of it, and managed it as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had done. And God knows that he was truthful, pious, rightly guided, and always in pursuit of the truth. Then I took control of it and managed it as had both the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Abū Bakr. And God knows that I too am truthful, pious, rightly guided and always in pursuit of the truth. Then you both came to me and I gave it over to your control, to manage it as had the Messenger of God (SAAS), Abū Bakr and I. I adjure you by God, did I not pass it to you to do likewise?" 'Yes,' they said. 'Umar then said to them, 'I adjure you two men by God, did I not pass it to you both to do likewise?' 'Yes,' they said. 'Umar went on, 'Do you (now) seek from me some different decision? No, by Him whose permission the heavens and the earth exist!""

Imām Aḥmad stated that Sufyān narrated to him, from ʿAmr, from al-Zuhri, from Mālik b. Aws, who said, "I heard ʿUmar say to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Saʿd, 'I implore you by God by whose order the heavens and the earth exist, do you know that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, "Our property will not be inherited; we have left it as charity"?' "Yes," they said."

This *ḥadīth* meets the criteria of both *sahih* collections.

I note that what the two men asked him — though God knows best — was that, following the award of authority to them, the income would be divided between them so that they would receive what would have been their right if it had been decreed that each be an actual heir to the land.

They apparently sent ahead of themselves a group of the Companions, including ʿUthmān, Ibn ʿAfw, Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr and Saʿd. They had developed a serious rivalry because the management authority had been divided between them. The Companions who had gone on ahead asked ʿUmar, "Commander of the Believers, decide between them both. Or relieve one of the other."

It seems that ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him, was reluctant to divide authority between them as if dividing a heritage, even if doing so only in appearance, since he wished to act in accord with the words of the Messenger of God (SAAS), 'Our property is not to be inherited; what we leave will be for charity.' He therefore resisted them all and gave them an outright refusal, may God be pleased with him.

ʿAlī and al-ʿAbbās continued thereafter to manage the property jointly up to the time of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. Then ʿAlī gained the advantage to it and al-ʿAbbās
gave it up to him, with the assent of his son 'Abd Allah, may God be pleased with them both, in the presence of 'Uthmān. Ahmad narrated to this effect in his musnad collection. It has continued to be controlled by the 'Alawī community.

I have closely examined the lines of transmission of this hadith and its phraseology in both musnad collections of aḥādīth of the shaikhān, Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, may God be pleased with them both. For each one I have assembled a large volume of narrations they made relating to the Messenger of God (SAA), and their views on what constitutes proper and useful law. I have arranged this material under legal headings currently used today.

I have narrated that Fāṭima, may God be pleased with her, initially argued using analogy and general reference to verses in the Holy Qurʾān. Abū Bakr responded to her by quoting the texts restricting the rights of the Prophet (SAA), and she accepted his words. This is what is attributed to her, may God be pleased with her.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān narrated to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Salama, from Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, from Abū Salama, that Fāṭima asked Abū Bakr, “Who would inherit for you if you died?” “My son and my family,” he replied. She asked, “Then why can we not inherit from the Messenger of God (SAA)?” He replied, “I heard the Messenger of God (SAA) say, ‘Prophets do not leave (property for) inheritance.’ However, I myself provide for those whom the Messenger of God (SAA) provided and give money to those to whom the Messenger of God (SAA) gave.”

Al-Tirmidhi narrated it in his collection, from Muḥammad b. al-Muthanna, from Abū al-Walīd al-Ṭayalisi, from Muḥammad b. ‘Amr, from Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra. Al-Tirmidhi gave it with a full line of transmission and categorized it as being ḥasan saḥīḥ igharīb.

There is also the hadith given by Imām Aḥmad, who stated that ‘Abd Allah b. Muḥammad b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Fuqayl, from al-Walīd b. Jumay‘, from Abū al-Ṭufayl, who said, “When the Messenger of God (SAA) died, Fāṭima sent the following message to Abū Bakr: ‘Is it you who inherited from the Messenger of God (SAA), or his family? ’ He replied, ‘Not me, his family.’ She then asked, ‘So where is the share of the Messenger of God (SAA)?’ Abū Bakr replied, ‘I heard him say, ‘If God gives provision to a prophet then takes him away, He leaves that provision to whomever succeeds him.’ So I thought I should return it to the Muslims.’ She responded, ‘Then (do) as you (think) and heard from the Messenger of God (SAA).’”

Abū Da‘ud narrated it thus from ‘Uthmān b. Abū Shayba, from Muḥammad b. Fuqayl.

This hadith is somewhat strange and objectionable. It may have been narrated in the sense that some sources understood it. These include some who love Shi’i tendencies; this should be known.

164. The descendants of ‘Alī, that is.
The best aspect of this hadith is her having said, “Then (do) as you (think) and heard from the Messenger of God (SAAS).” This is correct and what is to be expected of her, appropriate to her situation, her leadership role, her knowledge and her faith. May God be pleased with her!

It seems that it was after this that she asked him to appoint her husband manager of this charitable property, but he did not agree to that, as we have shown. And because of that she scolded him. She was a woman like all Adam’s daughters, becoming upset as they all do; she is certainly not infallible, in light of the existence of a text from the Messenger of God (SAAS), and her opposition to Abu Bakr, “the trusting”; may God be pleased with her!

And we have narrated of Abu Bakr, may God be pleased with him, that he did reconcile with Fāṭima and treated her kindly before her death, and this pleased her, may God be pleased with him.

The ḥāfiz Abu Bakr al-Bayhaqi stated that Abu ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ya’qūb informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, quoting ʿAbdān b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAkt, of Nishapur, quoting Abu Jamra, from Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khalid, from al-Shaṭiʿ, who said, “When Fāṭima fell ill, Abu Bakr went and asked permission to visit with her. ʿAli said, ‘Fāṭima, this is Abu Bakr. May he visit with you?’ She asked, ‘Do you wish me to give him permission?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied.

“She permitted him to enter and he did so, in order to cheer her. He said, ‘I swear by God, I have never left home, property, family and tribe unless to please God, His Messenger and all of you, his family!’ He then reconciled with her so that she was content.”

The line of transmission for this is excellent and strong. It is clear that ʿĀmir al-Shaṭiʿ heard it from ʿAlī, or from someone who heard it directly from him.

The scholars who belong to the household of the Prophet (SAAS) acknowledge the soundness of Abu Bakr’s decision in this matter.

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqi stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥāfiz informed him, quoting Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣaffār, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Isḥāq, quoting Ṣaʿd b. ʿĀli, quoting Ibn Daʿūd, from ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, from Abū Ṭālib stated, ‘For my part, if I had been in Abū Bakr’s place, I would have reached the same decision he reached over (the property at) Fadak.’”

**DIVISION**

The al-rāṣifātun, “the rejectionists”, have spoken foolishly in this regard, pretending knowledge they did not actually have. They lied about what they had no knowledge and were unable to interpret. They intruded themselves into issues not of their concern.

Some of them have tried to refute Abū Bakr’s reported statement to which we have referred above by maintaining that it is contrary to the Qurʾān in which
God Almighty stated, “and Solomon was heir to David” (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, 16), and also to where the Almighty quotes Zakariyya by saying, “so grant me from Yourself someone to be my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob’s progeny. And make him, O Lord, pleasing (to You)” (*sūrat Maryam (Mary)*; XIX, v.5, 6).

Their quoting this as evidence is foolish from several viewpoints.

One is that in His words, “Solomon was heir to David” He was referring only to power and to prophethood, saying, in effect, “We have made him his successor in his exercise of power, management over his subjects and rule among the Israelites; We have made him a noble prophet like his father. Just as We combined kingship and prophethood in his father, so did we in his son after him.”

This does not mean in inheritance of wealth. For, as is stated by many commentators, David had very many sons, said to number 100. And why, then, should the reference have been made to only Solomon of all these, if what was meant was inheritance of property? What was meant by inheritance was Solomon’s assumption of the prophethood and power after David. This is why He stated, “and Solomon was heir to David”. And He quoted Solomon as saying, “0 my people! We have been taught the speech of birds, and we have been given (knowledge) of everything. This is assuredly manifest grace” (*sūrat al-Naml*; XXVII, v.16).

We have covered this issue fully and sufficiently in our work, *Tafsir (Exegesis)*. And all praise and credit belong to God.

Regarding the story of Zakariyya, he was, may peace be upon him, one of the noble company of prophets. He considered this world of too little consequence for him to ask God for a son to inherit his property; why should he, indeed, when he was, as al-Bukhārī tells us, merely a carpenter, living off his earnings? Providing merely for his own sustenance, he had no savings to bequeath, for which to need to ask God for an heir. And even if he had had property, what he did ask for was actually a righteous son to inherit prophethood from him and to work for the benefit of Banū Isra’īl and to lead them to righteousness. The Almighty therefore said, “Kāf hā ya’ān yād.” Mention of the mercy of Your Lord to His worshipper Zakariyya, when he called out to his Lord in a low voice, saying, ‘O God, my bones are become weak, and my head shines with greyness! And, O Lord, I have never been tiresome in praying to You. I fear those who will come after my time. My wife has been barren, and so grant me from Yourself someone to be my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob’s progeny. And make him, O Lord, pleasing (to You)” (*sūrat Maryam (Mary)*; XIX, v.1–6). The words were, “my successor to inherit from me and from Jacob’s progeny”. By this he meant the prophethood, as we have affirmed in our work, *al-Tafsir (Exegesis)*, and to God be all praise and credit.

165. A number of the *sūrat*, “chapters”, of the Qur’ān, as here, are prefixed by letters that offer themselves to various interpretations. These are discussed in the standard works of exegesis to which the interested reader may make reference.
It is given hereabove in the account of Abū Salama, from Abū Hurayra, from Abū Bakr, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Prophets do not leave (property) for inheritance.” This is a comprehensive, all-inclusive reference encompassing all prophets. Al-Tirmidhî categorized the hadith as hasan. And in another hadith he is quoted as saying, “We prophets do not leave (property for) inheritance.”

Secondly, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was singled out from all the prophets with ordinances in which others do not participate with him; we will give a separate chapter on this at the end of this biography, if God so wills it. If it is supposed that prophets other than himself might leave property in inheritance — and that is not the case — then that would have been narrated in the information we have given from the Companions, including the “four imāms”, Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān and ‘Aḥṭ, and this would have made clear his having been singled out from the others by this ordinance. 166

Thirdly, it is necessary to operate in accord with this hadith and to reach judgement on its basis as the caliphs did, its veracity having been recognized by the scholars, whether or not they regarded this as a unique feature of (the Prophet). He did, indeed, state, “We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we leave will be for charity.”

It is possible, therefore, from the phrase used, that the words of the Prophet (SAAS), “What we leave will be for charity”, represent information about his decision or that of the rest of the prophets, along with himself, in accord with the above; this seems apparent. It is also possible that the words constitute a testamentary statement, suggesting that he meant, “We will not leave (property for) inheritance, since all that we have left is for charity”, his specific purpose being to affirm the validity of all his property being considered to be for charity.

The first of these possibilities is preferable and is that accepted by the majority. The second might be considered strengthened by what is given above in the hadith of Mālik and others, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-A‘raj, from Abū Hurayra, to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “My heirs will not inherit a dinār nor a dirham; whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives and provision for my employees is to be treated as a charity.” 167 This wording is given in both sahih collections. It refutes the distortions spoken by that foolish faction of the ši‘a who read the phrase as, “What we leave is (to be considered) as an inheritance”, considering the negative particle mā as a “mā, ‘denying categorization’”. 168 Yet how would this work with the first part of the hadith, in which he stated, là nūrathu, “we will not be inherited from” 169 and also this other hadith saying, mā taraktu ba‘da nasiqati nisā‘ī. 170

166. That is, that he not leave property in inheritance.
167. A grammatical term; thus it would render the statement all-inclusive, meaning “whatever”, instead of “not”.
168. Translated above as: “our property is not to be inherited”.
169. Translated above as: “whatever I leave, after the expenses for my wives …”
And is this anything but similar to what is related of a certain mu’tazili who recited to an orthodox sheikh the words, “And God spoke to Moses, using words” (ṣūrat al-Nisā’, IV, v.164), with the word Allāh in the accusative case. To which the sheikh commented, “Confound you! How will you, in keeping with the above reading, be able to distort the following words of the Almighty, ‘And when Moses came at our appointed time and his Lord spoke to him’” (ṣūrat al-ʿAraf; VII, v.143).

The outcome is that application must be given to the words of the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ), “We will not leave (property for) inheritance; what we will leave will be for charity”, to the full extent that phraseology and meaning allow. It is a statement that makes specific the general tenor of the verse relating to inheritance and excludes the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ), either alone or along with his brother prophets, may God’s peace and blessings be upon them all.

Chapter: An Account of the wives and children, may God be pleased with them all, of the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ).

God Almighty stated, “Wives of the Prophet, you are not like any other women, provided you remain conscious of God. Hence be not alluring in your speech, lest those men with sickness in their hearts be attracted. Speak with politeness. Remain in your homes and do not display yourselves as women did in the days of ignorance. Perform the prayers, pay the alms and obey God and His Messenger. God wishes only to preseve you from what is vile, you family members of the household, and to keep you thoroughly pure. And remember those verses and the wisdom from God that are revealed in your homes. God is kind and knowledgeable” (ṣūrat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.32–4).

There is no dispute over the fact that when the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) died, he left nine widows. These were ʿAʾisha al-Tayybiyya, daughter of Abu Bakr, “the trusting”; Ḥafṣa al-ʿAdawiyya, daughter of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; Umm Ḥabiba Ramla al-Umawiyya, daughter of Abu Sufyān Šakhr b. Ḥarb b. Umayya; Zaynab al-Asadiyya, daughter of Jaʾsh; Umm Salama Ḥind al-Makbūzīyya, daughter of Abu Umayya; Maymūna al-Hilaliyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith; Sawda al-Āmriyya, daughter of Zāma; Juwayriyya al-Muṣṭaliqīyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abu Dirār; and Šafiyya al-Naḍariyya al-ʾIṣrāʾiliyya al-Ḥarrūniyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhtāb. May God be pleased with them and give them pleasure.

He also had two wives donated to him. The first of these were ʿArīya al-Qubṭiyya al-Miṣrīyya, from Kawrāt Anṣin, who was the mother of his son

170. The muʿtasaʾla movement seems to have initially encompassed those who ʿażala, “remained neutral or uncommitted”, in the dispute over the succession in AH 35 of ʿAlī b. Abu Ṭalib. Later the word became applied to a theological movement centred in Basra that differed essentially with the sunni orthodox community over the specifics of sin and disbelief. See article in The Encyclopaedia of Islam.
Ibrahim, upon whom be peace. The second was Rayhana al-Qurashiyya, daughter of Sham'un; she accepted Islam and he manumitted her. She then rejoined her family. Some claim that she remained in seclusion among them. But God knows best.

We will proceed to give detailed information on them, drawing upon statements made by the *imāms*, may God have mercy upon them. 

The great *ḥāfiz* Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqi narrated, through Sa’d b. Abū ʿArtība, from Qatāda, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) married fifteen women. He consummated marriage with thirteen of these and eleven lived with him. He died leaving nine widows.”

He went on to name those nine, as we have done; may God be pleased with them all.

Sayf b. ʿUmar narrated this from Sa’d, from Qatāda, from Anas. Buḥayr b. Kathir narrated it from Qatāda from Anas. The first line is more (likely to be) authentic. Sayf b. ʿUmar al-Tamlml narrated it from Sa’d, from Qatāda, from Anas, as also did Ibn ʿAbbās. 

Sayf narrated it similarly from Sa’d b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Mulaqa, from ʿAṭīsha who said, “The two women with whom he did not consummate his marriage were ʿAmra, daughter of Yazid al-Ghifariyya and al-Shanbāṭ. He was alone with ʿAmra, but when he undressed her she saw leprosy on her. He therefore sent her away, providing her with a dowry and she was prohibited from contact with other men. Al-Shanbāṭ, when brought in to him, was not receptive and he left her, waiting for her to become so. However, when his son Ibrahim died shortly thereafter, she commented, ‘If he were a prophet, his son would not have died!’ And so he divorced her, provided a dowry for her and she was prohibited from other men.”

ʿAṭīsha went on, “The women who were in his household were: ʿAṭīsha; Sawda; Ḥafsa; Umm Salama; Umm Ḥabība; Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh; Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma; Juwayriyya; Safiyya; Maymūna and Umm Sharik.”

I note that in the *sahih* collection of al-Bukhārī, it is stated from Anas that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would go to his wives in sequence and that they totalled eleven wives.

It is well established that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not consummate his marriage to Umm Sharik, as will be explained. The mention above of him attending his wives in sequence and their being eleven women in number was the total of the nine women named above and the two women gifted to him, Māriyya and Rayḥāna.


Al-Bukhārī gave it in his *sahih* collection with a full line of transmission from this same al-Ḥajjāj.
The ḥāfiẓ b. ʿAsākir gave this in part, also attributing it to him, to the effect that the first wife the Messenger of God (SAAS), married was Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid b. Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿlJzza b. Qusayy, and that she was married to him by her father prior to his having received his prophetic mission.

In one account, al-Zuhri stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was 21 years of age when he married Khadija; it is also said that he was 25 and that the marriage took place around the time that the kaʿba was being reconstructed.”

Al-Waqidi added to this, “And she was 45 years old.”

Other scholars state that his age at that time was 30. Ḥakīm b. ʿHzām is quoted as having said, “The age of the Messenger of God (SAAS) was 25 years of age the day he married Khadija, and she was 40.”

Ibn ʿAbbās is quoted as having said that she was 28 years old. Ibn ʿAsākir gives both these accounts.

Ibn Jarir stated, “(At that time) the Prophet (SAAS) was 37 years old. To him were born al-Qāsim, by whose name he was commonly known, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm and Fatima.”

I note that she was the mother of all his children, except for Ibrāhīm, who was born to Maryyā, as will be explained hereafter.

Ibn Jarir went on to speak about each of the daughters of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and those who married them. His conclusion was that Zaynab was married by al-ʿĀṣ b. al-Rablʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿlJzza b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf, who was Khadija’s nephew. His mother was Hāla, daughter of Khuwaylid. To him she bore a son named ʿAlī and a daughter named Umāma. ʿAlī b. Abū ʿAlīb married her following the death of Fāṭima. He died while still married to her. After his death, she married al-Mughira b. Nawfal b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.

(Ibn Jarir went on) “Ruqayya was married to ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān. She bore him a son, ʿAbd Allāḥ; ʿUthmān was first known by this son’s name and later by his son ʿAmr. Ruqayya died while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was at the battle of Badr. When Zayd b. ʿHarīth returned with the news (of the victory) he found them levelling the earth over her grave. ʿUthmān had remained with her, nursing her, but the Messenger of God (SAAS) awarded him his payment and share of the booty. He then married ʿUthmān to his other daughter Umm Kulthūm. This is why ʿUthmān is known as ‘he who possessed the two lights’. She died, also while living with ʿUthmān, during the life of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

“Fāṭima was married by her cousin ʿAlī b. Abū ʿAlīb b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He consummated his marriage to her following the battle of Badr, as we recounted above. She bore him Hasan, by whom he was known, and Ḥusayn who was martyred in ʿIrāq.”

I note that he was also named “Muḥṣin”.

(Ibn Jarir went on) “Then there were Zaynab and Umm Kulthūm. This Zaynab was married by her cousin, ʿAbd Allāḥ b. Jaʿfar. She bore him ʿAlī and
‘Awn and died while living with ‘Abd Allāh. Umm Kulthūm was married by the Commander of the Believers, ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. She bore him Zayd; ‘Umar died while still married to her. After him she married the sons of her uncle Ja’far, one after the other. First she married ‘Awn b. Ja’far, and he died. His brother Muḥammad then married her and he too died. Then the brother of both these men, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja’far, married her, and she died while still married to him.”

Al-Zuhri stated, “Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, had been married prior to her marriage to the Messenger of God (SAAS) to two men. The first of these was ‘Atiq b. ‘Aidh b. Makhzūm. To him she bore Jariyya, the mother of Muḥammad b. Sayf. The second was Abū Hala al-Taymi; to him she bore Hind b. Hind.”

Ibn Ishāq gave his name and went on, “After the death of ‘Aidh Abū Hala, she married al-Nabābāsh b. Zūrāra, a man of Banū ‘Amr b. Tamim, an ally of Banū ‘Abd al-Dār. To him she bore one boy and one girl, and he died. Then the Messenger of God (SAAS) married her, and to him she bore his four daughters and after them his sons al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭahir. All the boys died while still suckling.”

I note that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not marry another woman while she was still alive.

‘Abd al-Razzaq narrated it thus from Ma’mar, from al-Zuhri, fromUrwa, who quoted Ḥāṣāsa, as above.

We have referred above in the appropriate place to her marriage, and have also made reference to her virtues, with the evidences thereto.


I note that she bore him no children. It is said, however, that she miscarried a child of his whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) had named ‘Abd Allāh. And she was therefore named Umm ‘Abd Allāh. Others say, however, that she bore this name after the son of her sister Asmā’, his father being al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, may God be pleased with them all.

I also note that it is also said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) married Sawda prior to Ḥāṣa; Ibn Ishāq and others stated this. We have mentioned above the dispute over this. God knows best.

I have described the marriage of the Messenger of God (SAAS) to both these women prior to the Hijra, and how he postponed the consummation of his marriage to Ḥāṣa until after the Hijra.

(Al-Zuhri went on) “And he married Hafṣa, daughter of ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. She had previously been the wife of Khunays b. Ḥudhāfa b. Qays b. ‘Adī b. Ḥudhāfa b. Sahm b. ‘Amr b. Huṣayn b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy. He died, a Muslim, while still married to her.
“Then he married Umm Salama Hind, daughter of Abū Umayya b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm. She had previously been the wife of her cousin Abū Salama ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Asad b. Hilāl b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm.

“After that he married Sawda, daughter of Zamʿa b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Wudd b. Naṣr b. Mālik b. Ḥisl b. ʿĀmir b. Ṭuʿayy. She had previously been married to al-Sakrān b. ʿĀmir, the brother of Suhayl b. ʿĀmir b. ʿAbd Shams. He died as a Muslim while married to her after his and her return to Mecca from Abyssinia; may God be pleased with them both.

“He next married Umm ʿHabība Ramla, daughter of Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Qusayy. She had previously been married to Ṭūbayd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Rābāb b. Banū Asad b. Khuzayma. He died a Christian in Abyssinia. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent to her ʿAmr b. ʿUmar al-Dāmirī in Abyssinia to arrange his betrothal to her. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān conducted his marriage to her.”

I note that this is what he stated; however, the correct name here should be ʿUthmān b. Abū Ṭāṣ. The Negus awarded her a dowry on his behalf of 400 dinār and dispatched her with Shurahbīl b. Ḥasanā. We have narrated all this at length above—and to God be praise.

Al-Zuhri went on, “Then he married Zaynāb, daughter of Jaḥsh b. Rābāb b. Arad b. Khuzayma. Her mother was Umayma, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the aunt of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Zaynāb had previously been the wife of ʿUmayr b. Ḥāritha, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). She was the first of his wives to have joined him (after her death) and the first to have a grave monument constructed over her. ʿĀsmāʾ, daughter of ʿUmayy, made this over her, having seen this done in Abyssinia.

“He next married Zaynāb, daughter of Khuzayma. She was of Banū ʿAbd Manāf b. Hilāl b. ʿAmir b. Ṣaḥṣaʾa. She was known as ʿumm al-masākin, the mother of the unfortunate, and had previously been the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh b. Rābāb, who was killed at the battle of Uḥud. She lived only a short time with the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), before she died; may God be pleased with her.”

Yūnūs quoted Muhammad b. ʿIṣḥāq as having stated, “Prior to this she had also been married to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbd Manāf, or to his brother al-Ṭūfayl b. al-Ḥārith.”

Al-Zuhri went on, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) also married Maymūnā, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Ḥazn, son of Bujayr b. al-Ḥuzam b. Ṭuʿabā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hilāl b. ʿAmir b. Ṣaḥṣaʾa. And it was she who offered herself in marriage.”

I note that in fact he did ask for her in marriage. The matchmaker between them was Abū Rāfīʿ, his freed-man, as we have narrated above in the section of theʿumrat al-qāḍāʾ.

In his account, Sayf b. ʿUmar stated that she had been the wife of ʿUmayr b. ʿAmr, a son of ʿAqda b. Thaqīf b. ʿAmr al-Ṭhaqafī. He died while still married

Sayf went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) took Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. Abu Dirār b. al-Ḥārith b. 'Amir b. Malik b. al-Muṣṭaṭiq of Khuzā' at the battle of al-Muraysī'. He freed her, then married her. It is also said that her father al-Ḥārith, the leader of Khuzā', came forward and accepted Islam and then married her to him. She had previously been married to her cousin Ṣafwān b. Abū Shufr.”

Qatāda quoted from Sa'd b. al-Musayyab, al-Sha'bi, Muḥammad b. Ṣa'id and others as having stated, “This clan of Khuzā' had been allies of Abū Sufyān against the Messenger of God (SAAS). This is why Ḥassān (b. Thābit) spoke the verse,

“The alliance of al-Ḥārith b. Abū Dirār and that of Qurayya among you are the same.”

In his account from Sa'd b. 'Abd Allāh, Sayf b. 'Umar stated that Ibn Abū Mulayka quoted Ḥiṣā as having said, “Juwayriyya had been married to her cousin Malik b. Ṣafwān b. Tawlab Dhū al-Shufr b. Abū al-Sarḥ b. Malik b. al-Muṣṭaṭiq.”

Sayf went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) also took captive Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Ḥakṭab, of Banū al-NaḍIr, at Khaybar. She was then the bride of Kināna b. Abū al-Ḥuqayq.”

In his account, Sayf b. 'Umar maintained that prior to her marriage to Kināna she had been the wife of Sallām b. Mishkam. But God knows best.

Sayf concluded, “These, then, are the 11 women with whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) consummated marriage.”

During his caliphate, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb awarded 12,000 (dirhams) to each of the wives of the Messenger of God (SAAS). However, he gave 6,000 to Juwayriyya and Ṣafiyya since they had been taken captive.

Al-Zuhri stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had kept both these women in seclusion and had provided for them.”

I note that we have commented extensively above, in the appropriate places, on his marriages to each of these women, may God be pleased with them.

Al-Zuhri stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) also married al-ʿĀliya, daughter of Ṣabyān b. ʿAmr, of Banū Bakr b. Kilāb, and that he consummated this marriage and divorced her.

Al-Bayhaqi commented, “It is thus stated in my book. And also, in an account from someone else, it is said that he did not consummate marriage with her but did divorce her.”

b. ‘Abd b. Abū Bakr b. Kilāb, and that she lived with him for a period and he then divorced her.”

Yāqūb b. Sufyān narrated from Ḥajjāj b. Abū Muniṣ, from his grandfather, from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Urwā, who quoted ‘Ā‘isha as having said, “It was al-Dāḥḥāk b. Sufyān b. Kilāb who pointed her out to the Messenger of God (SAAS); I was listening from behind the screen. He said, ‘Messenger of God, do you find Umm Shabib’s sister attractive?’ Umm Shabib was the wife of al-Dāḥḥāk.”

Al-Zuhrī stated on this subject, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) contracted marriage to a woman of Banū ‘Amr b. Kilāb. Then he was told that she had leprosy and he divorced her without having consummated the marriage.”

I comment that it is evident that this refers to the woman previously mentioned. But God knows best.

Al-Zuhrī went on, “He also married a woman of Banū al-Jawn al-Kindi, allies of Banū Fazzārā. But she took refuge from him and he told her, ‘You’ve indeed sought refuge with Someone mighty! Rejoin your family.’ He divorced her without having consummated the marriage.

He went on, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) also had in his household a bond-maid called Mariyya. A son was born to her named Ibrāhīm. He died when several months old.” There was also a slave-born female named Rayātana, daughter of Shamʿun, a Jew from Banū Khānāfa, a clan of Banū Qurayṣa. The Messenger of God (SAAS) manumitted her. They say that she remained in seclusion thereafter.”

The hāfīz Ibn ʿAsākir narrated, giving a line of transmission from ʿĀli b. Muḥāhid, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) married Khālīfa, daughter of Huḍhayl b. Hubayrat al-Taghlibi, whose mother was Kharnāq, daughter of Khalīfa, daughter of Dīhya b. Khalfā. She was carried to him from Syria, and she died on the way.

Yūnūs b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. ʿIṣḥāq as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) married Asmāʾ, daughter of Kaʿb al-Jawniyah, but he had not consummated the marriage with her by the time he divorced her. He also married ʿAmra, daughter of Zayd, a woman of Banū Kilāb, from the sub-tribe of Banū al-Waḥṭ. She had previously been married to al-Faḍl b. ʿAbd ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib. He (the Messenger of God (SAAS)) divorced her without having consummated marriage with her.”

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “These were the two women referred to by al-Zuhrī, though he did not name them. However, Ibn ʿIṣḥāq did not mention al-ʿĀliyā.”

Al-Bayhaqī also stated that al-Ḥakīm informed him, quoting al-ʿAshāmm, quoting ʿAḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Jabār, from Yūnūs b. Bukayr, from Zakariyyāʾ b. Abū Zaʿida, from al-Shaʿbī, who said, “Various women gave themselves to the Messenger of God (SAAS). He consummated with some of these and with others”

171. ʿAmra, daughter of Yazīd al-Ghīfārīyya, that is.

172. The translation is tentative. The Arabic is, wa qad mala)a al-mahda, “after he had fulfilled the cradle.”
he delayed, not approaching them before his death. They did not marry after
him. These included Umm Sharik. This relates to the words of the Almighty,
‘You may postpone whomever of them you wish, and you may take to yourself
whomever you wish. (Should) you desire those you previously set aside, then no
blame is yours’” (sūrat al-Ḥzāb; XXXIII, v.51).

Al-Bayhaqi stated that it was narrated to him from Hishām b. Urwa, who
quoted his father as having said, “Khawlah” – al-Ḥakm’s daughter, that is – “was
one of those women who gave themselves to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Al-Bayhaqi went on to state that it was narrated to him from a hadith of Abū
Rashid al-Sā’idi that the name of the woman of Banū al-Jawn who had sought
refuge and whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had sent back to her family was
Umayma, daughter of al-Nu‘mān b. Sharahl.

Imām Ahmad stated that Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī related to him,
quoting ‘Abd al-Rāḥmān b. al-Ghasīl, from Ḥamza b. Abū Usayd, quoting his
father and from ‘Abbas b. Sahl, quoting his father, both of whom stated, “The
Prophet (ṢAAS), accompanied by some of his Companions, passed by us, so we
went off with him. We reached a garden called al-Shawl and proceeded in it until
we came to two walls. We sat between them, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS),
having told us to do so. He then went on inside; the woman of Banū al-Jawn,
accompanied by her maid, had been brought to him (there) and left alone in a
house belonging to Umayma, daughter of al-Nu‘mān b. Sharahl. When he went
in to the woman of Banū al-Jawn, he said to her, ‘Give yourself to me!’ But she
answered, ‘Should a queen give herself to a common person!’ He replied, ‘You have
gained refuge with Him who awards it!’

“He then came out to us and said, ‘Abu Usayd, present two white lined dresses
to her and take her back to her family.’”

Someone other that Abū Ḥmad (sic) gave the wording as, “a woman of Banū
al-Jawn named Umayma”.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Nu‘aym related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Rahmān
b. al-Ghasīl, from Ḥamza b. Abū Usayd, from Abū Usayd, who said, “We went
out in the company of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and proceeded to a
garden called al-Shawl. In it we reached two walls, between which we sat down;
he had told us, ‘Sit down here.’ He then went on inside. The woman of Banū
al-Jawn, accompanied by her nurse-maid, had been brought out to him (there)
and had been given accommodations in a house belonging to Umayma, daughter
of al-Nu‘mān b. Sharahl. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went in to her,
he asked her, ‘Give yourself to me!’ She replied, ‘Should a queen give herself
to a common person?’ He brought down his hand upon her so that she would be
pacified. She then said, ‘I seek refuge in God from you!’ He replied, ‘You have
gained refuge with Him who awards it!’

“He then came out to us and said, ‘Abū Usayd, present two white lined dresses
to her and take her back to her family.’”
Al-Bukhari also stated that al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walid said, quoting Ābd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ghasil, from ʿAbbās b. Sahl b. Saʿd, from his father and from Abū Usayd, both of whom stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) contracted marriage with Umayma, daughter of Sharāḥil. When he went in to her, he stretched out his hand towards her, and she seems to have disliked that. He then told Abū Usayd to give her a trousseau and two white linen dresses.”

Al-Bukhari then gave this hadith from ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, quoting Ibrahim b. al-Wazir, quoting ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ivrāz, from his father and from ʿABBAS B. Sahl b. Saʿd, from his father.

Al-Bukhari is the only author of compilations of the aḥādīth who gives these narratives.

Al-Bukhari also stated that al-Ḥumaydī related to him, quoting al-Walid, quoting al-Awzaʿī, who said he asked al-Zuhri, “Which one of the wives of the Prophet (SAAS) sought refuge (with God) from him?” He replied, “Urwa quoted to me ʿAʾīsha as having said that when the daughter of al-Jawn went in to the Messenger of God (SAAS), she said, ‘I seek refuge with God from you!’ And he replied, ‘You have gained refuge with the Great One. Go and join your family.’”

Abū ʿAbd Allāh went on to say that al-Iṣḥāq b. Abū Manʿī narrated it from his grandfather, from al-Zuhri, who said that Urwa quoted ʿAʾīsha as having said the same.

Al-Bukhari is alone in giving this narrative; Muslim does not.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “I saw in the book al-Maʿrif of Ibn Manda that the name of the woman who sought refuge with God was Umayma, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Sharāḥil. Her name is also given as Fāṭima, daughter of al-Dahhak. Her true name was Umayma. But God knows best.”

They claim, moreover, that the name of the woman of Banū Kalb was ʿAmra, and that she was described by her father as never becoming sick. The Messenger of God (SAAS) found her distasteful.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated from Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, from al-Zuhri, who said, “It was Fāṭima, daughter of al-Dahhak b. Sufyān, who sought refuge with God from him, and so he divorced her. She would collect animal droppings and say, ‘How unfortunate I am!’ He had contracted marriage with her in Dhu al-Qaʿda of 8 AH. She died in 60 AH.”

Yūnus quoted Ibn Iṣḥāq as having said that among the women with whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) contracted but did not consummate marriage were ʿAsmāʾ al-Jawniyya, daughter of Kaʿb, and ʿAmra, daughter of Yazīd al-Kilabiyya. Ibn ʿAbbās and Qatāda gave the name as ʿAsmāʾ, daughter of al-Nuʿmān b. Abū al-Jawn. But God knows best.

Ibn ʿAbbās stated that when the woman sought refuge from him with God, he came out angry. Al-Ashʿath told him, “Don’t let that bother you, Messenger of
God. I have someone more beautiful for you.” And he arranged his marriage with his own sister, Qatila.

Others say that this incident occurred in the spring of 9 AH.

Sa'd b. Abü 'Arūba quoted Qatada as having said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) married 15 women; he included Umm Sharik al-Anşāriyya al-Najjāriyya among these.

He (Qatada) also said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘I like to marry ansār women, but I hate their jealousy.’ And he did not consummate marriage with her.”

He went on, “He also married Asmā', daughter of al-Šalt, of Banū Harām, of the clan of Banū Salīm, but he did not consummate with her. And he also became engaged to Hamza al-Mazaniyya, daughter of al-Ḥārith.”


“Among these he mentioned Qatila, daughter of Qayṣ, sister of al-Asḥāth b. Qays. Some claim that he married her two months prior to his death. Others maintain that he married her during his illness. But she had not come to him, nor had he seen her, nor had he consummated marriage with her.”

