

A General Account of the Prophet's Battles

A general account of the Prophet's battles in which he himself participated, and for which he sent detachments. the main events of his life until he departed this World, the Signs of His Prophethood Which Occurred During That Time, and Proofs of His Veracity and Apostleship.

Biographers of the Prophet and Qur'an commentators have reported that the number of the battles: which the Messenger of Allah himself led was twenty-six. As for the detachments which he sent out for battle but in which he himself did not take part, they were thirty-six. In nine of his battles, he himself took part in the fighting. These were: Badr, Uhud, *al-Khandaq* (the Trench), the battle against the Jewish tribe of Banu Qurayzah, *al-Mustaliq*, Khaybar, *al-Fath* (the Conquest of Mecca), Hunayn and the battle of at-Ta'if.

The first detachment which the Prophet dispatched, consisting of thirty horsemen, was led by Hamzah ibn `Abdu'l-Muttalib. The men travelled until they reached the coast of the land of Juhaynah (a tribe), where they encountered Abu Jahl ibn Hisham with one hundred and thirty horsemen of the Associators. A man called Majdi ibn `Amr al-Juhani came between the two groups, which then separated without any outbreak of fighting.

The first engagement which the Messenger of Allah led took place in Safar, the second month of the year 2/623, twelve months after he arrived in Medina. He set out to attack the Quraysh and the tribe of Banu Damrah but returned without encountering the enemy, having reached *al-Abwa'* (a mountain between Mecca and Medina). He remained in Medina the rest of Safar and half of Rabi `u 'l-Awwal (that is, the following month).

During this time, he dispatched `Ubaydah ibn al-Harith with sixty horsemen of the Immigrants; not even one of the Ansar was among them. The first war standard which the Messenger of Allah raised was also in that battle. He also met the Associators in battle at a spring called Ahya. They exchanged arrows, the Associators being led by Abu Sufyan ibn Harb. The Messenger of Allah also undertook another raid during the next month of Rabi `u 'l-Akhir. He set out seeking the men of Quraysh, going as far as Buwat (a mountain range of Juhaynah a few dozen miles from Medina), but he encountered no hostilities.

After this, the Prophet led an engagement known as Ghazwatu'l-`Ushayrah (a place between Mecca and

Medina) at the valley of Yanbu'. He also sought the men of Quraysh, staying the rest of the month of Jumada'l-Ula and a few days of Jumada'l-Akhirah. There he made a peace agreement with the tribe of Banu Mudlij and their allies of the tribe of Banu Damrah.

It is related on the authority of `Ammar ibn Yasir who said: "I was with 'Ali, as we were companions during the raid of al-Ushayrah. 'Ali said to me: 'Would you like, O Abu Yaqzan, that we go and see the men of Banu Mudlij working in their orchards near a spring of water belonging to them?'

We went and observed them for a while until we were overcome by sleep. Then we went to a hut made of palm branches, in a barren spot, where we slept. We did not wake up until the Messenger of Allah nudged us with his foot. We sat up startled and covered with the soil of that barren place. Seeing `Ali thus, the Prophet called him, 'O Abu Turab (man of the soil or dust)! He then asked, 'Shall I tell you who is the most miserable of humankind?' 'Yes, O Apostle of Allah', we said. He went on: 'They are the Uhaymar of Thamud who slew the she-camel, [1](#) and he who shall smite you, O 'Ali, here (and he placed his hand upon his head) until this (and he placed his hand upon his beard) shall be soaked with blood!'

The Messenger of Allah returned from al-Ushayrah to Medina, where he remained not more than ten nights before a man called Kurz ibn Jabir al-Fihri led an assault on a suburb of Medina. The Messenger of Allah went out after him until he reached a valley called Safwan near Badr. This was the first battle of Badr. The bearer of the Prophet's banner was 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, and his representative in Medina was Zayd ibn al-Harithah. Kurz, however, escaped, and the Messenger of Allah returned to Medina. He remained at home for the months of Jumada, Rajab and Sha'ban. During this period he dispatched Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas with eight men, but they encountered no hostilities.

After that the Messenger of Allah dispatched `Abdullah ibn Jahsh to a place called Nakhlah (on the road to Mecca), ordering him to remain there until he returned with news of the Quraysh. But he did not command him to fight, because it was the sacred month (that is, Rajab). He handed him a letter and told him: "Set out with your Companions until you have travelled a journey of two days; then open your letter and see what it says, and execute my command." After having travelled for two days he opened the letter, which said: "Continue on until you arrive at Nakhlah. Bring us back whatever news of the Quraysh may reach you."

`Abdullah exclaimed before his Companions, after having read the letter, "I hear and obey! Let any one of you desiring martyrdom set out with me." The people accompanied him until they reached Nakhlah. A man called `Amr ibn al-Hadrami passed by them with al-Hakam ibn Kaysan, and `Uthman and al-Mughirah – the two sons of `Abdullah – carrying goods which they had bought in at-Ta'if: raisins and condiments. When the people saw them, Waqid ibn `Abdillah came forth and stood before them. He had previously cut his hair (which was a sign of entering into, or being released from, the state of consecration). Thus `Amr and his Companions said to one another: "These men are here to perform the lesser pilgrimage; you have nothing to fear from them."

The Companions of the Apostle of Allah consulted among themselves – it being the last day of Rajab – saying: “If you kill them, you would have killed during a sacred month. Yet if you were to let them go, they would enter Mecca tonight and would be well protected against you.” They thus agreed to kill them. Waqid ibn `Abdillah shot `Amr ibn al-Hadrami with an arrow and killed him. `Uthman ibn `Abdillah and al-Hakam ibn Kaysan requested and obtained a pact of security. As for al-Mughirah, he escaped, and they were unable to capture him.

`Abdullah ibn Jahsh and his Companions brought the camels and the two captives to the Apostle of Allah. He said to them: “By Allah, I did not command you to engage in any fighting during the sacred month! ” He then withheld the two captives and the camel loads, and did not touch them. The people themselves were filled with remorse. This is because they thought that they would perish with their transgression. The people of Quraysh also reproached the Muslims saying: “Muhammad has violated the sanctity of the sacred month.” Allah, therefore, sent down the verse:

They ask you concerning the sacred month, shall there be fighting in it? . . . (Qur'an 2:217) .

When this verse was revealed, the Messenger of Allah accepted the goods and the ransom of the two captives. The Muslims said: “We can never hope for the reward in the hereafter for this battle, but only for the material reward of the booty.” Thus Allah sent down to console them:

Those who have accepted faith and have migrated. . . until He says: such are those who hope in Allah's mercy (Qur'an 2 218) .

This event took place two months before the Battle of Badr.

The Great Battle Of Badr

The Battle of Badr took place as the Messenger of Allah learnt that Abu Sufyan ibn Harb with a caravan of forty horsemen of the Quraysh carrying goods from Syria was returning to Mecca. The Messenger of Allah went out to meet them with three hundred and some men. The majority of his Companions, however, went out on foot, having only one horse and eighty camels. It is reported that the horse belonged to al-Miqdad (a well-known Companion). Men took turns riding the few camels available. The Messenger of Allah himself shared one camel with Marthad ibn Abi Marthad al-Ghanawi.

This great battle took place in the month of Ramadan 2 /624. When the Prophet left Medina, Abu Sufyan, having heard the news, directed the caravan to travel along the coast to Mecca to seek help from the people of Quraysh. About one thousand men from the various clans of Quraysh responded to his call and went out with him. They had with them two hundred horses. They were also accompanied by young maidens singing poems to the accompaniment of tambourines denigrating the Muslims. al-Akhnas ibn Shurayq ath-Thaqafi who was an ally of the Quraysh, turned back along the way taking with him Banu Zuhrah. So the Quraysh were left with nine hundred and ninety fighters, among them

al-`Abbas (the Prophet's uncle), `Aqil (son of Abu Talib), and Nawfal ibn al-Harith ibn `Abdi 'l-Muttalib. These, however, went out under duress. The most honoured elders of the Quraysh were al-`Abbas ibn `Abdi'l-Muttalib, `Utbah ibn Rabi'ah, Tu'aymah ibn `Adiyy, Abu'l-Bakhtari ibn Hisham, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, Hakim ibn Hizam, an-Nadr ibn al-Harith ibn Kaladah, Abu Jahl ibn Hisham and Suhayl ibn `Amr.

When the Prophet reached Badr, a well so called after a man of the tribe of Ghifar by that name, he learnt of the escape of the caravan and the coming of the army of Quraysh. He thus consulted with his Companions as to whether they should encounter them or turn back, and they all said, "We leave the decision to you. If you so wish, we shall confront the people!" He confronted the people of Quraysh at the well of Badr on the seventeenth of Ramadan. The Apostle raised a white standard which was carried by Mus'ab ibn `Umayr. His banner was entrusted to `Ali.

Allah strengthened the Muslims with five thousand angels. Moreover, He made the Muslims look many more than their actual number to the rejecters of faith, and diminished the number of the Associators in the eyes of the people of faith. This He did in order that they might not lose heart. The Messenger of Allah took a handful of dust and threw it at them exclaiming: "Let these faces be disgraced!" There was not one among them but that he was preoccupied with rubbing his eyes.

Allah caused approximately seventy of the Associators to be slain and the same number to be captured. Among these were al-`Abbas ibn `Abdu 'l-Muttalib, `Aqil ibn Abi Talib and Nawfal ibn al-Harith, all of whom accepted Islam. Two others `Uqbah ibn Abi Mu'ayt and an-Nadr ibn al-Harith, the Messenger of Allah had slain in a nearby spot called as-Safra'. He said to al-`Abbas, "Ransom yourself, your two nephews `Aqil and Nawfal, your ally `Utbah ibn `Amr and the man of the tribe of al-Harith ibn Fihir, for you are a man of great wealth. al-`Abbas answered, "I was a Muslim, but the people coerced me!" The Prophet answered: "Allah knows best your Islam; if it were true, He shall reward you for it. As for your manifest action, it was against us." al-`Abbas retorted: "I have no wealth!"

The Prophet asked, "Where is the wealth which you entrusted to Umm al-Fadl in Mecca, when no one was with you? You then said to her, 'If I shall be slain on this journey, this wealth shall be given to my sons al-Fadl, `Abdullah and Qutham.'" al-`Abbas exclaimed with amazement: "O Apostle of Allah, I now know that you are indeed the Messenger of Allah! For this is something which no one else besides me and Umm al-Fadl knew! Calculate then, O Apostle of Allah, the amount of wealth which falls to you as booty from me. I had with me twenty ounces (of precious metal)." The Messenger of Allah said: "May that which Allah has granted us through you be never exhausted!" al-`Abbas then ransomed himself with one hundred ounces and each of the others with forty.

'Ali slew among the Associators in the Battle of Badr al-Walid ibn `Utbah ibn Rabi'ah, who was a brave warrior. He also killed al-`As ibn Said ibn al-`As ibn Umayyah, the father of Said ibn al-`As and Tu'aymah ibn `Adiyy ibn Nawfal, whom he pierced with a spear. As he did so, `Ali exclaimed: "By Allah, this man shall never contend with us concerning Allah after today!"

'Ali also killed Nawfal ibn Khuwaylid, who before the *hijrah* had tied Abu Bakr and Talhah together with a rope and tortured them for a whole day. Nawfal was the paternal uncle of az-Zubayr ibn al-Awwam (the well-known Companion and relative of the Prophet). When the fighting abated, the Prophet rose and exclaimed: "Praise be to Allah Who answered my prayers concerning him."

Jabir (ibn 'Abdillah al-Ansari, a notable Companion and supporter of 'Ali and his descendants) related on the authority of 'Ali that he said: "I marvelled at the bravery of the people on the day of Badr. No sooner had I slain al-Walid ibn 'Utbah then Hanzalah ibn Abi Sufyan rushed at me. As he drew close to me, I struck him with my sword so that his eyes ran down on his face and he fell dead on the ground. The people who were with Hanzalah were also killed. They were Zam'ah ibn al-Aswad, al-Harith ibn Zam'ah, 'Umayr ibn 'Uthman, Ka'b ibn Taym, the uncle of Talhah ibn 'Ubaydillah, and 'Uthman and Malik, who were the brothers of Talhah. They had with them thirty-six men."

Hamzah ibn 'Abdi'l-Muttalib killed Shaybah ibn Rabi'ah ibn 'Abd Shams and al-Aswad ibn 'Abd al-Aswad al-Makhzumi. 'Amr ibn al-Jamuh killed Abu Jahl ibn Hisham. He struck him with his sword on his leg and severed it. Then 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud came and slew him with his sword, and carried his head to the Apostle of Allah, saying: "I found him breathing his last, and I recognized him. I then placed my foot on his neck, and said: 'Has Allah not now disgraced you, O enemy of Allah?' He answered: 'You little shepherd! You have now reached high status.'" Ibn Mas'ud continued: "I then cut off his head and brought it to the Messenger of Allah and said: 'This is the head of the enemy of Allah, Abu Jahl.'" Also, 'Ammar ibn Yasir killed Umayyah ibn Khalaf.

The Messenger of Allah ordered that those who were slain of the Quraysh be thrown in the well of Badr. He then stood over them and called out to them one by one by their names and the names of their fathers. He then exclaimed: "We have indeed found what our Lord had promised us to be true! Have you too found what your Lord had promised you to be true?" The Prophet then said to his Companions: "They hear as you hear, but they have been prevented from uttering a response."

Fourteen men among the Muslims were martyred in the Battle of Badr. Among them were 'Ubaydah ibn al-Harith ibn 'Abdi'l-Muttalib, Dhu'sh-Shimalayn 'Amr ibn Nadlah, the ally of Banu Zuhrah, Mihja' (ibn Salih) (The client of 'Umar (ibn al-Khattab) was also killed by an arrow; he was the first martyr of the Muslims. (*ed.*)), 'Umayr ibn Abi Waqas and Safwan ibn Abi'l-Bayda'. All these were of the Immigrants; the rest were of the Ansar.

The Messenger of Allah returned to Medina where he rested only for seven nights before he himself led a detachment against the tribe of Banu Sulaym. When he arrived at one of their water springs called al-Kudr, he remained for three nights before returning to Medina. This mission met with no resistance.

The Prophet remained in Medina the rest of Shawwal and Dhu'l-Qi'dah (the tenth and eleventh month, which are sacred months during which no fighting is allowed). During this respite, the Prophet ransomed most of the Muslims captured by the men of Quraysh during the Battle of Badr.

The next military engagement of the Muslims with the people of Quraysh was known as the Battle of

Suwayq. This was provoked by Abu Sufyan who had vowed after the defeat of Badr that he would never perform the ritual washing (after sexual intercourse) until he had waged war against Muhammad.

He therefore set out with a hundred horsemen of the Quraysh in order to fulfill his vow. When he was a short distance from Medina, he went by night to the quarter of the tribe of Banu 'n-Nadir, and knocked at the door of Huyayy ibn Akhtab, who refused to let him in. He thus left him and went to Sallam ibn Mishkam, who was the chief of Banu'n-Nadir. He requested and was granted permission to enter, and thus went in and spoke secretly to him.

Abu Sufyan returned next morning to his men and sent a few men as raiders to Medina. They came to a spot called al-`Arid, where they came upon a man of the Ansar and his ally, both of whom they killed, and then ran away. The men of Medina also vowed revenge. The Messenger of Allah went out after them until he reached Qarqaratu'l-Kudr near the quarter of the tribe of Sulaym, about eight miles from Medina. The Prophet, however, returned without overtaking Abu Sufyan. The Muslims found some provisions which Abu Sufyan and his men had left on the road in order that they might lighten their load and thus run more swiftly to safety. The Muslims asked the Apostle of Allah when they returned to Medina: "O Apostle of Allah, do we deserve to consider this a battle (that is, an act of *jihad* in Allah's way)?" "Yes", he replied.

The Raid of Dhu Amarr

This was followed by the raid of Dhu Amarr, which the Prophet undertook after remaining in Medina for the months of Dhu 'l-Hijjah and Muharram (the last and first months of the Muslim calendar, which are also sacred months). He set out on this mission after hearing that a group of men of the tribe of Ghatafan had assembled to launch a raid against the suburbs of Medina. They were led by a man called Du'thur ibn al-Harith ibn Muharib. The Prophet set out with four hundred and fifty men with a number of horses. But these Bedouins fled before him to neighbouring mountain peaks. The Prophet then encamped with his men in the spot of Dhu Amarr. It rained heavily while they were in that place. The Messenger of Allah went out to answer the call of nature across the valley from the camp. He took off his clothes and hung them on a tree to dry out, having been soaked by the rain. He lay down under the tree, while the Bedouins watched intently his every movement.

One of the men said to Du'thur, who was their chief and the bravest man among them: "See now, Muhammad has given you control! He has separated himself from his Companions, so that if he were to cry out for help, they would not hear him. Go and kill him!" He thus chose a sharp sword and hastened until he stood at the head of the Apostle of Allah with his sword outstretched. He then exclaimed: "O Muhammad, who shall protect you against me today?" "Allah", he answered. Gabriel struck the man in the chest so that he fell back, dropping the sword from his hand. The Messenger of Allah took up the sword and, standing at the man's head, asked: "Who shall protect you against me now?" The Bedouin replied: "No one! But I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and that Muhammad is the Apostle of

Allah! By Allah, I shall never again join any group against you! ” The Messenger of Allah returned his sword to him. The man turned to go, but then turned back and said: “By Allah, you are a better man than me!” The Messenger of Allah replied: “I am indeed worthy of that.”

When the man returned to his people, they questioned him: “Where is all your talk now – he was unprotected before you, and you had a sword in your hand!” He replied: “By Allah, this was the case! But I saw a bright and tall man who struck me in the chest, and I fell flat on my back. I knew that he was an angel. Thus I bore witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah ! By Allah, I shall never add to the number of any group that would assemble against him.” The man then began to invite his own people to Islam. Then Allah sent down the verse:

O you who have faith, remember the bounty of Allah towards you, when some people intended to stretch out their hands against you; yet He restrained their hands from harming you (Qur'an 5 :111).