He went on, “Others claim that the Prophet (SAAS) left a testamentary statement that Qatila be given a choice. If she wished, she could go into seclusion and be forbidden access to the Muslims, and if she wished, she could marry anyone she liked. She did choose to marry, and Îkrama b. Abū Jahl married her in Ḥadramawt. News of this reached Abū Bakr and he commented, ‘I’m almost grinding my teeth in anger at them both!’

“Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, ‘But she is not one of ‘the mothers of the Believers’. He did not consummate marriage with her, nor was she placed in seclusion.’”

“Abū ‘Ubayda stated that some people maintain that the Messenger of God (SAAS) left no testamentary statement about her, that she apostatized after his death, and Umar used her apostasy as argument against Abū Bakr by stating that she was not one of ‘the mothers of the Believers’.’”

Ibn Manda stated that the woman who apostatized was al-Barsā, of Banū ‘Awf b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān.

The ḥadīs Ibn ‘Asḵir narrated through several lines, from Da‘ūd b. Abū Hind, from Îkrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) contracted marriage to Qatila, sister of al-Asḥāth b. Qays, but died before giving her a choice, and that God freed her from commitment to him.

Ḥammād b. Salama narrated, from Da‘ūd b. Abū Hind, from al-Sha'bī, that Abū Bakr wanted to behead Îkrama b. Abū Jahl after his marriage to Qatila. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, however, persuaded him against this, saying that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had not consummated marriage with her, that she

173. The Arabic word used is ghayra; this also connotes pride and high self-esteem.
had apostatized with her brother, and had become disassociated from both God and His Prophet. He kept insisting on this until Abū Bakr gave up the issue.

Al-Ḥakim stated that Abū Ḫaydā added to the number of wives given above Fāṭima, daughter of Shurayḥ, and Saba', daughter of Asmā' b. al-Ṣāliḥ al-Sulamiyya.

Ibn 'Aṣākir narrated it similarly through Ibn Manda, giving a line of transmission from Qāṭāda.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd gave it similarly from Ibn al-Kalbī. Ibn Sa'd said, "She was Saba'."

Ibn 'Aṣākir stated that her full name was Saba', daughter of al-Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥabīb b. Ḥarīthah b. Hilal b. Ḥaram b. Simāk b. 'Abs al-Sulami.


Ibn ʿUmar stated, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent Abū Usayd to arrange his marriage to a woman of Banū ʿĀmir named ʿĀmra, daughter of Yazīd b. ʿUbayd b. Kilāb. He did contract marriage with her but then learned that she had leprosy and he divorced her."

Muḥammad b. Sa'd quoted al-Waqīdī as having stated that Abū Maṣḥār related to him, saying, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married Mulaykā, daughter of Ka'b. She was reputed to be exceedingly beautiful. ʿAʾisha went in to visit her and asked, 'Are you not ashamed to be marrying the man who killed your father?' Mulaykā then sought refuge with God from him and he divorced her.

"Her people then came to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him, 'She is just young and of unsound judgement. And she has been deceived. Take her back.' But he refused. They then asked his permission for her to marry a close relative of hers of Banū ʿUdhra, and he agreed.

"Her father had been killed by Khalīd b. al-Walīd at the conquest of Mecca."

Al-Waqīdī stated that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Jundūsī related to him, from his father, from ʿAṭā b. Yazīd, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) consummated marriage with her in Ramadaʿn of 8 AH; and she died while still married to him."

Al-Waqīdī went on, "Our colleagues deny that."

al-Sahmi. Next he married Sawda, daughter of Zam'a, who had previously been married to al-Sakrân b. 'Amr, a brother of Banû Amir b. Lu'ayy. Then he married Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, who had previously been married to 'Ubayd Allāh b. Jahsh al-Asadi, of Banû Khuzayma. He next married Umm Salama, daughter of Abū Umayya, her given name being Hind. She had previously been married to Abū Salama 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Asad b. 'Abd al-'Uzza. He then married Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma al-Hilāliyya, also al-Ṣāliyya, daughter of Zabyān, of Banû Bakr b. 'Amr b. Kilāb. He married a woman of Banû al-Jawn of Kinda, and received as a captive Juwayriyya, in the expedition to al-Muraysi', in which Manāt were defeated. The latter was the daughter of al-Ḥarith b. Abū Dirār of Banû al-Muṣṭaliq of Khuzā'ā. He also received as a captive Ṣafīyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhtāb, of Banû al-Naḍīr. These two women were part of the booty God had granted him, having awarded both to him. He also received Māriyya, the Copt, as a tribute, and she bore him Ibrāhīm. He similarly received Rayḥāna of Banû Qurayṣa as a tribute; he set her free, and she rejoined her family with whom she remained in seclusion.

"The Messenger of God (SAAS) divorced al-Ṣāliyya, daughter of Zabyān. He separated from a woman of Banû 'Amr b. Kilāb, and also from a woman of Banû al-Jawn, of Kinda, because she had leprosy. Zaynab al-Hilāliyya, daughter of Khuzayma, died during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (SAAS). We have also been told that al-Ṣāliyya, daughter of Zabyān, whom he divorced, married again before the wives of the Messenger of God (SAAS), had been declared (by God) to be prohibited. She married a cousin, from her own people, and had children among them."

We have given this text in full because of the strangeness of his reference to the marriage of Sawda as having been in Medina. The truth is that this took place in Mecca, before the Hijra, as we have related above. Though God knows best.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. Ishāq as having stated, "Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, died three years before the Messenger of God (SAAS) left on the Hijra. He did not marry any other woman during her lifetime; she and Abū Ṭālib died the same year. After Khadija, the Messenger of God (SAAS) married Sawda, daughter of Zam'a. After Sawda, he married Ṭā'īsa, daughter of Abū Bakr. Ṭā'īsa was the only virgin he married; he did not receive a child from her before he died. After Ṭā'īsa, he married Ḥaṣa, daughter of 'Umar. Then he married Zaynab al-Hilāliyya, daughter of Khuzayma, (known as) umm al-masākin, 'the mother of the poor'. After her he married Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, and after her Umm Salama Hind, daughter of Abū Umayya. After her he married Zaynab, daughter of Jahsh, and after her Juwayriyya, daughter of al-Ḥarith b. Abū Dirār. Then, after Juwayriyya, he married Ṣafiyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy b. Akhtāb. After Ṣafiyya he married Maymūna al-Hilāliyya, daughter of al-Ḥarith."

This sequence is preferable and more accurate than that listed by al-Zuhri. But God knows best.
Yūnus b. Bukayr stated, from Abū Yaḥyā, from Ḥumayd b. Zayd al-Ṭā'ī, from Sahl b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) arranged his marriage to a woman of Banū Ghifār. He went in to her and he told her to undress, and she did so. He then saw a white spot of leprosy at her breasts and so kept away from her. He then told her, ‘Take your clothes and rejoin your family.’ He paid her her dowry in full.”

Abū Nuṣaym narrated it from a hadith of Ḥumayyil b. Zayd, from Sahl b. Zayd al-Anṣārī, someone who had seen the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ). He stated, “The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) married a woman of Banū Ghifār”, and he proceeded to narrate as above.

I note that Umm Sharik al-Azdiyya was among those women with whom the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) contracted marriage but did not consummate.

Al-Wāqīdī stated, “It is well established that she was of Banū Daws, though some say of Banū Āmir, and that her name was Khawlā, daughter of Ḥakīm al-Sulami.”

Al-Wāqīdī stated that her name was Ghaziyya, daughter of Jābir b. Ḥakīm. Muhammad b. Ishaq quoted Ḥakīm b. Ḥakīm, from Muhammad b. ʿĀli b. al-Husayn, as having stated that his father said, “The total number of women the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) married was 15. These included Umm Sharik al-Anṣārīyya; she gave herself to the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ).”

Ṣaʿīd b. Abū Ṭālib quoted Qutada as having stated, “He married Umm Sharik al-Anṣārīyya of Banū al-Najjar. And he said, ‘I love to marry anṣārī women, though I hate their ghayra, ‘jealousy’. And he did not consummate marriage with her.”

Ibn Ishaq stated, from Ḥakīm, from Muḥammad b. ʿĀli, from his father, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) married Laylā al-Anṣārīyya, daughter of al-Khāṭṭim; she was very jealous. She feared for herself from him and asked his permission to be released. And so he did release her.”

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**WOMEN TO WHOM THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṣAḥīḤ) BECAME ENGAGED BUT DID NOT ULTIMATELY MARRY.**

Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid stated, from al-Shaʿbī, that Umm Hānāʾ, Fākhita, daughter of Abū Ṭālib, stated that the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) proposed marriage to her. She told him that she had young children and he then left her, saying, “The best women are those who ride camels and righteous women of Quraysh. They are those most kind to their children when young, and those most careful with their husband’s property.”

ʿAbd al-Razzāq stated, from Maʿmar, from al-Zuhrī, from Saʿīd b. al-Muṣayyab, who quoted Abū Hurayra as having said that the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) proposed marriage to Umm Hānāʾ, daughter of Abū ʿĀlīb, and that she replied, “Messenger of God, I am too old and I have young children.”

Al-Tirmidhī stated that ʿAbd b. Ḥumayd related to him, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Mūsā, quoting Ḥisrāʾil, from al-Suddī, from Abū ʿĀlīb, from Umm Hānāʾ,
daughter of Abū Ṭālib, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) proposed marriage to me, but I asked to be excused and he did excuse me. God then revealed, ‘We have made lawful to you your wives to whom you have given dowries, as well as those women in your power whom God has awarded you as spoils of war, along with the daughters of your paternal uncle and the daughters of your paternal aunts and the daughters of your maternal uncle and the daughters of your maternal aunts who went into exile with you’ (ṣūrat al-ʿĀhzāb; XXXIII, v.50). I was not made lawful for him, because I had not gone into exile; I was one of those women divorced.”

Al-Tirmidhī went on to state, “This hadīth is hasan. We know it only from the hadīth of al-Suddī.”

This (interpretation) requires that women who had not gone into exile were not permitted to the Messenger of God (SAAS). The Qāḍī al-Mawardi has absolutely refuted that view in his exegesis, according to various scholars. It is said that the phrase, “who went into exile with you” refers to those women closely related to him to whom reference was made.

Qatāda stated that this phrase means, “those who accepted Islam with you”. Under this interpretation only unbelieving women would be prohibited to him while all Muslim women would have been permitted. This does not rule out (the possibility) for him to marry anṣār women. However, he did not in reality consummate with any single one of them.

Regarding the account given by al-Mawardi from al-Shaḥbī that Zaynab, daughter of Khuzayma, “the mother of the poor”, was a woman of the anṣār. This is not correct. She was indisputably of Banū Hilāl, as we have explained above. But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated, from Hishām b. al-Kalbī, from his father, from Abū Ṣāliḥ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Laylā, daughter of al-Khaṭīm, came up to the Messenger of God (SAAS) while he had his back turned towards the sun and tapped him on the shoulder. He exclaimed, ‘Who is that? May the Black One devour you!’ She replied, ‘I am the daughter of him who feeds the birds and outpaces the wind. I am Laylā, daughter of al-Khaṭīm. I have come to you to present myself to you. Will you marry me?’ ‘Consider it done,’ he replied. She then returned to her people and said, ‘I have arranged my marriage to the Messenger of God!’ People told her, ‘What you did was a mistake; you are a jealous woman and the Messenger of God is already master of women who are jealous about him. He will curse you to God. Seek your release.’

“So she went back and asked, ‘Messenger of God, please release me.’ He did so. Masʿūd b. Aws b. Sawād b. Zufr then married her and she bore him a child. One day, while she was washing herself in one of the gardens of Medina, a black wolf leapt at her and ate part of her, and so she died.”

He also stated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, that Ḥabība, daughter of ʿAmir b. Qīrṣ was the wife of ʿAbd Allāh b. Juḍān who divorced her. Hishām b. al-Mughira then married her and she bore him ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Juḍān. She (Ḥabība) was a well-built and beautiful
woman with abundant hair covering her body. The Messenger of God (SAAS) asked her son Salama to accept his engagement to her. Salama asked, “(Will you wait) until I ask her permission?” He did ask her and she replied, “Do you have to ask permission when it’s the Messenger of God!” When her son came back, he remained silent, not giving any answer; it seems that he felt her to be too old. The Prophet (SAAS) said nothing (more) about her.

He (Muḥammad b. Sa‘d) also stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) also became engaged to Ṣafiyya, daughter of Bashāma b. Naḍla al-Anbarī. He had received her as war spoils. The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave her a choice, saying, ‘If you wish, then myself; if you wish, then your husband.’ She replied, ‘My husband.’ He then sent her away. Banū Tamīm cursed her.”

Muḥammad b. Sa‘d went on to say that al-Waqqīdī informed him that Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm al-Tayyīn stated his father as having said, “Umm Sharīk was a woman of Banū ʿĀmir b. Luḥayy who gave herself to the Messenger of God (SAAS). But he did not accept her. She never married.”

He also stated that Wā‘īn informed him, from Sharīk, from Jābir, from al-Ḥakam, who quoted ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn as having said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) married Umm Sharīk al-Dawṣīyya.

Al-Waqqīdī stated, “We are quite certain that she was from Daws b. al-Azd.”

Muḥammad b. Sa‘d stated, “Her name was Ghaziyya, daughter of Jābir b. Ḥakam.”

Al-Layth b. Sa‘d stated, from Ḥishām b. Muḥammad, who quoted his father as having said that Sharīk had presented herself to the Prophet (SAAS), and that she was a righteous woman.

Those to whom he became engaged but did not marry included Ḥamra, daughter of al-Ḥārith b. ʿAwn b. Abū Ḥarīthah al-Murri, whose father said there was something wrong with her – though there was not. When her father returned to her, she had contracted leprosy. She was the mother of Shabib b. al-Barsā?, the poet.

Sa‘d b. Abū ʿArūba mentioned this, quoting Qatāda.

He went on, “He also sought to be engaged to Ḥabiba, daughter of al-ʿAbbās b. Abd al-Muṭṭalib. But he discovered that her father was his foster-brother, both having been suckled by Thuwayba, Abū Lahab’s freed-woman.

These, then are his wives. They were of three categories. One group consisted of women with whom he consummated marriage, and he died before their deaths. These were the nine who were mentioned initially. They were prohibited to others following his death. This was universally recognized to be required by the faith, and that theirʿidda174 would last until the end of their lives. God Almighty had stated, “It is not for you to harm the Messenger of God, nor ever to marry his wives after him; that would be very serious to God” (ṣūrat al-Aḥzāb; XXXIII, v.53).

174. The period prescribed for a woman to wait from the end of one marriage to the beginning of another.
Another category consists of those women with whom he consummated marriage but divorced during his lifetime. There is a question as to whether it would be permissible for them to remarry after the expiration of the (normal) period of their 'idda. The scholars express two views. One rejects this, due to the all-inclusive nature of the verse we have mentioned. The second view considers their remarriage permissible, referring to the verse giving a choice. In it God stated, “O Prophet, say to your wives, ‘If you desire the life of this world and its finery, then come! I will provide for you and grant you a pleasant release. But if you desire God and His Messenger and the abode of the After-life, then God has prepared a fine reward for those of you who do good”’ (surat al-Ahzāb; XXXIII, v.28, 29).

They stated, “Unless it be permissible for someone else to marry them after his separation from them, then there would be no purpose in their having a choice between this world and the hereafter; if his separation from them did not permit them to marry others, there would have been no purpose in it for them.” This argument is strong: God alone knows best.

The third category of the women consists of those he married but divorced before consummating marriage with them. It was permitted for other men to marry them; I know of no dispute concerning this category.

Those women to whom he became engaged but did not actually contract marriage were entirely able to marry. A chapter will come later in the book al-Khaṣṣāqis dealing with this subject. But God knows best.

Accounts of those persons awarded to the Messenger of God (SAAS) as tribute.

Two women were awarded to the Messenger of God (SAAS) as tribute. One of these was Máriya, the Copt, daughter of Shamʿūn. She was awarded to him by the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Minā. Along with her he also presented her sister Shīrīn.

Abū Nuʿaym stated that he presented her as one of four girls. But God knows best.

Included was a eunuch slave named Mābūr, and a female mule called al-Dulduʿ. The Prophet (SAAS) accepted his gifts and chose Máriya for himself. She was from an Egyptian village called ʿIṣāfīn, from the Kūra Ansāna region. During the period of his governorate (over Egypt) Muʿāwiyah b. Abū Sufyān exempted this village from payment of the kharaj, “the land tax”, in honour of her because she bore a male child, Ibrāhīm, upon whom be peace, to the Messenger of God (SAAS).

They say that Máriya was beautiful and fair-skinned, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) admired and fell in love with her and that she enjoyed much favour with him. This was especially true after she bore him his son Ibrāhīm.
The Messenger of God (SAAS) presented her sister Shirin to Hassan b. Thabit, to whom she bore his son Abd al-Rahman.

The eunuch slave Mabur was allowed to enter the quarters of Mariya and Shirin without special permission, as had been his practice in Egypt. Some people, however, began making comments about Mariya because of that; they did not know that he was an eunuch until the fact was manifest, as we will explain shortly, if God so wills it.

The mule mentioned above was one the Messenger of God (SAAS) would ride; it appears — though God knows best — that it was this donkey he rode at the battle of Hunayn. This donkey lived on to great age and was kept by 'Ali b. Abu Talib during his rule. When 'Ali died it became owned by 'Abd Allah b. Ja'far b. Abu Talib. When it grew very old, barley was crushed for it to eat.

Abu Bakr b. Khuzayma stated that Muhammad b. Ziyad b. Ubayd Allah related to him, quoting Sufyan b. Uyayna, from Bashir b. al-Muhajir, from 'Abd Allah b. Burayda b. al-Husayb, from his father, who said, "The leader of the Copts sent to the Messenger of God (SAAS) two girls who were sisters, and a female mule that he would ride in Medina. He took for himself one of the two girls and she bore him his son Ibrahim; he gave away the other girl."

Al-Waqidi stated that Ya'qub b. Muhammad b. Abu Sa'fa related to him, from 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abu Sa'fa, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) very much admired Mariya; she was fair-skinned and beautiful and had curly hair. He lodged her and her sister with Umm Sulaym, daughter of Mila'an. The Messenger of God (SAAS) would visit them both there and it was there that they both accepted Islam. He consummated with Mariya since she was a slave, then moved her into a property he had at al-'Aliya that had belonged to Banu al-Naqir. He was there during the summer and at the time for the date harvest. He would go to her there. She was devout. He presented her sister Shirin to Hassan b. Thabit, and she bore him 'Abd al-Rahman.

"Mariya bore to the Messenger of God (SAAS) a son whom he named Ibrahim. He sacrificed a sheep for him on the seventh day after the child's birth. He shaved his head and made a donation in silver to the poor to the weight of his hair that he thereafter had buried in the ground. He named the child Ibrahim. The midwife was Sahna, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (SAAS). She came out to see her husband Abu Rafi' and told him that Mariya had given birth to a son. Abu Rafi' went with the good news to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who gave him a necklace as a gift. The wives of the Messenger of God (SAAS) were already jealous (of Mariya) and this envy grew more intense after she bore him the son."

The ḥāfiz Abū al-Ḥasan al-Dārquṭnī narrated, from Abū Ubayd al-Qasim b. Isma'il, from Ziyād b. Ayyub, from Sa'ād b. Zakariyya al-Madā'mīn, from Ibn Abū Sāra, from Ḥkrama, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, "When Mariya gave birth, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, 'Her son has set her free!'"
Al-Dārquṭnī went on, “Ziyād b. Ayyūb is alone in giving this, and he is a reliable source.”

Ibn Māja narrated similarly from a hadīth of Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, from ʿIrāma, from Ibn ʿAbbās, and we have also narrated it from a different source.

We have devoted an individual and separate study to the issue of the sale of (slave) mothers (who bore their masters) children. We have given a full line of transmission to each narrative. And to God be all praise and credit.

Yūnus b. Bukayr quoted Muḥammad b. ʿĪsāq, from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb, from his father, who quoted his grandfather ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb as having said, “People kept spreading rumours about Mariya, Ibrāhīm’s mother, and a Coptic cousin of hers who would visit her frequently. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Take this sword and go. If you find him with her, then kill him!’ I replied, ‘Messengers of God, I would do your bidding (directly) as on a fully secured road; nothing would divert me until I accomplished whatever you had ordered me to do. Or (should I be as) an eye-witness, seeing what the absent does not?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, ‘Indeed yes; as an eye-witness who sees what the absent does not.’

“So off I went, wearing the sword, and I found him with her. I unsheathed the sword and when he saw me, he knew that I was after him. He went over to a palm tree and climbed it, then turned over on his back and drew up his legs. He had been made emasculated and completely smooth. There was absolutely no trace of a male member. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and told him. He said, ‘Praise be to God, who has diverted evil from the household members.’”

Imām ʿAlīmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Saʿd related to him, quoting Sufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalīb, who stated that ʿAlī had said, “Messengers of God, when you dispatch me, should I be (proceeding directly) as on a fully secured road, or should I be as an eye-witness, seeing what the absent does not?” He replied, “As an eye-witness who sees what the absent does not.”

He narrated it thus, in abbreviated form. This, then is the origin for the account we have presented above; its line of transmission consists of authorities considered fully trustworthy.

Al-Ṭabarānī stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Khālid al-Ḥarrānī related to him, quoting his father, quoting Ibn Lāhīʿa, from Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb and ʿAqīl, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “When Māriya gave birth to Ibrāhīm, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) seemed almost to begin having suspicions about him. Then Gabriel came down to him and said, ‘Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm!’”

175. It is not clear why Ibn Kathīr sees relevance to this issue, since there is no suggestion of Māriya’s “sale” of her son.
Abū Nu‘aym stated that ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Abū Bakr b. Abū ‘Aṣim, quoting Muhammad b. Yaḥyā al-Bāhili, quoting Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad, from a man he named who quoted al-Layth b. Sa‘d, from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Urwa, who quoted Qūsha as having said, “A king of the Byzantine patriarchs (sic) called al-Muqawqis presented a Coptic girl of royal descent named Māriya, along with a young male cousin of hers. The Messenger of God (ṢAAŞ) went in to see her one day when he would go to his private room and consummated with her. She became pregnant with Ibrāhīm. “When her pregnancy became visible, I was much annoyed. The Messenger of God (ṢAAŞ) said nothing. She did not produce milk, so he bought for her a ewe giving milk from which to feed the boy. His body grew strong and his colour was excellent and his complexion clear. One day she arrived carrying him on her shoulder. She asked, “Qūsha, how do you think the lad looks?” ‘Neither I nor others see a resemblance,’ I replied. She then asked, ‘No comment about his flesh?’ I replied, ‘By my life, anyone fed on sheep’s milk is going to have nice flesh!’”

Al-Waqīdī stated, “Māriya died in Muḥarram of 15 Ḥ. ‘Umar prayed over her and buried her in the al-Baqi‘ cemetery.”

Al-Mufāḍdall b. Ghassān al-Ghallābī said the same. Khalīfa, Abū ‘Ubayda and Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān all stated that she died in 16 Ḥ. May God have mercy on her.

Included in this category of woman was Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, of Banū al-Naṣir, also said to have been of Banū Qurayṣa.

Al-Waqīdī stated, “Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, was of Banū al-Naṣir or, it is said, of Banū Qurayṣa.”

Al-Waqīdī (also) stated, “Rayḥāna, daughter of Zayd, was of Banū al-Naṣir and had married within the tribe. The Messenger of God (ṢAAŞ) had taken her for himself as booty. She was beautiful. The Messenger of God (ṢAAŞ) proposed to her that she accept Islam, but she refused to be anything but Jewish. He then placed her in seclusion, being considerably annoyed. He sent a message to Ibn Sa‘ya telling him of this and Ibn Sa‘ya responded, ‘May my father and mother be your ransom, I swear she will accept Islam!’ He then went and told her, ‘Don’t follow your own people! You have seen what Ḥuyayy b. Akhtab brought them to! Accept Islam; and in this case the Messenger of God is to choose you for himself.’ “While the Messenger of God (ṢAAŞ) was with his Companions, he heard the sound of slippers. He said, ‘Those are the slippers of Ibn Sa‘ya who is coming to tell me the good news of Rayḥāna accepting Islam.’ He did come and said, ‘Messenger of God, Rayḥāna has accepted Islam!’ He was delighted at this.”

Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq stated, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAŞ) defeated Qurayza, he chose for himself Rayḥāna, daughter of ‘Arm b. Khānafī. She was with him until his death, at which time she was still within his domain. He had proposed Islam to her and to marry her, but she refused, accepting only Judaism.”
Ibn Ishāq went on to narrate her acceptance of Islam, as above.

Al-Wāqīqī stated that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Sulaymān related to him, from Ayyūb b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abū Sa‘āda, from Ayyūb b. Bashīr al-Ma‘āwī, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent her to the house of Salmā Umm al-Mundhir, daughter of Qays. She remained there with her until she had fully menstruated and was cleansed of her menstruation. Umm al-Mundhir then went and informed the Messenger of God (SAAS). He went to Rayhāna in Umm Mundhir’s house and said, ‘If you wish me to free you and to marry you, I will do so. If you wish to remain in my domain and for me to have intercourse with you by that right, then that I will do.’ She replied, ‘Messenger of God, it would be easier on you and on me for me to remain in your domain.’ And she remained in his domain, with him having intercourse with her, until she died.”

Al-Wāqīqī stated that Ibn Abī Dhi‘b related to him, “I asked al-Zuhrt about Rayhāna, and he said, ‘She was a bond-maid whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) had manumitted and then married. She remained in seclusion in her family and would say, ‘No one shall see me after the Messenger of God.’”

Al-Wāqīqī went on, “This is, in our view, the most secure of the two alzadīth. Her husband, prior to the Messenger of God (SAAS), was al-Ḥakam.”

Al-Wāqīqī stated that ‘Āsim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam related to him, from ‘Umar b. al-Ḥakam, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) manumitted Rayhāna, daughter of Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Khanāfah; she had been living with her husband who loved her and treated her honourably. She said, ‘I will never go to anyone after him.’ She was a beautiful woman. When Banū Qurayṣa were taken captive, the prisoners were paraded before the Messenger of God (SAAS). Rayhāna said, ‘I was among those paraded before him; he gave orders, and I was placed aside. He had the practice of taking (booty for himself) on each occasion when there were war spoils. When I was placed aside, God selected me. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent me to the home of Umm al-Mundhir, daughter of Qays for some days until after he had executed the prisoners and divided up the slaves. He then came to see me, and I turned aside from him in modesty. He called me to him and sat me down before him, saying, ‘If you choose God and His Messenger, the Messenger of God will choose you for himself.’ I replied, ‘I do choose God and His Messenger.’ When I accepted Islam, he manumitted me and married me, presenting as my dowry the weight (in silver) of 12 awqīyya and one nash,” the sum he customarily gave to his wives. The wedding was conducted in the home of Umm al-Mundhir. He provided me the same expenses as to his other wives and required me to wear the veil.

“The Messenger of God (SAAS) admired her greatly and would give her anything she asked of him. People would tell her, ‘If you had asked the Messenger of God (SAAS), for Banū Qurayṣa, he would have set them free.’ She would reply, ‘He was not alone with me until after he had divided up the slaves.’ He would spend time alone with her and desired her much. She remained with

176. The weight of 20 dirhams; approximately one half of one awqīyya.
him until her death following his return from the *hijjat al-wada‘*. He buried her at the al-Baqi‘ cemetery.”

His marriage to her was in Muharram of 6 AH.

Ibn Wahb stated that Yunus b. Yazid quoted al-Zuhri as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) received Rayhāna as a captive from Banū Qurayza. He manumitted her and she rejoined her family.”

Abū `Ubayda Ma‘mar b. al-Muthannā stated, “Rayhāna was the daughter of Zayd b. Sham‘ūn, of Banū Qurayza.”

Some say that she was from Banū Qurayza and that she would be in one of the palm-groves reserved for charity, and that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would sometimes take a siesta with her there. He received her as a captive in Shawwāl of 4 AH.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated that Ahmad b. al-Miqdām related to him, quoting Zuhayr, from Sa‘īd, from Qatāda, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had two female slaves: Māriya, the Copt, and Rayhāna or Rayhāna, daughter of Sham‘ūn b. Zayd b. Khanāfa, of Banū ‘Amr b. Qurayṣa. She had been married to a cousin of hers called ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, so I have been told, and that she died before the death of the Prophet (SAAS).”

Abū `Ubayda Ma‘mar b. al-Muthannā stated, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) had in his domain four bond-maids. These were Māriya, the Copt, and Rayhāna of Banū Qurayṣa. He also had another beautiful bond-maid whom his wives kept from him for fear that she would gain favour with him over themselves. He also had a valuable bond-maid presented to him by Zaynab. He had abandoned her, because of Ṣafīyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, for the months of Dhu al-Ḥijja, al-Muharram and Ǧa‘far. When the Raḥṣ al-Awwal came in which he died, he was pleased to go in to Zaynab and she told him, ‘I don’t know with what to reward you!’ And she presented the girl to him.”

Sayf b. ʿUmar narrated, from Sa‘īd b. ʿAbd Allah, from Ibn Abū Mulayka, who quoted ʿAʾisha as having said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would sometimes share funds with Māriya and Rayhāna, and at others he would leave them out.

Abū Nuʿaym quoted Abū Muhammad b. ʿUmar al-Waqīṭī as having stated, “Rayhāna died in 10 AH; ʿUmar prayed over her and buried her in al-Baqi‘. And to God be praise.”

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INFORMATION CONCERNING HIS CHILDREN, MAY PRAYERS AND PEACE BE FOR THEM ALL.

There is no disagreement over all his children having been born to Khadija, daughter of Khuwaylid, with the exception of Ibrāhim, who was born to Māriya, the Copt, daughter of Sham‘ūn.

Muhammad b. Sa‘īd stated that Hishām b. al-Kalbī informed him, quoting his father, from Abū Ṣalih, from Ibn Ṭabbās, who said, “The first son of the
Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was al-Qāsim. Then came, in succession, Zaynab, ʿAbd Allah, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima and Ruqayya. Al-Qāsim died in Mecca; he was the first of his children to die. Then ʿAbd Allāh died. Al-ʾĀṣ b. ʿAbd al-Sālīm al-Sahmī stated, ‘His line had been severed, and so he was ʾabtar, “cut off”. And so God, the Almighty and Glorious, sent down, ‘We have given abundance to you. And so pray to your Lord, and make sacrifice! It is your antagonist who is ʾabtar, “cut off”!’” (ṣūrat al-Kawthar; CVIII, v.1–3).

He went on, “Thereafter Māriya bore him Ibrāhīm in Medina, in Dhū al-Hijja, 8 AH. He died at the age of eighteen months.”

Abū al-Faraj al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Juwariyīnī stated that ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Nāfiʿ related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ, quoting al-ʿAbbas b. Bakkār, quoting Muḥammad b. Ziyād and al-Furāt b. al-Sāʿīb, from Maymūn b. Mihrān, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Khadija bore the Prophet (ṢAAS) ʿAbd Allāh and after him there was a period without a child being born to him. When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was one day talking to a man, while al-ʾĀṣ b. Wā’il looked on, a man asked him (al-ʾĀṣ), ‘Who is that?’ He (al-ʾĀṣ) replied, ‘That is al-ʾabtar.’ Among Quraysh, if a man were to have a child and then there was a delay in the next birth, they would say, ‘This man is ʾabtar’. And so God sent down, ‘It is your antagonist who is the ʾabtar.’ This implied, ‘It is the one angering you who is “cut off” from all good.’”

He (Ibn ʿAbbās) went on, “Then she bore him Zaynab, Ruqayya, al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Muṭṭahar, al-Ṭayyib, al-Muṭṭayyab, Umm Kulthūm and then Fāṭima, the youngest of them. When Khadija had a child, she would give it to someone to nurse. Only she, however, nursed Fāṭima.”

Al-Haytham b. ʿAdī stated that Hishām b. Urwā related to him, from Saʿīd b. al-Musayyab, from his father, who said, “The Prophet (ṢAAS) had two sons: al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib. One of them he also named ʿAbd Shams, the other ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz.”

This is somewhat objectionable.177 But God knows best.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbīḍh stated, “Al-Walīd b. Muslim informed me, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, that Khadija gave birth to al-Qāsim, al-Ṭayyib, al-Ṭāhir, Muṭṭahīr, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima and Umm Kulthūm.”

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār quoted his uncle Muṣʿāb b. ʿAbd Allāh as having said, “Khadija bore al-Qāsim and al-Ṭāhir, who was also called al-Ṭayyib. Al-Ṭāhir was born after the beginning of the prophethood. He died when young; ʿAbd Allāh was another name given him. Then were born Fāṭima, Zaynab, Ruqayya and Umm Kulthūm.”

Al-Zubayr also stated that Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir related to him, from Ibn Wahb, from Ibn Lāḥiʿa, from Abū al-Aswad, that Khadija gave birth to al-Qāsim, al-Ṭāhir, al-Ṭayyib, ʿAbd Allāh, Zaynab, Ruqayya, Fāṭima, and Umm Kulthūm.

177. The second names referred to were, of course, common among the polytheists. They mean “worshipper of the sun” and “worshipper of (the goddess) al-ʿUzzā”.
(He went on) "Muḥammad b. Faḍāla quoted to me a sheikh who had been a contemporary of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, 'Khadija bore al-Qāsim and ‘Abd Allah. Al-Qāsim lived until he could walk; ‘Abd Allah died while still small.'

Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār also stated, "In the jahiliyya Khadija was known as ‘aḥṭira, daughter of Khuwaylid’. She bore to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) al-Qāsim, his elder son, by whose name he was himself known. After al-Qāsim came Zaynab and ‘Abd Allah, who was known as ‘al-Ṭayyib’, ‘the good’, and as al-Ṭahir, ‘the pure’. The latter was born after the commencement of the prophethood and died while small. Then she bore him, in order, his daughters Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima and Ruqayya. Al-Qāsim died in Mecca; he was the first of his children to die. And then ‘Abd Allah died.

"Later Māriya, daughter of Sham‘ūn, bore him ʿIbrāhīm. She was a Copt; al-Muqawqis, Governor of Alexandria, had presented her, along with her sister Sīrīn and a eunuch named Mābūr. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) gave Sīrīn to ʿIḥrāb b. Thābit, and she bore him his son Abu al-Raḥmān. The line of ʿIḥrāb b. Thābit died out."

Abū Bakr b. al-Barqī stated, "It is said that ‘al-Ṭahir’ was ‘al-Ṭayyib’ and also ‘Abd Allah’. It is also said that al-Tayyib and al-Mutayyab were twins, as also were al-Ṭahir and al-Muṭahhar."

Al-Mufaddal b. Ghassān stated, from Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, quoting ‘Abd al-Razzāq, quoting Ibn Jurayj, from Mujāhid, who said, "Al-Qāsim, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), remained alive for seven days, then died."

Al-Mufaddal went on, "This is an error; in fact, he lived for seventeen months."

The ḥadīṣ Abū Nuʿaym quoted Mujāhid as having said, "Al-Qāsim died when he was seven days old."

Al-Zuhri said that he was two years old. Qatāda stated that he lived until he could walk.

Hishām b. ʿUrwa stated, "It was the Iraqis who invented reference to al-Ṭayyib and al-Ṭahir. Our scholars say, (that his children were) ‘Abd al-Uzza, ‘Abd Manāf, and al-Qāsim; the females were Ruqayya, Umm Kulthūm and Fāṭima."

Thus also Ibn ʿAsakir gave it and it is objectionable; what he denied is what is commonly accepted. He also left out any reference – which is obligatory – to Zaynab. But God knows best.