The Raid Of Al-Qaradah

This was followed by the raid of al-Qaradah. The Messenger of Allah sent Zayd ibn al-Harithah with a detachment, six months after his return to Medina from Badr. At the well called al-Qaradah, Zayd and his men came upon a caravan of the Quraysh led by Abu Sufyan, who had much silver. After the Battle of Badr, the Quraysh (of Mecca) did not feel safe taking their usual route to Syria. They therefore travelled the Iraq road, having hired as a guide a man of the tribe of Bakr ibn Wail called Furat ibn Hayyan. Zayd ibn al-Harithah was able to capture the caravan, but the men eluded him and escaped. According to the report of al-Waqidi,² the caravan was led by Safwan ibn Umayyah. The Muslims captured one or two men, whom they brought with the caravan to the Messenger of Allah. Furat was himself a captive. But he accepted Islam, and was thus spared.

The reprisal against the tribe of Banu Qaynuqa` for this action took place on Saturday, in mid-Shawwal, twenty months after the Migration. The Messenger of Allah assembled the people of the tribe in their market and warned them saying: “Beware lest Allah afflict you with the same punishments as those with which He afflicted the people of Quraysh! Enter into Islam, for you know well the grace with which Allah has favored me, and you recognize my characteristics, which are in your scriptures.” They answered: “O Muhammad, be not deceived by the fact that you met your own people in battle and defeated them. Yet if we were to wage war against you, you would, by Allah, know that we are not like them! ” They nearly came to blows. It was concerning the people of Qaynuqa` that the verse:

There was a sign for you (the Muslims) in the two groups which encountered one another: the one fighting in the way of Allah, the other rejecting faith . . . (Qur'an. 3:13) , was sent down.

It is reported that the Messenger of Allah besieged them for six days until finally they surrendered to him. `Abdullah ibn Ubayy came to him and interceded on their behalf saying: “O Apostle of Allah, these are

my allies and clients who have defended me against the black and the red (that is, against all kinds of people). They were three hundred armoured soldiers and four hundred without armour. Would you now cut them down all in one morning? By Allah, I can then find no security; rather I dread the turns of fortunes!” The people of Banu Qaynuqa` were allies of the Khazraj tribe only, and not of the Aws. `Abdullah ibn Ubayy persisted in his entreaties until the Prophet relented and granted him their blood. But seeing the humiliation which they had suffered, the people of Banu Qaynuqa` left Medina altogether and settled in Adhri'at in Syria. Then Allah sent down concerning `Abdullah ibn Ubayy and others of the Khazraj tribe:

O you who have faith, take not the Jews or the Christians as patrons . . . (Qur'an. 5 : 51- 52) .

The Battle Of Uhud

Then the Battle of Uhud followed, a year after that of Badr. The leader of the Associators in that battle was Abu Sufyan ibn Harb. The Companions of the Apostle of Allah were on that day seven hundred and the Associators numbered two thousand.

The Messenger of Allah set out for the battle after consulting with his Companions. Although his own opinion was that the men should engage in street fighting, while those who were not strong enough for fighting should shoot arrows from the rooftops, yet they insisted on going out to meet the Quraysh in the battle. But on the way they changed their minds and asked to turn back. He refused saying: It is not fit for a prophet to turn back once he has decided to set out to engage a group in the battle.”

They were actually a thousand men. On the way, however, `Abdullah ibn Ubayy deserted with a third of the men. They said in justification of their decision, “By Allah, we know not for what are we going to kill ourselves, while the enemy are his own people! ” The men of Banu Harithah and Banu Salmah likewise were at the point of deserting. However, Allah, be He exalted, restrained them, as He says:

When two groups of you had nearly lost heart; yet Allah was their Master . . . (Qur'an. 3 : 123) .

The Messenger of Allah woke up next morning ready for fighting. He charged 'Ali with the banner of the Immigrants, and that of the Ansar, Sa'd ibn `Ubadah. The Messenger of Allah joined the banner of the Ansar. He then went to inspect the archers, who were fifty men led by `Abdullah ibn Jubayr. He admonished them and reminded them of their duty saying: “Fear Allah and be steadfast. Even if you see us snatched by wild birds, do not leave your spot until I send you a word.” The Prophet then stood at the top of the valley. At first the Associators were clearly defeated, so that the Muslims slew them with the sword.

The archers under the leadership of `Abdullah ibn Jubayr, seeing this, cried out, `The booty! Your people have vanquished the enemy; what are you waiting for!’ `Abdullah said to them, “Have you forgotten the words of the Messenger of Allah? As for me, I shall never abandon the spot which the Apostle of Allah

assigned to me.” But they disregarded his command and disobeyed him, when they saw what they had desired. They thus hastened to the spoils of war. Khalid ibn al-Walid, who lay in ambush with other men of the Associators, rushed out at them, and Khalid came to `Abdullah and killed him.

The Muslims were put to the sword as men rushed at them from behind. Satan cried out, “Muhammad has been slain!” In the meantime, the Messenger of Allah called out to them as they turned back, “O people, I am the Apostle of Allah! Allah has promised me victory; why are you fleeing?” They heard the voice, but did not turn around. The outcry of Satan went on until it was heard in the houses of Medina. Thus Fatimah raised the wail; nor was there any Hashimite or Qurayshite woman but that she placed her hand upon her head, wailing.

It is related on the authority of the sixth Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq that as people deserted the Apostle of Allah, he was filled with rage. Whenever he became angry, sweat dripped from his face and forehead like pearls. He looked around, and there was `Ali by his side. He asked him: “Why did you not run to the sons of your father?” `Ali answered: “O Apostle of Allah, should I reject faith after I have become a Muslim! Rather, I shall stay with you and endure your fate.” “If it be so”, the Prophet said, “then spare me the evil of these men!” `Ali rushed out at them, and as he struck the first man he encountered, Gabriel exclaimed: “This is indeed true consolation, O Muhammad!” “He is of me, and I am of him”, said the Apostle of Allah. Gabriel added “I too am of you.”

A group of men then turned to the Messenger of Allah and gathered around him. Seventy men of the Muslims were slain. Of these, four were of the Immigrants: Hamzah ibn `Abdi'l-Muttalib, `Abdullah ibn Jahsh, Mus'ab ibn `Umayr and Shammash ibn `Uthman ibn ash-Sharid; the rest were of the Ansar.

It is reported that at that time Ubayy ibn Khalaf came on his horse to the battlefield saying: “So this is the son of Abu Kabshah (meaning the Prophet)! Turn back with your own misdeeds! May you never be saved, even if you are spared (this time).” The Messenger of Allah was standing between al-Harith ibn as-Simmah and Sahl ibn Hunayf, leaning upon them. Ubayy rushed to attack him, but Mus'ab ibn `Umayr shielded him with his body. Ubayy thus stabbed Mus'ab and killed him. The Messenger of Allah then took a lance which was in the hand of Sahl ibn Hunayf and struck Ubayy with it above the collar of his armour. Ubayy fell over his horse embracing it, and ran to his camp lowing like a bull.

Abu Sufyan said to him: “Woe to you, what is it that frightens you? It is only a scratch; it is nothing!” He answered: “Woe to you O son of Harb, do you know who stabbed me? It was Muhammad who stabbed me! He said to me in Mecca, ‘I shall kill you’. I thus knew that he would be the one to kill me. By Allah, if all the people of the Hijaz were to suffer what I am suffering, it would finish them all!” The accursed man continued to moan until he went to the Fire.

It is reported in the book of Aban ibn `Uthman³ that when Fatimah and Safiyyah (the Prophet's paternal aunt) came to the Messenger of Allah, he said to `Ali, “As for my aunt, keep her away from me, but let Fatimah come.” When Fatimah came close to the Apostle of Allah and saw that he had been wounded in the face, and that blood was gushing out of his mouth, she began to wipe away the blood, weeping

and saying: “May Allah's wrath rage against those who caused the face of the Messenger of Allah to bleed!” The Messenger of Allah took in his hand the blood that ran down his face and threw it up in the air, and not one drop returned to earth. The sixth Imam as-Sadiq is said to have declared: “By Allah, if one drop of that blood had come down to the ground, severe punishment would have come down to earth.”

Aban ibn `Uthman said: “This was told to me on his authority by as-Sabbah ibn Suyyabah. I asked him, “Were his upper interior teeth broken, as these people claim?’ He replied: `No, by Allah, Allah always protected him from all disfigurement. It was rather that he was wounded in the face.’ I asked: `What about the cave on Mount Uhud to which they claim that the Apostle of Allah fled?’ He answered: `By Allah, he did not move from his spot.’ ”

Someone said to the Prophet, “Would you not invoke Allah against them?” He said: “O Allah, guide my people aright, for they do not know.” Ibn Qami'ah threw a stone at the Messenger of Allah which hit him on the palm so that the sword fell from his hand. The man exclaimed: “Take it from me, for I am the son of Qami'ah ! ” The Messenger of Allah replied: “May Allah humiliate and bring you low!” `Utbah ibn Abi Waqqas struck the Prophet with a sword so that blood gushed out of his mouth, and `Abdullah ibn Shihab threw a stone at him, hitting him on the wrist. No one of these died a natural death. As for Ibn Qami'ah, a ram came to him while he was sleeping in Najd and struck its horns in his stomach. The man cried out with pain until the ram penetrated him with its horns to the neck.

Wahshi (the man who killed Hamzah) reported: “Jubayr ibn Mut'im, whose slave I was, said to me, `All you know that `Ali killed my uncle Tu'aymah in the Battle of Badr. If you therefore kill Muhammad, Muhammad's uncle, or Muhammad's cousin, you shall be free.’ I thus went with the army of Quraysh to Uhud with a lance, only seeking freedom. I wished for nothing else, nor did I wish to kill Muhammad. I said to myself, `Perhaps I will meet with `Ali or Hamzah at whom I would throw my lance’, I never missed in throwing lances, an art I learnt in Abyssinia. Hamzah used to rush out on his attacks, after which he would return to his spot.” Abu `Abdillah (the sixth Imam) reported that Wahshi struck Hamzah in the chest. He fell, and the men rushed at him and killed him. Wahshi went to Hamzah and splitting his stomach, took his liver and ran with it to Hind daughter of `Utbah (and wife of Abu Sufyan), who took it and began to chew it. But the flesh became as hard as a knee bone, so that she spat it out.

It is reported that al-Halls ibn `Alqamah saw Abu Sufyan on a horse stabbing Hamzah's corpse in the mouth with a spear. al-Halls exclaimed: “O people of Ban & Kinanah, look at this man who claims to be the chief of Quraysh – look at what he is doing to his cousin who has become dead flesh!” Abu Sufyan repeated as he did so, “Taste death, you rebel! ” He then said to al-Halls: “You are right; it is a grave fault which I have committed. Keep it a secret.”

Abu Sufyan stood up and called out to some of the Muslims: “Is Ibn Abi Kabshah (that is, the Prophet) still alive? As for (`Ail) ibn Abi Talib, we see him still standing in his spot.” `Ali replied: “Yes, by Him Who sent him with the truth, he hears your words!” Abu Sufyan said: “In this battle with you, some mutilation

has taken place. By Allah, I neither ordered it nor did I prevent it. Our next appointment with you shall be the time of Badr, next year.” The Messenger of Allah said to `Ali, “Say yes.” “Yes,” `Ali repeated. Abu Sufyan then said to `Ali: “Ibn Qami'ah told me that he had killed Muhammad. But you are more truthful and righteous in my sight.” He then went back to his Companions and said: “Take the night as your camel (that is, travel without stopping) and depart.”

The Messenger of Allah then called `Ali and said to him, “Follow them. See where they are going. If you see them riding their horses and leading the camels, it means that they will go to Medina. But if they are riding their camels and leading the horses, that means that they are going to Mecca.” It is also reported that the Prophet sent Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, who returned and said: “I saw the horses beating around with their tails tied behind and being led by camels, and the men all riding on camels” (i.e., readying for travel and not for war). The Muslims were glad to see their enemies gone, and scattered about to look for their dead.

Every corpse was mutilated except that of Hanzalah ibn Abi `Amir whose father was with the Associators; thus he was spared for him. They found Hamzah with his stomach split open, his nose and ears cut off and his liver taken away. When the Messenger of Allah saw him in this condition, he was choked with tears and said: “I shall mutilate seventy men of Quraysh ! ” But Allah sent down:

If you punish, then punish in the same manner as you were punished (Qur'an. 16: 126) .

The Prophet then said: “I would rather be patient.” He then asked: “Who is that man whom the angels are washing on the side of the mountain?” They answered: “Here is his wife”, and she said: “He left the house impure through sexual intercourse.” This was Hanzalah ibn Abi `Amir, who was known thereafter as ‘the washed one’.

Aban reported further on the authority of Abu Ja'far (the fifth Imam, Muhammad al-Baqir – a. s.) who said: “A man called Quzman ibn al-Harith al-`Absi (the Hypocrite concerning whom the Messenger of Allah said, ‘Allah shall strengthen this religion with a reprobate man’) was mentioned to the Apostle of Allah, who said, ‘He is of the people of the Fire.’ Someone came to the Messenger of Allah and told him that Quzman was martyred. He observed: ‘Allah does whatever He wills.’ Again, someone came and told him that Quzman had killed himself. The Prophet exclaimed: ‘I bear witness that I am the Apostle of Allah.’”

It is reported that Quzman fought valiantly and killed six or seven of the Associators. When he was finally incapacitated by his wounds, he was carried to the quarter of the tribe of Zafar. The Muslims said to him: “Be of good cheer, O Quzman for you have done well today!” He replied: “Of what do you bring me such glad tidings? By Allah I did not fight except for the sake of my people's noble genealogies; had it not been for this, I would have never fought!” Thus, when his wounds had become too painful to bear, he took a sharp arrow from his quiver with which he killed himself.

It is also reported that a woman of the Banu'n-Najjar whose father, husband and brother were killed with

the Apostle of Allah, approached the Messenger of Allah while the Muslims stood all around him. She asked a man: "Can I greet the Messenger of Allah and gaze upon him?" "Yes", he answered. The people made room for her, and she came close to him and said: "Every calamity is light since you have returned safe and sound;" having said this, she went away.

After burying the dead, the Messenger returned to Medina. As he passed the quarters of the `Abdu'l-Ashhal and Zafar tribes, he heard the women mourning their dead. The eyes of the Messenger of Allah were filled with tears. He wept saying: "But there are no women mourning for Hamzah today!" When Sa'd ibn Mu'adh and Usayd ibn Hudayr heard this, they said: "Let no woman mourn over her loved one until Fatimah comes and aids her." Thus when the Messenger of Allah heard the wail raised for Hamzah, as he stood by Fatimah at the door of the Mosque he addressed the women saying: "Return, may Allah have mercy upon you. You have indeed consoled us with your grief."

The Battle Of Hamra'u'l-Asad

The Battle of hamra'u'l-Asad (a place about eight miles distance from Medina) took place immediately after that of Uhud. Aban ibn `Uthman reported that the day after the Battle of Uhud, the Messenger of Allah called upon the Muslims to prepare for battle. They all responded, even though they had suffered much pain and many wounds in the previous battle. 'Ali preceded him with the banner of the Immigrants until they reached Hamra'u'l-Asad. But they all returned to Medina without fighting. These were :

Those who answered the call of Allah after they had been afflicted with wounds (Qur'an. 3:172) .

Abu Sufyan departed and came to a place called ar-Rawhd', where he remained intending to return and again attack the Messenger of Allah. He said: "Now that we have killed their great warriors, if we return we shall be able to exterminate them!" He met a man called Ma'bad al-Khuza'i, whom he asked: "What news have you, O Ma'bad?" He answered: "By Allah, I left Muhammad and his people burning with the passion of war against you! 'Ali ibn Abi Talib has come leading the men. All those who deserted him before have now rejoined his forces. This has inspired me to compose some verses." Abu Sufyan asked: "What did you recite?" "I recited: ", Ma'bad answered.

My mount came, nigh collapsing from all the clamor,

When the ground was covered with flocks of warring vultures.

You shall fight with noble lions, not cowards,

*In the confrontation of battle; nor are they hollow
In the confrontation of battle; nor are they hollow
men who fled!*

This caused Abu Sufyan and those who were with him to change their minds.

Then a small caravan belonging to the people of the tribe of `Abdu'l-Qays passed by on their way to Medina for trade. Abu Sufyan said to them: "Go and tell Muhammad that I intend to return to his Companions in order that I might exterminate them. As for you, I would fill your loading sacks with

raisins when you come to the Market of `Ukaz (in Mecca).” The men conveyed the message to the Prophet and the Muslims with him in Hamra'u'l-Asad, and they all exclaimed: “Allah is sufficient for us; He is the best trustee.” The Messenger of Allah then returned to Medina on Friday.

It is reported that when the Messenger of Allah went for the raid of Hamra'u'l-Asad, a lewd woman of the tribe of Khatmah called al-`Asma' Umm al-Mundhir ibn al-Mundhir went around the assemblies of the Aw,, and Khazraj tribes reciting verses inciting people against the Prophet. There was then only one Muslim in the tribe of the Banu Khatmah, called `Umayr ibn `Adiyy. When the Messenger returned, `Umayr went to the woman and killed her. He then came to the Messenger of Allah and said: “I have killed Umm al-Mundhir because of the invective poetry which she recited.” The Messenger of Allah struck his shoulders, exclaiming “This is a man who lent support to Allah and His Apostle in his absence! By Allah, not even two rams shall butt one another concerning her (i.e., no two men shall fight over her blood).” `Umayr ibn `Adiyy said: “I passed by her home the next day while she was being buried; no one stopped me or spoke to me.”

The Battle of Ar-Raji`

After this came the Battle of ar-Raji`. The Messenger of Allah sent Marthad ibn Abi Marthad al-Ghanawi, who was Hamzah's ally, Khalid ibn Bukayr, `Asim ibn Thabit ibn al-Aflaj, Khubayb ibn `Adiyy, Zayd ibn Dathnah, and `Abdullah ibn Tariq, all under the leadership of Marthad, with a delegation of the tribes of `Adl and ad-Dish who came requesting that some Muslims go with them to teach them the Qur'an and the fundamentals of the faith. They travelled with the people until they reached the depression of ar-Raji`, a spring of water belonging to the tribe of Hudhayl. Some men of one of the quarter of Hudhayl called Banu Lihyan then killed the entire company.

Aban reported that the people of Hudhayl, when they killed `Asim, wanted his head to sell to Sulafah daughter of Sa'd, she had vowed after he had killed her son in the Battle of Uhud that if she were able to obtain his head, she would drink wine in his skull. They were, however, prevented from cutting off his head by wasps. As they were unable to approach `Asim's corpse, they agreed to leave it to the night, when the wasps would have left it. At night, however, Allah caused a heavy rainfall, so that the valley was flooded and the waters carried the corpse away. This was because `Asim had made a covenant with Allah that he would never touch an Associator, nor an Associator touch him all his life. Thus Allah protected him after death against that which he had protected himself during his life.