Regarding Zaynab, ‘Abd al-Razzāq quoted Ibn Jurayj as having said, "Several people told me that Zaynab was the oldest of the daughters of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). Fāṭima was the youngest of them and the one he most favoured. Abū al-ʿAṣ b. al-Rabīʾ married Zaynab and she bore him ʿAlī and Umāma. It was Umāma whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) would carry during prayer. When he prostrated, he would put her down; when he stood up, he carried her."

Perhaps this was following the death of her mother, in 8 AH. This was what al-Waqiṣ, Qatāda, ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Bakr b. Hazm and others stated. She seems to have been a small child at the time. But God knows best.
‘Ali b. ʿAbū Ṭalīb, may God be pleased with him, married her after the death of ʿAṭīma.

The death of ʿAzīzah, may God be pleased with her, occurred in 8 AH. Qatāda stated this from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbū Bakr b. Ḥazm, from Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, from ʿAbū Bakr b. ʿAbū Khaythama and from others also. Qatada also quoted Ibn Ḥazm as having stated that she died at the beginning of 8 AH.

Ḥammād b. Salama reported from Hishām b. ʿUrwa, from his father, that when Zaynāb left on the Hijra, a man pushed her and she fell on a rock and had a miscarriage, remaining thereafter in pain until she died. People considered that she died a martyr.

Ruqayyā was initially married by her cousin, ʿUṭba b. ʿAbū Lahāb, whose brother ʿUtayba b. ʿAbū Lahāb married her own sister, Umm Kulthūm. Both men divorced the sisters, before consummating marriage with them, out of anger at the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when God sent down, “May both hands of ʿAbū Lahāb perish and may he perish! His wealth and earnings will not avail him! He will burn in fire of flames, along with his wife, that bearer of fuel, around her neck a twisted rope!” (ṣūrat al-Lahāb; CXI, v.1–5).

ʿUthmān b. ʿAbāṣ, may God be pleased with him, married Ruqayyā, and she went into exile with him to Abyssinia; he is said to have been the first person to leave for there. Thereafter they both returned to Mecca, as we narrated above. They then went into exile to Medina. She bore him his son, ʿAbd Allāh, who lived on to age six. A cock pecked him in the eyes and he died. ʿUthmān was initially named for him, and then later for his son ʿAmr.

She died after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had won victory at Badr, on the yawm al-furqān, when the two forces clashed. When the messenger bearing the good news of the victory, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, that is, reached Medina, he found them levelling the soil over her grave. ʿUthmān had remained with her nursing her, by orders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter gave him his salary and his share of the booty. Following his return, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) married ʿUthmān to Ruqayya’s sister Umm Kulthūm. ʿUthmān was therefore known as dhu al-nūrāyyn, “he who had the two lights”. Umm Kulthūm died in his quarters in Shaʿbān of 9 AH; she bore ʿUthmān no children. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had said, “If I had had three daughters, I would have married them all to ʿUthmān!” In one account he is quoted as having said, “If I had had ten daughters, I would have married them all to ʿUthmān!”

Fāṭima was married to her cousin ʿAlī b. ʿAbū Ṭalīb in Safar of 2 AH. She bore him al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and, it is also stated, Muḥṣin; she also bore him Umm Kulthūm and Ẓaynāb.

During his reign ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb married Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ʿAlī b. ʿAbū Ṭalīb and Fāṭima, treating her with extreme honour and respect. Because of her descent from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he awarded her 40,000 dirhams. She bore him a son, Zayd b. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Following the assassination of 'Umar b. al-Khattāb, his cousin 'Awn b. Ja'far married Umm Kulthūm and he left her a widow. His brother Muhammad then married her and also left her a widow. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far, brother of both her previous two husbands, then married her and she died while still his wife. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far had previously been married to Umm Kulthūm's sister Zaynab, daughter of 'Alī, and she too had died while his wife. Fatimah died six months after the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), according to the most widely accepted accounts.

This authoritative information is given from 'Aishah in the sahīh collections; al-Zuhri and Abū Ja'far al-Baqir also stated this.

According to al-Zuhri, her death came three months after that of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū al-Zubayr gave that period as two months. Abū Burayda stated, “She lived for seventy days and nights after him.” 'Amr b. Dinar stated, “She remained alive for eight months after him.” 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥarīth said the same. In an account from 'Amr b. Dinar, the period of time is given as four months.

Ibrāhīm was born to Māriya al-Qibṭiya, as stated above. His birth was in Dhu al-Ḥijja of 8 AH. It has been narrated from Ibn Lahi'a and others, quoting 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ziyād as having said, “When she became pregnant with Ibrāhīm, Gabriel came to him and said, ‘Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm! God has given you a son from Māriya, his mother, and He commands you to name him Ibrāhīm. He has blessed you in him, and has made him a source of delight for you in this world and the hereafter.’”

The ḥadīth Abū Bakr al-Bazzār narrated, from Muhammad b. Miskīn, from ʿUthmān b. Sāliḥ, from Ibn Lahi'a, from ʿAqil and Yazīd b. Abū Ḥabīb, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “When his son Ibrāhīm was born to the Prophet (ṢAAS), he had doubts about him. And so Gabriel came to him and said, ‘Peace be upon you, father of Ibrāhīm!’”

And Asbāt quoted al-Suddī – Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rahmān, that is – as having said, “I asked Anas b. Mālik as follows, ‘What age did Ibrāhīm, the son of the Prophet (ṢAAS) attain?’ He replied, ‘He filled up his cradle. If he had remained alive, he would have been a prophet. However, he was not to be kept alive, for your Prophet (ṢAAS), was the last of the prophets.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī related to him, quoting Sufyān, from al-Suddī, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “If Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), had lived, he would have been sūdīqān nabīyyān, ‘one fully trusting (in God) and a prophet.’”

Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Manda stated that Muhammad b. Sa'd and Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting Muhammad b. ʿUthmān al-ʿAbsī, quoting Minjāb, quoting Abū ʿAmir al-Asadī, quoting Sufyān, from al-Suddī, from Anas, who said, “Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (ṢAAS), died while a child of 16 months. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Bury him in the al-Baqī' cemetery. He has a nursemaid who will complete suckling him in paradise.’”
Abū Yaqtā stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm, from Ayyūb, from ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd, from Anas, who said, “I never saw any person more kind with children than the Messenger of God (SAAS). Ibrāhīm was being suckled in the heights of Medina. He would hurry off there, in our company. He would enter the house while Ibrāhīm was being fed. His wet nurse lived among us. He would take hold of him (Ibrāhīm) and kiss him, then leave.”

‘Amr said, “When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, Ibrāhīm is my son; he died on the breast. He has two wet nurses who will complete his suckling in paradise.”

Jarir and Abū ‘Awāna narrated, from al-A‘mash, from Muslim b. Ṣaḥīḥ Abū al-Ḍuḥā, from al-Bara‘, who said, “Ibrāhīm, the son of the Messenger of God (SAAS), died while a child of 16 months. he said, ‘Bury him in al-Baqī; he has a nursemaid in paradise.’”


Al-Thawrī also narrated it from Abū Ishāq, from al-Bara‘. Ibn ‘Asakir traced it through ‘Attāb b. Muḥammad b. Shawdhab, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Awfā, who said, “Ibrāhīm died and the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘The rest of his suckling will take place in paradise.’”

Abū Yaqtā al-Mawsīli stated that Zakariyyā‘ b. Ya‘qūb related to him, quoting Hushaym, from Ismā'il, who said, “I asked Ibn Abū Awfā” — or “I heard him asked” — about Ibrāhīm, son of the Prophet (SAAS). He replied, ‘He died while still young. If it had been decreed that there be a prophet after the Prophet (SAAS), he would certainly have lived.’”


Ibn ʿAsakir narrated from a hadith of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Samura, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Asadī, from Abū Shayba, from Anas, who said, “When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, ‘Do not wrap him in his shroud until I look at him.’ He then came and leaned over him and wept so hard that his beard and his sides trembled.”

I note that narratives from Abū Shayba are invalid.

He (Ibn ʿAsakir) proceeded to narrate from a hadith of Muslim b. Khālid al-Zanjī, from Ibn Khayyāthīm, from Shahr b. Ḥawshāh, from Asmā‘, daughter of Yaṣīd b. al-Sakn, who said, “When Ibrāhīm died, the Messenger of God (SAAS) wept and Abū Bakr and ʿUmar told him, ‘You are the one most cognisant of God’s right.’ He replied, ‘The eye weeps and the heart is sad. We will not speak what would anger the Lord. If it were not a matter of a sincere promise and a universal compact, and that the latter of us will follow the former, we would
grieve for you, 'Ibrahim, more severely than we have ever mourned before. We are deeply saddened for you, 'Ibrahim.'"

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswād b. ʿAмир related to him, quoting Isrāʿīl, from Jābir, from al-Shaʿbī, from al-Baraʿ, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over his son 'Ibrahim. He died at the age of 16 months. He said, 'There are those in paradise who will complete his suckling, and he is 'ṣiddiq,' innocent', 'righteous'.'"

It is also narrated from a ḥadīth of al-Ḥakam b. ʿUyayna, from al-Shaʿbī, from al-Baraʿ.

Abū Yaʿlā stated that al-Qawārīrī related to him, quoting Ismāʿīl b. Abū Khālid, from Ibn Abū Awfā, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) prayed over his son, and I prayed behind him. He spoke the words Allāhu akbar! 'God is most Great!' four times."

Yūnus b. Bukayr narrated, from Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Rukāna, who said, "'Ibrahim, son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died while a child of 18 months, and he did not pray over him.'"

Ibn ʿAsakir narrated, from a ḥadīth of Iṣḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Farwī, from Iṣā b. Abī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted ʿAlī as having said that when 'Ibrahim, the son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died he sent ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib to his mother, Māriya, the Copt, who was in an upper chamber. ʿAlī carried him out in a basket, placing him before himself on his horse, and brought him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He washed him and wrapped him in his shroud, then carried him out to the people. He buried him in the alley adjoining the house of Muḥammad b. Zayd. ʿAlī went into his grave, smoothed (the soil) over him and buried him. He then emerged and sprinkled water over his grave. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) placed his hand in his grave and said, "I swear by God, he was a prophet and the son of a prophet." And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wept, as did the Muslims around him. The sound they all made arose above them.

ʿAlī then quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, "The eye weeps and the heart is sad. We will not speak what would anger the Lord. We are deeply saddened for you, 'Ibrahim.'"

Al-Wāqīdī stated, "'Ibrahim, son of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), died on Tuesday the 10th of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 10 AH. He was 18 months old. He had been living among Banī Māzīn b. al-Najjār, in the home of Umm Barza, daughter of al-Mundhir. He was buried in the al-Baqī cemetery."

I note that I have stated above that the sun was eclipsed on the day of his death. People said, "It has eclipsed at the death of 'Ibrahim!' The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made a public address in which he said, "The sun and the moon
are two signs of God, Almighty and Glorious is He. Neither of them are eclipsed at either the death or the life of anyone.”

Chapter: Material concerning the slaves, male and female, of the Messenger of God (SAAS), his servants, scribes and clerks.

These are arranged in alphabetical order of their names, and some information given about them is included.

The following constitutes in large part all material related about them.

They included Usâma b. Zayd b. Hâritha Abû Zayd al-Kalbi. He was also known as Abû Yazid and as Abû Muḥammad. He was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and the son of his freed-man; he was his intimate friend and the son of his intimate friend. His mother was Umm Ayman, her given name being Baraka. She was the nursemaid of the Messenger of God (SAAS), in his infancy, and one of those who believed in him early after his receipt of his mission.

In the final days of his life, the Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed Usâma a commander of an expeditionary force. His age at that time was some 18 or 19. At the time of the death of the Prophet (SAAS), he was commander of a large army that included ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭâb and, it is said, Abû Bakr, “the trusting”, as well; this, however, is unlikely, since the Messenger of God (SAAS) had appointed Abû Bakr to the Imāamate.

When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, the army of Usâma was encamped at al-Jurf, as we have narrated above. Abû Bakr requested Usâma to release ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭâb so that he could remain in Medina with him to give him the benefit of his counsel. Usâma did release him. Abû Bakr reaffirmed the commission of Usâma’s army after many of the Companions had changed their minds about it. He rejected their view, saying, “I will not, by God, take down a flag mounted by the Messenger of God (SAAS)!”

And so they proceeded forth as far as the borders of al-Balqâ’ in Syria, where his father Zayd, Jaʿfar b. Abû Ṭalib and ʿAbd Allah b. Rawâha, may God be pleased with them all, had been killed. He attacked that territory, acquired booty and prisoners and then returned home safe and sound. This is why ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭâb, may God be pleased with him, never failed to address him with the words, “Peace be upon you, commander!”

When the Messenger of God (SAAS) awarded him the commander’s banner, some people complained at his having been placed in charge. The Messenger of God (SAAS) therefore made an address in which he said, “For you to complain about his being in charge would be tantamount to your complaining at his father’s having been given command previously. I swear by God, he was fully worthy of the command and this man, after him, has my extremely high regard.”

This is included in the saḥīḥ collection, from a ḥadīth of Mūsâ b. ῥqba, from Sālim, from his father.
It is established in the *sahih* collection of al-Bukhari that Usama, may God be pleased with him, said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) would take me and al-Hasan (in his lap) and say, ‘O God, I love these two; may You love them both.’”

From al-Sha'ibi, 'A'isha is quoted as having said, “Let whoever loves God and His Messenger love Usama b. Zayd.”

Therefore, when 'Umar b. al-Khattab set the salaries in the *diwan* system, he assigned 5,000 (dirhams) for Usama, while he gave his own son 'Abd Allah 4,000. He was asked about this (by 'Abd Allah) and replied, “He was more highly favoured by the Messenger of God (SAAS) than you were; and his father was more highly favoured than your own!”

'Abd al-Razzaq narrated, from Ma'mar, from al-Zuhri, from 'Urwa, from Usama, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) set him behind himself on his donkey, on a piece of cloth, when he went to visit Sa'd b. 'Ubada prior to the battle of Badr.

I note that he mounted him similarly behind himself on his camel when he set out from 'Arafat to al-Muzdalifa, as we have noted above in the account of the *hijrat al-wada*.

Several sources state that Usama, may God be pleased with him, did not participate with 'Ali in any of the battles. And it was he who apologized to the Messenger of God (SAAS), when the latter asked him, after he had killed the man even after he had spoken the *shahada*, “Who will protect you at Judgement Day, from the utterance, ‘There is no god but God’? Did you not kill him after he said, ‘There is no god but God’?” And so on, to the completion of the hadith.

There are many references to his virtues. He was as black as night and flat-nosed. He was sweet-tempered and good-looking, tall, eloquent, knowledgeable and masterly. May God be pleased with him.

His father had similar qualities, except for being extremely pale-skinned. For this reason certain ignorant people express suspicions about Usama’s parentage. On one occasion Mujazziz al-MudlijIl passed by them when they were both lying asleep in an outer wrap, their feet being visible - Usama’s being black, and his father’s white. Mujazziz exclaimed, “Glory be to God! These feet are of the same lineage!” The Messenger of God (SAAS) was most impressed by this comment and went in to see 'A'isha, beaming delight. He said, “Would you believe that Mujazziz has just looked at Zayd b. Ithnaa and Usama b. Zayd and commented, ‘These feet are of the same lineage!’”

Because of this hadith and the decision reached and its acceptance, scholars of the traditions such as al-Shafi'i and AImad give credence to such *qafu* in resolving questions involving mixed lineage, as is established in the appropriate place (in the texts).

It is firmly established by Abu 'Umar that Usama died in 54 AH. Others, however, give that date as 58 or 59 AH. It is also said that he died after the

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180. He was a *qa'aff* (plural *qa'afa*), one skilled in determining lineage from observation of similarities in physical attributes.
assassination of Uthmān, but God knows best. All compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections include in their books statements attributed to him.

Also there was Aslām, otherwise called “Ibrāhīm”, “Thābit” and “Hurmuz” Abū Rāfī’ al-Qubṭī. He accepted Islam before Badr, but was not present there because he was in Mecca with his masters of the al-‘Abbas family. He used to strike flint-iron; the story of his dealings with the foul Abū Lahab when news came of the battle of Badr is given above;181 and to God be praise.

He then went on the Hijrā and took part in the battle of Uḥud and its aftermath. He was a scribe and wrote for Āli b. Abī Ṭalīb at al-Kūfah. It was al-Mu‘aḍdal b. Ghassān al-Ghallaḥī who stated this. He was present at the conquest of Egypt during the rule of ʿUmar.

First he belonged to al-‘Abbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib who presented him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The latter manumitted him and married him to his own freed-woman, Salmā. Children were born to him and he would be in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Ahmad stated that both Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar and Bahz stated, “Shuʿba narrated to us, from al-Ḥakam, from Ibn Abī Rāfī’, from Abī Rāfī’, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sent a man of Banū Makhzūm to take charge of the *ṣadaqa*, ‘the charity funds’. The man said to Abū Rāfī’, ‘Come along with me, and you will get some of it.’ ‘No!’ replied Abū Rāfī’. ‘Not until I go to the Messenger of God and ask him.’ And so he did go to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he replied, ‘Charity funds are not permitted for us; the freed-man of a family is one of them (in this regard).’”

Al-Thawrī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Bāhā, from al-Ḥakam. Abū Yaʿṣīr narrated it in his *musnad ḥadīth* collection, also from Abū Rāfī’, that they suffered from extreme cold at the battle of Khaybar. And the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Whoever has a blanket should share it with those who do not have one.”

Abū Rāfī went on, “I could not find anyone to share their blanket with me. So I went to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he threw his coverlet over me. We slept until morning. Then the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) found a snake at his feet and he said, ‘Abū Rāfī! Kill it! Kill it!’”

All the compilers of the *ṣaḥīḥ* collections included narrations from him. He died during the reign of ʿAlī, may God be pleased with him.

Another slave was Anṣā b. Ziyād Abū Mishrāh, also known as Abū Mīsraḥ. He was of mixed lineage and from al-Sarrātī. He was a *muḥājirīn* and participated at the battle of Badr, according to ʿUrwa, al-Zuhri, Mūsā b. ʿUqba, Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq, al-Bukhārī and others. They stated, “He was one of those who would allow access to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), when he held a meeting.”


'Abbas, who said, 'Anasa, freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), was martyred at Badr.'"

Al-Waqidi stated, "In our view, that is not fully established. I have seen some scholars also assert that he witnessed the battle of Uhud and lived on for some time thereafter, dying during the lifetime of Abu Bakr, during his caliphate."

They also included Ayman b. Ubayd b. Zayd al-Habashi. Ibn Manda traced his lineage to 'Awf b. al-Khazraj; this, however, is controversial.

He was the son of Umm Ayman Baraka, brother of Usama on his mother's side.

Ibn Ishāq stated, "He was in charge of the ablution vessel used by the Prophet (SAAS). He was one of those men who stood firm at the battle of Hunayn. And it is said that it was about him and his companions that the words of the Almighty, "and he who hopes to meet his Lord should do good works, and not associate any other (god) with the worship of his Lord" (Sūrat al-Kahf; XVIII, v.110).

Al-Shafi'i stated that Ayman was killed while with the Prophet (SAAS), at the battle of Hunayn.

He also stated that the account quoting him narrated by Mujahid was munqati', "incomplete in its line". By this he was referring to what was narrated by al-Thawrī, from Munṣūr, from Mujāhid, from 'Aṭa', from Ayman al-Habashi, who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) only sentenced to amputation a person who had stolen a shield; the value of a shield at that time was one dinār."

Abū al-Qasīm al-Baghawi narrated this in his Mu'jam al-Saltaba, quoting Harīn b. 'Abd Allah, from Aswad b. 'Amir, from al-Iṣāṣ b. Sa'id, from Mansūr, from al-Ḥakam, from Mujāhid and 'Aṭa', from Ayman, from the Prophet (SAAS), in similar words.

This ḥadīth, if it has not been forged, requires Ayman to have died after the Prophet (SAAS). It may well be that the attribution should have been to someone other than him.

The majority of scholars, including Ibn Ishāq and others, include him among those of the Companions killed at the battle of Hunayn. But God knows best.

A story is recounted of an incident involving his son al-Ḥajjāj b. Ayman and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar.

Also there was Bādhān; reference to him will be included in the life of Ṭahmān, to follow.

They also include Thawbān b. Bujdud, also known as Ibn Jaḥdar Abū ʿAbd Allāh, as Abū ʿAbd al-Kartm and as Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān.

His parentage was among the people of al-Sarrāt, a place between Mecca and Yemen; alternatively, he is said to be descended from the Ḥimyar people of Yemen, or from al-Ḥān. He is also said to be of the line of Ḥakam b. Sa'īd al-ʿAshira of Madīḥij, and to have been taken captive in the jahiliyya period. The Messenger of God (SAAS) purchased him, then manumitted him and gave him the choice between returning to his own people or remaining one of the household. He remained loyal to the Messenger of God (SAAS), until his death, attending him constantly, whether at home or travelling.
He took part in the conquest of Egypt during the rule of 'Umar and thereafter resided at Ḥims, where he built a house. He remained there until he died, in 54 AH. This date is also given, mistakenly, as 44 AH. It is said that he died in Egypt, but the fact is that it was in Ḥims, as stated above. But God knows best.

Al-Bukhārī gives a tradition from him in the chapter Kitāb al-Adab ("Book on Manners") of his sahih collection. Muslim also includes him in his sahih collection, as do the other ahl al-sunan hadith compilations.

Also there was Hunayn, the freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS); he was the grandfather of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. Hunayn.

We have narrated how he served the Prophet (SAAS), and helped him with the ablution. When the Prophet (SAAS) had finished, Hunayn would take the remainder of the ablution water to the Companions. Some of these would drink from it, while others wiped themselves with it. Hunayn would also retain it and keep it in a jar. Eventually they complained about him to the Prophet (SAAS), who asked him, "What are you doing with it?" He replied, "I save it up and drink it, Messenger of God." The latter commented, "Have you ever seen a slave store away what this one does!"

Ultimately the Prophet (SAAS) presented him to his uncle al-ʿAbbās, who manumitted him; may God be pleased with them both.

They also include Dhakwān; reference to him will be made in relation to the life of Tahmān, hereafter.

Also there was Rāfīʿ, or Abū Rāfīʿ, also known as Abū al-Baḥṭ.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama stated, "He belonged to Abū Ḫayyāḥa Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ the elder. His sons inherited him. Three of them manumitted those they had as their share of the inheritance and he was present with them at Badr, at which battle all three were killed.182 Then Abū Rāfīʿ purchased the remaining freed-men from the sons of Saʿīd, except for the share of Khālid b. Saʿīd. Khālid gave his share to the Messenger of God (SAAS); he accepted him, then manumitted him. He used to say, "I am the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS)," and his sons after him would also say this of him.

They include Rabal al-Aswad, who would grant access to visit the Prophet (SAAS). It was he who took permission to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to enter in to see the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was in that upper room, that day he had turned away from his wives, secluding himself alone there from them.

He is thus quoted in the hadith of ʿIkrama b. Ammār, from Sīmāk b. al-Walīd, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from ʿUmar.

Imām Ahmad stated that Wakiʿ related to him, quoting ʿIkrama b. Ammār, from Iyās b. Salama b. al-Akwaʿ, from his father, who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) had a slave named Rabal."

Of them also was Ruwayfiʿ, his freed-man. Muṣʿab b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī included him among the freedmen, as did Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama. They

182. Their names, however, do not appear in the list of the participants at Badr, as compiled by Ibn Kathīr.
both stated, “His son went to ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, during the latter’s rule, who gave him an appointment. He left no offspring.”

I note that ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, may God have mercy on him, was very solicitous of the freed-men of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He wished to know them and to grant them favours. During his rule he wrote to Abū Bakr b. ‘Hzrn, the leading scholar of Medina during his time, asking him to search for the freed-men of the Messenger of God (SAAS), including the freed-women, and his servants.

It was al-Wâqidi who narrated this. Abū ‘Umar also mentioned this in brief and said, “I am not aware of any hadith attributed to him.” Ibn al-Athîr related this in his work al-Ghâba.

There was also Zayd b. ‘Hzrîthâ al-Kalbî. We have given reference to him, may God be pleased with him, above in the account of his death at the battle of al-Mu’ta; that occurred in Jumāda, 8 AH, some months prior to the conquest of Mecca.

He was the commander-in-chief. After him in command came Ja’far, then, following them both, came ‘Abd Allâh b. Rawâhâ.

‘A’isha, may God be pleased with her, is quoted as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed Zayd b. ‘Hzrîthâ as commander of every military expedition on which he dispatched him. If he had remained alive, he would have appointed him his successor.” It was Ahmad who gave this quotation.

They also include Zayd Abû Yasâr.

Abū al-Qâsim al-Baghawi stated in his Muṣjam al-Ṣahâba, “He resided in Mecca. Only one hadith of which I have knowledge is attributed to him. It was related to us by Muḥammad b. ‘Alî al-Jâwzajâni, quoting Abû Salama – al-Tabî‘îhâtî, that is – quoting Ḥâfîz b. ‘Umar al-Tâ‘î, quoting Abû ‘Umar b. Murra, quoting Bilal b. Yâsîr b. Zayd, the freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), quoting his father who quoted his grandfather as having heard the Messenger of God (SAAS), ‘Whoever says, “I seek forgiveness from God, than Whom there is no other, He being the Living, the Everlasting; to Him I turn in repentance”, will be forgiven, even if he has fled from the battlefield.’”

Abû Da‘ūd narrated it thus from Abû Salama. Al-Tîrmîdî gave if from Miḥammad b. Ismâ‘îl al-Bukhârî, from Abû Salama Mûsâ b. Ismâ‘îl. Al-Tîrmîdî stated, “This is gharîb. We know of it only from this one source.”

They include Safînâ Abû ‘Abd al-Ra‘mân, known as Abû al-Bakhârtî. His given name was Mâhrân, and is also said to have been ‘Ahs, Ahmar and Rûmân. The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave him his agnomen, for a reason we will relate, and it stuck to him.

He was a freed-man of Umm Salama, who set him free on condition that he serve the Messenger of God (SAAS) until he died. He accepted this and would say, “If she had not stipulated this, I would not have separated from him!”
This hadith is recorded in the sunan (of Abu Dâ‘ûd).

He was of mixed Arab ancestry, his paternal origins being from Persia. His full name was Safîna b. Maﬁnna.

Imâm Ahmad stated that Abû al-Nadr related to him, quoting Ḥashrâj b. Nubâta al-Âbsî, a man of Kûfâ, quoting Sa‘îd b. Jumhûr, quoting Safîna who said, “The Messenger of God (Ṣâ‘îl) stated, ‘The caliphate among my nation will be for 30 years, and thereafter it will become a kingdom.’”

(Sa‘îd b. Jumhûr continued) “Safîna then said to me, ‘Take the caliphate of Abû Bakr, that of Ümar, that of Üthmân, and then that of ‘Âlî. We find they total 30 years.’

“Later I researched the caliphs, but did not find they totalled 30 years. I asked Sa‘îd, ‘Where did you meet Safîna?’ He replied, ‘In a date-grove, in the era of al-Hajjaj. I stayed with him for three nights, asking him to tell me things the Messenger of God (Ṣâ‘îl) had said. I asked him, ‘What is your name?’ He replied, ‘I’m not telling you! The Messenger of God (Ṣâ‘îl) named me “Safîna”, “boat”.’ I asked him, ‘Why did he call you “Safîna”?’ He replied, ‘The Messenger of God (Ṣâ‘îl) went on a journey with his Companions. Their baggage grew too heavy for them and he told me, “Carry that; you’re a safîna!” And if I had been burdened that day with the load of one, two, three, four, five, six or seven donkeys it would not have been too heavy for me, though they would have been overdoing it.’”

This hadith is given by Abû Dâ‘ûd, al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasàî. The phrase they relate is, “the caliphate of the prophethood will be for 30 years. Then there will be a kingdom.”

Imâm Ahmad stated that Bahz related to him, quoting Ḥammâd b. Salama, from Sa‘îd b. Jumhûr, who quoted Safîna as having said, “We were on a journey, and whenever anyone got tired, he would throw his clothes, shield or sword over on me until I was carrying a whole lot of that. The Prophet (Ṣâ‘îl) told me, ‘You’re a safîna!’”

This was widely accepted to be how he came to be named Safîna.

Abû al-Qâsim al-Baghawî stated that both al-Rabi‘ Sulaymân b. Da‘ûd al-Zahrânî and Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Warikânî told him that Sharîk b. ‘Abd Allâh al-Nakhrî had related to them, from ‘Imrân al-Bajâlî, from a freed-man of Umm Salama, who said, “We were with the Messenger of God (Ṣâ‘îl), and passed by a gulley – or a river – and I was busy helping people across. The Messenger of God (Ṣâ‘îl) told me, ‘From today on, you’re nothing but a safîna, a “boat”!’”

Imâm Ahmad narrated it thus, from Aswad b. ‘Amîr, from Shurâykh.

Abû ‘Abd Allâh b. Manda stated that al-Ḥasan b. Makram related to him, quoting Üthmân b. Ümar, quoting Usâma b. Zayd, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkûdarî, from Safîna, who said, “I went to sea on a ship and it was wrecked. I rode on one of its planks and it cast me up on an island where there was a lion, and that really surprised me. I said, ‘Abû al-Ḥârîth, I’m the freed-man of the
Messenger of God (SAAS). It then began using its shoulder to gesture to me, and eventually led me to a path. Then it growled, which I took to be its (farewell) greeting to me.”


He also narrated it from Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Makhramī, from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, who quoted it from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abū Salama, from Muḥammad b. al-Munkadīr, who quoted Sāfīnā, as above.

Al-Baghawī also stated that Hārūn b. ‘Abd Allāh related to him, quoting ‘Alī b. Gaṣūr, quoting Abu Rayḥān, who quoted Sāfīnā, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), as having said, “When the lion confronted me, I said, ‘I’m Sāfīnā, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ It then struck its tail on the ground and lay down.”

Muslim and the ahl al-sunan quoted from him. It is given above in the ḥadīth narrated by ʿImām Ahmad that he used to reside in a date orchard, and that he lived on into the days of al-Ḥajjāj.

Salman al-Fārisī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh, mawālī al-islām, “the freedman of Islam”, was also one of them.

He was originally from Persia and circumstances led him being owned by a Jew of Medina. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) went into exile there, Salmān accepted Islam. The Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered him to enter into a contract of manumission with his Jewish master and helped him to pay off what he owed. He was associated with the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said of him, “Salmān is of our household”.

We have given above a description of his leaving his own country and his association with a sequence of monks, one after the next, until circumstances led him to al-madīna al-munawwārām, ‘Medina the illuminated’. We described how he became a Muslim, may God be pleased with him, early after the migration of the Prophet (SAAS), to Medina. His death came in 35 AH, at the end of ʿUthmān’s rule, or early in 36 AH. It is also said that he died during the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; the first date is more widely accepted.

Al-ʿAbbās b. Yazīd al-Bahrānī stated, “Scholars had no doubt that he lived for 250 years; they did differ over his having lived to a greater age, up to 350 years.” Some later hujjāg, however, claim that he did not live beyond the age of 100. God knows best what is correct.

Shuqrān al-Ḥabashi was also one of them. His given name was Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAdi; the Prophet (SAAS) inherited him from his father.

Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī and Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, “He had belonged to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who presented him to the Prophet (SAAS).”

ʿAlī b. Hanbal narrated, from Iṣḥāq b. ʿIsā, from Abū Maʿshār, who stated that Shuqrān had told him that he had participated at the battle of Badr.
Abū Ma'shar stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had not awarded him a share of the booty.

Muḥammad b. Sa'd similarly includes him among those who were present at Badr. He was a slave and therefore did not receive a share in the booty, but was placed in charge of the prisoners taken. Each man owning a prisoner made payment to him, and so he received more than the equivalent of a full share.

He (Muḥammad b. Sa'd) stated, “There were three slaves apart from him at Badr. One was owned by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, another by Ḥāṭib b. Abū Balta'a and a third by Sa'd b. Mu'adh. He (the Prophet (SAAS)) did give them a small present.”

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī stated, “There is no mention in al-Zuhri’s book or in that of Ibn Iṣḥāq of him (Shuqrān) among those who were present at Badr.”

Al-Wāqidi stated that Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Sabra quoted Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Jahm as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed his freed-man Shuqrān in charge of everything found in the saddle-bags at the battle at al-Murayḥī, including minor items, weapons, cattle and sheep; he assembled the children in one area.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Aswād b. ʿAmr related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Khalīd, from ʿAmr b. Yaḥyā al-Māzini, from his father, who quoted Shuqrān as having said, “I saw him” — meaning the Prophet (SAAS) — “making his way to Khaybar mounted on a donkey, performing prayer as he did so, and making gesticulations.”

These aḥādīth provide evidence that Shuqrān, may God be pleased with him, was present at these engagements.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated, from Zayd b. Akhzām, from ʿUthmān b. Farqad, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad, who quoted Ibn Abī Rāfīʿ, as having said, “I heard Shuqrān say, ‘I swear by God, it was I who spread out the velvet cloth in the grave beneath the Messenger of God (SAAS).’” Al-Tirmidhī went on to state that Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad quoted his father as having said, “It was Abū Tahlīya who made the grave of the Prophet (SAAS), and Shuqrān who laid out the velvet cloth.”

Al-Tirmidhī categorized this hadith as being hasan ghārib.

It has been narrated above how Shuqrān participated in washing the body of the Messenger of God (SAAS), how he descended into his grave and how he placed beneath him the velvet on which he had prayed, saying, “I swear by God, no one will wear this after you!”

The ḥāfīz Abū al-Ḥasan b. al-Athār stated in his work al-Ghāba that Shuqrān’s line died out and that the last of his descendants died at Medina during the rule of al-Rasḥīd.

Also included in their number was Ḑumayra b. Abū Ḑumayra al-Ḥimyārī. He was taken captive during the jāḥiliyya and the Prophet (SAAS) purchased him then manumitted him. Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī referred to him, saying, “He had a house at al-Baqīʿ and a child.”
Abd Allāh b. Wahb quoted from Ibn Abū Dhi'b, from Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayra, from his father, who quoted his grandfather Ḥumayra as having said that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed by Ḥumayra's mother while she was weeping and asked her, “What is making you cry? Are you hungry or unclothed?” She replied, “Messenger of God, I have been separated from my son.” The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) replied, “A mother and her son can never be separated.” He then sent for the man who had Ḥumayra and exchanged a young camel for Ḥumayra.

Ibn Abū Dhi'b went on to state that he (Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd·Allāh b. Ḥumayra) then read to him a letter he had, as follows, “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Compassionate. This letter is from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Abū Ḥumayra and his family. The Messenger of God has manumitted them all. They are a family of Arab descent. If they wish, they may reside with the Messenger of God and if they wish, they may return to their own people without hindrance unless for proper cause. Those Muslims who meet with them should treat them with kindness. Ubayy b. Ka'b wrote (it).”

They also include Ṭahmān, also known as Dhakwān, as Mahrān, as Māymūn, Kaysān and Bādhām. He quoted the Prophet (ṢAAS) as having said, “Charity payments (ṣadaqa) are not permitted to be made to myself, nor to my household. The freed-man of the family is one of them (and should not be given ṣadaqa).”

Al-Baghwāt narrated it from Ṣin̲jāb b. al-Ḥārith and others, from Sharīk, from ʿAtîb b. al-Ṣāhīb, from Umm Kulthūm, one of the daughters of Alī b. Abū Ṭālīb, who said, “A freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), a man named Ṭahmān or Dhakwān, related to me that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said . . . ,” and she proceeded to quote him as above.