The Raid of Ma'ninah

Four months after the Battle of Uhud, the raid of Ma`unah took place. This was when Abu Bara' Amir ibn Malik ibn Ja'far, nicknamed `Muld'ibu'l-Asinnah' (the welder of spears) came to the Messenger of Allah in Medina and accepted Islam. The man then suggested to the Prophet that he send men to the people of Najd to call them to Islam. “I hope,” the man continued, “that they will answer your call.” The Prophet

answered: "I fear lest the people of Najd do you harm." But Abu Bard' insisted saying: "I have a pact of protection with them." The Messenger of Allah sent al-Mundhir ibn `Amr with twenty some men. It is also reported that they were forty, or seventy men of the best Muslims. Among them were al-Harith ibn as-Simmah, Haram ibn Milhan and `Amir ibn Fuhayrah, Abu Bakr's client.

They all travelled until they reached the well of Ma'unah, which was located between the land of the Banu `Amir and the plain of the Banu Sulaym. From there, they sent Haram ibn Milhan with a letter from the Messenger of Allah to `Amir ibn at-Tufayl. But `Amir did not take the time to look at the letter before he rushed at Haram and killed him. He then cried out: "Allah is Most Great; I have achieved victory, by the Lord of the Ka'bah!" He called the men of Banu `Amir to aid him in fighting against the Muslims, but they refused saying: "We shall not betray the covenant of Abu Bard'." He then called upon some of the clans of the tribe of Sulaym: `Asiyyah, Ri'l and Dhakwan, who answered his call. These were the people against whom the Prophet invoked Allah's curse. They surrounded the Muslims as they sat around their goods. Seeing this, the Muslims took up their swords and fought with them until they all died.

`Amr ibn Umayyah ad-Damri had taken out the animals of the Muslims to pasture along with a man of the Ansar. They were so close to the battlefield that they could see birds flying over the fighters. They said to one another: "No doubt these birds mean something." When they went to see, they found the men lying dead in their blood. The man of the Ansar asked `Amr: "What do you suggest?" He answered: "I suggest that we go immediately to the Messenger of Allah and tell him what happened." But the man of the Ansar replied: "I would not save myself and leave a place where al-Mundhir ibn `Amr is." He thus fought against the enemies of the Muslims until he was killed.

`Amr returned to Medina and related to the Messenger of Allah what had happened. The Prophet said: "This was the deed of Abu Bard'; I did not wish to engage in it." When Abu Bard' heard the news, he was angry with `Amir for betraying his covenant of protection, and for what had happened to the people of the Messenger of Allah. Abu Bard', however, died soon after. His son Rabi`ah attacked `Amir ibn at-Tufayl, stabbing him as he sat in the assembly of his people. He missed killing him, and instead stabbed him in the leg. `Amir said: "This must be the deed of my uncle Abu Bard'. If I die, my blood belongs to my uncle, and no one should demand it from him. But if I live, I shall decide what to do about it."

The Battle against the Banu 'n-Nadir

These events were followed by the battle against the Jewish tribe of Banu 'n-Nadir. This happened when the Messenger of Allah went to Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf to ask for a loan. The man welcomed him saying: "You are welcome to our home, O Abu 'l-Qasim!" When the Messenger of Allah and his Companions had settled down, Ka'b got up as though to prepare some food for them. But he thought to himself that he should kill the Apostle of Allah. Gabriel came down and told him about the treacherous intentions which the people had for them. The Prophet, therefore, went out as though to answer a call of nature, knowing that they would not kill his friends while he was alive.

He thus took the road to Medina where he met with a group of Ka'b's people on whom Ka'b had called to help him against the Messenger of Allah. Ka'b was informed of what had happened, and the Muslims got up and left quickly for their homes. Then `Abdullah ibn Suriya, who was the most learned for the Jews, said: "It was his Lord, by Allah, who informed him of the treachery you had planned for him. Soon, by Allah, the emissary of Muhammad shall come to you commanding you to migrate, all of you. Obey me, therefore, in two things, for there is no good in any third – either you accept Islam and thus be secure in your homes and properties, or depart when a man shall come to order you to leave your homes." They replied: "The second is preferable to us." Ibn Suriya then said: "The first is surely better for you. Had I not wished not to disgrace you, I would have myself accepted Islam.

The Prophet soon sent Muhammad ibn Maslamah to them ordering them to vacate their homes and properties and depart. He instructed him to give them only three days respite.⁴

The Battle against the Tribe of Lihyan

The next battle was that against the tribe of Lihyan. It was the battle during which the Prophet offered *salatu'l khawf* (the prayer of fear, which is usually attenuated and hurriedly offered in times of war) in a place called `Asfan, near Medina, where he then received revelation from Allah informing him of what the Associators were intending. It is reported that this battle took place after that of the tribe of Banu Qurayzah (6 /627) .

After this the raid of Dhatu'r–Riqa' took place, two months after that of Banu'n–Nadirl,⁵ the Prophet met a group of men of the tribe of Ghatafan in a place called Dhatu'r–Riqa', but there was no fighting between them. This was because both groups feared the other. The Prophet offered *salatu'l khawf* and departed with his people. It is reported that the place was so called because it was a mountain with red, black and white patches (riqa'). It is also reported that the reason was that the skin of men's feet began to crack, so that they were obliged to cover them with patches of cloth.

The Prophet stood at the side of a valley and his Companions on the other side. In the meantime the valley filled with water, so that he was separated from his men. A man of the Associators called Ghawrath saw him alone. He said to his people: "I shall kill Muhammad for you!" He thus took his sword and came to the Prophet saying: "Who shall save you now from me, O Muhammad!" "My Lord shall save me! ", the Prophet answered. The man fell flat on the ground. The Prophet took the sword from him, and sitting on his chest, asked: "Who shall save you from me now, O Ghawrath?" He answered: "Your clemency and generosity, O Muhammad! " The Prophet let him go. He stood up repeating: "You are more generous and more noble than I ! "

Then came the second journey to Badr in Sha'ban of that year, in response to the challenge of Abu Sufyan of the previous year after the Battle of Uhud. He remained at the well of Badr for eight days. Abu Sufyan came to meet him with the people of Tihamah (that is, the district of Mecca), but when the two groups met, Abu Sufyan decided to turn back. The Messenger of Allah and his Companions, however,

stayed on for the market, where they traded and made good profit.

The Battle of the Trench (Al-Khandaq)

This was followed by the Battle of the Trench (*Khandaq*), also known as the Battle of the Confederates (*al-Ahzab*). This was during the month of Shawwal in the 4th year of the *hijrah* (March, 626). Huyayy ibn Akhtab, Kinanah ibn ar-Rabi`, and Sallam ibn Abi 'l-Huqayq with a group of their fellow Jews came to Mecca. They were accompanied by other men of the Quraysh, Kinanah and Ghatafan tribes. They all went to Abu Sufyan and others of the chiefs of Quraysh to call them to wage war against the Messenger of Allah. They promised them: "Our hands shall be with your hands, and we shall fight together with you until we exterminate them utterly."

They also went to the tribe of Ghatafan and called them to war against the Messenger of Allah. They assured them of the agreement of Quraysh; they thus all prepared for war. The fighters of Quraysh were led by Abu Sufyan. The leader of the men of Ghatafan was `Uyaynah ibn Hisn of the Fazarah clan. Leading the tribe of Banu Murrah was al-Harith ibn `Awf. Mis'ar ibn Rukhaylah ibn Nuwayrah ibn Tarif led his people, the men of the tribe of Ashja`. These together were the Confederates.

The Messenger of Allah heard their coming, and thus went out to meet them after consulting with Salman, the Persian who suggested that a trench be dug. In this action there were clear signs of the Prophethood of Muhammad. One of these signs was that reported by Jabir ibn `Abdillah. He said that the men encountered a hard rock in the trench which they could not break. They complained of this to the Apostle of Allah, who then had a vessel filled with water and brought to him. He expectorated in the water and prayed silently to Allah, then sprinkled the water on the rock. An eye-witness reported: "By Allah Who sent him as a prophet with the truth, no sooner had he done this, than it became like sand, repulsing neither axe or shovel."

Another miracle, also reported by Jabir, was the feeding of a large multitude of people on a small quantity of food. We have already recounted this event. A third miracle was that reported by Salman the Persian who said: "As I was digging in one corner of the trench, the Messenger of Allah turned towards me, as he was standing nearby. Seeing me exerting myself in a hard spot, he came down and took the pick-axe from my hand and struck a rock. A spark, as though of lightning, shone forth from beneath the pick-axe. He struck a second time, and another spark shone forth. A third time he struck, and again a spark glittered.

I asked in amazement `O Messenger of Allah, may my father and mother be a ransom for you, what is this I see?' `As for the first', he replied: `It is a sign that Allah shall grant me conquest of Yemen. The second is a sign that Allah shall grant me Syria and the West (that is, North Africa and Southern Spain). As for the third, it is a sign that Allah shall grant me victory over the East (that is, the Asian domains of Islam).'

When the Confederate armies came to meet the Prophet in battle, the Muslims were troubled and afraid. They encamped at one side of the trench, where they remained for twenty some days. No actual fighting occurred between them and the Muslims except with arrows and stones. Finally, some fighters of the Quraysh came out calling for single combat.

Among them were `Amr ibn `Abd Wadd, `Ikrimah ibn Abi Jahl, Hubayrah ibn Wahb and Dirar ibn al-Khattab. They made ready for fighting and rode their horses to the edge of the trench. When they looked at it they said: "By Allah, this is a trick which the Arabs never before practised." They then came to a narrow spot of the trench and spurred their horses on, so that they in fact jumped over it. The horses, however, galloped aimlessly with them in a salty marsh between the trench and a mountain on the edge of Medina called as-Sulay` (or Sal').

`Ali ibn Abi Talib went out with a few men and blocked that breach in the trench which had been penetrated, so that they were unable to go back. `Amr ibn `Abd Wadd came forth and challenged the Muslims for single combat. 'Ali came out to meet him, and slew him. (We shall return to this event in greater detail later, if Allah wills.)⁶ When `Ikrimah and Hubayrah saw `Amr dead, they fled. The Commander of the Faithful composed verses concerning this event, some of which are:

*He (`Amr) foolishly lent support to stone idols,
But I have wisely lent support to Muhammad's Lord.
I thus struck him and left him,
Hugging the earth like a dry branch between quick sands and hills.
His rich garments I did not pillage,
Even though he would have pillaged my garments, were I the one killed.
Think not that Allah shall abandon His religion,
Nor abandon His Prophet, O people of the Confederates!*

Then Ibnu'l-`Araqah shot an arrow which hit Sa'd ibn Mu'adh in the medial vein of the arm. He exclaimed: "Take this from me, for I am Ibnu'l-`Araqah!" Sa'd retorted: "May Allah cause your face to sweat in the Fire!" Sa'd went on: "O Allah, if you will that war shall continue between us and the Quraysh, then preserve me, if only for the sake of this war; for there is no people against whom I desire to wage war more than those who have rejected your Apostle and driven him out of your sanctuary (haram). O Allah, if you so will that war shall end between us and them, then let this (injury) be the cause of martyrdom for me. Yet, do not cause me to die until you grant me the satisfaction of (defeating) the tribe of Banu Qurayzah." The Messenger of Allah had him brought to him, and there the man spent the night on the ground.

Aban ibn `Uthman reported on the authority of a man who heard Abu `Abdillah (the sixth Imam) say: "The Messenger of Allah one dark and cold night stood on the hill on which now stands Masjidu'l-Fath (the mosque named after the conquest, `Fath' of Mecca). Addressing his Companions, he said: "Who shall go and bring us news of the (fighters) and have Paradise for a reward?" He repeated this a second

and a third time, but no one came forward. Finally, Hudhayfah (a man well-known for his strict moral and spiritual discipline) arose. The Prophet said to him: “Go and listen to their words and bring me news of them.” As Hudhayfah set out, the Prophet prayed: “O Allah, watch over him in the front and in the back, on his right and on his left until you bring him back to me.” The Prophet said further: “Do not do anything until you return to us.”

When Hudhayfah departed, the Apostle of Allah rose up and prayed, then cried out with a most sorrowful voice: “O You Who hear the cry of those who are in sorrow, You Who answer the prayers of those who are in distress, remove my sorrow and distress, for You see my state and the state of those who are with me!” Gabriel came down to him and said: “O Messenger of Allah, Allah, be He exalted, has heard your cry and answered your prayer! He shall spare you dread of those who have allied themselves against you and opposed you.” The Messenger of Allah then knelt down on his knees and let his eyes shed tears. He cried out again: “All thanks be to You for sheltering me and those who are with me! ” Gabriel then said: “O Apostle of Allah, He has indeed granted you support, for He has sent against them a wind from the heaven of this world carrying pebbles, and another wind from the fourth heaven carrying stones.”

Hudhayfah reported: “As I reached the place, I saw the fires of the people put out and utterly extinguished. This was because the first army of Allah had come – a strong wind blowing pebbles. Thus it left no fire of the enemy but that it extinguished it, a tent but that it blew it away, or a spear but that it broke it. This went on until they had to shield themselves from the pebbles, and I heard the clatter of the pebbles against the shields.

Then the greater army of Allah came! Abu Sufyan rushed up to his mount and cried out: `Save yourselves, save yourselves! `Uyaynah ibn Hisn did likewise, and so also did al-Harith ibn `Awf. Thus the Confederates went away.” Hudhayfah then returned to the Apostle of Allah and recounted to him what had happened. Then Allah sent down to His Apostle:

Remember the favor of Allah towards you when great hosts came against you, and We sent against them a wind and hosts whom you did not see (Qur'an 33 :9).

The Messenger of Allah presented himself early next morning before the Muslims of Medina, and Fatimah his daughter prepared water to wash his head (in special celebration of the occasion). But suddenly Gabriel came to him on a mule, his face covered with a white turban and clad in a garment of brocade adorned with pearls and rubies. He was, however, covered with dust. Thus the Messenger of Allah rose and wiped away the dust from his face. Gabriel exclaimed: “May your Lord have mercy upon you; you have laid down your arms, yet the denizens of heaven have not laid theirs down! I have pursued them until they reached ar-Rawha.’ ” Gabriel continued: “Rise now against their brethren of the People of the Book, for by Allah, I shall crush them as would an egg be crushed against a rock! ”

The Messenger of Allah then called `Ali and ordered him, saying: “Carry the banner of the Immigrants

against the tribe of Banu Qurayzah.” He further ordered his Companions: “I charge you not to offer the mid-afternoon prayers except in the quarters of Banu Qurayzah.” 'Ali arose with the Immigrants, the men of the Banu `Abdi 'lAshhal and those of Banu'n-Najjar all of them; not even one was left behind. The Prophet continued to send men to assist `Ali. Some of the men did not pray the mid-afternoon prayers until after the time for the night prayers.

The people of Banu Qurayzah came out to 'Ali and cursed him, saying: “May Allah curse you and your cousin (that is, the Prophet).” But 'Ali stood in his place and did not answer them. When the Messenger of Allah arrived with the men of faith all around him, the Commander of the Faithful met him saying: “Do not come near them, O Apostle of Allah, may Allah make me a ransom for you! Allah shall surely punish them.” The Messenger of Allah knew that they had insulted 'Ali. Thus he said: “If they see me, they will say nothing of what they said against you.” He thus approached them and said: “You brothers of the apes!⁷

Thus have we come to the quarters of a people to warn them, evil be the morning of those who are warned! O servants of Satan, be you humbled, may Allah humiliate you! ” They (Banu Qurayzah) cried from right and left: “O Abu 'l-Qasim (that is, Muhammad), you have never been a lewd man; what has happened to you? ” as-Sadiq reported that a lance which he was holding fell from his hand, and his outer garment fell off behind him. He began to walk backward, ashamed of what he had said to them.

The Messenger of Allah besieged them for twenty-five days until they agreed to abide by the judgment of Sa'd ibn Mu'adh which was that their men be slain and their women and children be taken as slaves. He further decreed that their homes and lands be given to the Immigrants, and their wealth divided among the Muslims. The Prophet said to him: “You have judged them according to Allah's judgment, which issues from above, from the seven heavens.”

When the captives were brought, they were imprisoned in a house. Ten were brought out, whom the Commander of the Faithful beheaded. Another ten were brought out whom az-Zubayr beheaded. A man of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah said: “Would it not be better to kill one or two men at a time?”

The wound which Sa'd had suffered in his arm suddenly opened and the blood continued to gush out until he died. The Messenger of Allah took off his outer garment (as an expression of grief) and walked with his funeral without an outer garment. He then sent `Abdullah ibn `Atik to Khaybar (another Jewish settlement) where he killed Abu Rafi` (Sallam) ibn Abi 'l-Huqayq (one of the chiefs of the Banu Qurayzah).

The Battle of Banu 'l-Mustaliq

The siege of the Trench was followed by the Battle of Banu'l-Mustaliq of the tribe of Khuza'ah, whose chief was al-Harith ibn Abi Dirar. This battle is also known as the Battle of al-Muraysi' (named after a

spring of water in the district of Qudayd on the coast between Medina and Mecca). The men of Banu 'l-Mustaliq prepared to advance against the Messenger of Allah in Sha'ban of the fifth or sixth year of the Hijrah. It is reported that Juwayriyyah, daughter of al-Harith and wife of the Prophet, said: "The Messenger of Allah came to us while we were at the spring of al-Muraysi', and I heard my father say, 'There has come to us one whom we cannot withstand.'"

She continued: "I saw on that day horses and arms beyond description. When I became a Muslim and the Messenger of Allah married me and we returned to Medina, I began to look at the Muslims, and they were not as I saw them before. I thus knew that it was dread which Allah had instilled in the hearts of the Associators (i.e., by making the Muslim fighters look more in number and of greater strength than they actually were)." Juwayriyyah went on: "I saw in a dream, three nights before the coming of the Prophet, that the moon came from Yathrib and fell in my lap, I did not wish to tell my dream to anyone, but when we were taken captive, I hoped that my dream would come true. It did, as the Messenger of Allah freed me and took me in marriage."

In battle, the Messenger of Allah commanded his men to assault their opponents as a single man. Thus no man of the enemy was able to escape; ten were killed, and the rest captured. The war cry of the Muslims was, "O *mansur* (victorious one), kill!" The Messenger of Allah captured men, women and children, and took cattle and sheep. When men knew that he had married Juwayriyyah, daughter of al-Harith, they said: "These are now marriage relatives of the Apostle of Allah." They thus sent whatever captives they held to the Prophet. I know of no woman who was of greater blessing to her people than she.

During this battle `Abdullah ibn Ubayy said, using the words of the Qur'an:

When we return to Medina, the honourable shall drive out the lowly (Qur'an. 63:8).

During that year many revelations were sent down, and in it the incident of `A'ishah occurred.[8](#)

In the sixth year (A.H.) during the month of Rabi `u 'l Awwal, the Messenger of Allah sent `Ukkashah ibn Mahsan with forty men to a place called al-Ghamrah (on the road to Mecca). Seeing them come so early, the inhabitants of the place fled. `Ukkashah took two hundred camels which they had left behind as spoils and led them into Medina.

During that year also the Prophet sent Abu `Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrah to a place called Dhu'l-Qassah, with forty men. Abu `Ubaydah raided the people, who fled into the mountains. One man was captured and became a Muslim.

In the same year, there was a detachment led by Zayd ibn al-Harithah to a place called al-Jamum (a piece of land belonging to the tribe of Banu Sulaym). In this raid, the Muslims took cattle and sheep as booty and captured some men. In Jumada 'l-Ula of the same year, Zayd also led another raid against al-`Is tribe. In yet another raid which he led against the tribe of Banu Tha'labah, with twenty-five men,

he captured twenty-five camels after the people were put to flight.

In the same year, `Ali ibn Abi Talib led a raid against a Jewish settlement called Fadak belonging to the people of `Abdullah ibn Sa'd. This action was prompted by information which the Messenger of Allah had received concerning the plan of the people of Fadak to send armed men to aid the Jews of Khaybar.

Another Companion, `Abdu'r-Rahman ibn `Awf, was sent with a detachment in the same year against the people of a place called Dumatu'l-Jandal. This took place in the month of Sha'ban. The Messenger of Allah said to `Abdu'rRahman: "If they yield without fighting, marry the daughter of their king." The people did in fact accept Islam, and `Abdu'r-Rahman married Tumadir, daughter of al-Asbagh, whose father was their king and chief.

Al-Waqidi, the famous historian of the wars (maghazi) of the Prophet, reported that in the same year the Messenger of Allah sent a detachment against the `Arniyyin, a tribe living near Medina. This was a reprisal for their killing the Messenger of Allah's shepherd. Both men and camels were captured, and twenty horsemen were brought leading camels as booty to the Prophet. He ordered that their hands and feet be severed and that their eyes be put out. They were thus left in *al-harrah* until they died. Jabir ibn `Abdillah al-Ansari related that the Messenger of Allah invoked Allah against them saying: "O Allah, make them blind, unable to find their way," and it was as he prayed.

In that year also the goods of Abu 'l-`As ibn ar-Rabi' were captured. He had gone to Syria to trade, and had with him much merchandise belonging to the men of Quraysh. On his way back, he met a detachment belonging to the Messenger of Allah. The men seized his caravan, but he escaped. They brought the booty to the Messenger of Allah, who divided it among them. Abu 'l-`As, however, came to Medina and sought protection (jiwar) of Zaynab, daughter of the Apostle of Allah. He requested that she intercede with the Prophet on his behalf to return his goods to him, for he carried much wealth which people had entrusted to him. The Messenger of Allah called the men and said: "This man is one of us, as you well know. If, therefore, you see fit that you return his wealth to him, it is best that you do so." They gave back to him whatever they had taken.

Abu 'l-`As then returned to Mecca and gave the people back their trusts. He then said: "By Allah, nothing prevented me from becoming a Muslim before I came to you except the fear that you may think that I had done so in order that I may run away with your wealth. But now, I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and that Muhammad is His Servant and Apostle."

[The Treaty of Al-Hudaybiyyah](#)

In the same year, in the month of Dhu'l-Qi'dah (7/629) the treaty of al-Hudaybiyyah was concluded between the Prophet and the people of Quraysh. The Prophet set out with a large company of his Companions intending to perform the *umrah*, or lesser pilgrimage. He led before him seventy large animals (camels and cattle) for sacrifice. News of this reached the Associators of Quraysh, who sent a

group of horsemen to prevent him from the Sacred House of worship (i.e., the Ka'bah). The Prophet had thought that they would not fight with him, because he had set out during a sacred month.

The story of Suhayl ibn `Amr and his son Abu Jandal and the way in which the Apostle of Allah dealt with them, and which caused the man who claimed to have never doubted Islam except on that day to cast suspicion on the Prophet, is well-known.⁹ A man called Burayd ibn Warqa' came to the men of Quraysh and said: "O people of Quraysh, do not be troubled, for he has come not with the intention of fighting with you. Rather, he came intending to make pilgrimage to the Sacred House of Allah." They answered: "By Allah, we shall not listen to your advice! Nor will the Arabs have cause to talk among themselves about him having entered Mecca with ease! We shall not consent to anything except that he turn back and leave us," They then sent Bakr ibn Hafs and Khalid ibn al-Walid, who prevented the animals to be sacrificed from reaching their destination.

The Prophet then sent `Uthman ibn `Affan (the third caliph) to ask permission of the Quraysh to enter Mecca as a pilgrim to perform the *`umrah*. But the people of Quraysh detained him and would not let him go. The Messenger of Allah thought that they had killed him. He thus said to his Companions: "Would you give me allegiance (*bay`ah*) of support even till death?" They agreed and pledged their support under the Tree (see Qur'an 48: 18) , and affirmed that they would never desert him.

The Meccans then sent Suhayl ibn `Amr to the Prophet who addressed him saying: "O Abu 'l-Qassim, Mecca is surely our sacred place (haram) and a source of honour for us. The Arab (tribes) have already heard that you have come to us. If you were to enter Mecca by force, they would consider us an easy prey, and we would be pillaged. We, therefore, remind you of your blood relations with us. Mecca is your home (literally `egg') which hatched you." "What do you wish?" the Prophet asked. Suhayl replied: "I wish to establish in writing a truce between you and me, that I vacate Mecca for you this time next year. Then you may enter it without fear or trouble. Nor would you need to have any arms except that of the horseman. Your swords shall remain in their sheaths and your arrows in their quivers."

The Messenger of Allah called `Ali ibn Abi Talib, who took a piece of red skin, and placing it on his lap, wrote: "In the name of Allah, the All-merciful, the Compassionate." Suhayl ibn `Amr retorted: "This is a document between you and us, O Muhammad. Open it, therefore, with words known to us. Write instead, 'In your name O Allah.'" The Prophet said to 'Ali, "Write 'In your name O Allah', and erase what you have written." `Ali answered: "Were it not an act of obedience to you, O Apostle of Allah, I would not erase it." The Prophet said: "Write 'This is what Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah has agreed upon with Suhayl ibn `Amr.'" Suhayl objected: "Were I to accept this phrase in our document, I would have professed your claim to Prophethood. Erase this name, therefore, and write instead, 'Muhammad ibn `Abdillah.'" 'Ali said to him: "By Allah, he is indeed the Messenger of Allah, and that in spite of your disdain!" The Prophet repeated: "Erase it, O `Ali." 'Ali answered: "O Apostle of Allah, my hand cannot erase your name from Prophethood." "Then put my hand over it", the Prophet ordered. The Messenger of Allah then erased it with his own hand, and said to 'Ali: "You too shall be called upon to do the same,

and you shall consent, however unwillingly.”

He thus wrote: “In your name O Allah – This is what Muhammad ibn `Abdillah ibn `Abdi 'l-Muttalib and those who are with him of the Muslims have agreed upon with Suhayl ibn `Amr and those who are with him of the people of Mecca – that war shall cease, nor will there be any acts of deception, infiltration, or fighting. Furthermore, no one shall be coerced in his faith, and (Muslims) in Mecca shall be able to worship Allah openly. Muhammad shall sacrifice the animals (intended for the Ka'bah) in the place where he now is. In return, Mecca shall be vacated for him for three days, when he shall enter it only with the arms of the horsemen. All the people of Quraysh shall leave Mecca, and only one man shall be left behind with Muhammad and his Companions. It is further agreed that, as for any person of the people of Quraysh who might come to Muhammad (after becoming a Muslim), Muhammad shall turn him over to them. But as for any man of the Muslims who may go to Mecca, the people of Quraysh shall not be obliged to turn him over to Muhammad.” The Messenger said addressing Suhayl: “If a man, after hearing my words, returns to you, I have no need of such a man. As well, the Quraysh shall not lend anyone support against Muhammad with men or arms”, and so forth.

Then Abu Jandal came to the Prophet and sat beside him. His father Suhayl demanded, “Turn him over to me!” The Muslims replied: “We shall not give him back to you!” The Prophet got up, and taking Abu Jandal by the hand, exclaimed: “O Allah, if you know that Abu Jandal is sincere in his faith, then provide for him a way of release and escape!” He then turned to the people and said: “There is no danger for him; he is only returning to his father and mother. I do wish to fulfill the conditions of the people of Quraysh.”

The Messenger of Allah then returned to Medina. On the way, Allah sent down to him the *surah* entitled *al-Fath* (the Conquest) which begins:

We have surely bestowed upon you manifest victory. .. (see Qur'an 48).

The sixth Imam as-Sadiq commented: “By the time this period (that is, of the Prophet's migration before the final conquest of Mecca) had come to an end, Islam had all but gained complete control over the inhabitants of Mecca.”

After the return of the Messenger of Allah to Medina, Abu Basir `Utbah ibn Asid ibn Jariyah ath-Thaqafi (a man of the tribe of Thaqif captured by the Quraysh), escaped from the Associators. al-Akhnas ibn Shurayq (a chief of the Quraysh) sent two men after him. Abu Basir killed one of the two men, and came to the Messenger of Allah as an Immigrant Muslim. Seeing him, the Prophet exclaimed, “A kindler (*mis`ar*) of war! Would that he had another man to give him support.” He then said to the man: “Your task now is to overpower your companion (that is, the other man sent after him). Then go wherever you wish.” Abu Basir left with five men who had come with him as Muslims. They settled in a coastal spot on the caravan route of the Quraysh, between al-`Is and Dhu 'l-Marwah in the land of Juhaynah on the way to Ghirat.

Likewise, Abu Jandal ibn Suhayl ibn `Amr escaped with seventy horsemen who had accepted Islam. They joined Abu Basir, who already had a large company of men of the Ghifar, Aslam and Juhaynah tribes. Altogether they were three hundred fighters, all Muslims. Thus, no caravan of the Quraysh passed by them but they captured it and killed its owners.

Finally, the people of Quraysh sent Abu Sufyan ibn Harb to the Messenger of Allah beseeching him to send to Abu Basir, Abu Jandal and their men to come to him. They conceded further, "Anyone who comes to you from us, you may retain without restriction." Thus, those who had counselled the Messenger of Allah to protect Abu Jandal against his father, realized that obeying the Apostle of Allah was better for them than whatever they might have liked or disliked.

When Abu 'l-`As ibn Rabi` with some men of Quraysh were returning from Syria, they passed by Abu Basir and Abu Jandal with their companions. They captured them and seized their goods, but did not kill anyone of them, because Abu 'l-`As was the son-in-law of the Messenger of Allah. They released Abu 'l-`As who came to his wife in Medina, for he had previously allowed her to go to Medina to be with the Messenger of Allah. Abu 'l-`As was the son of the sister of Khadijah bint Khuwaylid.

The Battle Of Khaybar

In Dhu 'l-Hijjah of 8/ 630 the Battle of Khaybar took place. According to al-Waqidi, this battle took place at the beginning of the 7th year of the Hijrah. ¹⁰ There were at the time of the settlement of Khaybar (near Medina) fourteen thousand Jews, living in well fortified strongholds. The Messenger of Allah besieged them for twenty some days, and began to break down their fortifications one by one. The strongest of these and most populated with fighters was the stronghold called al-Qumus.

First Abu Bakr took the banner of the Immigrants to lead them in battle, but he soon returned defeated. The next day `Umar ibn al-Khattab carried it, but he too suffered defeat.

Thus he began to accuse men of cowardice, as well as being himself similarly charged. This angered the Apostle of Allah. At last he said: "I shall give the banner tomorrow to one who attacks (karrar), and does not retreat. He is one who loves Allah and His Apostle, and whom Allah and His Apostle love. He shall not return until Allah opens (Khaybar) at his hands." The people of Quraysh wondered who such a man could be. "As for `Ali", they said to one another, "you need not think of him, because he is sore-eyed, unable to see even the ground under his feet." But when `Ali heard what the Apostle of Allah said, he exclaimed: "O Allah, there is no one who can give what you withhold, nor is there anyone who can withhold what you give!"

Next morning people gathered around the Messenger of Allah. Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas reported: "I sat facing him; I knelt, then stood up. He turned to me and said: 'Call `Ali for me.' Men cried out all around: 'He is so sore-eyed that he is unable to see the ground under his feet!' The Prophet replied: 'Send someone to bring him here.' He was brought, and the Prophet laid his head on his knee and spat in his eyes. Immediately they became as clear as Yemenite glass beads."

The Prophet then gave 'Ali the banner and prayed for him. `Ali went out running. Sa'd said: "By Allah, even before I had reached the last men in the line of fighters, 'Ali had already entered the stronghold." Jabir ibn `Abdillah al-Ansari added: "He did not even allow us enough time to put on the arms." Sa'd cried out: "O Abu l-Hasan, stop and wait awhile until the men are able to join you!" But 'Ali went on until he fixed the banner near the stronghold. A man called Marhab came out to meet him in single combat. He came out well armed and surrounded by other Jewish fighters. `Ali met him and they fought until 'Ali struck him with his sword and cut off his leg. He fell down, and `Ali with the other Muslims rushed at him, but he and his Companions fled quickly.

Aban related on the authority of Zurarah that (the fifth Imam) al-Baqir said: " 'Ali reached the gate of the stronghold, which was shut in his face. He pulled it off its hinges and used it as a shield. He then carried it on his back and broke into the fortification with great force. The Muslims then attacked as well, while the gate was still on his back." The Imam continued: " 'Ali suffered greater hardship from the men who were with him than from carrying the gate itself. He finally threw the gate away from him, while a crier went out to announce to the Messenger of Allah that `Ali had entered the fortification. The Messenger of Allah hastened to the spot and 'Ali went out to meet him. The Prophet said: `I have learnt of your welcome news and your worthy deeds. Allah is well pleased with you, and I too am pleased with you.' 'Ali wept, and the Prophet asked: `What makes you weep?' `I weep for joy' 'Ali answered, `because Allah and His Messenger are well pleased with me.'"

It is reported that among the captives whom 'Ali took was Safiyyah daughter of Huyayy. He called Bilal and gave her to him saying: "Do not deliver her to anyone except the Apostle of Allah, so that he may decide what to do with her." Bilal took her and passed by the dead (of her people) on his way to the Messenger of Allah. She nearly died of weeping for them. The Prophet said to him, "Has mercy been removed from your heart, O Bilal?" The Prophet then chose Safiyyah for himself; he freed her and married her.

It is reported that after the Messenger of Allah had concluded the affair of Khaybar, he raised a banner of war and demanded; "Who will rise and take this, and be worthy of it?" He did this because he wished to send an army under it to the gardens of Fadak. az-Zubayr stood up and said: "I would." The Prophet answered, "Leave it alone." Sa'd then stood up, and the Prophet likewise told him to leave it alone. The Prophet then said: "O 'Ali, rise up and take this standard!" He took it to Fadak, with whose people he made a treaty that he would spare their lives in return for the gardens. Thus the gardens of Fadak belonged exclusively to the Messenger of Allah.

Gabriel then came to him and said: "Allah commands you to give your next of kin their due." He asked: "O Gabriel, who are my next of kin, and what is their due?" He answered: "It is Fatimah; give her, therefore, the gardens of Fadak and whatever in them belongs to Allah and to His Apostle." The Messenger of Allah thus called Fatimah and wrote a document to that effect, which she brought to Abu Bakr after her father's death. She presented it saying: "This is the will of the Messenger of Allah to me

and my two sons.”

It is further reported that when the Messenger of Allah had conquered Khaybar, news came of the return of Ja'far ibn Abi Talib and his Companions from Abyssinia to Medina. The Prophet exclaimed: “I do not know with which of the two I should be more joyful, whether with the conquest of Khaybar or the coming of Ja`far ! ” Sufyan ath-Thawri (a well-known traditionist and theologian of the second century) reported on the authority of Jabir that when Ja`far returned from Abyssinia, the Messenger of Allah went out to meet him.

When Ja'far ibn Abi Talib saw the Apostle of Allah, he advanced toward him with short modest steps, as an expression of reverence. The Messenger of Allah kissed him on the forehead. Zurarah ibn A'yan (a disciple of the fifth and sixth Imams) reported on the authority of the former that when the Messenger of Allah received Ja'far, he kissed him on the eyes.

It is reported that before the Messenger of Allah set out for Khaybar, he sent `Amr ibn Umayyah ad-Damri to an-Najashi (Negus), ruler of Abyssinia to bring back Ja'far and his Companions. `Amr, however, invited an-Najashi to Islam, and he in fact became Muslim. `Amr then brought back Ja'far and his Companions. an-Najashi provisioned Ja`far and his Companions well, and ordered that each be given a suit of clothes. He had them transported on board two ships.

The Messenger of Allah then sent, as related on the authority of az-Zuhri, `Abdullah ibn Rawahah (a well-known Companion who was martyred in the Battle of Mu'tah) with thirty horsemen, among whom was `Abdullah ibn Anis, to Yasir ibn Rizam, the Jew. The Prophet did so after learning that Yasir had gathered the men of the tribe of Ghatafan to attack the Muslims with them. The Muslim horsemen came to him and said: “The Messenger of Allah sent us to you wishing to appoint you as the Governor of Khaybar.” They continued to plead with him until he gave in and followed them with thirty of his men, so that each one of them would accompany one of the Muslims. After they had gone only six miles, Yasir regretted his decision.

He thus turned to snatch 'Abdullah ibn Anis's sword, but 'Abdullah was on the alert. He spurred on his camel and continued to drive on the men before him until he caught up with Yasir. He then struck him with his sword on the leg, cutting it off. Yasir rushed at him with a thick staff of hard wood having a twisted handle like that of a sceptre. He struck 'Abdullah with it and split open his skull. Seeing this, every man of the Muslims rushed at his Jewish companion and killed him. Only one of the Jews was able to escape. No one of the Muslims was killed. When they came to the Messenger of Allah, he spat in `Abdullah's wound, which then never caused him any pain until he died.