Also among them was Ubayy, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dāʿūd al-Ṭayālīsī stated, from Shuʿba, from Sulaymān al-Taymi, from a sheikh who asked Ubayy, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), “Did the Prophet (ṢAAS) order the performance of any prayer other than those written down?” He replied, “A prayer between the al-maghrib and the al-ʾishāʾ.”

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghwātī stated, “I know of no one other than him who narrated this.”

Ibn ʿAsākir then commented, “It was not as he said.”

He then proceeded to give a text through Abū Yaḥyā al-Mawṣili, who stated that ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Ḥammād related to him, quoting Ḥammād b. Śalāma, from Sulaymān al-Taymi, who quoted Ubayy, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said that there were two women who were fasting and were slandering people. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for a vessel and told them, “Vomit!” They did so, bringing up pus, blood, meat and flesh. He then commented, “These two women abstained from what was permitted and broke their fast (by eating) what was prohibited.”

Imām ʿAlī narrated this, from Yazīd b. Ḥārūn and Ibn Abū ʿAbbā, from Sulaymān al-Taymi, from a man who related to them at a gathering held by Abū
Othman, quoting from Ubayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), narrating it as above.

Ahmad also narrated it from Ghundar, who quoted Othman b. Ghiyath as having said, "I was with Abu Othman when a man said, "Sa'd" - or Ubayd, Othman was unsure of the name - "a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS) said ...". And he went on to narrate as above.

They also included Faqila, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS).

Muhammad b. Sa'd stated that al-Waqidi informed him, quoting Utba b. Khayrat al-Ashali as having said, "Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote to Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm asking him for information about the servants of the Messenger of God (SAAS), including the men, the women and the freed-men. He replied to him, stating, "There were Faqila, a freed-man of his, originally of Yemen, who later lived in Syria, and Abu Muwayhiba, a man of mixed Arab ancestry, of (Banu) Muzayna, whom he manumitted."

Ibn 'Asakir stated, "I find no mention of Faqila among the freed-men except from this source."

Qafiz was also among them.

Abu 'Abd Allah b. Manda stated that Sahil b. al-Sari informed him, quoting Utba b. Khayrat al-Ashali as having said, "Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz wrote to Abu Bakr Muhammad b. 'Amr b. Hazm asking him for information about the servants of the Messenger of God (SAAS), including the men, the women and the freed-men. He replied to him, stating, "There was Faqila, a freed-man of his, originally of Yemen, who later lived in Syria, and Abu Muwayhiba, a man of mixed Arab ancestry, of (Banu) Muzayna, whom he manumitted."

Ibn 'Asakir stated, "I find no mention of Faqila among the freed-men except from this source."


Muhammad b. Sulayman is alone in giving this.

Also there was Kirkira, who was in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (SAAS), on some of his military expeditions.

Abu Bakr b. Hazm mentioned him in what he wrote to Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz.

Imam Ahmad stated that Sufyân related to him, from 'Amr, from Salim b. Abî al-Ja'd, from 'Abd Allah b. 'Amr, who said, "There was a man named Kirkira in charge of the baggage of the Prophet (SAAS). The man died and the Prophet (SAAS) said, 'He is in hell-fire!' Then they noticed that the man had a striped cloak or an outer garment that he had put on."

Al-Bukhari narrated this from 'Ali b. al-Madini, from Sufyân.

I note that his story is similar to that of Mid'am who was given to him by Rifa'a of Banû al-Našt, as will be explained.

Kaysân was also one of them.

Al-Baghwâî stated that Abu Bakr b. Abû Shayba related to him, quoting Ibn Fuḍayl, from 'Aṭîb b. al-Sâbîb, who said, "I came to Umm Kulthûm, daughter of 'Ali, who said, 'Kaysân, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), related to me that the latter said to me with regard to an object assigned to charity, 'We of the household are forbidden access to the charity. And our freed-man is one of ourselves: so do not consume charity offerings.'"

Also of them was Mâbûr, the Coptic eunuch who was presented to him by the Governor of Alexandria along with Mariya, Shirin and the mule. We have
Mid'am was one of them. He was a black, of mixed Arab descent from Hismä who was a gift from Rifa‘a b. Zayd al-Jadhami. He was killed during the life of the Prophet (SAAS), following their return from Khaybar. When they reached Wadi al-Qura, Mid'am was busy unloading the baggage from the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS), when a stray arrow struck and killed him. People commented, “Lucky for him! Martyrdom!” The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, “Absolutely not, by Him who holds my soul in His hand, the shamlā he took at the battle of Khaybar that had not been assigned from the booty will light the fires of hell for him!”

When they heard that a man came up with a shoelace – or two shoelaces – and the Prophet (SAAS) said, “A shoelace” – or “two shoelaces” – “of fire!”

Both authors of the sahiḥ collections gave this from a hadith of Malik, from Thawr b. Ya‘ṣīd, from Abū al-Ghayth, from Abū Hurayra.

Also included among them is Mahran, also known as Tāḥmān. It was he who was referred to by Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ‘Ali, regarding the prohibition of charity payments to Banū Ḥāshim and their freed-men, as related above.

Maymiin was also among them, he being (the same as) the person preceding (above).

Also there was his freed-man Nāfī’.


Also included among them is Nufayr, sometimes known as Masrūḥ and as Nāfī’ b. Masrūḥ. The correct name is Nāfī’ b. al-Ḥarith b. Kālāda b. ‘Ammr b. ʿIlaj b. Salama b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzza b. Ghīra b. ‘Aww b. Qays, he being Thaqīf Abū Bakra al-Thaqafī. His mother was Sumayya, Umm Ziyād.

He and a number of slaves were lowered down over the walls of al-Ṭā’if, and the Prophet (SAAS) manumitted him. He was born in Bakra, and so the Messenger of God (SAAS) named him Abū Bakra.

Abū Nu‘aym stated, “He was a righteous man; the Messenger of God (SAAS) established brotherhood between him and Abū Barza al-Aslami.”

I note that it was he who prayed over the bier of the latter, that being his testament.

183. In Syria.
184. A small turban or a body-covering cloak.
Abū Bakr was not present at the battle of the camel, nor at the battles at Ṣīfīn. His death came in 51 AH, though some say 52 AH.

Waqīd was also one of them. His name is also given as “Abū Waqīd”. He was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

The ḥāfiẓ Abū Ḥāfiẓ al-Isbāḥānī stated that Abū ‘Amr b. Ḥamādān related to him, quoting Al-Ḥasan b. Ṣufyān, quoting Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Karīm, quoting al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, quoting al-Haytham b. Hāmmād, from al-Ḥārith b. Ghassān, from a man of Quraysh who lived in Medina, from Zādhān, from Waqīd, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, ‘Whoever obeys God remembers God, even if his prayer, fasting and recitation of the Qurān are minimal. Whoever disobeys God does not remember Him, even if his prayer, fasting and recitation of the Qurān are substantial.’”

Hurmuz Abū Kaysān was one of them. He is also called Hurmuz or Kaysān. It is he who was also known as “Ṭahmān”, as mentioned above.

Ibn Wāhīb stated that ‘Alī b. ‘Abbas related to him, from ‘Aṭā’ b. al-Ṣā‘īb, from Fāṭima, daughter of ‘Alī, or Umm Kulthūm, daughter of ‘Alī, who said, “I heard a freed-man of ours called Hurmuz, whose agnomen was Abū Kaysān, say, ‘I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘We of the household are not permitted access to the charity. And our freed-men are of ourselves. So do not consume al-ṣadaqa, the charity.’”

Al-Rābi‘ b. Sulaymān narrated it, from ‘Asād b. Mūsā, from Warqā, from ‘Aṭā’ b. al-Ṣā‘īb, who said, “I went in to Umm Kulthūm and she said, ‘Hurmuz, or Kaysān, related to us that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) stated, “We do not consume al-ṣadaqa, the charity.”’”

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawi stated that Ṭanṣūr b. Abū Muzāḥim related to him, quoting Abū Ḥāṣf al-Abbār, from Ibn Abū Ziyād, from Muṣāwiya, who said, “Twenty slaves were present at Badr, including one slave belonging to the Prophet (ṢAAS), a man named Hurmuz. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) manumitted him and said, ‘God has set you free. A people’s freed-man is one of themselves. We of the household do not consume al-ṣadaqa, the charity; you must not do so.’”

Included among them is Ḥishām, a freed-man of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd stated that Sulaymān b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Raqquī informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ayyūb al-Raqquī, from Ṣufyān, from ‘Abd al-Karīm, from Abū al-Zubayr, who quoted Ḥishām, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, “A man came and said, ‘Messenger of God, my wife does not fend off the hand of someone who touches her.’ ‘Divorce her,’ he responded. The man went on, ‘(But) she pleases me.’ ‘Then enjoy her,’ he said.”

Ibn Manda stated that a group of scholars narrate this from Ṣufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zubayr, from a freed-man of Banū Hashim, from the Prophet (ṢAAS). But this ḥadīth did not name the freed-man. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Amr also narrated it, from ‘Abd al-Karīm, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir.
Also among them was Yasār; it is said that he was killed by the Urani (travellers) who had mutilated him.

Al-Wāqīdī narrated, with his line of transmission coming from Ya‘qūb b. Utba, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had received him at the engagement at Qarqarat al-Kudr, along with the livestock of Banū Ghatafān and Banū Suyaym. The men gave him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and he accepted him from them. Because he saw that he was properly performing the prayer, he manumitted him. He then divided the livestock among the men, each one of them receiving seven camels. The men were two hundred in number.

They also include Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ, a freed-man and servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS). His name is also given as Hilāl b. al-Ḥārīth, Ibn al-Muẓaffar, and Hilāl b. al-Ḥārīth b. Žufr al-Sulami. He had been taken into captivity during the jahiliyya.

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Dūhaym stated that Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim related to him, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūsā and al-Faḍl b. Dukayn, from Yūnus b. Abū Ishāq, from Abū Dā‘ūd al-Faṣṣ, who quoted Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ as having said, “I was stationed in Medina for seven months – it felt like one day – and the Prophet (ṢAAS) would come to the door of the home of ‘Alī and Fāṭima every morning and call out, ‘The prayer! The prayer! People of the household, God wants only to remove the filth from you, and to thoroughly purify you.’”

‘Alī Māja narrated it, from Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba, from Abū Nu‘aym. This is the only source he quoted.

The “Abū Dā‘ūd” referred to in the above hadith was Nufayy b. al-Ḥārīth al-‘Aṣma; he was one of those sources considered weak.

‘Abbas al-Durī quoted Ibn Mu‘īn as having said, “Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ (referred to above) was a Companion of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), whose name was Hilāl b. al-Ḥārīth. He used to live in Ḥims; I saw there a young man who was one of his sons.”

Someone else said, “His home was outside the walls of Ḥims.” Abū al-Wāzīr quoted Sāmura as having said, “Abū al-Ḥamrāʾ was one of the freed-men.”

Also among them was Abū Salama, the herdsman of the Prophet (ṢAAS). He was also known as Abū Sallām, his given name being Ḥurayth.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawi stated that Kāmil b. Ṭalḥa related to him, quoting ‘Abbād b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad, who quoted Abū Salama, the herdsman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), as having said, “I heard the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) say, ‘Whoever meets God, testifies that there is no god but God, that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God, and expresses faith in the Mission and in the reckoning will enter paradise.’”
‘Abbad went on, “We asked him, ‘Did you hear this from the Messenger of God (SAAS)?’ He placed a finger in each ear and replied, ‘I heard that from him not once, not twice, not thrice and not four times!’”

Ibn ‘Asakir gives only this hadith from him. Al-Nasawi narrated another hadith from him in the work al-Yawm wa al-Layla and Ibn Maja quoted another from him.

Abū Saifiyya, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), is another of them.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghwāi stated that Ahmad b. al-Miqdām related to us, quoting Mu‘tamir, quoting Abū Ka'b, from his grandfather Baqiyya, from Abū Saifiyya, freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), that the latter would lay out a leather sheet, and a palm-leaf basket containing pebbles would be brought to him. He would use these to repeat, subhan Allah! “Praise be to God!” until midday. Then it would be taken away. When he had performed al-ūlā, “the first prayer”, he would go on repeating subhan Allah! until evening.

They also included Abū Dūmayra, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), the father of Dūmayra referred to above and the husband of Umm Dūmayra. Some mention is made of him in their letter concerning his son, Ẓaraf, to which reference is made above.  

Muhammad b. Sa‘d stated in al-Tabaqāt that Ismā’īl b. ‘Abd Allah b. Uways al-Wadānī informed him, quoting Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Dūmayra, that the text of the letter written by the Messenger of God (SAAS), to Abū Dūmayra was as follows: “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. (This is) a letter from Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Abū Dūmayra and his family. They are an Arab family who are among those whom God has awarded as booty to His Messenger. The latter has manumitted them. He has given Abū Dūmayra the choice of joining his people, if he wishes, or, if he prefers, to remain with the Messenger of God (SAAS), he may then be of his household, having then chosen God and His Messenger, and entered into Islam. No one is to interrupt their passage, unless to do them good. Those Muslims who meet them should treat them with kindness. Ubayy b. Ka'b wrote (it).”

Ismā’īl b. Abū Uways stated, “This man was a freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He was of Ḥimyar. A group of them went on a journey, bearing this letter. Thieves blocked their path and took their belongings. They then produced this letter and told the thieves what it contained. The latter read it, returned their belongings to them and allowed them to pass.

“Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allah b. Abū Dūmayra presented himself to the Commander of the Believers, al-Mahdi, having brought this letter with him. Al-Mahdi took it, examined it carefully, and awarded Ḥusayn 300 dinārs.”

They also included Abū Ubayd, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

Imām Ahmad stated that Affān related to him, quoting Abān al-Ṣattār, quoting Qatāda, from Shah b. Ḥawshab, who quoted Abū Ubayd as having said  

185. The text of the letter in question, from a different source, is given above with minor variants from the following account. See above, pages 450-1.
that he cooked a pot of meat for the Messenger of God (SAAS). The latter asked him, “Serve me its shoulder!” Abū Ubayd did so, but again he asked, “Serve me its shoulder!” Abū Ubayd did so, but again he asked, “Serve me its shoulder!” Abū Ubayd then said, “Prophet of God, how many shoulders can a sheep have!” He replied, “By Him who holds my soul in His hand, if you’d only remained silent, you would have been able to give me a shoulder every time I asked for it!” Al-Tirmidhi narrated this in *al-Shamā‘il* from Bandār, from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Abān b. Yazīd al-‘Aṣṭār.

They also include Abū ʿAsīb; some give his name as Abū ʿAsim. The former is correct. There are those who distinguish between the two men.

It is related above that he participated in the prayers spoken over the Prophet (SAAS), attended his burial, and narrated the story about al-Mughīra b. Shu‘ba.

Al-Ḥarīth b. Abū Usāma stated that Yazīd b. Ḥarrūn related to him, quoting Muslim b. Ubayd Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAṣīb, who said, “I heard Abū ʿAsīb, a freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, ‘The Prophet (SAAS) said, “Gabriel came to me bearing fever and pestilence. I kept the fever in Medina and dispatched the pestilence to Syria. Pestilence is a testimony and a mercy for my own nation and a punishment for the unbelievers.’”’

Imām Aḥmad narrated it thus from Yazīd b. Ḥarrūn.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Manda stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh informed him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṣaghānī, quoting Yūnus b. Muḥammad, quoting Ḥashraj b. Nubāṭa, quoting Abū al-Nadrā al-Baṣrī, from Abū ʿAsīb, the freed-man of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) went forth one night. He passed by me and called out to me, then passed by and called out to Abū Bakr, who came out to him. He then went on by and called out to ʿUmar, who also came out to him. He then walked on and entered a garden owned by an ʿanṣārī. He asked the owner of the garden, ‘Provide us with some unripe dates to eat.’ The man brought them and put them down. The Messenger of God (SAAS) ate, as did all the others. He then called for water and, having drunk some of it, said, ‘This is a blessing! You will be asked about this on Judgement Day!’ ʿUmar then took the bunch of dates and struck it on the ground, scattering the unripe dates. He (the ʿanṣārī owner of the date-grove) then asked, ‘Prophet of God, will we really be held responsible for this on Judgement Day?’ He replied, ‘Yes; for everything except three things: a scrap of cloth with which a man covers his nakedness, a morsel of food with which to blunt his hunger, and some stones (of a structure) he enters’ — meaning to escape the heat and the cold.”

Imām Aḥmad narrated this from Shurayḥ, from Ḥashraj.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd narrated it in his work *al-Tahāqat*, from Mūṣa b. ʿIsmāʿil, who quoted Muslima, daughter of Abān al-Furayṣīyya, who quoted Maymūna, daughter of Abū ʿAsīb as having said, “Abū ʿAsīb would fast for three days in sequence. He used to perform the *al-ḍuḥā*, early morning, prayer while standing,
but grew (too) old. He would also fast the ayyām al-bīṭā. She went on to tell how he had a bell in his bed, the sound of which would ring out when he called her with it; when he rang it, she would come.

Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī was also one of them. He was of the Anmār clan of Banū Mudhjāhij as is widely known. He was a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS).

There are several versions given of his name. The best known of these is Sulaym; he is also known as ʿAmr b. Saʿd – or Saʿd b. ʿAmr. He was originally of mixed Arab descent from Daws territory. He was present at the battle of Badr.

Mūsā b. ʿUṣba quoted from al-Zuhrī as asserting this. Ibn ʿIshāq, al-Bukhārī, al-Wāqīdī, Muḥāfīz al-Zubayrī and Abū Bakr b. Abū Khaythama mention him. Al-Wāqīdī added, “He also was present at the battle of Uḥud, and various later military engagements.”

He died on the day when ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to power. That was on Tuesday, eight days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Akhirā in 13 AH.

Khalīfā b. Khayyāṭ stated, “In 23 AH Abū Kabsha, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS), died.”

It has been given above, from Abū Kabsha, that when the Messenger of God (SAAS) passed through al-Ḥijr on his journey to Tabūk, the men began entering their houses. They were summoned to a communal prayer and they all assembled. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then asked, “What? Would you enter in upon a people with whom God was angry?” One man called out, “We’re curious about them.” “Should I not tell you of matters more curious than that? A man from among yourselves who informs you of what happened before you and what will be after you.” And so on.186

Imām ʿAḥmad stated that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī related to him, from Muṭawwiyah b. ʾĀdhār, from ʿAmr b. ʿĀdib b. Muḥāfīz al-Aqāmah, who quoted Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) was seated among his Companions. Then he went inside and later came out again, having bathed. We asked, ‘Messenger of God, was something wrong?’ ‘Yes,’ he replied. ‘A certain lady passed by me and I had a desire to be with a woman. So I went to one of my wives and had sexual relations with her. You should all act similarly; to have only what is permitted is a highly exemplary deed for you.’”

ʿAḥmad stated that Wāḥīd related to him, quoting al-ʿAmash, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, who quoted Abū Kabsha al-Anmārī as having said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) stated, ‘The like of this nation is as four persons. One is a man to whom God gave wealth and knowledge and who works for Him and expends it as he should. Another is a man to whom God gives knowledge but not wealth; that person says, ‘If only I had the wealth of this person, I would act as he does.’ These two men shall be equal in reward.

“Another is a man to whom God gives wealth but not knowledge; he acts aimlessly and expends it improperly. Then there is the man to whom God gives

neither wealth nor knowledge. He says, ‘If I had money such as does that man, I would do as he does.’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) concluded, “Those two men shall be equal in punishment.”

Ibn Maja narrated it similarly from Abu Bakr b. Abū Shayba, and 'Ali b. Muḥammad, both of whom quoted from Waki'. Ibn Maja also narrated it from another line, from a hadith of Manṣūr, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd, from Ibn Abū Kabsha, from his father. Some sources give his name as 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Kabsha.

Aḥmad stated that Yazīd b. ‘Abd Rabbihī related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Ḥarb, quoting al-Zubayrī, from Rashīd b. Saʿd, from Abū ʿAmīr al-Hawzant, who stated that Abū Ḥisham al-Anmārī came to him and said, “Loan me your horse; for I heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) say, “A person who loans to a Muslim a horse that then gives birth for him will receive a reward equivalent to that for 70 horses he might have provided to bear fighters in God’s cause.’”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ismaʿīl, from Abū Nuʿaym, from Ubāda b. Muslim, from Yūnus b. Khaṭṭāb, from Saʿīd Abū al-Bukhtūrī al-Tārī, who quoted Abū Ḥisham as having quoted the Prophet (SAAS) as having said, “There are three things to which I will swear. And I will relate to you something; remember it. Charity never diminished a worshipper’s wealth. No worshipper was ever maltreated by an injustice and then remained patient in face of it without God increasing his glory thereby. And no worshipper will ever open the door to begging without God opening for him a door to poverty.”

He categorized this as hasan ḥadīth.

Aḥmad narrated this from Ghundar, from Shuʿba, from al-Aʿmash, from Sālim b. Abū al-Jaʿd.

Abū Daʿūd and Ibn Maja narrated it from a hadith of al-Walīd b. Muslim, from Ibn Thawbān, from his father, from Abū Ḥisham al-Anmārī, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) would have blood cupped from the top of his head and from between his shoulders.


They also included Abū Muwayhiba, a freed-man of the Prophet (SAAS). He was of mixed Arab descent from Banū Muzayna. The Messenger of God (SAAS) purchased and then manumitted him. His given name, may God be pleased with him, is not known.

Abū Muṣʿab al-Zubayrī stated, “Abū Muwayhiba was present at the battle of al-Murayṣī’. It was he who would lead the camel of ʿAṭīsha, may God be pleased with him.”

Above is given the hadith related by Imām Ahmad with a line of transmission back to Abū Muwayhiba, who reported having gone with the Messenger of God
(SAAS) at night to the al-Baqi' cemetery. He narrated how the latter had stopped there, prayed, and asked forgiveness for them and then said, “You should be more pleased to be where you are than are some people to be where they are. Dissensions have arisen like pieces of dark night, riding the one upon the other, the latter ever more intense than the first. You should be pleased to be where you are.”

He then came back and said, “Abu Muwayhiba, I have been given to choose between having the keys to those places my nation will conquer after me, going to paradise, or meeting my Lord (soon). I have chosen to meet my Lord.” Abu Muwayhiba went on, “Soon – just seven or eight days thereafter – he died.”

The above are, then, the slaves of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

The women servants of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

These include Amat Allah, daughter of Razina.

What is correct is that it was this woman’s mother Razina who should be credited, as will be explained. However, the former name is given in the account of Ibn Abi Āṣim, who narrated that 'Uqba b. Makram related to him, quoting Muḥammad b. Mūsā, quoting 'Ulayka, daughter of al-Kumayt al-‘Atkiyya, quoting her father, who quoted Amat Allah, the servant of the Prophet (SAAS), who said that the latter took Ṣafiyya captive at the battles against Banū Qurayṣa and Banū al-Naḍlr, then manumitted her and gave her Razina, the mother of Amat Allāh as her dowry.

This hadith is very strange.

They also included Umayma. Ibn al-Athir stated, “She was a freed-woman of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

It is the people of Syria who narrate a hadith from her. Jubayr b. Nufayr quoted her as saying that she would wash the Messenger of God (SAAS) (before the prayer) and that one day a man came to the latter and asked him, “Give me advice!” He responded, “Do not associate any other with God, even if you should be mutilated or burned by fire. Do not deliberately omit a prayer; anyone who does this deliberately has the protection of God and that of His Messenger withdrawn from him. Do not drink intoxicants, for they are the chief factor of every sin. Do not disobey your parents, even if they should order you to abandon your family and your way of life.”

These also include Baraka, Umm Ayman, and Umm Usama b. Zayd b. Ḥāritha.

She was Baraka, daughter of Tha‘labah b. ‘Amr b. Ḥuṣayn b. Mālik b. Salama b. ‘Amr b. al-Nu‘mān al-Ḥabashiyya.

She was generally known by her agnomen “Umm Ayman”, “the mother of Ayman”, her son by her first husband ‘Ubayd b. Zayd al-Ḥabashi. After him she married Zayd b. Ḥāritha, to whom she bore Usama b. Zayd. She was also known as “Umm al-Zibā”, “the mother of the gazelles”.

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She went out on both '87 Hijras, may God be pleased with her. She was the nursemaid to the Messenger of God (SAAS), along with his own mother, Āmina, daughter of Wahb. She was one of those received by the Messenger of God (SAAS), from the inheritance of his father. Al-Wāqidl stated this.

Others say that he inherited her from his mother. Yet others say she belonged to Khādīja’s sister, who presented her to the Messenger of God (SAAS), that she accepted Islam early and went on the Hijra, following him later on.

We have given above the account of the visit made to her by Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, may God be pleased with them both, after the death of the Prophet (SAAS), and how she had wept. They then asked her, “Don’t you realize that what is with God is better for the Messenger of God (SAAS)?” She replied, “Yes, indeed; but I am weeping because revelation from heaven has ceased.” And they both wept along with her.

Al-Bukhārī stated, in his history, “ʿAbd Allāh b. Yusuf stated, from Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus b. Yazīd, from al-Zuhrī, who said, ʿUmm Ayman suckled the Messenger of God (SAAS), until he was weaned. He manumitted her and married her to Zayd b. ʿHarīthah.”

She died five months after the Prophet (SAAS). Some, however, give the period as six months. She is alternatively said to have been still alive after the assassination of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Muslim narrated this from Abū al-Ṭāhir and Ḥarmala, both of whom quoted Ibn Wahb, from Yūnus, from al-Zuhrī. He gave her name as Umm Ayman al-Ḥabashiyya.

Muḥammad b. Saʿd stated, quoting al-Wāqidl, “Umm Ayman died early during the caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.”

Al-Wāqidl stated that Ṭāhā b. Saʿd b. Dīnār informed him, from a sheikh of Banū Saʿd b. Bakr who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) used to address Umm Ayman as ‘yā ammāh’, ‘mother’. And he would look over at her and say, ‘This woman is what remains of my (childhood) family household.’”

Abū Bakr b. Abī Khaythama stated that Sulaymān b. Abī ʿSheikh used to tell him, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) would say, ‘Umm Ayman is my mother who came after my own mother.’”

Al-Wāqidl quoted his colleagues of Medina as having said, “Umm Ayman looked over at the Messenger of God (SAAS), while he was drinking and said, ‘Give me to drink.’ ʿAʾishah demanded, ‘Would you say such a thing to the Messenger of God?’ She replied, ‘I served him far longer!’ The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘You are right.’ And he then brought her water for her to drink.”

Al-Muḥammad b. ʿAssān stated that Wahb b. Jarīr related to him, quoting his father, who said, “I heard ʿUthmān b. al-Qāsim say, ‘When Umm Ayman went on the Hijra, she arrived in the evening at al-Munṣarīf, before al-Rawḥā. She

187. That to Abyssinia and that to Medina.
was fasting, and she was overcome by intense thirst. A bucket of water, attached to a white well-rope, came down from heaven for her, and she said, "I drank, and never again did I experience thirst. I was open to thirst through fasting on the Hijra journeys, but I was never actually thirsty thereafter!"

The *haʃiz* Abū Ya'la stated that Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Muqaddamī related to him, quoting Sālim b. Qutayba, from al-Ḥusayn b. Hurayth, from Ya'la b. ʿAlī, from al-Walid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Umm Ayman, who said, "The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a pottery bowl into which he would urinate. When morning came, he would call out, 'Umm Ayman, pour out the contents of the pot.' One night I got up feeling thirsty and drank what it contained. And when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called out, 'Umm Ayman, pour out the contents of the pot,' I replied, 'Messenger of God, I got up feeling thirsty and drank what was in it!' He commented, 'You'll never suffer from your stomach!'"

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghaba*, "Ḥajjaj b. Muḥammad narrated from Ibn Jurayj, from Jakima, daughter of Umayma, who quoted her mother Umayma, daughter of Raqiqa, as having said, "The Prophet (ṢAAS) had a wooden bowl into which he would urinate and then place beneath his bed. A woman named Baraka came one day and drank it. He asked where it was, being unable to find it, and he was told, 'Baraka drank it!' He stated, 'She is kept out of hell-fire by a screen!'"

He differentiated between the two women. But God knows best.

Ibn al-Athīr stated in his work *al-Ghaba*, "Ulayka, daughter of al-Kumayt narrated her ḥadīth from her grandmother, from Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Zam'a. This refers to the right of the manumitted slave to inherit from the freed-man in the absence of heirs.
and their joking with her that al-Dajjal had come forth. And so she hid in a house where they would light a fire and laugh together. The Messenger of God (SAAS) arrived and asked, ‘What are you two up to?’ they told him about what had happened with Sawda, and he went over to her and she asked, ‘Messenger of God, has al-Dajjal really come forth?’ He replied, ‘No; though it is as though he had.’ And so she emerged, brushing spiders’ eggs from herself.”

Ibn al-Athir mentioned Khulaysa, the freed-woman of Salmān al-Farisi, saying, “Reference is made to her regarding the acceptance of Islam by Salmān al-Farisi, how his mistress manumitted him and the Messenger of God (SAAS) compensated her by planting 300 palm seedlings. She mentioned this as a matter of distinction.”

They also include Khawla, the servant of the Prophet (SAAS); Ibn al-Athir mentions her.

The ḥāfīz Abū Nu‘aym narrates her ḥadīth on a line of transmission through Ḥaṣb b. Sa‘īd al-Qurashi, from his mother, from her mother Khawla, who was the servant of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He presented her ḥadīth on the subject of the interruption in the revelation due to a puppy dog having died beneath the bed of the Prophet (SAAS), without anyone having been aware of this. When they took it away, the revelation returned, and the words of Almighty God were revealed, “By the early morning and the night when it becomes dark!” (ṣūrat al-Ḍuḥā; XCIII, v.1, 2).

This is strange; it is well known that the reason for the revelation of this is quite different. But God knows best.

They include Razīna. Ibn ʿAsākir stated, “In fact she belonged to Ṣafīyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, and also served the Prophet (SAAS).”

I note that it has been stated above regarding her daughter Amāt Allah that the Prophet (SAAS) gave her mother Razīna to Ṣafīyya, daughter of Ḥuyayy, as her dowry. In this case, she must originally have belonged to him.

The ḥāfīz Abū Ta‘lā stated that Abū Sa‘īd al-Jushamī related to him, quoting ʿUlayka, daughter of al-Kumayt, quoting her mother Aminā, who quoted Amāt Allah, daughter of Razīna, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (SAAS), as having stated that the latter took Ṣafīyya captive at the battles in which God gave victory against Bānū Qurayza and Bānū al-Nadr. He led her in as a captive. When she saw the women, she called out, “I testify that there is not god but God, and that you are the Messenger of God!” He then released her, having been holding her by the arm, and manumitted her. Later he proposed marriage to her, married her and gave her Razīna as her dowry.

This is the sequence of events as given in this text which is better than that previously presented from the account of Ibn Abū ʿĀṣim.

189. Al-Dajjal, “the imposter”, or al-masīḥ al-dajjal “the anti-Christ”, the Arabic word thought to be derived from Aramaic and Syriac, refers to a figure variously mentioned in the ḥadīth literature, though not in the Qurʾān. See the entry under al-Dadhījīl in the Encyclopaedia of Islam.
However, the truth is that the Prophet (SAAS), selected Safiyya from the booty taken at Khaybar and that he made her manumission her dowry. The reference in this hadith to this having happened at the battles against Banū Qurayza and Banū al-Naḍīr is nonsensical; there was a period of two years between these two engagements. But God knows best.

The ḥāṣiṣ Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī stated in his work Dalā’il that Ibn 'Abdān informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Ubayd al-Ṣaffār, quoting ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Sukari, quoting Ubayd Allāh b. ʿUmar al-Qawārizi, quoting ʿUlayka, daughter of al-Kumayt al-ʿAtkiyya, who quoted her mother Amina as having said, "I asked Amat Allāh, daughter of Razīna, the freed-woman of the Messenger of God (SAAS), 'Amat Allāh, did you ever hear your mother relate that she heard the Messenger of God (SAAS) mention the fast of 'Ashūra'?"190 She replied, 'Yes; he venerated it highly. He would call that day for his suckling infants and those of his daughter Fāṭima. He would spit into their mouths and tell their mothers, 'Do not suckle them until night.'"

There is testimony to this in the saḥiḥ collections. They also included Raḍwā. Ibn al-ʿAṭīr stated that Saʿīd b. Bashir narrated, from Qatada, who would quote Raḍwā, daughter of Ka'b, as having said that she asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) about menstruation causing staining. He replied, "There's no harm in that."

Abū Muṣā al-Madīnī narrated this.

(Regarding) Rāyḥāna, of Banū Qurayza, though some say of Banū al-Naḍīr, daughter of Shamʿūn, reference is made to her above, following the section dealing with the wives, may God be pleased with them, of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

They also include Zarrīna, referred to above under the correct spelling "Razīna". Sāʾiba, freed-woman of the Messenger of God (SAAS), is included among them.

She narrated from the Messenger of God (SAAS) a ḥadīth relating to things found. Tāriq b. ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān quoted her. It was Abū Muṣā al-Madīnī who narrated it; Ibn al-ʿAṭīr gives it thus in his work al-Ghaba. Sadīsa al-ʾAṣṣāriyya is one of them. She is said to have been a freed-woman of Ḥafṣa, daughter of ʿUmar.

She quoted the Prophet (SAAS) as having said, "Satan has bowed down before ʿUmar every time he met him since ʿUmar accepted Islam."

Ibn al-ʿAṭīr stated that ʿAbd al-ʿRahmān b. al-Faḍl b. al-Muwaffaq quoted from his father, from Ḥārūn, from ʿAlī, from ʿAskārī, from Saʿīd b. ʿAbd Allāh, from ʿAlī and ʿAskārī, from ʿAskārī and ʿAskārī. It was Yasar who narrated it from al-Faḍl. He gave it from Sadīsa, from Ḥafṣa, from the Prophet (SAAS).

Abū Nuʿaym narrated this, as did Ibn Manda.

190. A "voluntary" fast observed on the 10th of Muḥarram, from sunset to sunset. In shīʿa practice, the day is associated with the death of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, and the occasion of pilgrimage to sacred shrines.
They also include Sallâma, the wet-nurse for Ibrahim, the son of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

She narrated from him a statement he made on the virtues of pregnancy, divorce, the foster-relationship and remaining awake. The hadith has objectionable aspects both to its line of transmission and to its content.

Abû Nu'aym and Ibn Manda narrated it, from a hadith of Hishâm b. 'Amâr b. Nuṣâyry, the orator of Damascus, from his father 'Amr b. Sa'd al-Khawlânî, from Anas, who quoted Salâma. Ibn al-Athîr gave it.

Salma was also one of them. She was the mother of Râfî', and the wife of Abû Râfî', as al-Wâqîdî narrated, quoting her as having said, “I used to serve the Messenger of God (SAAS), as did Khâdra, Radwâ and Maymûna, daughter of Sa'd. The Messenger of God (SAAS) manumitted us all.”

Imâm Aḥmad stated that Abû ʿAmîr and Abû Sa'id, the freed-man of Banû Hashim, related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Ra'âma b. Abû al-Mawâlî, from Fâ'îd, the freed-man of Ibn Abû Râfî', from his grandmother Salma, the servant of the Prophet (SAAS), who said, ‘Whenever I heard anyone complain to the Messenger of God (SAAS) about a headache, he inevitably responded, ‘Have your blood cupped.’ When the complaint related to the person’s legs, he would say, ‘Dye them with hânnâ.’”