The Prophet then sent a man named Ghalib ibn `Abdillah al-Kalbi (with a detachment) on a raid to the land of the tribe of Banu Murrah. He fought valiantly, but was finally taken captive. The Prophet also sent `Uyaynah ibn Hisn al-Badri on a similar raid to the land of the tribe of Banu `Anbar. He too killed some men and was captured.

The Engagement of `Umratu 'l-Qada'

Then came the engagement of `umratu'l-qada' (the lesser pilgrimage performed in compensation for the one missed the year before) in 7 A. H. The Messenger of Allah and those who had witnessed the engagement of Hudaibiyah with him set out for the lesser pilgrimage. When, however, the people of Quraysh heard of this, they vacated the city hastily and in disarray. He thus entered Mecca and circumambulated the Ka'bah on his camel. He held in his hand a stick with which he touched the Black Stone. `Abdullah ibn Rawahah led his camel by its rope reciting:

Move away, O children of the rejecters of faith, and hinder not Allah's way.

Move away, for all goodness is in His Apostle.

The All-merciful has declared in His Revelation,

That we should strike you sorely on account of its exegesis;

As we struck you on account of its revelation;

Such blows as would remove heads from bodies! Such blows as would remove heads from bodies!

Lord, I do believe in all that he says! Lord, I do believe in all that he says!

The Prophet stayed in Mecca for three days. There he married Maymunah al-Hilaliyyah, daughter of al-Harith. He left Mecca and went into her in a place called Sarf (outside the city); he then returned to Medina, where he remained till the beginning of the eighth year of the Hijrah.

The Engagement Of Mu'tah

The engagement of Mu'tah (on the borders of Syria) took place in Jumada 'l-Ula (August, 629). The Prophet dispatched a large army under the leadership of Zayd ibn al-Harithah. He directed that if Zayd were killed, then Ja'far ibn Abi Talib would take his place. If Ja'far were also slain, then `Abdullah ibn Rawahah should succeed him. Should he too be slain, then the Muslims must choose one from among themselves to be their leader. In a tradition related by Aban ibn `Uthman on the authority of the sixth Imam as-Sadiq, we are told that the Prophet appointed Ja'far as their leader. Should he be killed, then Zayd would succeed him, and if Zayd were also to be slain, then `Abdullah ibn Rawahah would assume the leadership of the army.

The men set out, and when they reached Ma'an (on the pilgrimage route between Mecca and Syria), they heard that Hiraql (Heraclius) had encamped at a nearby place called Ma'rib with an army of 100,000 Byzantine and a similar number of Arabized people. According to Aban ibn `Uthman, they heard of the great multitudes of the rejecters of faith, both Arabs and non-Arabs: the Lakhm, Judham, Baliyy and Quda'ah. The Associators then moved to a place called al-Masharif. Swords are called `al-mashrafiyyah' because they were manufactured for Solomon son of David in that place.

The Muslim fighters encamped in Ma'an for two days. After consulting with one another, they decided to send word to the Messenger of Allah telling him of the large numbers of their enemies, and await his

instructions. But `Abdullah ibn Rawahah objected saying: “O people – by Allah, we fight not with our numbers, but with this faith with which Allah has honoured us.” They all agreed saying: “You speak the truth!” Thus they prepared for war, even though they were only three thousand. They met the Byzantine armies in a town of the land of Balqa' called Sharf. The Muslims then moved to Mu'tah, a small town near al-Ahsa'.

It is related on the authority of Anas ibn Malik that: “Allah announced to the Prophet the death of Ja`far, Zayd ibn al-Harithah and `Abdullah ibn Rawahah before the news reached him.” His eyes were filled with tears, as related by al-Bukhari in his *as-Sahih*. [11](#) Aban related on the authority of Abu Ja'far (the fifth Imam): “Ja'far fell on that day having sustained fifty wounds, twenty-five of which were to his face.”

Ja'far's son `Abdullah said: “I remember when the Messenger of Allah came to my mother to announce to her the death of my father. I looked at him while he stroked me and my brother on the head, his eyes flowing with tears until his beard was soaked. He then said: `O Allah, behold: Ja'far has come to you, to the best of rewards. Grant that his progeny be among the best you have granted any of your servants.’ He then addressed my mother saying: `O Asma', shall I announce the good news to you?' `Yes', she answered, `may my father and mother be a ransom for you, O Apostle of Allah!’ He said: `Allah has granted Ja'far two wings with which to soar in Paradise.’ `Tell people about it', she demanded.

The Messenger of Allah then arose and took me by the hand, all the while patting me on the head, until he went up on to his pulpit and seated me before him on the lowest step. Sorrow was visible in his face. He addressed the people saying: `A man feels great sorrow at the death of his brother or his cousin. Ja'far has been martyred. He was given two wings with which to soar in Paradise.’ He then came down and went into his home. He took me with him and ordered that some food be prepared for me. He also sent for my brother, so that we both ate with him a blessed meal.

We stayed in his home for three days, accompanying him wherever he went around his wives' chambers. When at last we returned to our home, the Messenger of Allah came to us while I was bargaining to sell a sheep belonging to one of my brothers. He prayed: `O Allah, bless his bargain for him.’ `Abdullah then concluded: “I never thereafter bought or sold anything but that Allah blessed it for me.”

It is related on the authority of as-Sadiq that the Apostle of Allah said to Fatimah: “Go and mourn your cousin. Do not cry, `O my bereavement!’ Anything else you say about him (that is, enumerating his virtues), would be speaking the truth, for many are his virtues.” Muhammad Ibn Ishaq related on the authority of `Urwah ibn az-Zubayr that: “When the men of the Battle of Mu'tah returned, the Apostle of Allah met them with the other Muslims, who then began to throw dust upon them saying: `You retreaters! You have indeed taken to flight in the way of Allah!’ The Messenger of Allah retorted: `No, they are not retreaters. Rather, they are brave attackers, Allah willing.’”

The Conquest Of Mecca

The Battle of Mu'tah was followed in Ramadan of the same year (8 AH. = December, 629) by the Conquest of Mecca. When the Messenger of Allah agreed on the truce of Hudaibiyyah, the Khuza'ah tribe entered into a pact of alliance with the Prophet, and the Kinanah tribe established a similar pact with the Quraysh.

After two years had elapsed, a man of the Kinanah sat relating disparaging tales about the Messenger of Allah. A man of Khuza'ah objected saying: "Do not say such things." The man asked: "What is it to you?" He threatened, "If you repeat this, I will revoke our covenant." As the man dared him and repeated his words, the man of Khuza'ah struck him with his hand. Both men cried out to their people for support. The men of Kinanah were more numerous, so they beat the others back until they forced them into the Sacred Mosque, even killing some of them. The people of Quraysh aided the men of Kinanah with arms and horses.

`Amr ibn Salim (a man of the Khuza'ah tribe) rode to the Messenger of Allah with the news and recited the following verses:

*No matter, but I have come to remind Muhammad, of the old alliance between him and us.
The people of Quraysh have broken their promise to you;
they have indeed revoked your binding covenant,
They killed us while we were kneeling and prostrate at prayer!*

The Messenger of Allah answered: "You have said enough O `Amr ! " He then immediately arose and, entering the chamber of his wife Maymunah, ordered water to be brought to him. He began to wash himself and repeat, "No, may I never be given support if I do not come to the aid of the people of Ka'b (i.e., the Khuza'ah)." Thus the Apostle of Allah resolved on going to Mecca. He prayed: "O Allah, remove all spies of the Quraysh, so that we might surprise them in their own home."

A man called Hatib ibn Abi Balta'ah wrote a letter to the people of Quraysh which he sent with Sarah, a servant of Abu Lahab, telling them that the Messenger of Allah would come to punish them on such and such a day. The woman set out, avoiding the main road, and going instead to the left across the Harrah district. But Gabriel came down and told the Prophet. He called 'Ali and az-Zubayr and said to them: "Go overtake her and seize the letter from her!" 'Ali and az-Zubayr set out, not stopping to speak to anyone until they reached Dhu 'l-Hulayfah (a place outside Medina on the way to Mecca).

The Prophet had previously set guards over Medina, headed by al-Harithah ibn an-Nu'man. 'Ali and az-Zubayr asked the guards if they had seen the woman, but they said that they had seen no one. They then met a woodcutter and asked him; he said, "I saw a dark woman who turned down towards al-Harrah." Thus they caught her; 'Ali took the letter from her and took her back to the Messenger of Allah.

The Prophet called Hatib and said to him: "See what you have done!" The man answered: "By Allah, I have faith in Allah and His Apostle. I have never doubted, but I am a man who has close relatives and family in Mecca. I therefore wished to do the people of Quraysh a good turn in order that they in turn act kindly towards my family." `Umar ibn al-Khattab said: "Let me cut off his head, O Apostle of Allah; for-by Allah, he has acted hypocritically!" The Prophet replied: "He is of the people of Badr, whom Allah has looked kindly on and forgiven."

He then commanded: "Expel him from the Mosque!" As men began to push him out, he turned and looked at the Messenger of Allah, hoping that he would show mercy towards him. The Prophet at last ordered that he be brought back, and said to him: "I have pardoned your crime. Seek forgiveness of your Lord, therefore, and do not commit such an act again." Allah then sent down:

Do you who have faith, do not take my enemies and your enemies as allies . . . , and so on to the middle of the surah (see Qur'an 60:1 et seq.).

Aban related on the authority of Abu `Abdillah (as-Sadiq) that when Abu Sufyan learnt of what the people of Quraysh had done to those of Khuza'ah while he was in Syria, he went to the Messenger of Allah and said to him: "O Muhammad, stop the blood of your people from being shed! Allow that pacts of protection (*jiwar*) be established among the people of Quraysh, and give us longer respite!" The Prophet replied: "But you have committed treachery, O Abu Sufyan." "No", Abu Sufyan answered. The Prophet then declared: "We remain committed as we have been." Abu Sufyan met Abu Bakr soon after he left the Prophet. He requested him to grant protection to the people of Quraysh. Abu Bakr objected: "Alas for you, can anyone grant protection against the Messenger of Allah?"

Abu Sufyan then met `Umar and repeated to him the same request. He then went to Umm Habibah, wife of the Prophet, and went to sit on a mattress she had on the floor. Umm Habibah, however, quickly folded the mattress and took it away. Abu Sufyan asked: "O daughter, would you consider me unworthy to sit on this mattress?" "Yes", she retorted, "this belongs to the Messenger of Allah. You ought not to sit on it while you are an abominable Associator!" He then went to Fatimah and addressed her saying: "O daughter of the Apostle of Allah and master of the Arabs, would you offer protection to the people of Quraysh and extend our period of truce, and thus be the noblest lady among the people?"

She answered: "My pact of protection is that of the Apostle of Allah." He begged again: "Would you order your two sons to offer protection to the people?" "By Allah", she said: "my sons would not know to whom of the people of Quraysh they should offer protection." Abu Sufyan then met 'Ali and said to him: "You are the closest in kinship to me. Matters have become difficult for me; find a way out for me." `Ali answered: "You are the chief elder of Quraysh. Stand, therefore, at the door of the mosque and establish pacts of protection among the men of Quraysh. Then ride out and go to your people." "Do you consider this to be of benefit to me?" Abu Sufyan asked. "I do not know", 'Ali answered. Abu Sufyan did as `Ali suggested and cried out: "O people, I hereby declare a covenant of protection (*jiwar*) among the people of Quraysh!"

Abu Sufyan then mounted his camel and went to his people. They asked: "What news have you?" He replied: "I went to Muhammad and spoke to him, but by Allah, he gave no answer to me. I then went to Ibn Abi Quhafah (Abu Bakr), but I found no good with him. I likewise went to `Umar ibn al-Khattab, but to no avail. I went to Fatimah, but she did not answer me. I finally met `Ali, and he advised me to declare a covenant of protection among the people, and they accepted. The men of Quraysh asked: "Did Muhammad allow it?" "No", he answered. "Alas for you", they retorted, "the man (that is, `Ali) is playing tricks on you, while you declare covenants of protection among the people of Quraysh! "

The Messenger of Allah set out for Mecca on Friday after the mid-afternoon prayers on the second of Ramadan (9/630), leaving Abu Lubabah ibn `Abdi 'l-Mundhir as his representative in Medina. He then summoned the chief of every tribe and asked him to call his people to arms. It is reported on the authority of (the fifth Imam) al-Baqir that the Messenger of Allah set out for the Battle of Conquest observing the fast along with the people until they reached a place called Kura'u'l-Ghamim, where he broke his fast. The people also broke their fast except a few who were then called `the rebellious ones'. He journeyed on until he reached a place called Marru'z-Zahran. He was accompanied by around ten thousand men and four hundred horsemen, but the people of Quraysh did not learn of his coming.

On that night Abu Sufyan, Hakim ibn Hizam and Badil ibn Warqa' set out wondering if they would hear any news. al-`Abbas ibn `Abdi 'l-Muttalib had previously gone out to meet the Messenger of Allah, accompanied by Abu Sufyan ibn al-Harith and `Abdullah ibn Abi Umayyah. He met him at a spot called Niqu'l-'Iqab. The Messenger of Allah was sitting under a canopy guarded by Ziyad ibn Usayd. Ziyad met them and said: "As for you O Abu 'l-Fadl, you may go to the canopy. But as for the two of you, you must go away." al-`Abbas went to the Messenger of Allah and greeted him with the salutation of peace, and said: "May my father and mother be a ransom for you, here is your cousin (that is, Abu Sufyan) and your maternal aunt's son (that is, `Abdullah ibn Abi Umayyah) coming to you repentant." He answered, "I have no need of them. My cousin has violated my family's honour. As for the son of my aunt, he is the one who says in Mecca:

'We shall not believe you until you cause a cool spring to gush forth for us from the earth'
(Qur'an 17:90) .

When al-`Abbas left, Umm Salamah (the Prophet's wife) pleaded with him saying: "May my father and mother be a ransom for you, here is your cousin coming to you repentant! Let him not be the most wretched of men through you. Here also is the brother of your aunt's son, and brother to your son-in-law; let him not be wretched through you! " Abu Sufyan ibn al-Harith then called out to the Prophet:

"O Apostle of Allah, say to us what Allah's righteous servant (Joseph) said to his brothers: 'There is no blame on you'" (Qur'an 12:92) .

The Prophet then called both Abu Sufyan and `Abdullah ibn Abi Umayyah and accepted their

repentance.

al-`Abbas commented: "If the Messenger of Allah had entered Mecca as a conqueror, it would have been the destruction of Quraysh to the end of time." He continued: "Thus I mounted the Messenger of Allah's white mule and went out of the city looking for a woodcutter or shepherd that I might send to the people of Quraysh and convey my advice that they ride to the Apostle of Allah and beg for a promise of security (*aman*). On the way I met Abu Sufyan, Badil ibn Warqa" and Hakim ibn Hizam, just as Abu Sufyan was asking Badil, 'What are these fires?' He answered, 'They must belong to the tribe of Khuza'ah.' Abu Sufyan answered, 'The Khuza'ah are too few for these to be their fires. They must rather belong to either the Taym or Rabi'ah tribe.' "

al-`Abbas went on: "I recognized Abu Sufyan's voice, and called out, 'Is that Abu Hanzalah?' He answered: 'Here I am; who are you?' I answered, 'I am al -`Abbas.' Abu Sufyan asked, 'To whom do these fires belong?' 'This is the Messenger of Allah with ten thousand of the Muslims', I replied. He asked further, 'What is to be done?' I said, 'You must ride behind me on this mule and come with me that I may beg the Messenger of Allah for a promise of security for you.' I thus put him behind me and rode with him (to the Prophet). Whenever we passed by an assembly of men, they rushed at him. But as they saw me, they turned back saying, 'This is the uncle of the Apostle of Allah; let him go.' When I reached `Umar's door, he recognized Abu Sufyan and exclaimed, 'Here is the enemy of Allah; praise be to Allah Who brought you into my hands!' The mule, however, galloped on until we all gathered at the entrance to the canopy.

`Umar went in and said (to the Prophet), 'Here is Abu Sufyan; Allah has brought him into your hands without him having any covenant or agreement of protection. Let me, therefore, strike off his head.' "

Al-`Abbas continued his narrative. "I sat at the feet of the Apostle of Allah and begged him, saying: 'Here is Abu Sufyan whom I have taken into my protection.' He answered, 'Bring him in.' Abu Sufyan stood before him, and the Prophet asked, 'O Abu Sufyan, is it not time for you to bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and that I am the Apostle of Allah?' Abu Sufyan exclaimed, 'May my father and mother be a ransom for you! How noble and kind to your next of kin you are, and how clement! By Allah, had there been any other god beside Him, he would have assisted on the days of Uhud and Badr. But as for the fact that you are the Messenger of Allah, I still have some doubt in my heart concerning it.' "

Al-`Abbas warned him saying: "He will strike off your head right now unless you bear witness that he is the Apostle of Allah!" Abu Sufyan finally exclaimed: "I bear witness that there is no god but Allah, and that you are indeed the Apostle of Allah." He barely mumbled it with his lips. Abu Sufyan asked al -`Abbas, "What shall we do with al-Lat and al-`Uzza (the two goddesses of Mecca)?" "Defecate on them!" `Umar retorted: Abu Sufyan said: "Fie on you, how lewd you are! What makes you intervene in a conversation between me and my cousin?" The Messenger of Allah asked Abu Sufyan, "With whom will you spend the night?" "With Abu 'l-Fadl", he replied. The Prophet said: "Take him, O Abu 'l-Fadl, and let him sleep at your home tonight, and bring him back to me in the morning."

Next morning, Abu Sufyan heard Bilal raising the call to prayer. He asked: "Who is that calling out, O Abu 'l-Fadl?" al-'Abbas answered: "He is the *mu'adhdhin* of the Messenger of Allah. Rise, therefore, perform your ablutions and offer your prayers." "How shall I perform my ablutions?" Abu Sufyan enquired. al-'Abbas then taught him how.

It is reported that Abu Sufyan looked at the Prophet performing his ablutions, while the Muslims placed their hands beneath his head so that not one drop fell on a man but that he rubbed his face with it. He exclaimed in astonishment: "O Abu 'l-Fadl, by Allah, I have never seen the like of this day in the courts of Kisra (the Emperor of Persia) or Qaysar (the Emperor of Byzantium)!" After Abu Sufyan had performed his prayers, al-'Abbas took him to the Messenger of Allah. Abu Sufyan addressed him, saying: "O Apostle of Allah, I wish that you would permit me to warn your people (that is, the Quraysh of Mecca) and invite them to the Messenger of Allah." He was granted permission.

Abu Sufyan asked al-'Abbas, "What shall I say to them? Advise me of a way in which they would be pleased." The Prophet answered: "Say to them, 'Anyone who says there is no god but Allah alone, having no associate, and that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah, and also restrains his hand (that is, from fighting against the Muslims), shall be granted security. Anyone who lays down his arms and sits by the Ka'bah shall have safety.'" al-'Abbas said: "O Apostle of Allah, Abu Sufyan is a man who loves boasting. Would you, then, grant him a special favour?" The Prophet then added: "Whoever enters the house of Abu Sufyan shall be safe." Abu Sufyan enquired, again with astonishment, "Do you mean my house?" "Yes, your house", the Prophet answered. He went on: "Anyone who remains in his home and shuts his door, shall be safe."

When Abu Sufyan left, al-'Abbas said: "O Apostle of Allah, Abu Sufyan is a man who behaves perfidiously, and he has observed the disunity prevailing among the Muslims. The Prophet replied: "Pursue him and keep him in the narrow passes of the valley until Allah's legions overtake him." It is reported that al-'Abbas pursued Abu Sufyan and called out to him: "O Abu Hanzalah." Abu Sufyan called back: "Is it treachery that you intend against me, O sons of Hashim?" "Treachery is not our custom, as you shall know", al-'Abbas replied, "but stay here till the morning so that you might see the legions of Allah." al-'Abbas reported that Khalid ibn al-Walid passed first, and Abu Sufyan said: "This is the Messenger of Allah." "No", answered al-'Abbas, "this is Khalid ibn al-Walid coming with the first ranks." Then az-Zubayr passed by leading the tribes of Juhaynah and Ashja'.

Abu Sufyan exclaimed: "O 'Abbas, this is Muhammad!" "No", he answered, "this is az-Zubayr." Thus legions followed past him one after the other until the Messenger of Allah came leading the legion of the Ansar. Then Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah came up to Abu Sufyan, bearing in his hand the standard of the Messenger of Allah, and said: "O Abu Hanzalah, today is the day of war! Today shall womenfolk be taken captive! O men of the Aws and Khazraj, today is the day of your revenge for the day of the mountain (that is, for those who were killed in the Battle of Uhud)."

When Abu Sufyan heard these words from Sa'd, he left al-'Abbas and made his way through the crowds

and under the spears of the men, until he stood by the Messenger of Allah. He took hold of his stirrup and kissed it. He then addressed him saying: "May my father and mother be a ransom for you; do you hear what Sa'd is saying?" He then repeated Sa'd's words to the Prophet. The Prophet answered: "Nothing of what Sa'd has said will happen." He then turned to 'Ali and said: "Go to Sa'd and take the banner from him and carry it gently into Mecca." 'Ali carried it thither as the Prophet had commanded.

It is reported that on that day Hakim ibn Hizam, Badil ibn Warqa' and Jubayr ibn Mut'im accepted Islam. Abu Sufyan ran hastily to Mecca. Even though a thick cloud of dust appeared over the mountains, the people of Quraysh knew nothing of what was taking place: Abu Sufyan came running up the valley. The men of Quraysh met him and asked the reason for his excitement, and the meaning of the dust which they saw. He said: "Here comes Muhammad with the multitudes!" He then cried out: "O people of Ghalib, run to your houses! Whoever enters my home, he shall be safe!" When Hind learnt of what was happening, she began to expel the people (from Abu Sufyan's home).

She then cried out: "Kill the wicked old man (meaning the Prophet). May Allah curse such a leader, coming at the head of such a people!" Abu Sufyan retorted: "Hold your peace, woe to you! I saw the men of horns (that is, the Byzantines, descendants of Alexander the Great who was known as *Dhu 'l-Qarnayn*, the man with the two horns) – I saw the noble sons of Persia, the King of Kindah (an important Arab tribe) and the young men of Himyar (a large tribe of Yemen) – I saw them all accepting Islam at the end of the day (of battle). Hold your peace; alas for you, Truth has come, and calamity is near!"

The Messenger of Allah had previously bound the Muslims with a promise that they would kill in Mecca only those who might fight against them, except a few men who used to insult the Prophet – Miqyas ibn Subabah, 'Abdullah ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarh, 'Abdullah ibn Khatal and two singing girls who used to sing songs denigrating the Messenger of Allah. He commanded the Muslims, saying: "Slay them, even if you find them holding on to the curtains of the Ka'bah." 'Abdullah ibn Khatal was indeed found holding on to the curtains of the Ka'bah. Said ibn Hurayth and 'Ammar ibn Yasir ran to him, but Said overtook 'Ammar and slew him. Miqyas ibn Subabah was killed in the market place.

'Ali killed one of the two singing girls, but the other escaped. 'Ali also killed al-Huwayrith ibn Naqidh ibn Ka'b. He learnt that Umm Hani daughter of Abu Talib had given shelter to some men of the Makhzum tribe, among whom were al-Harith ibn Hisham and Qays ibn as-Sa'ib. 'Ali went to her house heavily clad with iron armor. He cried out: "Bring forth the men you have sheltered!" The men began to urinate on themselves in fear of him. Umm Hani came out to him, not knowing who he was, and said: "O servant of Allah, I am Umm Hani, cousin of the Messenger of Allah and sister of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib! Go away from my house." 'Ali, however, insisted: "Bring them out!" She answered: "By Allah, I shall accuse you before the Apostle of Allah!" But as he took the helmet off his head, she recognized him. She thus ran and embraced him, saying: "May I be a ransom for you! I have sworn by Allah that I would accuse you before the Apostle of Allah." "Go and fulfill your oath", 'Ali replied, "there he is at the head of the valley."

Umm Hani related: “I came to the Messenger of Allah as he was under a canopy bathing, while Fatimah stood sheltering him. When the Messenger of Allah heard my words, he exclaimed: ‘Welcome to you, O Umm Hani!’ I replied, ‘May my father and mother be a ransom for you, I have endured much from ‘Ali today.’ He answered: ‘I shall grant protection (jiwar) to anyone you have taken into your protection.’ Fatimah added: ‘So you come to accuse ‘Ali in that he frightened the enemies of Allah and His Apostle.’ I said to the Prophet: ‘Bear with me, may I be a ransom for you.’ The Messenger of Allah replied: ‘May Allah accept well his effort! As for me, I shall grant protection to anyone in Umm Hani’s protection because of her relationship to ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib.’ ”

Aban reported on the authority of (the sixth Imam) Abu ‘Abdillah that when Mecca was conquered, the Apostle of Allah asked: “Who has the key (of the Ka’bah)?” They answered: “It is with Umm Shaybah.” He thus called Shaybah and said to him: “Go to your mother and ask her to send the key.” She said to her son: “Tell him, ‘You have killed our fighters; do you now wish to seize our honour!’ ” Shaybah threatened: “You either send the key, or I shall kill you!” She finally placed it in the hand of the youth, who took it to the Prophet. The Prophet then called ‘Umar and said: “This is the fulfilment of my dream which I had.” He then rose and opened (the Ka’bah) with the key and hung a curtain over its door. From that day on, it has become custom to cover it. The Prophet then called the youth, spread his garment, placed the key in it and said: “Take it back to your mother.”

It is reported that the valiant men of Quraysh entered the Ka’bah thinking that they would not be spared the sword. The Messenger of Allah came to the House, and taking hold of the two posts of the door, exclaimed: “There is no god but Allah; He fulfilled His promise, granted His servant victory, and He alone defeated the Confederates (*al-Ahzab*).” Then, addressing the people of Quraysh, he asked: “What do you think, and what have you now to say?” Suhayl ibn ‘Amr answered: “We think well and say good: ‘A noble brother and a cousin.’ ” The Prophet replied: “I say to you what Joseph said to his brothers,

‘There is no blame on you today; may Allah forgive you, for He is most merciful’ (12:92) .

Let every wealth (wrongfully seized), every blood (wrongfully shed), and every revenge to be exacted belonging to the days of *jahiliyyah* be trampled under my foot, except the guardianship of the Ka’bah and the bearing of water at the time of the pilgrimage (*siqayatu l-hajj*); they shall be returned to their people.

Behold, the sanctity of Mecca (that is, against any kind of violence), was made inviolable by Allah. It was never allowed to be violated by anyone before me, nor was it made violable for me except for one hour of one day. It shall henceforth remain inviolable until the coming of the Hour. Its herbs shall not be cut off, nor shall its trees be cut down. Its animals shall not be hunted, nor will any valuable (thing) be picked up except by one wishing to identify it and its owner.”

He then said: “Bad hosts indeed you were to the Prophet! You have rejected, expelled, forcefully driven out and beaten (the Muslims). Yet, you were not satisfied until you came to me to fight against me in my own home. No matter – go, for you are free! ” The people went out as though they had been raised up

from the tomb, and they all entered into Islam.

It is reported that the Messenger of Allah entered Mecca without being in the state of consecration (ihram). This is because the Muslims had entered Mecca with their arms. He likewise entered the House neither performing the greater or lesser pilgrimage. He went in at the mid-afternoon hour, and ordered Bilal to go up to the roof of the Ka'bah and raise the call to prayer. `Ikrimah (ibn Abi Jahl) exclaimed: "By Allah, I hate to hear the voice of Ibn Rabah (that is, Bilal) braying on the roof of the Ka'bah." Khalid ibn Usayd said: "Praise be to Allah Who favored Abu `Attab today in not letting him see Ibn Rabah standing on the Ka'bah." Suhayl ibn `Amr objected saying: "It is Allah's Ka'bah, and He sees all things. Had He willed otherwise, He would have altered (the situation)." It is reported that Suhayl was the most sober among the men of Quraysh.

Abu Sufyan said: "As for me, I shall say nothing. If I were to speak, by Allah, these walls would, I think, inform Muhammad of what I say!" The Prophet did, in fact, send for them and tell them what they had said. `Attab confessed: "By Allah, we did say all that, O Apostle of Allah. We therefore beg Allah's forgiveness and repent to Him." He thereafter accepted Islam and sincerely lived by it. The Messenger of Allah set him over Mecca as governor.

Mecca was conquered thirteen nights into Ramadan. Three Muslims were martyred. They were left alone at the lowest district of Mecca; they thus lost their way and were killed.

The Messenger of Allah then sent detachments of men all around Mecca calling people to Allah, but he did not command them to fight. He sent Ghalib ibn `Abdillah to the tribe of Mudlij; they said: "We are neither against you, nor are we with you." The people said: "Attack them, O Apostle of Allah!" He answered: "They have a magnanimous and prudent chief. Many a fighter of the Banu Mudlij shall be a martyr in the way of Allah."

The Prophet sent `Amr ibn Umayyah ad-Damri to the tribe of Banu 'l-Hudhayl to call them to Allah and His Apostle, but they vehemently refused his call. The people again said: "Attack them, O Apostle of Allah!" He answered: "Their chief shall now come to you. He has become a Muslim. He shall say to them, 'Become Muslims', and they will answer, 'Yes, we shall.'" Then the Prophet sent `Abdullah ibn Suhayl ibn `Amr to the tribe of Banu Muharib. They accepted Islam, and a group of them came back with him to the Messenger of Allah.

The Prophet also sent Khalid ibn al-Walid to the tribe of Judhaymah ibn `Amir. During the time of *jahiliyyah* they had captured some women of the tribe of Banu'l-Mughirah, and killed Khalid's paternal uncle. They thus received him in full armour saying: "O Khalid, we have not raised arms against Allah and against His Apostle, for we are Muslims. If the Apostle of Allah has sent you as an emissary, then there are our camels and sheep; go at them." Khalid, however, insisted, "Lay down your arms." They answered: "We fear that you will attack us because of a feud left over from the time of *jahiliyyah*."

Yet, Allah and His Apostle have declared such feuds dead." He and the men who were with him then left

them and encamped nearby. Still he attacked them with horses, slaying some and capturing others. He then ordered his men, "Let every one of you kill his captive." Thus they killed the captives. The emissary of the tribe then went to the Messenger of Allah and told him what Khalid had done. On hearing this, the Prophet lifted his hands to the heaven and exclaimed: "O Allah, I dissociate myself from that which Khalid has done!" He wept, and called for 'Ali and said to him: "Go to them and look into their affair." He also gave 'Ali a sackful of gold. 'Ali did what the Prophet commanded him to do, and pacified them.

The Engagement of Hunayn

The engagement of Hunayn took place in 8/ 630. The tribe of Hawazin gathered a large multitude of men against the Prophet. The Messenger of Allah was told that Safwan ibn Umayyah had a hundred suits of armour in his possession. He asked him for them, and Safwan enquired: "Would you seize them by force, O Muhammad?" "No", he answered: "rather a loan guaranteed." He thus agreed and gave them to him.

The Messenger of Allah left Mecca with two thousand fighters. He had with him as well an additional ten thousand men. One of his Companions observed: "If you are defeated today, it will not be for reasons of inadequate numbers." The Messenger of Allah was troubled by this observation; thus Allah sent down:

On the day of Hunayn when you were pleased with your own large numbers . . . (Qur'an 9:25).

A man called Malik ibn `Awf an-Nasri came with some men of the tribes of Qays and Thaqif. The Messenger of Allah sent `Abdullah ibn Abi Hadrad as a spy, and he heard Ibn `Awf saying: "O people of Hawazin, you are indeed the quickest to anger and most numerous among the Arabs. This man, moreover, has not yet met a people who would engage him in a true fight. When you meet him, break the tips of your swords in fighting; rush at him as one man!" Ibn Abi Hadrad then came to the Apostle of Allah and recounted all this to him. `Umar rejoined, "Do not listen, O Apostle of Allah, to what Ibn AN Hadrad is saying." He answered: "O `Umar, you were gone astray, then Allah guided you. Ibn Abi Hadrad is a truthful man."

As-Sadiq related that it was Durayd ibn as-Sammah who accompanied the men of Hawazin. Although Durayd was an old man, they brought him with them in order that they might benefit from his wise counsel.

When they reached Awtas (a place three days' journey from Mecca), the old man exclaimed: "A goodly place this is for horses to gallop. There is neither rough terrain nor a plain of quicksand. Why then do I hear the braying of camels and donkeys and the cries of infants?" He was told that Malik ibn `Awf had had men bring their wealth, womenfolk and children with them. He called for Malik, and when he came he said to him: "O Malik, you have become the chief of your people. This, moreover, is a day which will be important for many days to follow. Why do I then hear the braying of camels and donkeys, the cries of infants and the bleating of sheep?" He answered: "I wish to have behind every man his family and

wealth (so that he will be forced) to defend them.”

Durayd objected: “You fool, you will accomplish nothing if you do not place the power of Hawazin on the horses at the front. For would anything stand in the face of a retreating man? If you win, it will be only because men welded their swords and spears. But if you lose, you will have exposed your family and wealth.” Malik retorted: “You are an old man; you have lost your mind!” Durayd replied: “I may have become old, but you shall bring your people to humiliation because of the foolishness of your reason and of your views. Yet, I have not for a moment taken leave of my reason.” He then exclaimed: “It shall be a hard war. *Would that I were a strong young man* (i.e., at the time of Muhammad's proclamation of his Prophethood), *so that I could run* (in battle) *with speed and agility.*”

Jabir ibn `Abdillah al-Ansari said: “Thus we continued our journey until we reached the valley of Hunayn; there we were overwhelmed by troops of men brandishing swords, spears and iron bars, waiting in ambush in the bends and narrows of the valley. As they saw us, they rushed at us as one man in their determination. People retreated quickly, so that no one even stopped to look at another. The Messenger of Allah stepped aside to the right, and nine of the sons of `Abdu'l-Muttalib surrounded his mule to defend him. Malik ibn `Awf ran out crying, ‘Show me Muhammad!’ and rushed at the Messenger of Allah. He was tall and well-built, but a rash person.

One of the Muslims met him in single combat, but Malik killed him.” It was reported that the man was Ayman the son of Umm Ayman (the Prophet's wet-nurse). Malik then spurred his horse on, but it would not advance toward the Messenger of Allah. A man called Kaladah ibn al-Hanbal, who was a step-brother to Safwan ibn Umayyah (Safwan being still an Associator) cried out: “Magic has indeed been rendered ineffectual today!” Safwan reproached him saying: “May Allah break your mouth; by Allah, I prefer that a man of Quraysh lord over me than a man of Hawazin !”

Muhammad ibn Ishaq reported that a man called Shaybah ibn `Uthman ibn Abi Talhah of the tribe of `Abdu'dDar, said: “I shall now take my revenge; today I shall kill Muhammad.” This was because his father had been killed in the Battle of Uhud. “Thus,” he continued, “I sought Muhammad to kill him, but something came over me so that my heart felt as though pressed down, and I was unable to endure it. I knew then that he was (divinely) protected.” It is further related on the authority of `Ikrimah that Shaybah said: “When I saw the Messenger of Allah on the day of Hunayn totally abandoned, I remembered my father and uncle and how `Ali and Hamzah killed them.

Thus I thought to myself, ‘I shall today take my revenge on Muhammad.’ When, however, I came to attack him on his right, I saw al-`Abbas ibn `Abdi'l-Muttalib standing by him clad with a white suit of armour as though made of silver. He was brushing the dust off it. I thought, ‘He is his uncle; he would not abandon him.’ Then I came at him from behind, and was about to cut him down with my sword. But a fiery wall of hot flame looking like a thunderbolt stood between me and him. I was afraid that it would consume me. I covered my eyes with my hand and ran away. The Messenger of Allah turned to me and called out, ‘O Shubayb, come close to me.’ He then prayed, ‘O Allah, remove Satan from him.’ I lifted my

eyes toward him, and he was indeed dearer to me than my hearing and my sight. He then said to me, 'O Shubayb, fight against the rejecters of faith!' ”

It is reported on the authority of Musa ibn 'Uqbah that the Messenger of Allah stood up in the stirrups of his donkey and said: "O Allah, I beg of You to fulfil what You had promised me. O Allah, they should not gain victory over us! ” He then called his Companions and reproached them saying: "O you men who gave the oath of allegiance (*bay'ah*) on the day of Hudaibiyyah! O Allah, hasten to the aid of your Prophet!" It is also related that he cried out: "O supporters of the Messenger of Allah, O sons of the tribe of Khazraj!" He then commanded al-'Abbas to call the people together, and the Prophet's Companions came to him running. It is reported that the Prophet exclaimed: "Now the fighting has become fierce! *I am the Prophet without doubt, I am the son of Abdu'l-Muttalib!*"

Salamah ibn al-Akwa' reported that the Messenger of Allah then dismounted his mule, took a handful of dust and threw it at their faces saying: "May these faces be disgraced! ” There was not a creature of Allah among them but that his eyes were filled with dust. Thus they turned and quickly fled. The Muslims followed them and slew them. Allah, moreover, granted the Muslims their women, children, livestock and wealth. Malik ibn 'Awf fled to the stronghold of at-Ta'if with some of their notables. At that time, when they saw Allah's support and the great honour He bestowed on His religion, many of the people of Mecca became Muslims.