Abû Da'ud narrated it thus from a hadith of Ibn Abû al-Mawâlî. Al-Tîrmidhî and Ibn Mâja gave it from a hadith of Zayd b. al-Hubâb, both of them quoting from Fâ'îd, from his freed-man Ubayd Allâh b. ʿAli b. Abû Râfî', from his grandmother Salma.

Al-Tîrmidhî stated, “(This hadith) is gharîb, but we do recognize it from a hadith of Fâ'îd.”

She narrated a number of ahûdith quoting the Messenger of God (SAAS), too many to give and examine here.

Muṣâb al-Zubâyryî stated, “Salma was present at the battle of Hunayn.”

I note that it is said that she would cook harîra, a milk and flour soup, for the Prophet (SAAS), that he greatly enjoyed.

She lived on until after his death and was present at the death of Fatîma, may God be pleased with her. She had first belonged to Ṣâfiyya, daughter of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the aunt of the Prophet (SAAS), to whom she went thereafter. It was she who acted as midwife at the births of Fatîma’s children and at the birth of Ibrahim, the son of the Messenger of God (SAAS). She was present at and participated with ʿAli b. Abû Ṭâlîb in the pre-burial washing of the latter’s wife, Fatîma, along with Asmâ’, daughter of ʿUmays, the wife of Abû Bakr.

Imâm Aḥmad stated that Abû al-Nâḍr related to him, quoting Ibrahim b. Sa'd, from Muhammad b. Ḳhâq, from Ubayd Allâh b. ʿAli b. Abû Râfî', from Salma, who said, “Fatîma suffered greatly in the illness from which she died, and I would nurse her.”

191. “Henna” the orange-red dye produced from the foliage of the plant of that name, still widely used as a cosmetic.
One morning Salmā went to her as usual during her illness. She said, “‘Ali went out on some business of his and Fāṭima said to me, ‘yā ammah! ‘Maid!’ Pour me some water to wash.’

“I poured her some and she washed herself more thoroughly than I had ever seen her do before. She then said, ‘yā ammah, hand me my new clothes.’ And she put them on. She then said, ‘yā ammah, put my bed in the centre of the house.’ I did so. She lay down on it, facing towards the ka‘ba, placed her hand beneath her cheek and said, ‘yā ammah, I am dying now. I have cleansed myself and so no one should uncover me.’ And she died right there. When ‘Ali came, I told him.”

This (hadith) is very gharib, strange.

Shirīn was also one of them. She was also called Shīrin. She was the sister of Māriya the Copt and was therefore the aunt of Ibrāhīm, may peace be upon him. We have explained above how the muqawkis, the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Minā had presented her along with a slave named Mābūr and a mule named al-Dudul. The Messenger of God (SAAS) gave her to Hāssan b. Thābit and she bore him his son ‘Abd al-Rahmān.

‘They also included ‘Unqūdā al-‘Abbāsiyya, mother of Malik. She was a servant girl belonging to ‘A’isha. Her early name was ‘Inba, “a grape”, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) renamed her ‘Unqūdā, “bunch of grapes”.

‘Abū Nu‘aym narrated this. Her name is also given as “Ghafīra”.

Also there was Farwa, the wet-nurse of the Prophet (SAAS). She stated that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said to her, ‘When you go to bed, recite, ‘Say: “0 you unbelievers” (ṣūrat al-Kāfirūn; CIX, v.1). It will keep you free from unbelief.”

‘Abū Alḥāmid made reference to her. This is stated by Ibn al-Athīr in his work al-Ghāba.

Fīḍa al-Nūbiyya is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in al-Ghāba as having been a freed-woman of Fāṭima, the daughter of the Messenger of God (SAAS). He then gave, through an indistinct line of transmission, from Maḥbūb b. Ḥumayd al-Baṣrī, from al-Qāsim b. Bahrām, from Layth, from Mujahid, material from Ibn ‘Abbās, regarding the statement of the Almighty, “And they donate for love of Him food to the poor, to orphans and to captives”(ṣūrat al-Insān or al-Dahr; LXXVII, v.8). He went on to relate, in essence, that al-Hasan and al-Ḥusayn fell ill and were visited by the Messenger of God (SAAS), and by the general public. They asked ‘Ali, “To what would it be, if you were to swear a resolution?” ‘Ali said, “If they recover from what ails them both, I will offer God three days of fasting.” Fāṭima said the same, and so did Fīḍa.

God did cure them both, and they fasted. Then ‘Ali went and borrowed from Sham‘ūn al-Khaybarī three sā‘ weight of barley. That night they prepared one sā‘ of it to eat. As they were about to eat it for their evening meal, there was a beggar standing at their door who asked, “Feed the poor! May God feed you at the tables of paradise!” ‘Ali gave orders and they fed him, themselves not eating. The third night they prepared the second sā‘ of barley and when they had it
ready before them stood a beggar, who said, “Feed the orphan!” And so they fed him, themselves not eating. The third night he asked, “Feed the captive!” And so they fed him, themselves not eating.

And so God sent down regarding them, “Surely there came for man a period of time” to “We desire from you neither reward nor thanks” (surat al-Insān; V, v.1–9).

This hadith is objectionable. Some of the imāms consider it fabricated, basing their views on the weakness of its phraseology. They also note that this surat was revealed in Mecca, whereas al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn were born in Medina. But God knows best.

Also there was Laylā, ʿAʾisha’s freed-woman. She (is reported to have) said, “O Prophet of God, when you return from the wasteland (after defecation) and I go there after you, I never see anything; all I sense is the odor of musk.” He replied, “The bodies of us prophets grow on the souls of the people of paradise; whatever filth comes forth from us the earth swallows up.”

Abū Nuʿaym quoted her as having said this, from a hadith of Abu ʿAbd Allāh al-Madani – he being an unidentified source.

Māriya al-Qubṭiyā, the mother of Ibrāhīm, was one of them; she has been considered above among “the mothers of the Believers”.192 Ibn al-Athir made a distinction between her and Māriya Umm al-Rabbāb. He stated that she was also a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

She is credited by the scholars of Baṣrā with a hadith narrated by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥabīb, from Umm Salmā, from her mother, who quoted her grandmother Māriya as having said, “I bent over so that the Prophet (ṢAAS) could stand on me to get over a wall when he fled from the polytheists.”

He went on, “Māriya was a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS).” And Abū Bakr narrated, from Ibn ʿAbbās, from al-Muthannā b. ʿAlī, who quoted his grandmother Māriya, who had been a servant of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, “My hand never touched anything more smooth than the palm of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

Abū Umar b. ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his work al-Isrāʾīl, stated, “I do not know whether she (this Māriya) is the same one as mentioned before, or not.” They also include Maymūna, daughter of Saʿd.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAlī b. Bahr related to him, quoting ʿĪsā – he being Ibn Yūṣuf – quoting Thawr – he being Ibn Yazīd – from Ziyād b. Abū Sawda, from his brother, that Maymūna, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), asked, “Furnish us with information about Jerusalem.”

He replied, “(It is) the land of both al-manshar and al-mahshar, ‘the dispersal and the in-gathering’. Go there and pray therein; a prayer there is as a thousand prayers (elsewhere).”

She asked, “What do you think of someone not being able to withstand the strain of being borne there, or of making his way there?” He replied, “Then let

192. The title, of course, given to the acknowledged wives of the Prophet (ṢAAS).
him have oil for lamps taken there. For anyone who presents a gift for it is as one who prays there."

Ibn Māja narrated it thus, from Ismā'īl b. 'Abd Allāh al-Raqī, from Ṭisā b. Yūnus, from Thawr, from Ziyād, from his brother Ṭūhān b. Abū Sawda, from Maymūna, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Abū Dā'ūd narrated it from al-Faḍl b. Miskīn b. Bukayr, from Sa'd b. Ṭabī' b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Thawr, from Ziyād, from Maymūna, without any mention of Ziyād’s brother. But God knows best.

Aḥmad stated that Ḥusayn and Abū Nuʿaym both related to him, quoting Isrāʾīl, from Zayd b. Jūbayr, from Abū Yazīd al-Dabbī, from Maymūna, daughter of Saʿd, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS), who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was asked about a child born as the result of fornication. He replied, ‘There will be no good in him; I would prefer a pair of shoes I might use hard in God’s cause to manumitting a child of fornication!’”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it thus from ʿAbbas al-Dūrī and Ibn Māja, from a ḥadīth of Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba. He stated, “We know this only from his ḥadīth.” He categorized him as a weak source for ḥadīth. Others also quote him for it, but without full lines of transmission.

Also among them was Maymūna, daughter of Abī Ābās – or the name is "Abī Ānbasā". Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Munṣīrī gave a ḥadīth from Rabiʿa, daughter of Marthad, who lived among Bani Qurayṣ, from Munabbih, from Maymūna, daughter of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Munṣīrī, who was known as the daughter of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Munṣīrī, the freed-woman of the Prophet (ṢAAS). She stated that a woman of Huraysh came to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and called out, “ʿAʾisha, help me out with some prayer from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), with which you can provide me contentment and tranquillity.” She replied to her, “Place your right hand over your heart, rub it and say, ‘In the name of God. O God, cure me by your cure, heal me by your healing and by Your grace let me dispense with all others.’”

Rabiʿa went on, “I did use this prayer and found it excellent.”

Also among them was Umm ʿUmayrā, the wife of Abū ʿUmayrā. Reference has been made to them both hereabove; may God be pleased with them both.
Umm 'Ayyash was also among them. The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent her along with his daughter to serve her after he had arranged her marriage to 'Uthmān b. ʿAffān.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawi stated that ʿIkrima related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Waṭṭād b. ʿAṣwān, quoting Abu ʿAṣwān, from his father, from his grandmother Umm 'Ayyash—who had been the servant of the Prophet (SAAS), that the latter sent her along with his daughter to 'Uthmān. She said, “I would press out dates for ʿUthman in the morning and he would drink it in the evening. In the evening I would press grapes that he would drink in the morning. One day he asked me, 'Do you mix anything into it?' ‘Yes,’ I replied. ‘Don't do that again,’ he told me.”

These, then, were his women servants, may God be pleased with them all.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Wāki related to him, quoting al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl, quoting Thumāna b. Ḥāzūn, who said, “I asked ʿAʾishah about al-nabidh wine. She replied, “This is the servant of the Messenger of God, ask her.” She was referring to an Abyssinian servant woman. She said, “I would press grapes into a waterskin in the evening and tie it closed. Next morning he would drink from it.”

Muslim and al-Nasāʾī narrated this from a ḥadīth of al-Qāsim b. al-Faḍl.

The authorities on the sayings of the Prophet (SAAS), include this in those attributed to ʿAʾishah. However, it would be more appropriate to refer to it in a collection devoted to the sayings from an Abyssinian slave-woman who was a servant of the Prophet (SAAS). She was either one of those to whom we have made mention above, or else she was a person in addition to them.

Chapter: On those of the Companions of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who acted as his servants, but who were not freed-men.


He served the Messenger of God (SAAS), throughout the length of his ten-year residence in Medina. The latter never criticized him for anything. He never asked him why he had done something, nor why he had not done something.

His mother was Umm Sulaym, daughter of Milḥān b. Khālid b. Zayd b. Ḥarām. It was she who presented him to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who received him kindly. She asked him to say a prayer for him, and he responded, “O God, increase his wealth, grant him children, give him long life and admit him to paradise.”

193. Unfermented grape-juice; the Companions were interested to know from the Prophet how long it could be stored and remain permissible for their consumption.
Anas stated, “I did see two of these and I await the third. I swear by God, I have much wealth and my children and grandchildren approach 100 in number.”

In one account he is quoted as having said, “My vineyard bears fruit twice a year. And my progeny totals 106 children.”

There are differences of opinion over whether or not he was present at the battle of Badr. An Anṣārī narrated from his father who quoted Thumāma as having said that Anas was asked whether he had been present at Badr, and that he replied, “Where else would I have been than at Badr, may you lose your mother!”

However, it is widely accepted that he did not attend either the battles of Badr or Uhud, due to his youth. He did not participate in the events of al-Ḥudaybiyya, Khaybar, the ‘umrat al-qaḍā, the conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn, al-Ṭā’if and those subsequent.

Abū Hurayra stated, “I never saw anyone perform prayer more like that of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) than the son of Umm Salim” — meaning Anas b. Mālik.

Ibn Sirin stated, “He performed the prayer better than anyone else, whether travelling or at home.”

He died at Başra, the last of the Companions to survive there, according to ʿAlī b. al-Madini. His death was in 90 AH. Others give that date as 91, 92 or 93 AH. The first date given is the one most widely and fully accepted.

Regarding his age at his death, Imām Aḥmad stated in his compendium of ahadith attributed to him, “Muʿāṭirib. Sulaymān related to us, from Ḥamīd, that Anas lived to 100 minus 1 year.”

The least figure given is 96 years. The highest are 107, 106 and 103 years. God knows best.

They also included al-Aslām b. Sharīk b. ʿAwf b. Aʿraji. Muhammad b. Saʿd stated, “His name was Maymūn b. Sinbadh. Al-Rabīʿ b. Badr al-Aʿraji stated, from his father, from his grandfather, who quoted al-Aslām as having said, ‘I used to be a servant of the Prophet and journey with him. One night he told me, “Aslām, get up and prepare to travel.” I replied, “Messenger of God, I have experienced a major ritual impurity.”’ He was quiet a while, and Gabriel brought him the āyat al-ṣaʿidūn (ṣūrat al-Nisā'; IV, v.43), and he said, “Aslām, get up and cleanse yourself with sand.” I wiped myself and prayed. When I reached water, he told me, “Aslām, off you go and wash yourself.” He showed me how to clean using sand or earth. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) plunged his hands into the earth and then shook them and used them to wipe both arms.

194. That is, having engaged in sexual intercourse, or having experienced, as in this case, a nocturnal ejaculation, one is under an obligation to perform a total ablution.

195. The verse allows the use of clean earth or sand for self-purification in the absence of water for those for whom a total ablution was necessary. The verse is so named because it includes the words fatayammamū ṣā`idūn ṣayyibān, “make your way to high ground”, to dust, sand or earth.
the right hand wiping the left, the left the right, on both their upper and lower sides.’

‘Al-Rabi’ went on, ‘My father showed me, as had his father him, as al-Asla’had him, as the Messenger of God (SAAS) had shown him.’

‘Al-Rabi’ also stated, ‘I related this hadith to ‘Awf b. Abü Jamila, who said, “I swear by God, that is what I saw al-Hasan do!”’

Ibn Manda and al-Baghawi narrated this in their book Mu’jam al-Sahaba, from a hadith of this al-Rabi’ b. Badr. Al-Baghawi stated, “I do not know of anyone else who narrated it.”

Ibn Asakir stated that al-Haytham b. Ruzayq al-Maliki al-Mudlij narrated this hadith, from his father, from al-Asla’h. Sharik.

Asma’ b. Ḥāritha b. Sa’d b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād b. Sa’d b. ʿAmr b. ʿAmir b. Thaʿlab b. Malik b. Aqṣā al-Aslami was also one of them. He was from al-Ṣuffa, according to Muḥammad b. Sa’d.

He was the brother of Hind b. Ḥāritha; they both served the Prophet (SAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that ʿAffān related to him, quoting Wahib, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥarmala, from Yahya b. Hind b. Ḥāritha. Hind was a Companion who had been present at al-Ḥudaybiyya. It was Hind’s brother Asma’ b. Ḥāritha whom the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent to his people with orders to fast the day of al-ʿaṣhra.

Imām Aḥmad went on to state that Yahyā b. Hind related to him, from Asma’ b. Ḥāritha, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had sent him (Hind) to him and said, “Tell your people to fast today.” Asma’ asked, “But what if I found they have already eaten?” “Then they should fast the rest of the day,” he replied.

Aḥmad b. Khalīd al-Dhahabi narrated it from Muḥammad b. Ishāq, quoting ʿAbd Allāh b. Abū Bakr, from Ḥabib b. Hind b. Asma’ al-Aslami, from his father Hind, who said, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) sent me to Aslam’s people. I told them, ‘Tell your people to fast today; those you find to have eaten already should fast for the remainder of the day.’”

Muḥammad b. Sa’d stated that al-Waqidi quoted Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mujammir, who quoted his father as having said, “I heard Abū Hurayra say, ‘I used to think of Hind and Asma’, the sons of Ḥāritha, as merely two mamlūkīs’” owned by the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Al-Waqidi stated, “These two men, along with Anas b. Malik were servants of his and never left his door.”

Muḥammad b. Sa’d stated that Asma’ b. Ḥāritha died in 66 AH in al-ṣaṣra, at the age of 80.

Bukayr b. al-Ṣaṣrakh was among them.

196. The word mamlūk, literally “person owned”, “slave”, is a term not elsewhere used in this work to apply to any of the servants or freed-persons to whom reference is made. The term was, of course, used to refer to the dynasty that later ruled Egypt for several centuries and to those functionaries, often of high rank, who were acquired for high service in the military and the bureaucracy under the Ottomans.
Ibn Manda stated, quoting from a line of transmission through Abu Bakr al-Hudhali, from 'Abd al-Malik b. Ya'la al-Laythi, who said that Bukayr b. Shaddakh al-Laythi was a servant of the Prophet (SAAS). When he attained puberty, the Messenger of God (SAAS) was aware of that. Bukayr said, “I have been going in to your household. But I have now attained puberty, Messenger of God.” The latter replied, “O God, (put) trust in his word and grant him success!”

(Ibn Manda went on) “During the rule of Umar, a Jew was killed. Umar stood to make an address and said, ‘I adjure you by God, does any man of you have knowledge of that?’ Bukayr arose and said, ‘I killed him, Commander of the Believers!’ Umar asked, ‘And what solution do you have, now that you have spilled his blood?’

“He replied, ‘Commander of the Believers, a certain warrior left me in charge of his family and I discovered that Jew with his wife. He was reciting:

‘Ashath was diverted away from me by Islam; I was
left alone with his bride on the consummation night.
I sleep upon her breast bones, while he spends the
night on dusty harnesses.
Her inner thighs are as though up and ready for all and
sundry!’”

“Umar believed what he said and judged the blood of the Jew to have been shed without need for him to be avenged, in light of the prayer of the Messenger of God (SAAS) for (the truthfulness of) Bukayr, as given above.”

They also include Bilal b. Rabah al-Habashi.

Born in Mecca, he had been the freed-man of Umayya b. Khalaf. Abu Bakr purchased him from him for a substantial sum because Umayya was severely persecuting Bilal to persuade him to give up Islam. Bilal, however, may God be pleased with him, insisted on remaining a Muslim. When Abu Bakr purchased Bilal, he set him free as an act of homage to God. He went out on the Hijra with the others and participated in the battles of Badr, Uhud and later engagements.

He was known as Bilal, son of Hamama, who was his mother. He was one of the most eloquent of men; he did not, as some believe, mispronounce the letter sin as shin, despite the fact that some relate a groundless hadith from the Messenger of God (SAAS), to that effect.

He was one of the four persons who made the call to prayer, as will be explained. Moreover, he was the first to ever make the call, as we have narrated above. He was in charge of the expenses for the children and the sum of the wealth (for distribution) was in his possession.

Following the death of the Messenger of God (SAAS), he was one of those who went on the military expeditions against Syria. It is also said, however, that he stayed behind and acted as the mu'azzin for Abu Bakr throughout his caliphate. The first of these two possibilities is the better and is more widely accepted.
AI-Waqidi stated that he died in Damascus in 20 AH, at some 60 years of age. Al-Fallas stated that his grave is in Damascus. Others say it is at Dāriyā. Alternatively, he is said to have died in Aleppo; the truth, however, is that it was his brother Khalid who died in Aleppo.

Makhūl stated, "Someone who had seen Bilāl described him to me as of very dark skin, lean and hump-backed, and with thick hair, the grey of which he did not dye. May God be pleased with him."

Habba and Sawa', sons of Khalid, were also among them; may God be pleased with them both.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū Muḥāwiya related to him, quoting Wāki', quoting al-Aʿmash, from Sallām b. Shuraibīl, who quoted Habba and Sawa' as having said, "We once went in to the Prophet (SAAS), while he was mending something, and we helped him. He then told us, ‘Never despair of provision (from God), so long as your heads have movement. Man is born of his mother skinless, with no outer covering, and then God, the Almighty and Glorious, provides it for him.’"

Dhū Mikhmar was also one of them; he is also named as Dhū Mikhbar. He was the son of the brother of the Negus, the king of Abyssinia; others say he was his sister’s son. The first possibility is correct. The king sent him to serve the Messenger of God (SAAS), as a substitute for himself.

Imām Aḥmad stated that Abū al-Naqr related to him, quoting Jarir, from Yazīd b. Sulayḥ, who quoted Dhū Mikhmar, a man from Abyssinia who served the Prophet (SAAS), as having said, "We were with him on a journey. He made a rapid departure; this he would do because of the paucity of the provisions. Someone told him, ‘Messenger of God, the rest have been left behind.’ He told us all to stop until they caught up. He then asked them, (or someone asked him) ‘Would you like to have a stop for sleep?’ He dismounted, and they did the same. People asked, ‘Who will stand guard for us tonight?’ ‘I will, my God make me your ransom!’ I replied. He handed me the bridle of his camel, saying, ‘Take it then, and don’t be negligent.’

“So I took the bridle of the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and that of my own camel and led them a little way away. There I released them to graze. I was observing them when sleep overcame me. The next thing I knew was the sun’s heat on my face. I woke up and looked to right and left and there were the two camels, not far away from me. I took the bridle of the camel of the Messenger of God (SAAS), and that of my own and led them over to the closest of our people. I woke him up, and asked, ‘Have you performed the prayer?’ ‘No,’ he replied.

“The rest then woke one another and eventually the Messenger of God (SAAS) awoke. He asked, ‘Bilāl, is there water in the maytfa’a, ‘the ablution water-vessel’?’ He was referring to the idāwa, ‘the water skin’. Bilāl replied, ‘Yes, may God make me your ransom!’ He took the ablution water to him, but it

197. A large village near Damascus.
did not cleanse him fully of the dirt. He then gave order to Bilāl, who made the call to prayer. The Messenger of God (SAAS) arose and performed a prayer of two rakā'at before the al-ṣubh prayer, but did not hurry. He then again gave orders to Bilāl and again performed the prayer, but without hurrying. Someone asked him, ‘Messenger of God, have we been neglectful?’ He replied, ‘No; God took away our souls, then restored them to us, and we have prayed.’”

They also included Rabī'a b. Ka'b al-Aslami Abū Firās.

Al-Awza'î stated that Ya'hya b. Abū Kathir related to him, from Rabī'a b. Ka'b, who said, “I would spend the night with the Messenger of God (SAAS), and bring him his water for ablution and whatever he needed. He would get up at one time of the night and say, ‘Glory be to God, and may He be praised!’ Later he would arise again, at another time of the night, and say, ‘Glory be to God, Lord of the two worlds!’ He asked me, ‘Do you have a request?’ I replied, ‘To accompany you in paradise, Messenger of God.’ He replied, ‘Help yourself; by often prostrating in prayer.’”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm related to him, quoting his father, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿĪsāq, quoting Muḥammad b. ʿĀim b. ʿAbdullāh, from Nūaym b. Muḥammad, from Rabī'a b. Ka'b, who said, “I used to spend my entire day serving the Messenger of God (SAAS), until he would perform the second ʿisha prayer. Then I would sit at his door when he went into his home. I would say, ‘Perhaps something might happen to the Messenger of God (SAAS).’ I would hear him constantly repeating, ‘Glory be to God; may He be praised!’ until I became tired and returned home, or until my eyes overcame me and I fell asleep.

“One day, because of his having observed my fulfilment of my duty and service to him, he said, ‘Rabī'a b. Ka'b, ask me and I will grant it to you.’ I replied, ‘I will consider my situation, Messenger of God, then I will tell you.’

“I gave the matter much thought, realizing that this life is transitory and subject to interruption, and that there was sufficient bounty in what I had and might come to me. So I told him, ‘What I shall ask the Messenger of God will have to do with my life in the hereafter: he does have that (special) status with God.’

“So I went to him and he asked, ‘Have you done it, Rabī'a?’ I replied, ‘Yes, Messenger of God. I’d like to ask you to intercede for me to your Lord and to free me from hell-fire.’ He asked, ‘Who told you to ask for this, Rabī'a?’ I replied, ‘No, I swear by Him who sent you with the truth, no one ordered me. But when you said, ‘Ask me and I’ll give you,’ since you have a (special) status with God, I did look into my situation, realized that this world is subject to interruption and is transitory, and that I do have bounty that will come to me, I said, “I’ll make a request about my after life.”

“The Messenger of God (SAAS), was silent for a long time, and he then told me, ‘I will do something; help yourself, by often prostrating in prayer.’”

The ḥāfiz Abū Ya'āqūb stated that Abū Khaythama related to him, quoting Yazīd b. Hārūn, quoting Mubārak b. Paḍāla, quoting Abū ʿImrān al-Jawnī, from
Rabīʿa al-Aslāmi, who had been a servant of the Prophet (ṢAAS), said, “One day the Prophet (ṢAAS) asked me, ‘Rabīʿa, aren’t you going to get married?’ I replied, ‘Messenger of God, I don’t want anything to divert me from serving you. And I don’t have anything to give to a woman.’

“After that I told myself that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) knew more about me than I did myself, and that he was suggesting I get married. I decided that if he repeated the suggestion I would agree. And he did ask me, ‘Rabīʿa, aren’t you going to get married?’ I replied, ‘Messenger of God, who would marry me; I don’t have anything to give the woman?’ He replied, ‘Go to Banū so-and-so and tell them the Messenger of God orders you to marry me to your girl so-and-so.’

“I went to them and said, ‘The Messenger of God has sent me to you for you to arrange my marriage with so-and-so.’ They asked, ‘To so-and-so?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied. They responded, ‘Welcome to the Messenger of God and welcome to his messenger!’ And they did arrange the marriage.

“I returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and said, ‘Messenger of God, I come to you from the very best of peoples. They gave me their trust and arranged my marriage. But where do I get the dowry to give?’ The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said to Burayda al-Aslāmi, ‘Collect for Rabīʿa a dowry worth the weight of one ʿnawāṭh of gold.’

“They collected and gave this to me, I took it to Banū so-and-so and they accepted it. I then returned to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), and asked him where I would get the food for a wedding feast. He told Burayda, ‘Get for Rabīʿa the price of a ram.’ They brought it and he then told me, ‘Off you go to Āʾisha and ask her to give you what barley she has.’ I went to her and she gave it to me. So I took to Banū so-and-so the ram and the barley and they told me, ‘We’ll look after the barley for you, but ask your friends to slaughter the ram.’ And so they cooked the barley and, I swear to God, we thus had bread and meat.

“After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) assigned to Abū Bakr some land he had and Abū Bakr and I fell into a dispute over a laden date-palm. I maintained that it was on my land, he that it was on his. We quarrelled and Abū Bakr used a word to me that offended me. He regretted it and came to me, asking, ‘You say to me as I did to you.’ I replied, ‘No, by God, I’ll not speak to you as you did to me!’ ‘Well then,’ he said, ‘I’m going to the Messenger of God.’

“He did go, and I followed him. My people came along as well, saying, ‘He’s the one who used the word to you, yet he’s going off to complain to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS)! I turned to them and asked, ‘Do you know who this man is? This is al-Ṣiddiq, “the trusting”, the dhū shayba” of the Muslims! Go back so that he does not turn and see you and think that you are coming to help me against him. Otherwise he might get angry and go and tell the Messenger of God, and then Rabīʿa will be finished!’

198. A date stone; a measure of weight equal to five dirhams in value.
199. This epithet, dhū shaybat al-muslimin, in English approximating “the Muslims’ revered elder statesman” is commonly applied to Abū Bakr.
“When he reached the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ), he said, ‘I used against Rabī‘a a word he found offensive. I told him to say it back to me, but he refused.’

“The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) asked me, ‘Rabī‘a, what’s the problem between you and “the trusting”? I replied, ‘Messenger of God, I swear I’ll not speak to him as he did to me.’ He told me, ‘Don’t speak to him as he did to you. Say instead, “May God forgive you, Abu Bakr.”’"

Sa‘d, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him, was also one of them. He is also known as the mawla, the “freed-man” of the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ).

Abū Dā‘ūd al-Ṭayalīṣī stated that Abū Āmir related to him, from al-Ḥasan, from Sa‘d, the freed-man of Abū Bakr, who said that the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) told Abū Bakr to set Sa‘d free – Sa‘d being then a mamlūk, a “slave”, owned by Abū Bakr. The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) had been highly impressed by Sa‘d’s qualities as a servant. Abū Bakr replied, “He is the only servant we have here.” The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) told him, “Free Sa‘d; (other) men will come to you. (Other) men will come to you.”

Aḥmad related it thus from Abū Dā‘ūd al-Ṭayalīṣī.

Abū Dā‘ūd al-Ṭayalīṣī also stated that Abū Āmir related to him from al-Ḥasan, from Sa‘d, who said, “I placed some dates before the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ), and people began eating them two at a time. The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) then forbade them from doing this.”

Ibn Māja narrated this from Bandār, from Abū Dā‘ūd.

They also include ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawaṭa. On the day of the ūmrat al-qa‘a‘ he entered Mecca leading the camel of the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ), reciting:

“Unbelievers, clear out of his path; today we will fight you about its interpretation
As we fought you over its revelation . . .”

We have narrated this at length above.200

‘Abd Allāh b. Rawaṭa was killed some months thereafter at the battle of Mu‘a‘a, as also narrated above.

‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd b. Ḥaḍīr b. Ḥabīb b. Shamakh, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hudhail was also one of them.

He was one of the imams of the Companions. He participated in both of the Hijras and took part in Badr and engagements thereafter. He was in charge of the footwear of the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ), and of cleaning it. He would also load his baggage camel if he wished to ride.

He had a major role in interpreting God’s words; he had great knowledge, virtue and wisdom. There is a hadith to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) told his Companions, after they had expressed surprise at the thinness of his legs, “By Him who holds my soul in His hands, they weigh more heavily in the scales than does Uḥud!”

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb stated about Ibn Mas'ūd, “He was a storehouse filled with learning.” They say he was frail in form, fine in character. It is said that when he walked, he would be face to face with those seated (in stature, that is). He was like the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ) in his manner, conduct and behaviour.

This means that he was like the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) in his movements and when at rest, as well as in his speech. He imitated his performance of the prayer to the best of his ability.

He died during the rule of 'Uthmān, in 32 or 33 AH in Medina, at the age of 63. It is also said that he died in Kūfah; the first is correct.

'Uqba b. ʿAmir al-Juhani, may God be pleased with him, was also one of them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that al-Walīd b. Muslim related to him, quoting Ibn Jābir, from al-Qāsim Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from 'Uqba b. ʿAmir, who said, “I was leading the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) along a mountain trail when he asked me, ‘Uqba, won’t you ride?’ I was not to be disobedient. The Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) dismounted and I rode for a while. Then he rode again and said, ‘Uqba, would you like me to teach you how to repeat the two finest sūras people ever recited?’ I replied, ‘Yes indeed, Messenger of God.’ And so he recited to me, ‘Say: ‘I seek refuge with the Lord of the dawn’’ (ṣūrat al-Falaq; CXIII,v.1), and ‘Say: ‘I seek refuge with the Lord of mankind’’ (ṣūrat al-Nāṣr; CXIV, v.1).

“The prayer was held and the Messenger of God (ṣaḥīḥ) came forward and recited both sūras. He then passed by me and said, ‘Recite them both whenever you go to sleep and whenever you get up.’”


Qays b. Saʿd b. Ubada al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī was also among them.

Al-Bukhārī quoted Anas as having said that Qays b. Saʿd b. Ubada had the same role with the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ), as does the sāhib al-shurāt, “the police chief”, to the amīr, “the ruler”.

This Qays was an exceptionally tall man. His beard was scarce. It is said that the tallest of men if standing with his feet on the ground would have Qays’s trousers reach up to his nose!

Muʿawiyah dispatched his trousers to the emperor of Byzantium asking whether they had a man tall enough to wear them. The emperor was amazed at this.

It is related that he was a praiseworthy and noble man of sound judgement and intelligence. He was with ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭalib at the battle of Siffin.

201. The Arabic word is kawsaj. A footnote to the Arabic printed text gives its meaning as referring to a person who has missing teeth. However, the word may also refer to someone whose beard is scarce.
Mis‘ar stated, quoting Ma‘bad b. Khālid, that he was always holding up his finger giving praise and prayer to God. May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure.

Al-Waqqāḍ, Khalīfa b. Khayyāt and others said that he died at Medina in the last days of Mu‘āwiyah.

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Sijistānī related to him, quoting ‘Alī b. Yazīd al-Hanafi, quoting Sa‘īd b. al-Ṣa‘l, from al-A‘mash, from Abū Sufyān, from Anas, who said, “There were 20 young ansāris who would keep close by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), to take care of his needs; if he wanted something, he would send them after it.”

They also included al-Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba al-Thaqāfī, may God be pleased with him. He performed the function of ṣalāḥdār, “armourer” for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). It was he, moreover, who held the sword raised above the head of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), in the tent at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Whenever Mughīrā’s uncle Urwa b. Mas‘ūd al-Thaqāfī, who had come in the delegation, would reach out to take hold of the beard of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as it was customary for the Arabs to do in such conversations, al-Mughīrā would tap his hand with the hilt of his sword and say, “Remove your hand from the face of the Messenger of God, or you’ll never get it back!”

The ḥadīth is so narrated above.\textsuperscript{202}

Muḥammad b. Sa‘d and others stated that he participated in all the battles in which the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took part. The latter gave joint command to him and to Abū Sufyān when they went out and destroyed the idol belonging to the people of al-Ṭā‘if that was named al-Rabba, “the lady”, al-Lat that is.

He was one of the most shrewd of the Arabs. Al-Sha‘bī stated, “I heard him say, ‘No one ever got the better of me!’”

Al-Sha‘bī stated, “I heard Qaṭ’asha b. Jābir say, ‘I was a companion of al-Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba. If a city had eight gates through none of which one could leave without some trickery, he would find a way to get out through them.’”

Al-Sha‘bī went on, “The al-qudāt, the ‘judges’, were four in number: Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, Ibn Mas‘ūd and Abū Mūsā. The duḥāt, ‘those most shrewd’, were four in number: Mu‘āwiyah, ‘Amr b. al-Ṣa‘l, al-Mughīrā and Ziyād.”


Imām Malik stated, “Al-Mughīrā b. Shu‘ba was a much-married man. He used to say, ‘A man with one wife suffers menstruation along with her, and when she gets sick, so does he. And a man with (only) two wives is right between two blazing fires!’

“He would marry four women at once, and divorce them all together!”

Other sources state variously that he married eighty or three hundred women. It is also said that he married a thousand women.

There is difference of opinion concerning his death. The most likely and most widely believed statement is that given by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi, who gave the consensus as being that he died in 50 AH.

AI-Miqdad b. al-Aswad Abū Ma'bad al-Kindī, an ally of Banū Zuhra, was among them.

Imām Aḥmad stated that ‘Affān related to him, quoting Ḥamād b. Salama, from Thābit, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā, from al-Miqdad b. al-Aswad, who said, “I and two companions came to Medina. We made our presence known to people, but no one offered us accommodation. So we went to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and told him. He took us to his home, where he had four goats. He told me, ‘Milk them, Miqdad. Divide up their milk in four portions and give one share to each person.’ And that is what I would do.

“One night the Prophet (ṢAAS) was invited elsewhere and was delayed. As I lay in my bed, my inner self told me, ‘The Prophet has gone to the home of one of the āṣār. You might just as well get up and consume the drink.’ The thought persisted until I got up and drank his portion. When it had entered my stomach and settled there, I felt troubled about what had happened. I told myself, ‘The Prophet is now going to arrive hungry and thirsty and he’ll see nothing in the jug!’ So I pulled a cloth up over my face.