Aban reported on the authority of Abu 'Abdillah (as-Sadiq) that the Messenger of Allah captured in the Battle of Hunayn four thousand head of cattle and twelve thousand she-camels, in addition to unknown quantities of other spoils. The Messenger of Allah left the booty, both wealth and captives, in a place called al-Ji'rannah (near Mecca). The Associators then split into two groups. The Bedouins and their followers went in the direction of Awtas. The tribe of Thaqif and their followers went to at-Ta'if. The Messenger of Allah then sent 'Abu 'Amir al-Ash'ari to Awtas, where he fought until he fell in battle. His cousin Abu Musa al-Ash'ari (the famous Companion) took up the banner and fought until Allah granted him victory.

The Siege of At-Ta'if

In the month of Shawwal of the year 8/630, the Messenger of Allah led an army to at-Ta'if, which he then besieged for about fifteen days. A man called Nafi' ibn Ghaylan ibn Mu'attab went out for battle with the Muslims with a number of horsemen of the tribe of Thaqif. 'Ali encountered him in the midst (*batn*) of Wajj (a valley in at-Ta'if). 'Ali killed him, and the Associators fled defeated. Some men and a number of their relatives came down from the stronghold of at-Ta'if to the Messenger of Allah; among them was Abu Bakrah, who was a slave to a man called al-Harith ibn Kaladah al-Munba'ith.

Abu Bakrah was called 'al-Mudtaji' (the man lying down), but the Apostle of Allah changed his name to 'al-Munba'ith' (the man who was raised up). Another man was Wardan, who was a slave of 'Abdullah ibn Rabi'ah. They both accepted Islam. When the peace delegation from at-Ta'if came to the

Messenger of Allah, they too became Muslims and requested the Prophet to return the two slaves to them. “No”, the Prophet said, “they are Allah's freemen.”

Al-Waqidi reported from his masters that the Messenger of Allah consulted with his Companions regarding the fortress of at-Ta'if, and Salman the Persian suggested that he set up a mangonel against it. He thus ordered that one be made. It is reported that a man called Yazid ibn Zam'ah brought a mangonel and two battering engines. It is also reported that it was Khalid ibn Said who brought them. But the men of Thaqif threw hot iron bars at them which burnt one of the engines.

The Messenger of Allah ordered that their vineyards be cut down and burnt. Sufyan ibn `Abdillah ath-Thaqafi, however, called out to him and said: “Why do you wish to cut down and burn our properties? You either seize them if you prevail over us, or you should leave them for Allah and for the sake of our blood relationship.” The Apostle of Allah replied: “Rather, I leave them for Allah and for the sake of our blood relationship.” He thus spared them.

The Messenger of Allah sent 'Ali during the siege of at-Ta'if with men and horses and ordered him to break any idol he found. He was confronted by a large crowd of the tribe of Ithath'am. A man of the group came forth for single combat, challenging `Ali with the demand, “Is there any one to engage me in single combat?” No one took up the challenge. Finally `Ali stood up to face him, but `Abu'l`As ibn ar-Rabi` (the husband of the Prophet's daughter) jumped up and asked `Ali: “Would you wish to be spared fighting him, O commander?” “No,” he answered, “but if I am killed, you shall assume the leadership of the people.” He then came forth to meet the man saying :

Duty is upon every chief,

(either) to nourish his spear (with blood) or have it broken (in battle).

He then struck the man and slew him. He went on his way until he broke all the idols he saw and then returned to the Messenger of Allah while he was still besieging at-Ta'if. When he saw him, the Prophet cried out: “Allah is most great!” He then took `Ali and conferred with him alone.

It is reported on the authority of Jabir ibn `Abdillah al-Ansari that when the Messenger of Allah took `Ali aside on the day of at-Ta'if, `Umar ibn al-Khattab came to him and said: “You confer with him alone and spend time alone with him instead of us!” The Prophet answered: “O `Umar, it is not I who chose him; rather Allah chose him.” `Umar turned away saying: “This is the same as when you told us on the day of Hdaybiyyah: `

You shall enter the Sacred Mosque, if Allah wills, in safety, with your heads shaven (i.e., for consecration)' (Qur'an 48: 27) ;

yet we have not entered it. Rather, we were prevented from approaching it.”

The Prophet called him back and said: “I did not say that you would enter it that year.” When `Ali

returned, the Apostle of Allah looked as though he was afraid (that 'Ali had returned defeated), and he stood up. A man called Said ibn `Ubayd exclaimed (slanderosly): "Indeed, the quarter (to be conquered) still stands intact (i.e., 'Ali has returned without fulfilling his mission)." The Prophet retorted: "May you not be able to stand or have strength!" Sa'id immediately fell and broke his leg. Muhammad ibn Ishaq reported that the Messenger of Allah besieged the people of at-Ta'if for thirty some days. He then departed from them without raising among them the call to prayer (as sign of victory). In the following Ramadan, however, a delegation from them came to him, and they accepted Islam.

The Messenger of Allah then returned to al-Ji'rranah, where he divided the booty which the Muslims had seized on the day of Hunayn. It was divided among 'those whose hearts were reconciled' of the people of Quraysh, [12](#) and the rest of the Arabs; but nothing at all went to the Ansar. It is, reported, however, that the Prophet allotted a small share to the Ansar, but gave the largest portion to the Hypocrites.

Muhammad ibn Ishaq reported that the Prophet gave Abu Sufyan ibn Harb and his son Mu'awiyah a hundred camels each. He also gave a hundred camels each to Hakim ibn Hizam of the tribe of Asad ibn `Abdi'l-`Uzza ibn Qusayy, an Nadir ibn al-Harith ibn Kaladah, al-Harith ibn Hisham of the Banu Makhzum, Jubayr ibn Mut'im of the tribe of Banu Nawfal ibn `Abd Manaf, and Malik ibn `Awf an-Nasri. These men were thus known as 'the people of the one hundred.' It is also reported that he gave `Alqamah ibn `Ulathah, al-Aqra` ibn Habis and `Uyaynah ibn Hisn a hundred camels each. But he gave a man called al-`Abbas ibn Mirdas only four, which he disdained with manifest displeasure, reciting the following verse:

*Would you then make my share of the booty like that of slaves,
Even less than those of `Uyaynah and al-Aqra`! Even less than those of `Uyaynah and al-Aqra`!
Yet neither Hisn nor Habis Yet neither Hisn nor Habis
Ever excelled Mirdas in the assembly,
Nor was I ever below any man of their status;
Yet whomever you debase today will never be raised up.
In battle I was indeed a man of courage;
Still I was given nothing, nor was I protected.*

Hearing of this, the Apostle of Allah said to him: "Are you the man who said, 'Would you then make my share of the booty even less than that of the slaves al-Aqra` and `Uyaynah?'" Abu Bakr observed: "May my father and mother be a ransom for you, you are not a poet!" (that is, the Prophet broke the rhyme). The Messenger of Allah asked: "How did he recite?" Abu Bakr then recited al-`Abbas's verses to him. Then addressing 'Ali, the Prophet ordered, "Go and cut off al-`Abbas's tongue!"

Al-`Abbas, relating the incident, said: "This command was, by Allah, for me harder to bear even than the day of Khath'am. 'Ali took me by the hand and led me away. I said, 'O 'Ali, will you cut off my

tongue?' 'I shall do with you as I was commanded', he answered. Thus we went until he brought me into the stables. He then said to me, 'Take for yourself, excluding the four you have already received, the remainder of a hundred.' I said: 'May my father and mother be a ransom for you; how generous, clement, noble and endowed with great knowledge are you (the Prophet and his family)!' He said to me, 'The Messenger of Allah gave you only four camels, thus counting you among the Immigrants. If you wish, take them, or else take the one hundred. You would then be one of the people of the one hundred.' I replied, 'O 'Ali, is this what you advise me?' He answered: 'I enjoin you to take what he has given you and be contented.' 'I will indeed do so', said I"

It is reported that a group of the Ansar were angered by what the Prophet did. Vile words issued from their mouths, so that one of them said: "The man has favored his own family and cousins, yet we are the people who have endured every hardship." When the Messenger of Allah learnt of what the Ansar were thinking, he ordered them all to assemble, without anyone joining them. He came to them as though in great rage, with 'Ali following behind, and sat in their midst.

He began to reproach them saying: "Did I not come to you while you *were on the brink of a pit of fire, and Allah delivered you from it through me?*" "Yes", they answered, "to Allah and His Apostle belong all the favour and magnanimity toward us." He went on: "Did I not come to you *while you were enemies, and He reconciled your hearts?*" "Yes indeed," they replied. He said: "Did I not come to you while you *were few in number, and Allah increased you through me?*" [13](#)

He thus reproached them as Allah had wished; then he fell silent. After a while, he asked, "Will you not answer me?" "Yes", they said, "we shall answer you, O Apostle of Allah. May our fathers and mothers be a ransom for you, to you belong all magnanimity, generosity and favour toward us."

The Prophet answered: "No, rather if you so wish you could say, 'You came to us rejected and driven out by your people, yet we sheltered you and believed you. You came to us frightened, yet we gave you security.'"

They raised their voices to him entreatingly, and their chiefs rose and kissed his hands and feet and knees. They exclaimed: "We are pleased with Allah and His Apostle. This is our wealth and property; divide them among your people, if you so wish!" He replied: "O people of the Ansar, are you displeased because I have divided some wealth unevenly in order that I may reconcile some men, and yet I left you to your faith? Are you not happy that others return with sheep and cattle, when you and the Messenger of Allah return with your portion?" He then declared: "The Ansar are my trusted people and keepers of my secrets! If other people would traverse an easy valley, and the Ansar choose a hard terrain, I would walk with the Ansar. O Allah, forgive the Ansar, their children and the children of their children!"

It is reported that among the women who were captured was the Prophet's sister (in nursing), the daughter of Halimah. She stood before him and exclaimed: "O Muhammad, your sister is a captive!" The Messenger of Allah took off his outer garment and spread it for her to sit on. He then bent down and began to console her. She used to carry him in her arms while her mother nursed him.

A delegation met the Messenger of Allah in al-Ji'irranah where they accepted Islam. They said: "O Apostle of Allah, we are a people of well-known lineage, and we are a large tribe. You know well what tribulations we have endured. Bestow upon us some favour, therefore; may Allah bestow His favour upon you!" Their spokesman, Zuhayr ibn Sard, then stood up and said: "O Apostle of Allah, had we been so kind to al-Harith ibn Abi Shimr and an-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir, and if they had vanquished us as you had, he (an-Nu'man) would have pitied us and bestowed his bounty upon us. You are the best of those who care for others. You know that among the captives are your maternal aunts, your nurses and the daughters of your nurses. We do not ask you for any wealth, but we do ask you for them." The Messenger of Allah had, however, already divided them among the people. But when his sister spoke to him, he said: "As for my share as well as the shares of the sons of `Abdu'l Muttalib, they are yours. As for those whom the Muslims took, you may use me in interceding for them."

After they had offered the noon prayers, the Prophet's nursing sister rose and spoke, and the people spoke also. Everyone gave her their women captives, except al-Aqra' ibn Habis and `Uyaynah ibn Hisn. They refused saying: "O Apostle of Allah, these people have captured some of our women, and we too have captured some of their women." The Messenger of Allah cast lots for them and prayed, "O Allah, let their lot be lost."

Thus one of them won a servant of the clan of `Aqil and the other a servant of the clan of Numayr. When they saw this, they gave what they had withheld (in exchange for what they had won). It is reported that had the women not fallen into the shares of other people, he would have given them all to her, as he did with those who did not fall into anyone's share. But because they were included in the shares of the booty of the people, he did not wish to take them back except with their consent.

It is reported that the Messenger of Allah said: "Anyone of you who gives up his rightful booty shall have six shares from the first booty we seize. Return, therefore, to the people their women and children." His sister, likewise, spoke to him on behalf of Malik ibn `Awf, and he said: "If he comes to me, he shall have my pledge of security." When Malik came to him, he fulfilled his promise and gave him a hundred camels.

It is reported by az-Zuhri on the authority of Abu Said al-Khudri who said: "As we were sitting around the Messenger of Allah while he was dividing the booty, a man of the tribe of Tamim called Dhu 'I-Khuwaysirah came to him and said: `O Apostle of Allah, divide with justice!' He answered: `Alas for you, who shall act justly if I do not act justly? For I will fail and lose if I do not act justly.' `Umar ibn al-Khattab said: `O Apostle of Allah, give me permission that I may cut off his head!' The Messenger of Allah replied: `Let him go, people; he shall have certain Companions beside whose prayers anyone of you would look at his prayers with disdain, and would disdain his fasting beside their fasting.

However, they will recite the Qur'an, but it will not penetrate further than their throats. They shall as easily slip out of Islam as would an arrow from its bow. It is as though a man would then look at the shafts (of his arrows), but find nothing. He would then look at the quivers of his arrows, but would find

nothing. He would also look at his arrows before being sharpened, but would also find nothing. Finally, he would look at the tips of his arrows, but would find nothing there. Yet, his arrow would penetrate faster than the flow of excrement and blood. Their sign shall be a black man whose arm shall be like a woman's breast, or like a piece of flesh as it shakes up and down. They shall rise against the best group among men.”¹⁴

Abu Said said: “I bear witness that I heard this from the Apostle of Allah. I also testify that `Ali ibn Abi Talib fought against them while I was with him. The man described by the Prophet was brought, and I looked at him. I found him to be exactly as the Messenger of Allah had described.”¹⁵

Then the Messenger of Allah rode away and the people followed him demanding: “O Apostle of Allah, give us our share of the booty!” They thus continued until they brought him to the foot of a tree. He then took off his garment and said: “O people, give me back my garment! For by Him in Whose hand is my soul, had I possessed the number of all the trees of the earth in cattle, I would have divided them among you. You would have never found me miserly, or a coward.”

He then went to a camel and took a hair from its hump, which he held between his fingers and said: “O people, by Allah, I do not possess of your booty even as much as this hair, except the fifth, and the fifth shall be returned to you. Give over then even the needle and thread, for hiding things is a shame for those who are guilty of it, an offence whose punishment shall be the Fire on the Day of Resurrection.”

A man came to the Prophet with a ball of hair threads. He said: “O Apostle of Allah, I took this to sew the saddle of my camel.” The Messenger of Allah answered: “As for my share of it, it is yours.” The man said: “If the matter is so grave, I have no need of it.” He then threw it down from his hand.

The Messenger of Allah left al-Ji'rranah in Dhu'lQ'dah for Mecca, where he performed the lesser pilgrimage, after which he left for Medina. He left as his representative in Mecca Mu'adh ibn Jabal.

Muhammad ibn Ishaq reported that the Prophet left as his representative `Attab ibn Usayd, but that he left Mu'adh with him to instruct the people in the principles of the Faith and to teach them the Qur'an. `Attab ibn Usayd led the people in that year, which was the eighth year of the Hijrah, in the rites of the pilgrimage.

The Prophet remained in Medina from the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah to Rajab (that is, the last month of year 8 to the seventh month of the following year).

The Battle Of Tabuk

In Rajab, the Prophet sent letters and emissaries to the Arab tribes which had entered into Islam in order to invite them to the *jihad*. This was the Battle of Tabuk, which the Prophet led against the Byzantines and their Arab clients. He wrote to the tribes of Tamim, Ghatafan and Tayy. He also sent a message to `Attab ibn Usayd, his representative in Mecca, to make ready for battle against the Byzantines.

When all was ready for the journey, the Prophet stood up and delivered a sermon wherein he first praised Allah with fitting praise, then invited the people to help one another and assist the weak among them and to spend of their wealth in Allah's cause. The first man to give was Uthman ibn `Affan (the third caliph). He brought vessels filled with silver, which he poured in the lap of the Prophet. He also provisioned an army of poor people.

He was thus known as, `he who provisioned the army of hardship' (*jayshu'l-`usrah*). al-`Abbas also came to the Messenger of Allah and gave generously, donating provisions for the fighters. The Ansar hastened to do likewise. Other Companions also gave handsome donations: `Abdu'r-Rahman ibn `Awf, az-Zubayr and Talhah. Some of the Hypocrites also gave of their wealth, but only for a show of hypocrisy. Allah sent down concerning this certain verses of the Qur'an. [16](#)

The Messenger of Allah encamped at Thaniyyatu'l Wada' with those who followed him of the Immigrants, the Arab tribes, the tribe of Kinanah, the people of Tihamah and Muzaynah, Juhaynah, Tayy and Tamim. He set `Ali as his representative over Medina, saying to him: "It is necessary that either you or I should stay in Medina." He entrusted the banner of the Immigrants to az-Zubayr and placed Talhah ibn `Ubaydillah at the head of the right flank, and `Abdu'rRahman ibn `Awf at the head of the left one. Then he set out until he reached a place called al-Jurf. There `Abdullah ibn Ubayy returned (to Medina) without the Prophet's permission. The Apostle of Allah said: "Allah is my sufficient Helper.

It is He Who strengthened him (that is, the Prophet) with His support and with the people of faith, and reconciled their hearts. " (Qur'an 8:63)

At al-Jurf `Ali hastened to the Prophet and, taking hold of his stirrup, complained saying: "O Apostle of Allah, the people of Quraysh are claiming that you have left me behind because you find me bothersome!" He replied: "Communities (of faith) have always caused their prophets much hurt! Are you not content to be in the same station to me as was Aaron to Moses?" "Yes, I accept", `Ali answered; he then returned to Medina.