“When the Prophet (ṢAAS) arrived, he voiced a greeting that someone awake would hear but would not awaken someone asleep. He uncovered the jug and found nothing. He then raised his head to the sky and said, ‘O God, provide drink for those who give me to drink, and feed those who feed me.’

“I responded to his call, got up, took a sharp knife and went over to the goats. I felt them all to see which one was the one with the most flesh to slaughter. My hand fell upon the udder of one of them and, to my surprise, it was full! I examined the next and it too was full and so too were the others! I drew milk into a jug and took it to him, asking him to drink it. He said, ‘What’s going on, Miqdad?’ ‘Drink up’, I told him, ‘then I’ll tell you.’ ‘One of your pranks, Miqdad?’ he commented. He drank and then said, ‘Now you, drink.’ I replied, ‘No, you drink more, Prophet of God.’ He did so until he had his fill and then I took and drank it. After that I told him what had happened and he told me to tell him more. I told him in greater detail and the Prophet (ṢAAS) then said, ‘This was a blessing sent down from heaven! Could you not have told me so that I could have given some to your two companions?’ I replied, ‘So long as you and I have drunk this blessing, I’m not concerned about whom it has missed!’”

Imām Aḥmad also narrated it from Abū al-Naḍr, from Sulaymān b. al-Mughnā, from Thābit, from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū Laylā who quoted al-Miqdad. His account is as above, except that in that version al-Miqdad drew the milk into the vessel they never expected to fill with it, and that he kept on drawing it until it
foamed on top. After he brought it back, the Messenger of God (SAAS) asked him (according to that account) “Didn’t you all have your drink tonight, Miqdad?”

(The account proceeds) “I replied, ‘Do drink it, Messenger of God.’ He did so and then handed it to me. I asked, ‘Drink some more, Messenger of God.’ He then again handed it to me, and I took it and drank what remained.

“When I knew that the Messenger of God, had quenched his thirst, and that his prayer had touched upon myself, I laughed so hard I rolled on the ground. The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, ‘One of your pranks, Miqdad?’”

“I replied, ‘Messenger of God, this is what I did. I did so-and-so.’ He then said, ‘This was nothing but a mercy from God. Should you not have warned me to wake up your two companions to share in it?’ I replied, ‘By Him who sent you with the truth, I don’t care whoever else were to receive it so long as you and I did!’”

Muslim, al-Tirmidhi and al-Nasa’i narrated it from a hadith of Sulaymān b. al-Mughīra. Also among them was Muhājir, the freed-woman of Umm Salama. Al-Ṭabarānī stated that Abū al-Zinbā‘ Rawlī b. al-Parāj related to him, quoting Yahyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Bukayr, quoting Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh, who stated that he heard Bukayr say, “I heard Muhājir, the freed-woman of Umm Salama, say, ‘I served the Messenger of God (SAAS) for many years. He never asked me why I had done something I had done, nor did he ask me why I had ever not done something.’”

In other accounts the wording is that she had served him for ten or for five years. Abū al-Salām was also one of them. Abū al-ʿAbbās Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Thaqafi stated that Muḥājir b. Mūsā related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī, quoting Yaḥyā b. al-Walīd, quoting Muḥīl b. Khalīfa, quoting Abū al-Salām, who said, “I was a servant of the Messenger of God (SAAS). If he wanted to wash, he would say, ‘Pass me my water vessel.’ And I would hand it to him and screen him. Once Ḥasan or Ḥusayn had been brought to him and had urinated over his chest. When I came over to wash him, he said, ‘Someone upon whom a girl has urinated should wash (the area), while someone upon whom a boy has urinated should merely splash thereon.’”

Abū Daʿūd, al-Nasaʾi and Ibn Maja narrated it thus from Muḥājir b. Mūsā. They also included that man who was absolutely the finest of the Companions, Abū Bakr, “the trusting”, may God be pleased with him. He served him by himself on his journey into exile, especially in the cave, but after his leaving it as well, until they arrived in Medina. This has all been explained above; and to God be all praise and credit.

Chapter: Those, may God be pleased with them, who wrote down the revelations and other matters in the presence of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

They included the four caliphs: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, and ʿAlī b. Abū ʿAlī,
may God be pleased with them all. Also of them was Aban b. Sa'id b. al-'As b. Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manaf b. Qusay al-Umawī.

Aban accepted Islam after his two brothers Khālid and 'Amr. He did so following al-Ḥudaybiyya. This came about because it was he who gave protection to Uthmān when the Messenger of God (SAAS) sent the latter to meet with the Meccans at al-Ḥudaybiyya. Others say that his conversion occurred at Khaybar; this is believed because of a hadith mentioning him that is recorded in the sahih collections from Abū Hurayra concerning the division of the booty taken at Khaybar.

The reason for his accepting Islam was that, while on business in Syria, he met with a monk to whom he mentioned the activities of the Messenger of God (SAAS). The monk asked him to name him and he told him his name was Muḥammad. The monk then offered to describe him, and did so exactly. He asked Aban, “When you return home to your people, give him my greetings.” And so he accepted Islam after his return. He was also the brother of 'Amr b. Sa'id al-Ashdaq, whom 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan killed.

Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba stated, “The first person to write down the revelation in the presence of the Messenger of God (SAAS), was Ubayy b. Ka'b. If he were not present, then Zayd b. Thabit would record. Uthmān, Khālid b. Sa'id and Aban b. Sa'id also wrote for him.”

That is his statement. This refers to Medina; for Ubayy b. Ka'b was not present at the revelation of the Meccan suras. These were written down by the Companions in Mecca, may God be pleased with them all.

There is disagreement over the death of this man Aban b. Sa'id. Mūsā b. 'Uqba, Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār and most of the scholars of biography state that he was killed at the battle of al-Ajnadayn. That is, in Jumādā al-Uwla of 12 AH. Others say he was killed at the battle of Marj al-Ṣufr in 14 AH.

Muḥammad b. Ishaq stated, “He and his brother 'Amr were killed at the battle of Yarmūk, on the 5th of Rajab, 15 AH.” It is also stated that he lived on into the time of Uthmān, that the latter ordered him to dictate the musḥaf al-imām,203 the Qurʾān, to Zayd b. Thabit and that he died thereafter, in 29 AH. But God knows best.

They also include Ubayy b. Ka'b b. Qays b. Ubayy al-Khazrajī al-Anṣārī Abū al-Mundhir, also known as Abū al-Ṭufayl. He was the chief reciter. He participated at the second 'Aqaba meeting, at Badr and at the engagements thereafter. He was of middle stature, slim and white of head and beard, the grey of which he left unchanged.

Anas stated, “Four persons” – of the anṣār, he means – “collected the Qurʾān. These were Ubayy b. Ka'b, Muṣ'ad b. Jabal, Zayd b. Thabit and an anṣārī named Abū Yazid.”

203. An authorized version of the Qurʾān compiled during the reign of Uthmān and held in safekeeping by Ḥafsa bt. al-Khaṭṭāb.
Both compilers of the sahīḥ collections included it.

In both of these collections a ḥadīth is given from Anas stating that Ubayy quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, “God ordered me to recite the Qurān to you.”

Ubayy asked, “Did he actually name me, Messenger of God?” “Yes,” he replied. And Ubayy’s eyes welled with tears.

What is meant here by “to recite the Qurān to you” is a recitation to inform and to make heard, not a recitation from which learning comes. This is something that none of the scholars understand; however, we are drawing attention to this view so that its opposite will not be believed.

In another place we have given the reason for the recitation made to him, and to the fact that he recited to him the sūrat: “Those of the people of the Book and the polytheists who disbelieved could not be abandoned until clear evidence came to them, a Messenger from God reciting pages made pure that contain priceless writings” (sūrat al-Bayyina; XCIX, v.1–3).

That related to Ubayy b. Ka'b having berated another man for having recited the sūra in a manner different from Ubayy’s own recitation. Ubayy complained about him to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), who said, “Recite then, Ubayy.” When Ubayy had done so, he said, “That is how it was revealed.” He then said to the other man, “Now you recite.” He did so and the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “That is how it was revealed.”

Ubayy narrated, “At this doubt seized me, that I might still be in the jahiliyya! The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) struck me on the chest and I broke out in sweat, feeling that I was looking differently at God.” After that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) recited to him this chapter to establish and explain to him that this Qurān was truth and veracity, and that it was revealed in many recitations in mercy and kindness to the worshippers.

Ibn Abū Khaythama stated. “He was the first person to write down the revelation in the presence of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).”

There is disagreement over the date of his death. It is variously said to have occurred in 19, 30 or 23 AH. It is also said to have been one week prior to the assassination of ʿUthmān. But God knows best.

Arqam b. Abū Arqam was also one of them. His name was ʿAbd Manāf b. Asad b. Jundab ʿAbd Allah b. ʿUmar b. Makhzūm al-Makhrūjī. He accepted Islam early. It was he in whose home at al-Ṣafā the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) remained hidden. That house later became known as al-khayzurān, “the tiller of the rudder”. He participated in the Hijra, at the battle of Badr and thereafter.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between him and ʿAbd Allah b. Ansār. It was he who wrote out the tenancy document for land at Fakh for ʿAzīz b. al-Hārith al-Muḥārībī, and other documents, as ordered by the Messenger of
God (SAAS). This is according to the account of the hāfiz Ibn ʿAsakir, through ʿAtiq b. Yaʿqūb al-Zubayrī, who narrated on a line through ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbd Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather ʿAmr b. Ḥazm.

He died in either 53 or 55 AH, at the age of 85.

Imām ʿAḥmad narrated two ḥadīth in which Arqam is quoted. In the first, ʿAḥmad and al-Ḥasan b. ʿĀrafā stated, the wording given being from ʿAḥmad, that ʿAbdād b. ʿAbdād al-Muhallabī related to him, from Hishām b. Ziyād, from ʿAmmār b. ʿĀdī, from ʿUthmān b. Arqam b. ʿAbd al-Arzam, from his father, a Companion of the Prophet (SAAS), who quoted the latter as having said, “Whoever steps over the necks of the people at the Friday prayer assembly and separates between two (persons) after the appearance of the Imām (for the sermon) is like him who drags his intestines in hell-fire”.

In the second case, ʿAḥmad stated that Ḥishām b. Khālid related to him, quoting ʿAṭṭāf b. Khālid, quoting Yahyā b. Ṣimrān, from ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUthmān b. Arqam b. ʿAbd al-Arzam, from his grandfather al-Arzam, who said that he came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who asked him, “Where are you heading?” “I am heading over there, Messenger of God,” he replied, gesturing in the direction of Jerusalem. “And what is taking you there; business?” asked the Prophet (SAAS). “No,” he replied, “I wanted to pray there.” The Messenger of God (SAAS) commented, “Prayer over here,” — and he gestured towards Mecca — “is better than 1,000 prayers” — and he gestured towards Syria.

ʿAḥmad is alone in giving both of these.

They also include Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās al-Anṣārī al-Khazraḥī ʿAbū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, also known as ʿAbd Muḥammad al-Madani, the khāṭīb al-anṣār, “the orator of the anṣār”, and as the khāṭīb al-nabi, “the orator of the Prophet (SAAS)”.

Muḥammad b. ʿAṣṭār stated that ʿAṭā b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī informed him, giving lines of transmission from his elders from the delegations of Arabs who had gone to the Messenger of God (SAAS). These men said, “ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbs al-Numalī and Maslama b. Hazzān al-Ḥuddānī came in a group of men of their tribes to the Messenger of God (SAAS), after the conquest of Mecca. They accepted Islam and pledged allegiance on behalf of their people. He wrote for them a document specifying the alms payments due from their properties. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās wrote it out, and ʿAṣṭār b. Muḥammad b. Maslama, may God be pleased with them, witnessed it.

This man is among those of whom it is affirmed in the saḥīḥ collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (SAAS) announced that they would go to paradise.

Al-Tirmidhī narrated in his ḥadīth collection, with a line of transmission that meets the criteria of Muslim, from Abū Hurayra, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “What an excellent man is Abū Bakr! What an excellent man is
Omar! What an excellent man is Abū Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ! What an excellent man is Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr! What an excellent man is Thābit b. Qays b. Shammas! What an excellent man is Muʿādh b. Ṭāʾīr b. al-Jamūḥ.

Thābit b. Qays, may God be pleased with him, was martyred at the battle of al-Yamama, in 12 AH, during the rule of Abū Bakr.

They also include Ḥanẓala b. al-Rabīʿ b. Sayfī b. Rabah b. al-Ḥarīth b. Mukhāshib b. Muḥāwiya b. Sharīf b. Jarwa b. Usayd b. Ṭāʾīr b. Tamīm al-Tamīmī al-Usaydī al-Kātib, “the scribe”, his brother Rabah, who was also a Companion, and his uncle Aktham b. Sayfī, who was (known as) ḥakīm al-ʿArab, “the sage of the Arabs”.

Al-Waqīdī stated, “He wrote a document for the Prophet (Ṣaḥīḥ).” Others said, “The Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) sent him to the people of al-Tīf to make peace. He participated in Khalīd’s campaigns in Iraq and elsewhere. He lived on into the rule of ʿAlī, but he did not participate with him in the battle of the camel” and other engagements. He moved away from Kufa because of the curses ʿUthmān spoke on it, and died after the period of ʿAlī’s rule.”

Ibn al-ʿAthīr narrated in al-Ghtiba that after his death, his wife expressed her grief over him, leading her neighbouring women to criticize her. She spoke the following verses on the subject:

“Da’d was surprised at a woman mourning for a venerable grey-beard!
If you would ask me today what it is that pained me, I
would tell you what is no lie;
My eye is deathly afflicted by sorrow for Ḥanẓala, the
scribe.”

Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Raqī stated, “He remained aloof from civil strife until he died, after ʿAlī. Two ḥadīth stem from him.”

I observe that in fact there were three.

Immān stated that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad and ʿAffān both stated that Ḥamām related to them, that Ṭatād quoted Ḥanẓala al-Kātib as having said, “I heard the Messenger of God (Ṣaḥīḥ) say, ‘Those who observe the five prayers, performing their prostrations, and the kneelings and their ablution at their proper times, and recognize that these are a duty owed to God, will enter paradise.’” Alternately, the words were “their due will be paradise”.

Aḥmad is alone in giving this. It is missing a link connecting between Ṭatād and Ḥanẓala. But God knows best.

The second ḥadīth is as follows. Aḥmad, Musliim, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated from a ḥadīth of Saʿīd al-Jarīrī, from Abū ʿUthmān al-Nahdī, who

204. At Khurayba, near Basra, on 10th Jumādā I AH (December 4, 656 AD), where the caliph ʿAlī defeated the combined forces of ʿAṭīsha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr who were contesting the legitimacy of his rule.
quoted Ḥanẓala as having (quoted the Prophet (SAAS)), as having said, "If all of you remain as you are with me, the angels will greet you while you are meeting, while you are travelling and while you are in your beds; but you (only spend) part of your time with me."

Aḥmad and al-Ṭirmidhī also narrated it from a ḥadīth of ʿImrān b. ʿAbd ʿAbd al-Qattān, from Qatāda, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Shikkhīr, from Ḥanẓala.

The third ḥadīth is as follows. Aḥmad, al-Naṣ̱rī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a ḥadīth of Sufyān al-Thawrī, from Abū al-Zinād, from al-Muraqqaʿ b. Ṣayīf b. Ḥanẓala, from his grandfather, concerning the prohibition of killing women in warfare.

However, Imam Al-Ḥmad narrated it from ʿAbd al-Raqqāq, from Ibn Jurayj, who gave a line from Abū al-Zinād, from Muraqqaʿ b. Ṣayīf b. Rabāḥ b. Rabīʿ, from his grandfather Rabīʿ b. Rabiʿ, the brother of Ḥanẓala al-Kātib.

Aḥmad also narrated it similarly from Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad and Ibrāhim b. Abū al-ʿAbbās, both of whom quoted from al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from his father. And from Saʿd b. Manṣūr and Abī ʿAmr al-ʿAqādī, both of whom quoted from al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, from Abū al-Zinād, from Muraqqaʿ, from his grandfather Rabāḥ. And also through al-Mughīra. Al-Naṣ̱rī and Ibn Māja narrated it similarly. Abū Daʿūd and al-Naṣ̱rī narrated it from a ḥadīth of ʿUmar b. Muraqqaʿ, from his father, from his grandfather Rabāḥ.

The ḥadīth is therefore from Rabāḥ, not from Ḥanẓala. Abū Bakr b. Abū Shayba therefore stated, "Sufyān al-Thawrī was mistaken about this ḥadīth."

I note that Ibn al-Raqqāq was correct in stating that Ḥanẓala narrated only two ḥadīths. But God knows best.

Khalīd b. Saʿd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya b. ʿAbd Shams b. ʿAbd Manāf Abū Saʿd al-Umawī was among them.

He accepted Islam early. It is said that he was the third, fourth or at most fifth after Abū Bakr.

It is said that his accepting Islam was due to a dream he had. In it he was standing on the edge of hell, the extent of which only God knew.

"It was as though his father was pushing him towards it, while the Messenger of God (SAAS) was holding him by the hand to prevent him from falling. He narrated this vision to Abū Bakr, who told him, 'Nothing but good was wished for you; this is the Messenger of God; follow him and you will escape what you feared.'" And so he went to the Messenger of God (SAAS), and accepted Islam.

"When news of this reached his father, he was very angry and hit him so hard with a stick he held that he broke it over his head. He threw him out of the house, denied him food and forbade his brothers from speaking to him. And so Khalīd remained with the Messenger of God (SAAS), night and day. Thereafter his brother ʿAmr also accepted Islam.

"When the Muslims went to exile in Abyssinia, these two men accompanied them. It was he who eventually arranged the marriage between Umm Ḥabiba
and the Messenger of God (SAAS), as we have told above. Both men thereafter went on the Hijra from Abyssinia (to Medina) in the company of Ja'far. They reached the Messenger of God (SAAS), at Khaybar after his conquest of it. After consultation with the other Muslims, he gave them both shares of the spoils. Their brother Aban b. Sa‘id also arrived and participated at Khaybar, as narrated above, and the Messenger of God (SAAS) assigned them various duties.

“During the caliphate of Abū Bakr both men went to battle in Syria, and Khalid was killed at Ajnadayn; however, some say it was at Marj al-Saffār. God knows best.”

‘Atīq b. Ya’qūb stated that ‘Abd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, to the effect that Khalid b. Sa‘īd wrote the following document on behalf of the Messenger of God (SAAS):

“In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. This has been given by Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Rashīd b. ‘Abd Rabb al-Sulami. He has awarded him two ghalwa (of land) and one ghalwa at the rock at Ruhāt. No one should fear him. He is trustworthy. Khalid b. Sa‘īd wrote this.”

Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd stated, according to al-Waqīdī, that Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Khalid related to him, that Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Amr b. Cuthman b. ‘Affān said, “Khalid b. Sa‘īd remained in Medina following his arrival from Abyssinia. He acted as a scribe for the Messenger of God (SAAS); it was he who wrote the document for the people of al-Ta‘īf to the delegation of Thaqīf and strove to arrange peace between them and the Messenger of God (SAAS).”


He was the commander of the victorious armies, the man in charge of those illustrious soldiers, and glorious and famous battles. He was of firm judgement, great bravery and fine conduct. He was father to Sulayman b. Khalid b. al-Walid.

It is said that he was never a participant in an army that was defeated, either before or after Islam.

Al-Zubair b. Bakkār stated, “He had the status of a chief among Quraysh and was in command of the cavalry.”

He, along with ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and Uthmān b. Ṭalḥa b. Abū Ṭalḥa, accepted Islam after al-Ḥudaybiyya and before Khaybar. The Messenger of God (SAAS) soon gave him charge of expeditions and then, during the rule of Abū Bakr, he became commander-in-chief of all the Muslim forces.

When ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb succeeded to power, he dismissed him and appointed Abū Ubayda as amīn al-umma, “the guardian of the community”, with orders that he not disregard the views of (Khalid b. al-Walid) Abū Sulaymān.

Khalid died during the reign of ʿUmar, it is said in 21 AH or 22 AH, the former date being correct, in a village a mile distant from Ḥims. Al-Waqīdī stated, “I asked about its whereabouts but was told that it had been obliterated.”

205. A measure of length; the distance travelled by an arrow.
Duḥaym stated, “He died in Medina.” The first place of death mentioned is correct.

He narrated ḥadīth too numerous to relate here.

‘Atiq b. Ya‘qūb stated that Ṭabd al-Malik b. Ṭabū Bakr related to him, from his father, from his grandfather, from ŠAmr b. Ḥāzim, that the following referred to land tenancies the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) granted: “In the name of God the most Merciful and Beneficent. From Muhammad, Messenger of God, to the Believers. The game from Shayṭān and Shayṭar may not be mutilated or killed. Anyone discovered so doing shall be flogged and have his clothing taken away. Those transgressing this order shall be seized and the Prophet shall be informed of him. This comes from Muḥammad the Prophet. It is written by Khalid b. al-Walīd upon command of the Messenger of God. Let no one transgress this or he will do harm to himself regarding what Muḥammad has ordered.”

They also include al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām b. Kuwaylid b. Asad b. ŠAbd al-‘Uzzā b. Ṭuṣayy, Abū ŠAbd Allāh al-Asadī.

He was one of “the ten”206 and also one of the asḥāb al-shūra, “the Companions consulted” about whom the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) expressed his satisfaction at the time of his death. He was also regarded as a ḥawārī, “disciple”, of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with his cousin, the son of his aunt Ṣafīyya, daughter of ŠAbd al-Muṭṭalib, and was the husband of Asmāʾ, daughter of Abū Bakr, may God be pleased with him.

‘Atiq b. Ya‘qūb narrated, with the line of transmission given above, that it was al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām who wrote the document for Banū Mu‘awiya b. Jarwal, as ordered by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Ibn ‘Asakir narrated this, giving his line of transmission from ‘Atiq.

Al-Zubayr, may God be pleased with him, accepted Islam early, while he was 16 years old; some say his age was 18. He took part in both exiles and participated in all the battles. He was the first person to draw his sword in God’s cause.

He participated, with the greatest distinction of all, at the battle of al-Yarmūk. That day he twice pierced the ranks of the Byzantines from front to rear, emerging safely from the other side. However, he received two wounds on his back. May God be pleased with him.

The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) called for both his parents at the battle of al-khandaq, “the trench” and said, “Every prophet has a disciple, and my disciple is al-Zubayr.”

Many virtues and fine deeds are attributed to him. He died at the battle of the camel. His death came about when he had turned around and was returning from the battle. ŠAmr b. Jurmūz, Fażāla b. Ḥabīs and a third man called al-Naʿīr, all of Banū Tamīm, caught up with him at a place called Wādī al-Sībāʾ. ŠAmr b. Jurmūz came upon him while he slept and killed him. That was on a Thursday,
ten days prior to the end of Jumādā al-Uwālī in 36 AH. At that time he was 67 years old.

He died leaving a substantial inheritance. After the deduction of 2,200,000 dinārs, he left a testamentary bequest of one-third. When his debts had been satisfied, and the third had been extracted, the remainder was divided among his heirs. Each of his wives — of whom there were four — received 1,200,000 dinārs. The total amount of his estate to which we are referring was some 59,800,000 dinārs.

All this came to him by legitimate means during his life, from income he received from the al-fajr and the maghānim and through various kinds of permissible business activities. All that accrued after his payment of the zakāt, “the charity payments”, at the appropriate times, and numerous contacts with the recipients at the times of their need.

May God be pleased with him and give him pleasure, making the gardens of paradise his residence; and indeed He has! For the Lord of both those who came first and those who came after, the Messenger of the Lord of the worlds, has testified that there will be paradise for him. And to God be all praise and credit!

Ibn al-Athir stated in his work al-Ghaba that he had a 1,000 slaves collecting the kharaj tax payments for him, and that he would donate all that to charity. Ḥassān b. Thābit spoke the following verses giving him praise and credit for that:

“He grew up in the era and guidance of the Prophet, as his disciple, and speech with merit rings true.

He grew up in accord with his way and his path, allying with the agent of truth, and the truth is fully just.

He was that famous knight, that hero who sprang forward at every famous battle.

He was a man whose mother was Šafiyya, and he descended from a proud man named Asad, ‘lion’.

He had close family ties with the Messenger of God, and from fighting for Islam comes glory deeply secure.

Many were the dangers al-Zubayr deflected with his sword from al-Mustafā, ‘the chosen one’, and God rewards most generously.

When war emerged, he would slice at it, his blade flashing forward, charging proudly towards death.

He had no peer among them, nor was ever his like before, and his fame will never, for all time, fade.”

It has been recorded above that Āmr b. Jurmūz al-Tamīmī killed him in Wādī al-Sibā’ while he was asleep. Alternately, it is said that he emerged in a daze from 208. The term al-fajr is generally applied to goods and properties taken from unbelievers without battle having been engaged, while al-maghānim applies to spoils seized after warfare.
his sleep and rode away, but was confronted by Ibn Jurmuz. When al-Zubayr overcame him, Ibn Jurmuz was rescued by his two companions, Faqila and al-Nafr, and they all killed him. ‘Amr b. Jurmuz took his head and his sword. When he brought both of these to ‘Ali, the latter said on seeing al-Zubayr’s sword, “Many is the time this sword deflected danger from the face of the Messenger of God (SAAS).”

Among other comments he made, ‘Ali said, “Announce to the killer of Ṣafiyya’s son that he’s going to hell-fire!”

It is said that when ‘Amr b. Jurmuz heard that, he killed himself. The fact is, however, that he lived on after ‘Ali into the rule of Ibn al-Zubayr (al-Zubayr’s son ‘Abd Allah). The latter appointed his brother Muṣṣab to rule in Iraq on his own behalf, and ‘Amr b. Jurmuz disappeared, fearing that once in authority Muṣṣab would kill him to avenge his father. Muṣṣab ordered, “Inform him that he is safe; does he really think I would kill him for ‘Abd Allah’s father (al-Zubayr)? Certainly not, I swear by God; they are not equal!”

This decision stems from Muṣṣab’s qualities of shrewdness, intelligence and leadership.

Al-Zubayr narrated numerous ahādīth relating to the Messenger of God (SAAS), too many to mention here.

When al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām was killed at Wādī al-Sibā’, as related above, his wife ‘Ātika, daughter of Zayd b. ‘Amr b. Nufayl, recited the following verses:

“Ibn Jurmuz deceived the army’s champion knight, that day the forces clashed; he was not one to flee!

‘Amr, if you had warned him, you would not have found him effeminate, his hand or heart trembling.

Many were the battles he engaged, no resistance turning him aside, you utter coward!

May your mother mourn you! You were never victorious over his like in any that went before or ever will be.

By God, your Lord, if you kill a Muslim, the punishment of the Resolute One will alight upon you!”


He came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), in Medina when he was 11 years old. Therefore, due to his youth, he did not participate in the battle of Badr, nor in that at Uhud. The first battle in which he took part was that of al-khandaq, “the trench”. He participated in all thereafter.

He was a ḥafiz, a learned man of high intelligence. It is established about him in the sahīh collection of al-Bukhārī that the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered him to learn the writing system of the Jews in order to be able to read to the Prophet (SAAS) whatever they might write to him. He learned this in 15 days.
Imam Ahmad stated that Sulayman b. Da‘ud related to him, quoting ‘Abd al-Rahmān, from Abū al-Zinād, from Khārijah b. Zayd, who quoted his father Zayd as having said, after having come to see the Messenger of God (SAAS) at Medina, “I was taken to him, and he was impressed with me. People said, ‘Messenger of God, this youth is from Banū al-Najjar; he knows from ten to twenty or so of the surat that God revealed to you.’ This delighted the Messenger of God (SAAS), and he told him, ‘Zayd, learn for me the writing of the Jews; I swear by God, I don’t trust a Jew to read to me.’”

Zayd went on, “So I set about learning their writing and had mastered it before 15 days had passed. I used to read to him whatever letters they wrote to him, and answered them on his behalf.”

Ahmad then narrated this from Shurayh b. al-Nu‘mān, from Ibn Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from Khārijah, from his father who related it similarly.


Abū Da‘ud narrated it from Ahmad b. Yūnus. Al-Tirmidhī gave it from ʿAlī b. Ḥaṣān. They both related it from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father, from Khārijah, from his father.

Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as ḥasan sahih.

This was truly extraordinary intelligence. He was one of those who collected the Qurʿān during the lifetime of the Messenger of God (SAAS) from the reciters, as is established in both sahih collections from Anas.

Ahmad and al-Nasa`ī narrated from a hadith of Abū Qalāba, from Anas, who quoted the Messenger of God (SAAS) as having said, “The person most kind towards my nation is Abū Bakr. The most severe in it for God’s religion is ʿUmar. The one in it most sincere in humility is ʿUthmān. The most decisive of them is ʿAlī b. Abū ʿAlīb. The man of them most knowledgeable of what is permissible and what forbidden is Muḥammad b. Jabal. The one most knowledgeable about the religious duties of Islam is Zayd b. Thābit. And every nation has an amin, a fully trustworthy man’. The amin of this nation is Abū ʿUbayd b. Ṣalāḥ.”

There are some ḥusnā who consider this hadith mursal, “incomplete”, except in so far as it refers to Abū ʿUbayd. It is given in this line of transmission in the sahih of al-Bukhārī.

Zayd wrote down the revelations in the presence, in several locations, of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

One of the clearest evidences of this is in the statement from him established in the sahih collections, in which he said, “When the words of Almighty God came down, ‘Those believers who stay back and those who strive hard in God’s cause are not equal’ (surat al-Nisā‘; IV, v.95), the Messenger of God (SAAS)
called out to me and said, “Write down, “Those believers who stay back and those who strive hard in God’s cause are not equal.”

“Then Ibn Umm Maktum arrived and began complaining about his injuries. While his leg was pressing hard against my own — hard enough to almost bruise it — revelation again came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), with the words ghayru ʿalī al-darār, ‘except those who have suffered injury’. He ordered me to add these words, and I did so. And I well know the place where it was added — at a crack in that tablet — of bone, that is.”

Zayd participated in the expedition to al-Yamāma and he was struck by an arrow that did not seriously harm him. It was he whom Abū Bakr thereafter ordered to seek out and assemble the Qurān. He told him, “You are an intelligent young man about whom we have no suspicions; and you used to write down the revelation for the Messenger of God (SAAS). Therefore, seek out and assemble the Qurān.” And Zayd did as Abū Bakr had ordered him. There was much good in that; and to God be all praise and credit.

ʿUmar twice, while making the pilgrimage, appointed Zayd to govern Medina on his behalf, as he did when he made an expedition to Syria. ʿUthmān also appointed him to govern Medina.

ʿAīr liked him very well. Zayd extolled ʿAīr and gave recognition to his worthiness, although he did not participate with him in any of his battles. He lived on after ʿAīr, dying in 45 AH; that date is also given as 51 or 55 AH.

He was one of those who wrote the maṣāḥif al-ʿaʾīma,211 “the master copies”, that ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān dispatched to all parts. It was these that gave to the reading the official stamp of consensus and approval, as we have established in our book Taftīr (Exegesis of) al-Qurān. And to God be all praise and credit.

Al-Sijil was also one of them, as is stated in the ḥadīth narrated on that subject from Ibn ʿAbbās; on the assumption of its authenticity, that is, about which there is some controversy.

Abū Dāʾūd stated that Qutayba b. Saʿīd narrated to him, quoting Nūḥ b. Qays, from Yazid b. Kaʿb, from ʿAmr b. Malik, from Abū al-Jawzaʿ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “Al-Sijil was a scribe of the Prophet (SAAS).”

Al-Nasāʾī narrated it thus from Qutayba, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as having said regarding the verse, “That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-sijil212 rolls up writings” (sūrat al-Anbiyāʾ; XXI, v.104). This word al-Sijil refers to the man.”

This is his wording.

211. The term given to the “authorized” text of the Qurān agreed upon by a commission formed by the caliph ʿUthmān consisting of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. al-Ḥārith. Copies of this text were dispatched to various cities with instructions that any “deviant” versions should be destroyed.

212. The word is frequently interpreted to mean “scroll”; the text would therefore read, “as a scroll rolls up writings”.
Abū Ja'far b. Jarir narrates, concerning the same verse, from Naṣr b. ʿAlī, from Nūḥ b. Qays, a source considered trustworthy and among those quoted by Muslim. Ibn Maʿṣūm, however, categorizes him as a weak source in one account quoting him. Regarding his teacher Sheikh Yazīd b. Ka'b al-ʿAwdhī al-ṣāḥī, only Nūḥ b. Qays quotes from him. Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥibbān includes him among those to be considered trustworthy sources.

I brought this hadīth to the attention of my teacher the ḥāfīz Sheikh Abū al-Ḥājjāj al-Mīzzi; he deprecated it strongly. I informed him that our very learned Sheikh Abū al-ʿAbbās b. Ṭaymīyya used to say, "This hadīth is fabricated, even if included in the sunān of Abū Dā'ūd!" Our teacher Sheikh al-Mīzzi commented, "I say the same!"

I note that the ḥāfīz Ibn ʿAdī narrated it in his work al-ʿKāmil from a hadīth of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, known as "Būma", from Yahyā b. ʿAmr, from Malik al-Bakrī, from his father, from Abū al-Jawzāʾ, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, "The Messenger of God (SAAS) had a scribe named al-Sijil. He is referred to in the words of the Almighty, 'That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings.' Just as al-Sijil rolls up writings, thus will the heavens be rolled up."

Al-Bayhaqī narrated it similarly from Abū Naṣr b. Qatāda, from Abū ʿAlī al-Raḍāʾī, from ʿAli b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, from Muslim b. Ibrāhīm, from Yahyā b. ʿAmr b. Ṭalīk. This Yahyā is considered a very weak source, one upon whom one should not be depended. But God knows best.

Stranger still than that is what was also narrated by the ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Manda from a hadīth of Ahmad b. Saʿīd al-Baghḍādī, known as "Ḥamdān", from Ibn Bahz, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāṣīrī, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, "The Prophet (SAAS) had a scribe called Sijil and God revealed, 'That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings.'" Ibn Manda commented, "This is ghārib. Ḥamdān is alone in giving it."

Al-Barqānī stated, "Abū al-Fatḥ al-Azīdī stated, ‘Ibn Numayr was alone in giving it, if authentic.’"

This is also objectionable when narrated from Ibn ʿUmar, just as it was when from Ibn ʿAbbās. For a quite different statement is also attributed to both. Al-Wālībī and al-Awīfī quote Ibn ʿAbbās as having stated with reference to this verse, "(it means) like the rolling of a saḥīfa (sheet of paper etc) over writings". Mujāhid stated the same.

Ibn Jarir stated, "It is well known in the language that al-sijil means a saḥīfa."

He went on, "No one among the Companions is known by the name al-Sijil."

And it is objectionable for al-Sijil to have been the name of one of the angels, as was narrated from Abū Kurayb, from Ibn Yamān, who stated that Abū al-Wafī al-Ashjaʿī related to him, from his father, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, regarding the verse, "That day when we will roll up the heavens as al-Sijil rolls up writings", "Al-Sijil was an angel. Whenever he ascended with a request for forgiveness, God would say, 'Write it in light.'"
He also stated that Bandar related to him, from Mu’ammil, from Sufyan, who said, “I heard al-Suddi say . . .” And he went on to narrate it similarly.

Abū Ja’far al-Baqqir stated the same, narrating from Abū Kurayb, from Mubarak, from Ma’ruf b. Kharrabūdah, from someone who heard Abū Ja’far say, “Al-Sijil is an angel.”

Ibn Jarir’s denial that al-Sijil was the name of either a Companion or an angel is very convincing, while the ḥadīth to the contrary is very objectionable. Those, like Ibn Manda, Abū Nu’aym al-Isbahānī and Ibn al-Athir, in al-Ghaba, only do so to give credibility to this ḥadīth, or to comment upon its authenticity. But God knows best.

They also included Sa’d b. Abī Sarḥ, according to a statement made by Khalīfa b. Khayyāt.

It has been imagined that this man was his son ʿAbd Allāh b. Sa’d b. Abī Sarḥ, as will be explained shortly, if God so wills it.

ʿAmir b. Fuhayra, a freedman of Abū Bakr, was also one of them.

Imām Ahmad stated, “Abd al-Razzāq related to me, from Ma’mar, who quoted al-Zuhri as having said, “ʿAbd al-Malik b. Malik al-Mudliji informed me, he being the cousin of Suraqa b. Malik, that his father informed him that he heard Surāqa say . . .”’ And he proceeded to narrate the Hijra of the Prophet (ṢAAS). In this narrative, he said, “So I told him (the Prophet (ṢAAS)), ‘Your people have put a price on your head!’ And I related to them news relating to their departure and what people wanted to do with them. Then I offered them provisions, but they would not accept anything from me and asked me to leave them alone. I asked him if he would write down a safe conduct for me, and he told ʿAmir b. Fuhayra, who did so on a piece of leather. Then he left.”

I note that the ḥadīth is given complete above in the material relating to the Hijra. It is also recorded that it was Abū Bakr who wrote this document for Surāqa. But God knows best.

ʿAmir b. Fuhayra – known as Abū ʿAmr – was of mixed blood of Banū Azd. He was black in complexion. He had earlier been a freed-man of Ṭufayl b. al-Ḥarīth, the brother of ʿAṭīsha through her mother Umm Rūmān. He accepted Islam early, before the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) took refuge in the home of al-Arqam b. Abū al-Arqam at al-Ṣafā. ʿAmir was tortured along with all the others persecuted at Mecca to make them give up their faith. He refused, and Abū Bakr purchased him, then set him free. He would herd goats for him outside Mecca.

When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) left on the Hijra, he accompanied Abū Bakr, who bore him on his mount. They also had al-Dīlī, the guide, with them. This is narrated in full above.

Upon their arrival in Medina, ʿAmir b. Fuhayra stayed with Sa’d b. Khaythama. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between ʿAmir and Aws b. Muʿādh. He participated in Badr and at Uḥud.
He was killed at the battle of Bi'r Ma'una, as was related above. That was in 4 AH. At that time he was 40 years of age. But God knows best.

Urwa, Ibn Ishäq, al-Waqidi and other scholars state that Āmir was killed at Bi'r Ma'una by a man named Jabbar b. Sulma, of Banū Kilāb. When Āmir was pierced by the spear, he said, "I have succeeded, by the Lord of the ka'ba!" Āmir was then raised up until he disappeared from sight, so that Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl said, "He was raised up until I could see the sky and not him!"

"Amr b. Umayya was asked about him and he replied, "He was one of the best of us, and one of the earliest members of the household of our Prophet (ṢAAS)."

Jabbar stated, "I asked al-Dāhḥāk b. Sufyān what he meant by what he said. He replied, 'He was referring to paradise.'"

"Al-Dāhḥāk invited me to accept Islam, and I did so when I saw what happened at the death of Āmir b. Fuhayra. Al-Dāhḥāk wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), informing him of my acceptance of Islam and of what had happened to Āmir. He commented, 'The angels concealed him and he has taken up residence with the spiritual hierarchy.'"

In both saḥīh collections Anas is quoted as having said, "He recited to us a Qur'ān verse about them: 'Inform our people that we have met our Lord. And He is pleased with us and has pleased us.'" 213

Reference is made above to this in the material treating the engagement at Bi'r Ma'una. 214

Muḥammad b. Ishäq stated that Hishäm b. Urwa related to him, from his father, that Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl used to ask, "Which of your men was it whom, when killed, was raised up between earth and sky so that you could see sky only, and not him?"

"That was Āmir b. Fuhayra," they would reply.

Al-Waqidi stated that Muhammad b. 'Abd Allah related to him, from al-Zuhri, from Urwa, who quoted Ḥāsha as having said, "Āmir b. Fuhayra was raised up into the sky; his body was not found."

They say that the angels concealed it.

'Abd Allah b. Arqam b. Abu Arqam al-Makhzūmī was also among them.

He accepted Islam the year of the conquest of Mecca and he wrote on behalf of the Prophet (ṢAAS).

Imām Mālik stated, "He (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) would send out what he did and would thank him and express his appreciation." 215

Salama stated, quoting Muhammad b. Ishäq b. Yasār, from Muhammad b. Ja'far b. al-Zubayr, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) asked 'Abd Allāh b. al-Arqam b. 'Abd Yaghūth to write letters for him in response to the (letters) of the kings. His trust in 'Abd Allāh b. al-Arqam so developed that he would tell him to write to certain kings; he would write and

213. This verse, not present in the Qur'ān, is evidently a false attribution thereto.
the Messenger of God (SAAS) would put his seal on what he read (back) because of his trust in him.

He acted as scribe for Abu Bakr, who gave him charge of the treasury. 'Umar b. al-Khattab confirmed him in both positions. When Uthman succeeded, he dismissed him from them.

I note that this was after 'Abd Allah b. Arqam had tendered his resignation. It is said that Uthman offered him 300,000 dirhams as his salary, but he refused to accept this. He replied, "What I did was for God; my reward is up to God, Almighty and Glorious is He."

Ibn Ishaq stated, "Zayd b. Thabit wrote for the Messenger of God (SAAS). If neither Ibn al-Arqam nor Zayd b. Thabit were there, then someone else present would write."

"Umar, 'Ali, Zayd, al-Mughirah b. Shu‘ba, Mu‘awiya, Khalid b. Sa‘d b. al-‘As and others named by the Arabs wrote for him."

Al-A'mash stated, "I asked Shaqiq b. Salama, 'Who was the scribe for the Prophet (SAAS)?' He replied, 'Abd Allah b. al-Arqam. 'Umar brought out at al-Qadisiyya a document of Abu Bakr and at its base were the words, "Written by 'Abd Allah b. al-Arqam."'"


"When 'Umar acceded, he would seek 'Abd Allah's counsel. And 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb is quoted as having said, 'I never saw anyone more fearful of God than him.' He meant any one of the workers."

He was, may God be pleased with him, injured before his death. 'Abd Allah b. Zayd b. 'Abd Rabbihī al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, the originator of the call to prayer, was one of them.

He accepted Islam early and was present at the 'aqabat al-sab‘īn, the "'Aqaba meeting of the 70." He participated at the battle of Badr and later engagements. One of his greatest credits is his having had a vision of the call to prayer in his sleep and his having repeated this to the Messenger of God (SAAS), who responded, "These are visions of truth. Stand with Bilal and deliver them to him so that he can use them to announce the call to prayer; he has a stronger voice than you."

We have given the hadith relating to this above.
AI-Waqidi narrated, giving lines of transmission from Ibn 'Abbas, that the Prophet (SAAS) wrote a letter to those of Banū Jurash who accepted Islam, ordering them to perform the prayer, pay the zakat, and to donate one-fifth of the booty they took.

He died in 32 AH at 64 years of age. Uthmān b. Affān, may God be pleased with him, performed the prayers for the deceased.

Of them also was ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. Abū Sarḥ al-Qurashi al-‘Amiri, a foster-brother of Uthmān by his mother; Uthmān’s mother suckled him, that is.

He wrote down the revelation and later seceded from Islam, joining the polytheists in Mecca. When the Messenger of God (SAAS) conquered it, having declared it lawful to spill his blood, along with certain others there, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d went to Uthmān b. Affān and sought his protection. The Messenger of God (SAAS) then guaranteed his safety, as we have narrated above in the account of the conquest of Mecca. Thereafter, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d was an extremely good Muslim.

Abī Da‘ūd stated that Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Marūzī related to him, quoting ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn b. Waqīd, from his father, from Yazīd al-Naḥwī, from Ikrima, who quoted Ibn ‘Abbas, as having said, “‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d b. Abū Sarḥ was a scribe for the Prophet (SAAS). Then Satan made him slip, and he joined the unbelievers. And so the Messenger of God (SAAS) ordered that he be executed. Uthmān asked for him to have protection and so the Messenger of God (SAAS) guaranteed his safety.”

Al-Nas’ai narrated it from a hadith of ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn b. Waqīd.

I note that he was on the right wing of the army of ‘Amr b. al-‘Aṣ when ‘Amr conquered Egypt in 20 AH, during the rule of Umar. Umar appointed ‘Amr his governor there; when Uthmān succeeded to the caliphate, he dismissed ‘Amr and, in 25 AH, appointed ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d in command of Egypt.

Uthmān ordered ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d to conquer Africa and he attacked and conquered it. There the army acquired great wealth. The share of the booty received by each of the army’s cavalry was 3,000 mithqāl of gold. Each foot soldier received 1,000 mithqāl. With him in that army were three men named ‘Abd Allāh: ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, ‘Abd Allāh b. Umar, and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr.

Thereafter ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa‘d attacked the blacks of Nubia and established with them a truce that is still in effect today. That was in 31 AH. He then commanded a naval expedition against the Byzantines; it was a great expedition.

When disagreement arose over Uthmān, he left Egypt, appointing a deputy to govern it, in order to go to aid Uthmān. When Uthmān was killed, he took up residence in ‘Asqalān (Ashkelon) — or alternatively, at Ramla — and prayed to God to take him during prayer. One day he performed the dawn prayer, in the first part of which he recited the fatiha and the (sūrat) al-‘Adiyāt (C), and in the 217. A weight equal to one-and-a-half dirham.
second part the fatiha and a surah. When he had finished the al-tashahhud he performed the salutation of the first taslim. He was then about to perform the second taslim, but died between the two salutations; may God be pleased with him. His death occurred in 36 AH or in 37 AH. It is also said that he lived on until 59 AH. The first date of death is correct.

No narratives stemming from him occur in the six canonical collections of ahadith, nor in the al-Musnad collection of Imam Ahmad.

They also include 'Abd Allah b. Uthman, Abü Bakr, “the trusting”. I have made reference to his biography in the material relating to his caliphate. I constructed a whole volume on his life and the ahadith he narrated and the statements attributed to him.

The proof that he wrote for him is in what Musa b. Uqba related, from al-Zuhri, from 'Abd al-Rahman b. Malik b. Ju'shum, from his father, from Surqa b. Malik, in his account of his pursuit of the Messenger of God (SAAS), who had left the cave and was passing through his tribe’s territory. When he came upon them and the incident occurred with his mare, he asked the Messenger of God (SAAS) for a safe conduct and the latter told him to write a note for him and then gave it to him.

Imam Ahmad narrated, through al-Zuhri, with the same line of transmission, that Atir b. Fuhayra wrote it. It is likely that Abü Bakr wrote part of it, then gave orders to his freed-man Atir, who wrote the remainder. But God knows best.

Also among them was Uthman b. Affan, the Commander of the Believers. I have detailed his biography in the material relating to his caliphate. I narrated above how he wrote the peace agreement between the Messenger of God (SAAS) and Quraysh at Hudaybiyya, specifying that the Muslims would be safe, that there would be no swords drawn, nor chains used, and that there would be no warfare for ten years. He also wrote other documents in the presence of the Prophet (SAAS).

Regarding the claim made by a group of Jews of Khaybar that they hold a document from the Prophet (SAAS), concerning their exemption from payment of the jizya tax, and its having been signed as having been written by Ali b. Abü Talib and witnessed by a group of Companions, including Sa'd b. Mu'adh and Mu'awiyah b. Abü Sufyan – this is all a lie and a fabrication, a pure invention. A number of scholars have made clear the falseness of their claim; however, certain early jurists were deceived and recommended that they be exempt from payment of the jizya. This decision is very weak.
I have gathered all material relating to this, dedicating to it a separate section in which I established its falseness and the fact that it was a fabrication. They completely invented it, as they are capable of doing! I have examined this fully and gathered all the variety of statements made about it by the _imāms_. And all praise and credit go to God.

Included among those who wrote for him was the Commander of the Believers, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb; I have given details of his life in its proper place. I have devoted a separate volume to him and another large work that gives the _ahādith_ he narrated concerning the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), along with the statements and regulations attributed to ʿUmar. Reference to his having written for the Prophet (ṢAAS) is given above in the material relating to the life of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Arqam.

They include al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī; al-Ḥaḍramī’s name is also given as ‘Abbād, and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbād b. Akbar b. Rabīʿa b. ʿArif b. Mālik b. al-Khazraj b. Iyyād b. al-Ṣadaf b. Ẓayd b. Muqniʿ b. Ḥaḍramawt b. Qaḥṭān. A different genealogy is also given for him.

He was of the allies of Banū Umayya. Reference to his having written (for the Prophet (ṢAAS)) is given above in the details relating to the life of Abān b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ.

He had ten brothers. They included ʿAmr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, the first polytheist killed by the Muslims, in the expedition of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh, the first such foray, as is narrated above.

ʿAmīr b. al-Ḥaḍramī was also among them. It was he to whom Abū Jahl, may God curse him, gave orders so that he exposed his private parts and called out, “Woe for ʿAmr! Woe for ʿAmr!” This was when the Muslims and the polytheists lined up to do battle at Badr. At that the warfare was waged furiously, with the outcome as we have described at length above.

They also included Shurayḥ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, one of the very best of the Companions. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said of him, “That is a man who does not use the Qurʾān as a pillow!” By this he meant that he did not go to sleep and abandon it, but was conscious of it at all times of the day and night.

All these men had only one sister, al-Ṣāʿa, daughter of al-Ḥaḍramī, the mother of Ẓalḥa b. Ḫubayd Allāh.

The Prophet (ṢAAS) sent al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī to al-Mundhir b. Ṣawā, the king of al-Baḥrayn. He appointed al-ʿAlāʾ as its ruler after he conquered it, and Abū Bakr confirmed him in that position, as did ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. He remained in that role there until ʿUmar removed him and appointed him Governor of Basra. He died while _en route_, in 21 AH.

Al-Bayḥaqi and others attribute to him many wonderful deeds. One such is his having led his army out upon the sea without the water having reached up

to the stirrups of their horses! Other accounts say the undersides of their horses’ hooves did not even get wet, after he had ordered them all to call out, Ya Ḥalím! Ya ʿAzīm! “O Wise One! “O Mighty One!”

Another incident related to his being with his army when they were desperate for water. He prayed to God who sent down rain to satisfy their need. Also, when he was about to be buried, no trace at all of him could be seen! He had asked God for that.

Details relating to all this will come shortly in my work Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa, if God so wills it.

He is credited with three ḥadīth from the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). The first is as follows. Imām ʿAbd Allāh stated that Sufyān b. Ṣuwaym related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥaḍramī b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿĀwīf, from al-Sāḥib b. Yazīd, from al-Ṣāḥib b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who quoted the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), as having said, “The ṭukhāf jīr remains for three days after the completion of his ceremonies.”

The scholastic community all give this from his ḥadīth.

The second is as follows. Ahmad stated that Hushaym related to him, quoting Mansūr, from Ibn Sirīn, from Ibn al-Ṣāḥib b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who said that his father wrote to the Prophet (ṢAAS), and began it by reference to himself.

ʿAbd Dāʿūd narrated it thus from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanbal.

The third ḥadīth is narrated by ʿAbd Allāh and by Ibn Māja, through Muḥammad b. Zayd, from Liṭbān al-ʿArājī, to the effect that al-Ṣāḥib b. al-Ḥaḍramī wrote to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), from al-Balḥayn concerning a ḥāṣit – an orchard, that is – that was owned by brothers. He asked what (would be the tax consequences) if one of the brothers accepted Islam. He ordered him to collect al-ṭushr, “the tithe”, from the Muslim and then the kharaj, “the poll tax”; from the one who had not accepted Islam, that is.

Al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿUqba was also one of them. The ḥāṣit Ibn ʿĀsikīr stated, “He was a scribe of the Prophet (ṢAAS). I know of no one who made mention of him other than as we are narrating.”

He went on to give a line of transmission to ʿAtīq b. Yaṣīq, who quoted ʿAbd al-Malik b. Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, from his father, from his grandfather, from ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, who detailed land grants made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) to certain persons. He gave the wording of the deed as follows, “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent: this is a grant made by the Prophet, Muḥammad to ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulaimān. He has given him Madmūr. No one has a right to interfere with him there; he has full rights. Written and witnessed by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿUqba.”

He also went on to quote, “In the name of God, the most Merciful and Beneficent. This records what Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), has awarded to ʿAṣṣajāb b. Ḥarmalā al-Juḥant: from Dhu al-Marwa and what lies between Balkatha to al-Zubya, to al-Jašīʿt, to Mt. al-Qibliyya. No one has a right to interfere with him there. He has full rights. Written by al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿUqba.”
Al-Waqidî narrated, giving full lines of transmission, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) had made a grant of land to Banû Sîyāh b. Juḥaym. Their deed relating thereto had been written and witnessed by al-Ṣaḥâba b. Ṣuqla.

Ibn al-Ṭairî mentioned this man briefly in his work al-Chabâ bi. He stated, “Al-Ṣaḥâba b. Ṣuqla wrote on behalf of the Prophet (SAAS) . . .” He gave his name also in a hadith of 'Amr b. Ḥazm. Ja'far included this, and Abu Muṣâ - al-Madînî, that is - gave it in his book.

Al-Ṭairî also mentioned that inside him there was Muḥammad b. Maslama b. Ḥuraysh b. Khâlid b. 'Adî b. Majda'â b. Ḥâritth b. al-Ḥârîth b. al-Khazraj al-Ansârî al-Ḥâritth al-Khazraj Abû ʿAbd Allâh, known as Abû ʿAbd al-Rahmân, and as Abû Sa'd al-Madînî, the ally of Banû ʿAbd al-Asâhhal.

He accepted Islam in the presence of Muṣâb b. Umayr, or alternatively Sa'd b. Muṣâdh and Usayy b. Ḥujayr. Upon his arrival in Medina, the Messenger of God (SAAS) established a tie of brotherhood between him and Abû ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrâh. He participated at Badr and at battles thereafter. The Messenger of God (SAAS) appointed him his vice-regent over Medina in the year of the expedition to Tabûk.

Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr stated in his work al-Mustinb that he had an extremely dark complexion, was tall, bald and corpulent. He was one of the most excellent of the Companions. He avoided involvement in civil unrest and carried a wooden sword. He died in Medina in 43 AH, as is widely known. Marwân b. al-Ḥakam prayed over him. He narrated many aḥâdîth from the Prophet (SAAS).

Muḥammad b. Sa'd narrated, from ʿAlî b. Muḥammad al-Madâ'înî, with lines of transmission back from him, that it was Muḥammad b. Maslama who, at the order of the Messenger of God (SAAS), wrote the document for the delegation from Banû Murra.

They also included Muḥâwiya b. Abû Sufyān, Sâdh b. Ḥarb b. Umayyâ b. al-Umawt; we have detailed his biography in materials relating to his period of rule.

Muṣlim b. al-Ḥajjâj includes him among the scribes of the Messenger of God (SAAS). Muslim narrated, in his sahîh collection, from a hadith of Ikramâ b. ʿAmmâr, from Abû Zumayl Ṣimâkh b. al-Wâlîf, from Ibn ʿAbbaṣ, that Abû Sufyân asked, “Messenger of God, are there three requests you would fulfil for me?” “Yes,” he replied. He then said, “Give me command, so that I can battle the unbelievers, just as I used to battle the Muslims.” “Granted,” he replied. He then asked, “Appoint Muḥâwiya as your scribe.” “Granted,” he replied. And the hadith continues thereafter.

I have devoted a separate section to this hadith since it incorporates reference to his request to the Messenger of God (SAAS) that the latter marry Umm Ḥabība. Moreover, it does include reference to Abû Sufyân's appointment as a commander and to Muḥâwiya's part as scribe on behalf of the Prophet (SAAS).

On this issue scholars are unanimous.
Then there is the ḥadīth relating to Muʿāwiya given by the ʿhāfiz Ibn ʿAsākir in his work of history that is relevant here. He stated that Abū Ḥālib b. al-Banā related to him, quoting Abū Muhammad al-Jawhart, quoting Abū ʿAlī Muhammad b. ʿAlī, quoting ʿAbī ʿAbd Allah al-ʿAtashi, quoting Abū Muhammad al-Būrānī, quoting al-Sarī b. ʿAṣīm, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Ẓiyād, from al-Qāsim b. Bahrām, from Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābīr to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) sought the advice of Gabriel over appointing Muʿāwiya as his scribe and that the latter said, “Appoint him as a scribe; he is trustworthy.”

This ḥadīth is gharīb and, indeed, objectionable. This man al-Sarī b. ʿAṣīm is Abū ʿAṣīm al-Hamadānī, who used to act as tutor to al-Muʿtaz Bī Allāhī; Ibn Khirāsh stated that he was untruthful in ḥadīth narration.

Ibn Ḥibbān and Ibn ʿAdī stated that he would steal ḥadīth. Ibn Ḥibbān added, “He would ascribe to (the Prophet (ṢAAS)) statements that belonged to the Companions. It is not permissible to use such materials in arguments.” Al-Dārquqīnī stated that his ḥadīth were weak.

His teacher was Sheikh al-Ḥasan b. Ẓiyād, who stated, “If the latter was al-Luʿluʿī several of the imāms have ignored him. Many of them asserted that he was mendacious. If applicable to some other person, nothing whatsoever is known about him.”

The source in the above ḥadīth named as al-Qāsim b. Bahrām might refer to either of two persons. One possibility would be a man known as al-Qāsim b. Bahrām al-ʿAsādī al-Wāsīṭī al-ʿArāj, whose origins were in Isfahān. Al-Nasāʿī quoted him from Saʿīd b. Jubayr, from Ibn ʿAbbās, at length for his statement relating to the ḥadīth al-quniʿūt. Ibn Maʿīn, Abū ʿĪsām, Abū Dāʾūd and Ibn Ḥibbān categorize him as a trustworthy source. The second man was al-Qāsim b. Bahrām Abū Hamdān, the qāḍī of Hit. Ibn Maʿīn stated that he was a notorious liar.

In sum, therefore, this ḥadīth from this line of transmission is not firmly established and is one by which one should not be misled.

It is surprising that the ʿrajī; Ibn ʿAsākir, a scholar of such illustrious reputation and a man of greater knowledge regarding the fabrication of ḥadīth than his contemporaries—or his predecessors for many years before—should give this in his work of history along with many other such ḥadīth, without any (negative) commentary, direct or subtle. Such behaviour is questionable. But God knows best.

219. The reference seems to have two possible connotations. The first relates to a question posed to the Prophet (ṢAAS), regarding which prayer was best. To this he responded with the words, “(the one) ʿāl al-quniʿūt”, “the one for which one remains standing at length”. A specific prayer is therefore known as the “ debilitating standing”. Alternatively, the reference could be to a ḥadīth telling of the curse delivered by the Prophet daily for one month against the tribes of Rāf and Dhakwān for their actions at the engagement at Bīr Maʿīna. See Vol. III.
They also included al-Mughira b. Shu'ba al-Thaqafi. I have given his biography above in the section devoted to those of his Companions apart from his freed-man who served the Messenger of God (SAAS). I noted that it was he who would hold a sword above the latter's head.

Ibn Asakir narrated from 'Atiq b. Ya'qub, along several lines of transmissions, as above, that it was al-Mughira b. Shu'ba who wrote out the land tenure deed for Husayn b. Nadla al-Asadî awarded him at the orders of the Messenger of God (SAAS).

These, then, were the scribes who would write at his command and in his presence.

Chapter.

Ibn Asakir included among those who were trusted (scribes) Abu Ubayda 'Amir b. 'Abd Allah b. al-Jarraj al-Qurashi al-Fihri, one of “the ten,”220 may God be pleased with him, and 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Awf al-Zuhri.

Regarding Abu Ubayda, al-Bukhari narrated from Abu Qilabâ, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said, “Every nation had an amin, a fully trustworthy person. And the amin of this community is Abu Ubayda b. al-Jarrâb.”

In one text the wording is, “The Messenger of God (SAAS) told a delegation of (Banû) 'Abd al-Qays of Najrân, “I will send with you an amin, a true amin.” And he sent Abu Ubayda with them.

Ibn Asakir went on, “Among them also was Mu'ayqib b. Abu Fatima al-Dawsi, the freed-man of Banû 'Abd Shams. He was in charge of his (seal) ring; it is also said that he was his servant. Others have said that he accepted Islam early and emigrated with the others to Abyssinia, and thereafter to Medina. He participated in the battle of Badr and engagements thereafter, and he was in charge of his ring. Both of the sheikhs221 placed him in charge of the treasury.”

They also say that he contracted leprosy, that 'Umar b. al-Khatîb ordered that he be treated with colocynth and that the disease was arrested. His death came during the caliphate of Uthman, in the year 40 AH, it is said. But God knows best.

Imam Ahmad stated that Yahyah b. Abû Bakr related to him, quoting Shaybân, from Yahyah b. Abû Kathîr, from Abû Salama, who quoted Mu'ayqib to the effect that the Messenger of God (SAAS) said about a man smoothing out the earth where he would prostrate in prayer, “If you have to do it, let it be once (only).”

Both compilers of the Sahih collections gave it from a hadith of Shaybân al-Nahwî. Muslim added, “And also (from) Hishâm al-Đastuwârî.” Al-Tirmidhi, al-Nasa'i and Ibn Majaj also gave it from al-Awsatî. All three of them also gave it from Yahyah b. Abû Kathîr. Al-Tirmidhi categorized it as hasan sahih.

220. See Vol. 1.
221. Abû Bakr and 'Umar, that is.
Imám Aḥmad stated that Khalaf b. al-Walid related it to him, quoting Ayyūb, from Uthba, from Yaḥyā b. Abū Kathīr, from Abū Salama, who quoted Muʿayqib as having stated, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, ‘Woe to those (who neglect to wash their ankles properly) from hell-fire.’”

Imám Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

Abū Daʿūd and al-Nasāʾī narrated from a hadith of Abū ʿAttāb Sahl b. Ḥammād al-Dallāl, from Abū Makīn Nūḥ b. Rabīʿa, from Iyyās b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Muʿayqib, who quoted his grandfather - who was in charge of the (seal) ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) - as having said, “The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was made of iron with silver overlaid upon it. Sometimes it was in my hand.”

I note that the ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was actually made of silver, with its protusion integral to it, as will be shown in the quotations from the sahīḥ collections. He had earlier had a gold ring that he had worn for a period but later discarded, saying, “I swear by God, I’ll not wear it!”

He then began use of this ring made of silver with its raised design integral, inscribed with the words, “Muḥammad, Messenger of God,” with “Muḥammad” on one line, “rasūl, ‘messenger’”, on another, and “Allāh, ‘God’”, on the third.

After remaining in his possession, it was passed on after him to Abū Bakr, then to ʿUmar and then to ʿUthmān, with whom it remained for six years. Then it dropped from him into the well at Aris. He made every effort to retrieve it, but failed.

Abū Daʿūd, may God have mercy upon him, devoted an entire chapter of his work al-Sunan to the ring; we will if God so wishes it, shortly hereafter quote from it material we find useful. And God is the source of help.

The reference above to Muʿayqib’s wearing this ring point to the weakness of the report of his having been afflicted with leprosy, as Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr and others related. However, this is widely believed. Perhaps he contracted this disease after the time of the Prophet (ṢAAS), or he may have been infected by it but not have been contagious. Or this might indicate the nature of the strength of the trust in God characteristic of the Prophet (ṢAAS). This is suggested by what the latter said to the leper as he placed his hand in the dish of food, “Eat; with confidence in God and reliance upon Him!”

Abū Daʿūd narrated this. It is established in the sahīḥ collection of Muslim that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) said, “Flee from the leper as you flee from a lion!” But God knows best.

Regarding the military commanders of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), we have made reference to them, arranged by their names, in the materials relating to the expeditions he dispatched. And all praise and credit belong to God.

People are in disagreement over the question of the total number of the Companions of the Prophet (ṢAAS). Abū Zurʿa is quoted as having said, “They totalled 120,000 persons.”
AI-Shafi‘i stated, “When the Messenger of God (SAAS) died, there were some 60,000 Muslims (alive) who had seen and heard him.”

AI-lSa‘im Abü ‘Abd Allah stated, “There are some 5,000 Companions who narrated āhādīth (from him).”

I note that the Companions whose āhādīth were quoted by Imam Aḥmad with all his breadth of knowledge, extensive travels and recognized expertise totalled 987 persons.

The six canonical collections of traditions quote from some 300 Companions in addition to these.

A number ofṣuflāz, may God be pleased with them, have devoted themselves to establishing the names, biographies and deaths of these Companions. One of the most illustrious of these men was Sheikh Abū Qur‘ān Abū Bakr al-Insī, whose book is entitled al-Iṣṭāfā. Other such scholars were Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Manda, and Abū Mūsā al-Madīnī.

The ḥāfiz Izz al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abū Karīm al-Jazari, known by the epithet Ibn al-Saḥāba, “son of the Companions”, collected all this material. He compiled it into his book al-Ghāba, an excellent and highly useful work in which he gathered all such material with great care and precision. May God have mercy upon him, reward him and unite him with the Companions! Amen, O Lord of the worlds!

Chapter: Information relating to the clothing, weapons, mounts and personal effects that the Prophet (SAAS) used during his life.

References to the ring he wore and to the material from which it was made.

Abū Da‘ūd gave a separate chapter on this in his work al-Sunan; we will give here the most important of these references and additional materials stemming from reliable sources.

Abū Da‘ūd stated that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muṭrif al-Ru‘ūsī narrated to him, quoting Ṭsā, from Sa‘dī, from Qatāda, who quoted Anas b. Mālik as having said, “The Messenger of God’s (SAAS) wished to write to certain non-Arabs and he was told that they will not read a letter unless it has been signed with a seal. He therefore took a ring and had inscribed on it, ‘Muḥammad, Messenger of God.’”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it thus from ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī b. Ḥammād, from Yazīd b. Zuray’, from Sa‘dī b. Abū al-ʿArūba, from Qatāda.

Abū Da‘ūd then stated that Wahb b. Baqīyya narrated to him, from Khalīd, from Sa‘dī, from Qatāda, from Anas, to the same effect as in the āhādīth of Ṭsā b. Yūnus. He added, “It was on his hand until he died; then it was worn by Abū Bakr until he died, and by Qur‘ān until he died. Then ʿUthmān wore it. While he was at a well it fell into that well. He ordered it to be emptied, but it could not be found.”

Abū Da‘ūd is alone in giving this from this line of transmission.
Abū Da‘ūd, may God have mercy upon him, stated that Qutayba b. Sa‘d and ʿĀhmād b. Ṣāliḥ both stated that Ibn Wahb informed them, quoting Yūnūs, from Ibn Shihāb, who said, “Anas related to me, ‘The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was made of silver, and its stone was Abyssinian.’”

Al-Bukhārī narrated this from a ḥadīth of al-Layth. Muslim gave it from one of Ibn Wahb. Tālha gave it from Yahyā al-Anṣārī and Sulaymān b. Bīlāl. Al-Naṣāḥī and Ibn Mājah added to these ʿUthmān, from ʿUmar. All five scholars gave the ḥadīth from Yūnūs b. Yazīd al-ʿAbī. Al-Tirmidhī categorized it as, ḥasan ṣaḥīh gharīb from this line.

Abū Da‘ūd went on to state that ʿĀhmād b. Yūnūs related to him, quoting Zuhayr, quoting ʿAlītumayd al-Tawīl, from Anas, who said, “The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was entirely made of silver, its ‘stone’ being an integral part of it.”

Al-Tirmidhī and al-Naṣāḥī narrated it from a ḥadīth of Zuhayr b. Muʿāwiyah al-Jufī Ābū Khaythama al-Kūfī. Al-Tirmidhī stated that it was ḥasan, ṣaḥīh gharīb from that line.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Abū Maʿmar related to him, quoting ʿAbd al-Warith, quoting ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Ṣuḥayb, from Anas b. Mālik, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a ring made. He said, ‘We have acquired a ring and had an inscription engraved on it. Let no one make a (similar) inscription on it (his own ring).’”

Anas went on, “I can still see its gleam on his little finger.”

Abū Da‘ūd continued that Naṣr b. al-Faraj related to him, quoting Abū Usāma, from Ubayd Allāh, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) obtained a gold ring and wore it with its stone facing towards the centre of his palm. And on it he had inscribed, ‘Mūḥammad, Messenger of God’.

“People then began wearing gold rings. When he saw them doing this, he threw his away, saying, ‘I’ll never wear it!’ He then began wearing a silver ring inscribed with the words, ‘Mūḥammad, Messenger of God’. After his death, Abū Bakr wore it. Then, after him, ʿUmar wore it, and then ʿUthmān (did so) until it dropped inside the Arīs well.”

Al-Bukhārī narrated it from Yūṣuf b. Musa, from Abū Usāma Hammad b. Usāma.

Abū Da‘ūd went on to state that ʿUthmān b. Abū Shayba related to him, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from Ayyūb b. Musa, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who gave this same information about the Prophet (ṢAAS), and stated, “He inscribed it with the words, ‘Mūḥammad, Messenger of God’, and said, ‘Let no one (else) inscribe on this ring of mine!’” And he concluded the ḥadīth.

Muslim and the ahl al-sunan all give this, from a ḥadīth of Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, in similar form.

Abū Da‘ūd further stated that Mūḥammad b. Yahyā b. Fāris related to him, quoting Abū ʿAṣim, from al-Mughīra b. Ziyād, from Nāfiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said as follows concerning this statement from the Prophet (ṢAAS), “They
searched but could not locate it. And so 'Uthmān took (another) ring and inscribed on it 'Muḥammad, Messenger of God'. And he used it as a seal, or it was so used."


Abū Dāʾūd went on to give a chapter entitled, How the ring was lost.

He proceeded to state that Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Luwayn related to him, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAḍām, from Ibl Shihāb, from Anas b. Mālik, that he saw for one day only a silver ring on the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The people did the same and began wearing them. The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) then discarded his, and the people did the same.

He went on to say that this was also narrated from al-Zuhrt by Ziyād b. ʿAḍām, Suḥayb and Ibn Musāfīr, all of whom said that the ring referred to above was made min warīq, "from silver".

I note that al-Bukhārī narrated it as follows, "Yahyā b. Bukayr related to us, quoting al-Layth, from Yūnūs, from Ibl Shihāb, who said, ‘Anas b. Mālik related to me, that he saw for one day only a silver ring on the hand of the Prophet (ṢAAS). The people then also made and wore such rings of silver. And so the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) discarded his ring, and the people did the same with theirs."

Al-Bukhārī then gave it on a line from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAḍām al-Zuhrt al-Madani, Suḥayb b. Abū Jamra and Ziyād b. ʿAḍām al-Khurāsānī. Muslim quoted his hadith. Abū Dāʾūd is alone in relating it from ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Khalīd b. Musāfīr. All of these quoted al-Zuhrt as given above by Abū Dāʾūd, with the words that the ring was made min warīq, "from silver".

However, what is true is that the ring he wore for only one day and then discarded was made of gold, not silver. This is firmly established in both sahih collections from Mālik, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Dīnār, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to wear a gold ring and then he discarded it, saying, ‘I’ll never wear this!’ And the people discarded their rings.”

He wore the silver ring frequently. It was on his hand until his death. Its "stone" was integral to it; that is, it had no stone separate from it. Those who narrate that in it there was engraved the image of a person are totally mistaken. In fact it was entirely of silver and its “stone” integral to it. And it was engraved with the three words “Muḥammad, Messenger of God”, in three lines with “Muḥammad”, “Messenger”, and “God”, on separate lines.

It is likely, though God knows best, that the letters were written in reverse so that it would print out correctly, as was typical (of such seals). It has been said, however, that the inscription was not reversed but was printed that way. The correctness of this view is disputed. I do not know a single line of transmission for that, neither one that is authentic, nor one that is weak.

The above ahadith we have given to the effect that his ring was made of silver refute those ahadith we have given from the sunan collections of Abū Dāʾūd and al-Nasāʾī through Abū ʿAṭṭāb Sahl b. Ḥammād al-Dallāl, from Abū Makīn
Nūḥ b. Rabī‘a, from Iyyās b. al-Hārith b. Mu‘ayyiq b. Abū Fājīma, from his grandfather, who said, “The ring of the Prophet (SAAS) was made of iron overlaid with silver.”

This is further weakened by one ḥadīth narrated by Aḥmad, Abū Dā‘ūd, al-Tirmidhi, and al-Nasā‘ī, from a ḥadīth of Abū Ṭāība ʿAbd Allāh b. Muslim al-Sulamī al-Marwuzī from ʿAbd Allāh b. Burayda, who quoted his father as having said that a man came to the Messenger of God (SAAS), wearing a brass ring. The latter asked him, “Why do I detect from you the odour of idols?” The man threw the ring away, then returned wearing one made of iron. The Prophet (SAAS), asked him, “Why do I see you wearing the ornamentation of the denizens of hell?” The man discarded it and asked, “What, then, should I wear, Messenger of God?” He answered, “Have one made of silver, but do not make it a full mithqāl in weight.”

The Prophet (SAAS), used to wear it on his right hand, according to what Abū Dā‘ūd narrated, as did al-Tirmidhi in al-Shamā’il and al-Nasā‘ī, all quoting from Sharīk, from Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Qādirī, from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan, from his father, from ʿAbd Allāh, may God be pleased with him, back to the Messenger of God (SAAS). Sharīk stated, “Abū Salama b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān informed me that the Messenger of God (SAAS) used to wear his ring on his right hand.”

It is also, however, narrated that he wore it on his left hand. Abū Dā‘ūd narrated this, from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abū Rawwād, from Nāfi‘ from Ibn ʿUmar, who said that the Messenger of God (SAAS) wore his ring on his left hand, keeping its “stone” facing towards the centre of his palm.

Abū Dā‘ūd also stated, “Abū Ishaq and Usāma b. Zayd quoted from Nāfi‘ that he wore it on his right hand.”

He went on, “Hamīmād related to us, from ʿAbdā, from ʿUbayd Allāh, from Nāfi‘, that Ibn ʿUmar used to wear his ring on his left hand.”


He (presumably Abū Dā‘ūd) went on, “It cannot be imagined that Ibn ʿAbbās would not have mentioned that the Messenger of God (SAAS) did not wear his ring that way.”

Al-Tirmidhi narrated it similarly from ḥadīth of Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq.

Muḥammad b. Iṣmā‘īl – al-Bukhārī, that is – went on to state, “The ḥadīth of Ibn Iṣḥāq from al-Ṣalt is hasan.”

Al-Tirmidhi stated, in his work al-Shamā’il, from Anas, and from Jābir and from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ja‘far, that the Messenger of God (SAAS) wore his ring on his right hand.
Al-Bukhart stated that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣāri related to him, quoting his father, from Thumāma, from Anas b. Mālik, that when ʿAbū Bakr succeeded to power, Anas acted as his scribe and that the ring was inscribed with three lines: “Muḥammad”, on one line, “Messenger” on another, and “God” on a third line.

ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh stated, “ʿAbū ʿAhmad went on to add that al-Anṣāri, quoting his father, quoting Thumāma, from Anas, who said, “The ring of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was worn on his hand, on that of ʿAbū Bakr and then after him on that of ʿUmar. When ʿUthmān ruled, he was once sitting at the well of Aris and began toying with the ring and it fell. We stayed there with ʿUthmān for three days; the well was emptied, but he did not locate the ring.””

Then there is the ḥadīth narrated by al-Tirmidhī in his work al-Shamāṭil. He quoted Qutayba, from ʿAbū ʿAwana, from ʿAbū Yusr, from Naṣīḥ, from Ibn ʿUmar, to the effect that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a silver ring he used for sealing, but did not wear.

This ḥadīth is very odd. It is stated in the al-sunan from a ḥadīth of Ibn Jurayj, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) went into the desert (to relieve himself), he would take off his ring.”

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THE SWORD OF THE MESSENGER OF GOD (ṢAAS).

Imām Aḥmad stated that Shurayḥ related to him, quoting Ibn ʿAbī Zinnād, from his father, from al-ʿĀʾmā ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUtba b. Maṣʿūd, who quoted Ibn ʿAbbās as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) acquired his sword Dhū al-Fiqār as booty at the battle of Badr. It was that sword in which he saw the visions of the battle of Uḥud. He said, ‘I saw a notch in my sword, Dhū al-Fiqār, and this I interpreted as a defect that was in you. Then I saw myself with a kābhsh, “a leader”, riding behind myself; this leader I interpreted as that of the squadron. Then I saw myself dressed in stout armour; this I interpreted as Medina. Then I saw a cow being slaughtered. And a fine cow, a very fine cow, by God, it was indeed…”

This was the statement made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).

Al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Māja narrated it from a ḥadīth of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abū al-Zinād, from his father.

The ahl al-sunan maintain that a voice was heard saying, “There is no sword like Dhū al-Fiqār and no warrior like ʿAlī!”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated from a ḥadīth of Ḥūd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd, from his grandfather Maṭīṭa b. Jābir al-ʿĀṣrī, may God be pleased with him, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he was wearing a sword overlaid with gold and silver.”

He went on to categorize this ḥadīth as gharīb.

222. See a slightly different version of the wording of this vision given above, Vol. III, page 15.
Al-Tirmidhī stated, in *al-Shamā'il*, that Muḥammad b. Bashshār related to him, quoting Muʿādh b. Hīshām, quoting his father, from Qatāda, from Saʿīd b. Abū al-Ḥasan, who said, “The pommel of the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) was made of silver.”

He also narrated from a ḥadīth of Uṯmān b. Saʿīd, who quoted Ibn Sirīn as having said, “I made my sword like that of Samura, who claimed that he had made his modelled on the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). He was a ḥanāfī.” One of the swords of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) passed into the possession of the family of Āl-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, may God be pleased with them both, when he was killed at Karbalāʾ, at al-Ṭaff. Ālī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-Ḡābih then took it with him to Damascus when he went in to see Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya. The sword returned to Medina with him thereafter.

It is established in both saḥīh collections from al-Miswar b. Makhrama, that he (al-Miswar) conducted him (ʿĀlī b. al-Ḥusayn) out to show him the route and asked the latter, “Is there anything you would like me to do on your behalf?” “No,” he replied. Al-Miswar then said, “Perhaps you would like to give me the sword of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS). I’m afraid people will take it away from you. I swear by God, if you give it to me, no one will get to it for as long as I am alive.”

Weapons other than this are said to have belonged to the Prophet (ṢAAS).

These include the coats of mail to which several persons made reference. Al-Saʿīb b. Yazīd and ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, for example, state that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) put on two coats of mail at the battle of Uhūd.

In both saḥīh collections it is stated, in a ḥadīth of Mālik, from al-Zuhri, from Anas, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered the city on the day of the conquest of Mecca wearing a helmet. As he was removing it, he was told, “That Ibn Khāṭal is clinging on to the curtains of the kaʿba.” He then said, “Execute him.”

Muslim gives a ḥadīth of Abū al-Zubayr, from Jābir, that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca on the day of its conquest, he was wearing a black turban.

Wakīʿ stated, from Musāwir al-Warrāq, from Jaʿfar b. ʿAmr b. Ḥurayth, who quoted his father as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) made an address to the people while wearing a grey-black turban.”

Both these accounts are given by al-Tirmidhī in his work *al-Shamāʾil*. He also gives a ḥadīth of al-Darāwarī, from ʿAbd Allāh, from Nāṣiʿ, from Ibn ʿUmar, who said, “When the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore a turban, he let it hang down between his shoulders.”

The ḥāfīz Abū Bakr al-Bazzār stated, in his *musnad* collection, that Abū Shayba Ḥabrīm b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad related to him, quoting Makhūl b. Ḥabrīm, quoting Isrāʾīl, from ʿĀṣim, from Muḥammad b. Sīrīn, who also said that Anas b. Malik had in his possession a staff that had belonged to the Messenger

223. An adherent of the school of law, one of the “four orthodox schools”, founded by its imām, known as Abū Ḥanīfa.
of God (ṢAAS), and that when he died it was buried with him, between his side and his shirt.

Al-Bazzār then stated, “We know of no one who narrated this except Makhūl b. Rashid; he was entirely truthful and somewhat Shī'a. It is considered therefore in that (light).”

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated, after having recounted this hadith through this Makhūl, “He was a Shī'a. He quoted some individual ahādīth from Isrā'īl that are given by no one but him. The weak nature of his accounts is clearly evident.”

CONCERNING THE SANDALS WORN BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).

It is established in the sahih collection from Ibn 'Umar, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) wore sandals made of smooth cattle leather.

Al-Bukhārī stated in his sahih collection that Muḥammad b. Muqāṭīl related to him, quoting 'Abd Allāh, Ibn al-Mubaarak, that is, quoting Ḥaṣā b. Ṭahmān, who said, “Anas b. Mālik brought out for us a pair of two-thonged sandals. He said, ‘Thābit, these are the sandals of the Prophet (ṢAAS).’”

He narrated it again in his Kitāb al-Khums, from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī, from Ḥaṣā b. Ṭahmān, who said, “Anas brought for us a shabby pair of two-thonged sandals.”

(Al-Bukhārī went on) “Thābit al-Banmī related to me, also quoting Anas, that they were the sandals of the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Al-Tirmidhī narrated this in his work al-Shamā'il from Aḥmad b. Māni', from Abū Aḥmad al-Zubayrī.

He also stated in al-Shamā'il that Abū Kurayb narrated to him, quoting Waki', from Sufyān, from Khālid al-Ḥadhaq, from 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith, from Ibn 'Abbās, who said, “The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had double thongs, their laces plaited.”

He also stated that Iṣḥāq b. Manṣūr related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Razzāq, from Mā'mar, from Ibn Abī Dhī'b, from Ṣalih, the freed-man of al-Tawāma, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two thongs.”

Al-Tirmidhī stated that Muḥammad b. Marzūq Abū 'Abd Allāh related to him, quoting 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Qays Abū Muṣawiyah, quoting Hishām, from Muḥammad, from Abū Hurayra, who said, “The sandals of the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had two thongs, as did those of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The first to tie his sandal using one thong was 'Uthmān.”

Al-Jawhari stated, “The word ‘thong’, qibāl, of a sandal, spelled with an ‘i’, is the lace that is positioned between the middle toe and the one next to it.”

I note that in the period shortly after 600 AH a merchant named Ibn Abū al-Ḥadrad became widely known as having a single sandal that he claimed to have belonged to the Prophet (ṢAAS). Al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsā b. al-Malik
al-ʻĀdil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb offered to buy it from him for a large sum of money, but he refused to sell it. But shortly thereafter, he happened to die and the sandal came into the possession of that al-Mālik al-Ashraf. He venerated it mightily and later, having built the dār al-ḥadīth al-ashrafīyya next to the qalā, the citadel of Cairo, placed it in one of its treasuries. He appointed a curator to look after it who was paid 40 dirhams a month. It is still there in that building to this day.

Al-Tirmidhi stated in al-Shamā'il that Muḥammad b. Ṣafī and various others stated that Abū Ahmad al-Zubayr related to them, quoting Shābān, from ʻAbd Allāh b. Mukhtār, from Mūsā b. Anas, who quoted his father as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) owned a small leather bag from which he took perfume.”

**DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DRINKING CUP USED BY THE PROPHET (ṢAAS).**

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yaḥyā b. Ādam related to him, quoting Sharīk, from ʻĀṣim, who said, “At the home of Anas, I saw the cup of the Prophet (ṢAAS). It had a silver band.”

The ḥāfiz al-Bayhaqī stated that Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʻAbd Allāh informed him, quoting Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nasawi, quoting Ḥammād b. Shākir, quoting Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, al-Bukhārī, that is, quoting al-Ḥasan b. Mudrik, quoting Yaḥyā b. Ḥammād, quoting Abū ʻAwāna, who quoted ʻĀṣim al-Aḥwal as having said, “I saw the cup of the Prophet (ṢAAS), at the home of Anas b. Mālik. It had cracked and he had wired it together with silver.”

The narrator went on, “It was a fine, wide cup of tamarisk wood.”

Anas stated, “I have poured into that cup for the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) innumerably times.”

Ibn Sirīn stated, “It had on it a ring of iron. Anas wanted to replace that with a ring of gold or silver, but Abū Ṭalḥa told him, ‘Don’t change anything made by the Messenger of God (ṢAAS).’ So he left it as it was.”

Imām Aḥmad stated that Rawḥ b. Ubāda related to him, quoting Ḥajjāj b. Ḥassān, who said, “We were at the home of Anas and he called for a vessel to be brought. It had three bands and a ring, all of iron. It was less than a rubāʾ but more than a half a rubāʾ in capacity. Anas gave orders and water was poured into it. We then took it and drank, pouring some water over our heads and faces; then we spoke prayers for the Prophet (ṢAAS).”

Aḥmad is alone in giving this.

** Accounts of the antimony case used by the Prophet (ṢAAS).**

Imām Aḥmad stated that Yazid related to him, quoting ʻAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr, 224. The Mamlūk ruler of Egypt at that time.
from 'Ikrama, from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had an antimony case. Before going to sleep he would put antimony into each eye three times.”


I note that I have heard that somewhere in Egypt there is a shrine containing many of the personal effects of the Prophet (ṢAAS), that certain recent government ministers have assembled. These include an antimony case, along with, it is said, a comb and other items. But God knows best.

THE CLOAK (AL-BURDA).

The ḥāfīz al-Bayhaqī stated as follows, “Regarding the cloaks in the possession of the caliphs, we learn from the account of Mūḥammad b. Ishaq relating to the battle of Tabūk, that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) presented to the people of Aelia a burda, ‘a cloak’, along with the safe conduct document he wrote for them. Abū al-‘Abbās ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūḥammad, the first of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs, known as al-Saffāḥ, ‘the shedder of blood’, later purchased it for 300 dinārs.”

The ‘Abbāsid rulers inherited this burda from one another. The Caliph would wear it over his shoulders on festival days, holding in one hand the staff said to have been used by the Prophet (ṢAAS). He would appear in it with such a sense of tranquillity and dignity that would completely overwhelm and bedazzle all. They would dress in black on Fridays and festivals; this they did to emulate the practice of him who was Lord of all, whether bedouin, farmers or town-dwellers.

This they did because of the accounts given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the two prime scholars of the historical record, from a hadīth of Mālik, from al-Zuhrī, from Anas, to the effect that when the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) entered Mecca, he was wearing a helmet. In one such account, he is said to have been wearing a black turban. And in another that he let its end hang down between his shoulders.

Al-Bukhārī stated that Musaddad related to him, quoting Ismā‘īl, quoting Ayyūb, from Mūḥammad, from Abū Burda, who said, “‘A‘īsha brought out to us a kisāʾ, ‘an upper garment’, and an izār, ‘a waist-wraper’, made of coarse cloth and said, ‘The spirit of the Prophet (ṢAAS) was taken while he was wearing these two garments.’”

Al-Bukhārī gave a hadīth of al-Zuhrī from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh, from ‘A‘īsha and Ibn ‘Abbās which quoted them both as having said, “When revelation came down to the Messenger of God (ṢAAS), he immediately threw a black-bordered cloak of his over his face. If distressed, he would uncover his face and say, while thus, ‘God curse the Jews and the Christians! They treat the graves of their prophets as shrines; what they do is to be avoided.’”
I note that the later disposition of these three items of clothing is not known. It is stated above that a piece of red velvet upon which he had prayed was placed beneath him in his grave.

It would consume a great deal of time for us to detail the items of clothing he wore throughout his life. The proper place for this will be the chapter devoted to clothing in my major study the Kitāb al-Āhkām, if God so wills it. And in Him is all trust and reliance.

REFERENCE TO THE HORSES AND OTHER MOUNTS USED BY THE PROPHET (S.A.S).

Ibn Ishāq stated, from Yazīd b. Ḥabīb, from Marthad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Muzānī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Rāzīn, who quoted ʿAlī as having said, “The Prophet (S.A.S) owned a horse named ‘al-Murtajīz’, a donkey named ‘Ufāyr’ and a mule named ‘Dūdul’; his sword was ‘Dhū al-Fiṣāq’, and his armour was ‘Dhū al-Fuḍūl’.”

Al-Bayhaqī narrated this from a ḥadīth of al-Ḥakam, from Yahyā b. al-ʿAzzār, from ʿAlī in similar words.

Al-Bayhaqī stated, “We have narrated in our work Kitāb al-Sunan the names of his horses that were with their fortunate recipients. Those horses were named ‘Lazāz’, ‘al-Lāḥif’ also known as ‘al-Lakhīf’ and ‘al-Ẓarīb’. The horse he rode that belonged to Abū Ṭalḥa was called al-Mandūb. His camels were named ‘al-Qaṣwāʾ’, ‘al-ʿAḏbāʾ’ and ‘al-Jadāʾ’, while his mule was named ‘al-Shabā’ and ‘al-Bayḍāʾ’.”

Al-Bayhaqī also stated, “There is nothing in the accounts to indicate that he died leaving them as inheritance, except for what information we have given about his mule ‘al-Bayḍāʾ’, his weapons, and a piece of land he left to charity.”

We have made reference to his clothing, his mule and his ring in this chapter.


The line of transmission for this is excellent.

The ḥafīz Abū Yaʿlā stated, in his musnad collection, that Mujāhid narrated to him, from Mūsā, quoting ʿAlī b. Thābit, quoting Ghalīb al-Jazārī, from Anas, who said, “When the Messenger of God (S.A.S) died, a woollen garment was being woven for him.”

This testifies to what is narrated hereabove.

Abū Saʿīd b. al-ʿArabī stated that Saʿdān b. Naṣīr related to him, quoting Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, from al-Walīd b. Kāthīr, from Ḥūsayn, from Fatimah, daughter of al-Ḥusayn, that at the time when the Messenger of God (S.A.S) died, two leather vessels were being made for him.

This ḥadīth is mūsāl, “incomplete in its line”.

Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṭabrānī stated that al-Ḥasan b. ʾIshāq al-Tastūrī related to him, quoting Abū ʿUmayya ʿAmr b. Ḥishām al-Ḥarrānī, quoting Uthmān b.
"Abd al-Rahmān b. ʿAlī b. Urwa, from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿAbū Sulaymān, from ʿĀṯār and ʿĀmr b. Dinār, from Ibn ʿAbbās, who said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) had a sword the hilt and pommel of which were made of silver; it was known as ‘Dhū al-Fiqār’. He had a bow called ‘al-Siḍād’ and a quiver named ‘al-Jam’āt’. He had a coat of armour inlaid with brass called ‘Dhāt al-Fuqul’, and a spear called ‘al-Ṣughra’. He had a shield called ‘al-Dhaqān’. He also had a white leather shield called ‘al-Mūjīz’, a black horse named ‘al-Sākb’, a saddle called ‘al-Mūjīz’, a grey mule called ‘Duldul’, a camel called ‘al-Qāwūq’, a donkey called ‘Yaṣfir’, a carpet called ‘al-Karr’, a woollen garment called ‘al-Namīr’, a leather bag called ‘al-Ṣādīr’, a mirror called ‘al-Mirāṣ’, scissors called ‘al-Jalīl’, and a fir-wood staff called ‘al-Mamshūṭq’.”

I note that it has been related above from several of the Companions that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) did not leave a single dinār, nor even a dirham, and not a slave, male or female. All he left was a mule and a piece of land that he had given to charity. This requires him to have fully emancipated the slaves to whom we have referred, to have given to charity all the weapons we have enumerated, along with his animals, and all his personal effects, whether or not mentioned by myself above.

Regarding his mule, its name was “al-Shahbā” and also “al-Bayḍā”; though God knows best. It was that animal that the Muqawqis, the Governor of Alexandria, whose name was Jurayj b. Minḥāj, had given him along with other valuables. It was this mule that the Messenger of God (ṢAAS) rode at the battle of Hunayn into the very midst of the enemy, bravely extolling God’s name and placing all his reliance in God the Almighty and Glorious. It is said that the mule lived on a long time after him, belonging to Ḥādī during his caliphate and surviving on after his death and passing into the ownership of ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar who would mash up its barley after it became too weak to eat it otherwise.

His donkey “Yaṣfir” is also known by its diminutive name “Ufayr”. This was a mount he would occasionally ride.

ʿAbd Allāh narrated, from a ḥadīth of Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq, from Yazīd b. ʿAbū Ḥabīb, from Yazīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAwfī, from ʿAbd Allāh b. Razīm, who quoted ʿAlī as having said, “The Messenger of God (ṢAAS) used to ride a donkey named “Ufayr’.”

ʿAbū Yaṣāʾa narrated it from a ḥadīth of ʿAwn b. ʿAbd Allāh, from Ibn Masʿūd.

It is narrated in a number of aḥādīth that he rode the donkey.

In both saḥīḥ collections, it is narrated that the Prophet (ṢAAS), mounted on a donkey, passed by an assembly at which ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Saṭāl was present with a mixture of Muslims, idol-worshippers and Jews. He dismounted and invited all to accept God, the Almighty and Glorious. This occurred prior to the battle of Badr. The Prophet (ṢAAS) was intending to visit (the sickbed) of Saʿd b. ʿUbādā. ʿAbd Allāh (b. Ubayy) said to him, “You did not do well by what you said! If it is all true, you still shouldn’t bother us with it in our meetings.” That was before Islam appeared. It is said that this ʿAbd Allāh puckered up his
nose at the odour coming from the dung from his donkey, and said, “Don’t disgust us with the filth from your donkey!”

‘Abd Allah b. Rawāḥa responded, “I swear by God, the odour from the donkey of the Messenger of God is sweeter than the stench from you!” He went on, “Messenger of God, do come and tell us of it in our meetings; we would enjoy that.” The two tribes then rose to confront one another and were about to do battle when the Messenger of God (ṣa[as]) pacified them.

The Messenger of God (ṣa[as]) then went on to visit Sa’d b. ‘Ubāda and complained to him about ‘Abd Allāh b. Ubayy. Sa’d told him, “Go easy on him, Messenger of God; by Him who honoured you with the truth, God has truly sent you with the truth. We were about to make a diadem with which to make him our king. When God brought the truth, he choked on his own spittle!”

We have narrated above how the Messenger of God (ṣa[as]) rode his donkey in some of the battles at Khaybar, and how he mounted Mu‘ādh behind himself on it.

This section would be over-long if we were to now give all the phraseology and lines of transmission for this.

The qaṭī ‘Ayyād b. Mīlsa al-Sabli stated in his book al-Shifā’, as had Imām al-Ijīramaynī in his great book on the origins of the faith, and as others have also maintained, that the Messenger had a donkey named Ziyād b. Shihāb. These authorities also related that he would send off this donkey to fetch one or other of his Companions; when he did so, it would stop at their door and bray, so that the man would know that the Messenger of God (ṣa[as]) was requesting his presence. The above scholars also state that this donkey was the seventieth in a line of donkeys, each one of which had been ridden by a prophet. They maintain that when the Messenger of God (ṣa[as]) died, this donkey wandered off, threw itself into a well, and died.

No lines of transmission whatsoever are given for these accounts. Their veracity has been denied by various of the ḥufūẓ, including ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf b. Abī Iḥtīm, and his father, may God have mercy upon them both. On several occasions, I heard my teacher, Sheikh Abū al-Iḥjāj al-Mizzī, may God have mercy upon him, vehemently deny its authenticity.

The ḥāfīz Abū Nu‘aym stated in his work Dalā‘il al-Nubūwwa, that Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Anbārī related to him, quoting Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, quoting Ibrāhīm b. Suwayd al-Jadhīfī, quoting ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Uḍhayn al-Tā‘ī, from Thawr b. Yazīd, from Khalīd b. Ma‘dān, from Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, who said, “A black donkey came to the Prophet (ṣa[as]), while he was at Khaybar and stood right in front of him. He asked the donkey, ‘And who are you?’ It replied, ‘I am ‘Amr, son of so-and-so. We were seven brothers, each one of whom was ridden by a prophet. I am the youngest. I was to be for you. A Jew owned me, and whenever I thought of you, I would stumble and he would beat me.’ The Messenger of God (ṣa[as]), replied, ‘You are Ya‘fūr.’”

This ḥadīth is extremely gharīb.

225. Al-Juwayny, a scholar of the eighth century a.H.
GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS AND NAME-RELATED TERMS

Abū means father. According to Arabic grammatical rules, this word changes to Abī when governed by a preceding word. While, therefore, Abū Ṭālib would mean Ṭālib’s father, when the word Ibn, son, is prefixed to the name, the form changes to Abī, and so Ibn Abī Ṭālib, would mean ‘the son of Ṭālib’s father’. To avoid confusion in this text, however, the term is left here universally as Abū.

The letters ‘al-’ before a noun represent in Arabic the definite article, ‘the’.

The letter b. when part of a name represents a shortened form of the word ‘Ibn’, ‘son’. Thus, the name ‘Ya’qūb b. ‘Uthba’ means ‘Ya’qūb, son of ‘Uthba’. In a composite name, as are often given in this text, such as ‘Ya’qūb b. ‘Uthba b. al-Mughra b. al-Akhnas’ the names of Ya’qūb’s father, grandfather, and great-grandfather are given.

The letters bt. a shortened form of the Arabic bint, indicates ‘girl’ or ‘daughter’. Thus the name Ā’isha bt. Abū Bakr refers to Ā’isha, daughter of Abū Bakr.

The letters SAAS are inserted after mention of the Prophet Muḥammad. These letters stand for the Arabic words ṣallā Allāhu ʿalayhi wa sallam; this invocation, recited by Muslims after every reference to the Prophet, whether by name or inference, is normally translated as ‘May God’s peace and blessings be upon him’.

GLOSSARY ITEMS

Words defined in footnotes associated with the text are not generally included in this glossary.

afkhādh: plural of fakhdh (q.v.).

ahādīth: plural of ḥadīth (q.v.).

agnatic: related through descent on the father’s side.

‘ālim (pl. ʿulamāʾ): scholars or theologians of Islam.

ansār: the plural of nāṣir, helper, or victor. Most commonly met, in this text, in the plural form, it refers to the early Medinan allies of the Prophet who
officially fraternized with the *muhājirīn*, those Muslims who had initially gone into exile from Mecca to Medina in their support for Islam.

*ʿarab al-ʿāriba*: the original Arabs, who are assumed to have spoken the language of Yaʿrub b. Qaḥṭān.

*ʿarab al-mustaʿriba*: ‘the arabized Arabs’, initially referring to those who spoke the Arabic of Ishmael, the dialects of the Hijāz, that is. The term is also applied to those not descended from the Arabs of Arabia, but who have been assimilated into Arab culture and who speak Arabic as their native tongue.

*ʿArafat* (also *ʿArafā*): a plain some 13 miles east of Mecca. Essential parts of the *hajj* pilgrimage ceremonies occur there, centered on a small granite hill, also known by the same name.

*ʿashīra* (pl. *ʿashīrāt*): an agnatic group. The word is commonly translated as tribe. An *ʿashīra* is composed of several *afkhadh* (q.v.), while several *ʿashīrāt* form a single *qabila* (q.v.).

*badana*: an animal, commonly a camel, to be offered for sacrifice by a pilgrim at the *hajj* (q.v.).

*baraka*: blessing, in particular that divine force that enables prosperity and happiness. Persons of great piety or holiness are believe suffused with *baraka*, which radiates from them to those around them.

Bakka: an ancient alternative or original name for Mecca. In legend, the name comes from the Arabic verb *baka*, he wept, applied to Adam’s sadness at descending to the barren environment of Arabia after his expulsion from paradise.

*batn* (pl. *butān*): an agnatic group smaller than a *qabila* (q.v.) but larger than a *fakhdh* (q.v.).

*daf*: the word used to denote the act of departure from *ʿArafat* during the pilgrimage rites.

*fakhdh* (pl. *afkhadh*): a group of several families claiming descent from the same ancestor.

*al-fajr*: the dawn; also the superogatory prayer, recommended but not required, performed immediately after dawn. It consists of two *rakʿāt* (q.v.) to be recited audibly.
faṣila (pl. faṣīl): an agnatic group consisting of the nearest members of one’s 'ashira (q.v.).

ghazwa (pl. ghazwāt): armed engagements in which the Prophet Muḥammad participated personally. Those he initiated but without his own direct participation are known as sarāyā (pl. of sarīyya).

ḥadīth (pl. ḥādīth): a saying, reported action or anecdote relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad. An isnād (q.v.) precedes the ḥadīth and lists the persons by whom the reported material was transmitted.

ḥadīth marja': a ḥadīth related by one of the Companions of the Prophet (see sāhib) and quoted directly from the latter.

ḥafiz (pl. ḥafīz): a person who has memorized the entire Qur′ān. Also one of the sacred attributes – the Guardian, the Protector – by which God is known.

ḥaJJ: the pilgrimage to the holy places of Mecca set annually to take place in the first half of the month of Dhū al-Ḥijja.

ḥanīf: 1) a devout pre-Islamic monotheist. 2) a person sincerely searching for the ancient religion practised by Abraham, with whom the word is particularly associated.

ḥanīfiyya: the religion of Abraham and the ḥanīfs.

ḥaram (or ḥarām): a term denoting what is sacred, forbidden or inviolable.

hijaba: the office of the custodian of the kaʿba; he is known as the ḥājib.

ḥijra (or hegira): the emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad and his supporters from Mecca into exile in Medina. The date of this event was later adopted as the commencement of the Muslim era, calculated as 622 AD.

ijāza: 1) rendering something legal or permissible. 2) the act of transmitting a ḥadīth and attributing the same to an authority without actually having heard that person recite it.

isfāda: the movement or departure of pilgrims from ‘Arafāt following their performance of the ḡuqūf, ‘the standing’.

iḥrām: 1) the rendering sacred or inviolate. 2) the name given to the clothing donned by Muslims entering the iḥrām state prior to their participation in the pilgrimage.
isnād: the prefatory material to a hadith (q.v.) that lists the sequence of scholars or witnesses who transmitted the account from the time of the Prophet Muhammad up to the time when it was written down.

izār: the cloth that covers the pilgrim from waist to knees when he commits himself to the sacred state of ʿihram.

jahiliyya: denoting childlike foolishness or ignorance, the word is commonly applied to the period prior to the advent of Islam.

jamra (pl. jamrāt): ancient stone pillars symbolizing Satan at Minā. These are pelted with pebbles during the pilgrimage rites, the stones being known as jamrāt.

kaʿba: the ancient cube-like structure within the great mosque in Mecca positioned some feet from the sacred spring zamzam (q.v.). It is towards this site that Muslims direct their prayers (see qibla).

al-Khalil: 1) a town, also known as Hebron, some 32 miles south of Jerusalem and the site of the Tomb of the Patriarchs, sacred both to Jews and to Muslims. 2) a name or attribute implying close friend or confidant; the word is particularly associated with Abraham.

liwwa: 1) a flag, banner or signpost. 2) the issuance of this to those making the pilgrimage to the kaʿba.

maqām Ibrāhīm: the ‘station’ of Abraham. A sanctuary positioned a few feet from the kaʿba where Abraham and his co-religionaries would stand for prayer during the summer months.

maghrib: the west or direction in which the sun sets. Also, the fourth canonical Islamic prayer performed at dusk. It consists of three rakʿāt; at the first two of these the prayers are spoken audibly, the third in silence.

masjid: the place where the Muslim prostrates in prayer, usually a mosque.

Minā: a location some four miles east of Mecca on the road to ʿArafat.

ḥadith mursal: a hadith which is considered by scholars to have a fault or inconsistency in the chain of its transmission.

al-Muzdalifa: a location some half way between Minā and ʿArafat. It is there that pilgrims returning from ʿArafat spend the night.
nadwa: the act of presiding over assemblies of pilgrims at the ka'ba.

parasang: a Persian term for a unit of length, also known as a farsakh. One parasang equals approximately one league, some three miles, that is.

qabila (pl. qaba'il): a large agnatic group whose members trace descent from a single ancestor. Often translated as tribe. A qabila is larger than an 'ashira (q.v.) but smaller than a sha'b (q.v.).

gādā: a judge appointed by a Muslim community to administer and adjudicate issues of Islamic law.

qibla: the direction to which a Muslim faces when praying. Initially towards Jerusalem but later changed by the Prophet Muhammad so that Muslims would face Mecca and the ka'ba there.

rak'ā (pl. rak'āt): a unit of prayer consisting of a variety of gestures and postures. These rak'āt total 17 each day, divided between the five canonical prayer periods.

al-raḥīm: The All-Compassionate; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

al-raḥmān: the All-Merciful; one of the sublime epithets applied to God.

Ramadān: the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar. The month of fasting, it was during Ramadān that divine revelation first came to the Prophet Muhammad, and it is therefore particularly venerated.

ridā: a length of unsewn cloth that is draped over the left shoulder and around the torso of the pilgrim. This garb is donned by the pilgrim when he enters the ihram state.

rifāda: the provision of pilgrims with wheat and raisins by certain members of Quraysh of Mecca.

al-sa'y: the ritual rapid walk or jog performed during the pilgrimage between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā.

saba': the community and kingdom ruling South-West Arabia for centuries prior to the mission of the Prophet Muhammad.

sāhib (pl. aṣḥāb, saḥāba): companion; that community of men who knew and supported the Prophet Muhammad during his mission.
sahih: a hadith (q.v.) the chain of transmission of which is considered by Muslim scholars to be reliable beyond any reasonable doubt; also, a collection comprised only of such ahadith.

sam'ān: the receipt of a hadith (q.v.) from a scholar by listening to him or her recite it and then repeating it back. This method of transmitting and receiving a hadith was considered the most trustworthy of all.

sha'b (pl. shu'āb): a tribal group larger than a qabila (q.v.); a nation, race or people.

shahāda: the profession of faith in Islam by reciting in Arabic the words: ‘There is no God but God and Muḥammad is His Messenger’.

shaykh (pl. shu'uykh): an elderly man; a tribal or spiritual leader; a distinguished and devout scholar.

shī'a: the doctrine and its adherent, a shī'i, that considers ʾAlī, son of Abū Ṭalib and husband of the Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter Fatima, was the legitimate spiritual and political heir to the Caliphate of Islam.

sunna: the body of recorded words, actions, gestures and practices of the Prophet Muḥammad. This material constitutes the second foundation of Islam and its legal system, the holy Qurān being the first and prime source. In the plural form, sunan, reference is made to the compilation, by various authorities of the reported words and actions of the Prophet.

tafsīr: exegesis and commentary, particularly applied to the Qurān.

tasmiyya: the enunciation by a Muslim of the formula: ‘In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the All-Compassionate’ prior to any act or activity in which he or she might engage.

tawāf: ritual circumambulation of a religious site, normally the ka'ba.

tubba' (pl. tabābi'ā): the title applied to the kings of pre-Islamic Yemen.

wudū': the ritual ablution necessarily practiced by Muslims prior to their performance of prayer.

zamzam: the sacred well positioned close to the ka'ba (q.v.) within the ḥarām al-sharif, the sacred enclosure encompassing the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims believe the well to have been miraculously opened through the agency of Gabriel to provide water for Abraham’s wife Hagar and their son Ishmael.
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