The Messenger of Allah arrived at Tabuk in Sha'ban, on Tuesday, where he remained the rest of the month and a few days of Ramadan. While in Tabuk, a man called Yuhannah ibn Ru'bah, the Governor of Aylah (Ilat), came to him. Yuhannah agreed to give the Apostle of Allah the jizyah and thus he wrote a truce agreement for him. The letter is still with them (that is, the Christians of the city). The Prophet likewise wrote an agreement of security for the people of al-Jarba' and Adhruh (two towns in Syria).

Also while in Tabuk, the Messenger of Allah sent Abu `Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrah with a man called Zinba` ibn Rawh al-Judhami against a group of the tribe of Judham. Abu `Ubaydah was able to seize much wealth and women captives. The Prophet also sent Sa'd ibn `Ubadah against some people of the tribe of Sulaym and others of the tribe of Baliyy. But as they approached, the people fled.

The Prophet then sent Khalid ibn al-Walid to Ukaydir, a chieftain of a place called Dumatu'l-Jandal. He predicted to Khalid: "Allah will deliver him into your hand by means of the chasing of a cow." As Khalid

and his Companions were spending a clear night near Ukaydir's fortress and while he sat within drinking wine with two of his wives, a cow came and vehemently began to butt the door. He rode after it with Hassan his brother and the men who owned the cow. Khalid and his Companions sat in ambush for him. Thus they captured him while he was chasing a cow. They killed Hassan his brother, who was wearing a garment woven with gold threads.

The other men escaped and ran into the fortress and closed its gate. Khalid brought Ukaydir to the gate and ordered the men to open for him, but they refused. Ukaydir then asked Khalid to let him go and open the gate. He sent a man to guard him, and Ukaydir opened the fortress for Khalid and his Companions. Ukaydir gave him eight hundred heads of cattle, two thousand camels, four hundred suits of armour, four hundred spears and five hundred swords. Khalid accepted this gift from him and brought him to the Messenger of Allah. The Prophet spared his life and concluded a truce with him upon payment of the poll-tax.

It is reported in Bayhaqi's *Dala'ilu'l-Nubuwwah* on the authority of Abu 'l-Aswad that when the Messenger of Allah was on his way back from Tabuk, some of his Companions plotted against him. They agreed to travel with him through a steep road and throw him over the cliff. The Messenger of Allah was, however, informed of their plot. He thus advised: "Let anyone of you who wish, take the road through the valley, for it is more spacious for you!" Yet he himself took the steep road. All the men took the road through the valley, except those who had plotted against him; they made ready and masked themselves.

The Messenger of Allah commanded Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman and Ammar ibn Yasir to walk with him. He ordered `Ammar to lead his she-camel, and Hudhayfah to drive her on from behind. As they were thus going, they heard the hastening footsteps of the men who had all surrounded him. The Apostle of Allah became angry, and ordered Hudhayfah to turn them away from him. Hudhayfah ran after them with a thick staff with a twisted handle and struck them with it in their faces. The men scattered, and Allah caused them to be frightened as they saw Hudhayfah. They thought that their malicious scheme had been discovered. They thus ran until they intermingled with the people, and Hudhayfah returned to the Messenger of Allah.

The Prophet ordered Hudhayfah to drive the she-camel on, and `Ammar to lead her quickly until they came out of the steep road, where they halted to wait for the men. The Prophet asked: "O Hudhayfah, did you recognize the horse or camel of any of these men?" "Yes", he answered, "I recognized the mount of this and that man" – even though the darkness of the night had covered them, and they were masked. The Prophet asked: "Do you know what these riders wished to do?" "No, O Apostle of Allah", they said.

He continued: "They plotted to travel at my side through this steep road, so that when darkness had covered the road, they would push me down the cliff!" Hudhayfah and `Ammar asked: "When the people come, will you not, O Apostle of Allah, order that they be beheaded?" "I do not wish that men talk later

and say that Muhammad has finally attacked his own Companions”, he answered. He then named the culprits all for them, and said: “Keep their names a secret!” It is reported in Aban ibn `Uthman's book that they were twelve men, seven of whom were of the Quraysh. [17](#)

It is reported that the Prophet then returned to Medina. Whenever he returned from a journey, he was received with Hasan and Husayn. He would take them in his arms and go straight to the house of Fatimah, with the Muslims crowding all around him. They would wait for him at the door until he came out, then they would walk with him to his home, when they would disperse.

It is related on the authority of Abu Hamid as-Sa'idi (a well-known Companion) who said: “We returned with the Messenger of Allah from the Battle of Tabuk. When we came within sight of Medina, he said: ‘This is Tabah (the good place, another name for Medina), and this is Mount Uhud. It loves us and we love it.’” It is further reported on the authority of Anas ibn Malik that when the Messenger came close to Medina, he said: “There are in Medina certain people who are with you on whatever journey you make through any valley or plain.” The people asked: “O Apostle of Allah, even though they remain in Medina?” “Yes”, he answered, “even though they remain in Medina, for there they shall be obliged to stay.”

The engagement of Tabuk was the last battle which the Messenger undertook. `Abdullah ibn Ubayy (the well-known Hypocrite) died shortly after the Messenger of Allah's return from this engagement.

During the last days of the pilgrimage of the ninth year of the *hijrah* the *surah* which begins: This is

a declaration of immunity from Allah and His Apostle... (surah 9)

was sent down. The Prophet delivered the sacred writ to Abu Bakr, who set out with it (for Mecca). Gabriel, however, came down and said to the Prophet: “No one can execute your affairs except you or 'Ali.” He thus dispatched 'Ali on his own she-camel, called al-`Adba', after Abu Bakr. When he caught up with him, he took the writ from him. Abu Bakr asked: “Has anything been revealed concerning me?” “No,” 'Ali answered, “but no one can execute the Apostle of Allah's affairs except he himself, or I.”

`Ali went on with the sacred text, which he then recited repeatedly and with a loud voice in Mecca on the Day of Sacrifice (*Idd al-Adha*) and the three days following. He was enjoined to abrogate the covenant of the Associators; and he was (also) to announce that no naked person should henceforth circumambulate the Sacred House (the Ka'bah), and that no Associator should henceforth be allowed to enter the Sacred Mosque; and that any covenant made with the Prophet, should be allowed to run its stated term; but anyone who had no such covenant would be given respite for four months. If after four months we capture him, we shall slay him. This is the meaning of Allah's saying:

But when the (four) sacred months have elapsed. . . , until His saying: lie in wait for them in every place of ambush (Qur'an 9 : 5).

It is reported that when `Ali entered Mecca, he unsheathed his sword and, welding it, exclaimed: "By Allah, no naked man shall circumambulate the House, but that I shall strike him with my sword!" He thus forced them to wear their clothes, and they performed the rite of circumambulation dressed. It is reported that a man called `Urwah ibn Mas'ud ath-Thaqafi came to the Apostle of Allah declaring his *Islam*. He then requested permission to return to his people (i.e., the tribe of Thaqif). The Prophet answered: "I fear that they might kill you." He assured him saying: "Even if they find me sleeping, they would not disturb me." The Messenger of Allah gave him permission, and he returned to at-Ta'if, where he called his people to *Islam* and offered them good counsel, but they did not obey him. They even hurled insults at him.

One day, as he stood on the roof of his house and raised the call to prayer, a man shot an arrow at him and killed him. Shortly after his death, however, a delegation of about fifteen men of the notables of Thaqif came to the Messenger of Allah declaring their *Islam*. The Messenger of Allah showed them hospitality and kindness. He sent with them as his representative `Uthman ibn Abi 'l-`As ibn Bishr, who had learnt a number of *surahs* of the Qur'an.

It is reported that he said: "O Apostle of Allah, Satan has come between my prayers and recitation (i.e., of the Qur'an in prayer)." He answered: "This is a Satan called Khinzub (which means a piece of filthy flesh). If you fear him, take refuge in Allah from him (i.e., by reciting the formula: *a'udhu bi'llahi mina'sh-Shaytani 'r-rajim*), and spit three times to your left." `Uthman went on: "I did this, and Allah removed him from me."

After the tribe of Thaqif had entered into *Islam*, numerous delegations of other Arab tribes followed one another to the Messenger of Allah: *entering into the religion of Allah in droves*, as Allah the Exalted says (see Qur'an 110) . Among them was `Utarid ibn Hajib ibn Zurarah who came to him with a delegation of the notables of the tribe of Tamim, among whom were al-Aqra` ibn Habis, az-Zibriqan ibn Badr, Qays ibn `Asim, `Uyaynah ibn Hisn al-Fazari and `Amr ibn al-Ahtam. al-Aqra` and `Uyaynah had already witnessed with the Messenger of Allah the conquest of Mecca and the battles of Hunayn and at-Ta'if. Thus, when the delegation of Tamim came, they too came with them.

The Messenger of Allah offered them a pact of protection (*jiwar*) and treated them hospitably. Another of the delegations which came to him was that of the tribe of `Amir, among whom was `Amir ibn at-Tufayl and Arbad ibn Qays, the stepbrother of Labid ibn Rabi'ah. `Amir, however, said to Arbad: "I shall stand before him so that he will not be able to see you. When I do this, then strike him with your sword!" Thus `Amir said to the Prophet, "O Muhammad, embrace me!" "No, not until you believe in Allah alone", the Prophet answered. `Amir repeated his demand twice, but when the Messenger of Allah refused, he said: "By Allah, I shall fill the place with red horses and men against you!" When he left, the Messenger of Allah prayed saying: "O Allah spare me `Amir ibn at -Tufayl ! "

On the way, `Amir enquired of Arbad, "Why did you not do as I had ordered you?" He replied: "By Allah, every time I came close to executing your command, you came between me and the man - would I

want to strike you with the sword?” While still on his way, Allah sent against `Amir a plague in his neck which killed him while he was in the house of a woman of the tribe of Salul. After his companions buried him, they went home. Allah also sent against Arbad and his camel a thunderbolt which burnt them both.

It is further reported in Aban ibn `Uthman's book that `Amir and Arbad came to the Messenger of Allah after the engagement with the Jewish tribe of Banu 'n-Nadir. As `Amir was breathing his last, he repeated, “A disease (I have) that would kill even a young camel, and I shall suffer death in the house of this Salulite woman! “He states further that the Messenger of Allah prayed concerning `Amir and Arbad, “O Allah, grant me in their stead the two strongest horsemen of the Arabs!” Thus the well-known warrior Zayd ibn Muhalhal at-Tai known as `Zaydu'l-Khayl' (Zayd of the many horses) and `Amr ibn Ma'dikarib (another well-known fighter) came to him.

Among those who came to the Messenger of Allah were the delegation of the tribe of Tayy, among whom were Zaydu'l-Khayl and `Adiyy ibn Hatim. He invited them to Islam, and they all accepted and lived a good Muslim life. The Messenger of Allah renamed Zayd `Zayd of goodness' (Zaydu'l-Khayr). He granted him a place called Fayd (near Mecca) and two plots of land in addition. He also gave him a written deed. When Zayd left the Apostle of Allah to go back to his people, the Prophet predicted: “Would that Zayd be spared the fever of Medina and the pain of death!” As Zayd crossed the district of Najd and reached a spring of water called Faradah, he fell ill with fever and died there. His wife took whatever epistles and pledges he had and consigned them to the fire.'

Ibn Ishaq reported that `Adiyy ibn Hatim first fled before the Muslim armies, but the horsemen of the Messenger of Allah captured his sister and brought her to the Prophet. He, however, gave her clothes, money and other gifts. She travelled with different caravans until she arrived in Syria, where she advised her brother to go to the Prophet. He went and accepted Islam, and the Messenger of Allah treated him honorably, seating him on a cushion and offering him his hand (as a sign of friendship).

Another man who came to the Messenger of Allah was `Amr ibn Ma'dikarib, who accepted Islam. He then looked at Abu 'l-`Ath'ath al-Khath'ami pulling him by the neck and brought to the Messenger of Allah saying: “Help me to kill this wicked man, for he killed my father.” The Prophet answered: “Islam has annulled everything that was in the *jahiliyyah*.” `Amr then departed an apostate. He thus attacked a people of the tribe of Banu Harith ibn Ka'b. The Messenger of Allah dispatched `Ali to the tribe of Banu Zubayd and entrusted to him the banner of the Immigrants.

He also dispatched Khalid ibn al-Walid at the head of a detachment of the Bedouins. He commanded Khalid to set out for a place called Ju'fiyy. He instructed further that when Khalid and 'Ali met, then 'Ali ibn Abi Talib was to be the leader of the men. 'Ali went on, placing at the head of the advance troops of his army Khalid ibn Said ibn al-`As. When the people of Zubayd saw him, they said to `Amr : “What would you think, O Abu Thawr, if this Qurayshite youth were to encounter you and force you to pay the land tax?” “He shall know when he meets me”, `Amr retorted.

`Amr set out, as did the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali; 'Ali uttered a loud cry, and `Amr fled. His brother and brother's son were slain, and his wife Rukanah, along with other women, was taken captive. 'Ali left as his representative over the tribe of Zubayd Khalid ibn Said to receive their *zakat* (obligatory alms) payments. He was also instructed to grant a pledge of safety (*aman*) to any man who had fled, if he returned a Muslim. `Amr himself returned and declared his *Islam* to Khalid ibn Said. He also spoke to him concerning his wife and children, and Khalid gave them back to him.

'Ali chose for himself from among the women captives a youthful maiden.

Thus Khalid sent Buraydah al-Aslami to the Prophet, and said to him: "Proceed before the army and inform the Prophet of what 'Ali has done, in that he chose a maiden for himself from the fifth of the booty" –thus criticizing `Ali (because the fifth belongs to the Prophet, (see Qur'an 8:41)). Buraydah hastened to the Prophet carrying Khalid's letter. As he began to read it to the Messenger of Allah, the latter's face began to change (with displeasure). Buraydah observed: "Did you, O Apostle of Allah, permit people to do such a thing? The men have been deprived of their share of the booty."

The Messenger of Allah answered: "O Buraydah, you have spoken words of hypocrisy. For, surely whatever is lawful for me of the booty, is also lawful for 'Ali. 'Ali is indeed the best of men for you and for your people. He is the best man whom I would leave as my representative over my community after me. O Buraydah, beware that you do not hate 'Ali, for Allah would then despise you." Buraydah reported that, "I wished then that the earth would open up and swallow me. I exclaimed, 'I take refuge in Allah from Allah's wrath and the wrath of His Apostle. O Apostle of Allah, beg Allah's forgiveness for me! I shall never again hate 'Ali, nor will I say anything but good about him.'" Thus the Prophet asked Allah to forgive Buraydah. Buraydah said: " 'Ali became henceforth the most beloved of men to me after the Apostle of Allah."

A delegation from Najran, including a number of the notables of the city, came to the Messenger of Allah. There came also three men who held authority over them. There was al -`Aqib, whose name was `Abdu'l-Masih. He was their commander and man of counsel, and no decision was taken without his approval. The second man was as-Sayyid, who was their chief and leader in all matters. His name was al-Ayham. The third was Abu Harithah ibn `Alqamah the bishop, who was their great man of learning, their leader (imam) in matters of faith and overseer of their houses of study. He was held in great honour, and enjoyed high status among them. Even Byzantine kings had built great churches for him, showering upon him all manners of special favours because of his great learning and diligence in the study of their faith.

On their way to the Messenger of Allah, Abu Harithah rode a mule, with his brother Kurz beside him; and a man called Bishr ibn `Alqamah walking with him. Abu Harithah's mule stumbled, and Kurz exclaimed: "Perish that man!" meaning the Messenger of Allah. Abu Harithah replied: "Rather, perish you, yourself!" "Why, O brother?" Kurz asked. He said: "By Allah, he is indeed the Prophet for whom we have been waiting." Kurz objected: "What prevents you then from following him?" "It is what these people have

done for us”; .Abu Harithah said, “they have treated us with great honour and generosity, yet they have insisted on opposing him. Were I to follow him, they would take away from us all that you see.”

Abu Harithah's brother Kurz kept what he told him a secret until he accepted Islam. He hurried beating his mount and reciting To you (Muhammad) *this mount anxiously hastens; Even though its fetus is protruding big in its belly. Its faith is indeed opposed to the faith of the Christians.* When Kurz arrived in Medina, he went to the Prophet and declared his Islam.

It is reported that the delegation of Najran arrived at the Mosque of the Messenger of Allah at the mid-afternoon hour. They were clad in silks and rich apparel – none of the Arabs had ever come to the Prophet so richly dressed. Abu Bakr said: “May my father and mother be a ransom for you, O Apostle of Allah, if you would wear your rich apparel which the Byzantine Emperor (Qaysar) presented to you, so that they would see you dressed in it!” It is reported that they came to the Messenger of Allah and greeted him with the salutation of peace, but he neither returned their greeting nor did he speak to them. They went out looking for `Uthman ibn `Affan and `Abdu'r-Rahman ibn `Awf, who were acquaintances of theirs. They found them in an assembly of the Immigrants, and complained to them:

“Your Prophet wrote to us a letter, and here are we come in answer to his call. We greeted him, but he did not even return our greeting or speak to us. What is your advice to us?” `Uthman and `Abdu'r-Rahman asked 'Ali: “What is your advice, O Abu 'l-Hasan (that is, 'Ali's agnomen) to these people?” He answered: “I suggest that they take off their rich attire and rings, and then go back to him.” They did as he suggested and went to the Prophet; they greeted him, and he returned their greeting. He then said: “By Allah, they came to me the first time, and Iblis (that is, Satan) was with them.”

They spent that day questioning and debating with him. The bishop asked: “What do you say concerning the Lord Christ, O Muhammad?” “He is the servant of Allah and His Apostle”, he replied. They then engaged in hot disputation concerning the status of Jesus with Allah. Finally, Allah sent down to the Prophet the beginning verses of *surah 3*, 'The House of `Imran', around seventy verses following one another. Among the verses which Allah sent down were:

Surely the similitude of Jesus with Allah is like that of Adam. He created him out of clay; then He said to him “be ” and he was. This is the truth from your Lord, so be not among the doubters. Whoever, therefore, shall dispute with you concerning him after the knowledge that has come to you, say: “Come! Let us call together our sons and your sons, our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves; then let us pray and invoke Allah's curse upon the liars. ” (Qur'an 3 : 59 – 61).

They said to the Prophet: “We shall engage you in this test of prayer (*mubalahah*) tomorrow morning.” But Abu Harithah said to his Companions: “Consider well! If Muhammad comes to you for the *mubalahah* with his grandsons and people of his Household, beware that you not engage him in this test of prayer. If, however, he comes with his Companions and followers, then you may enter into this contest

with him.”

Aban reported on the authority of Hasan al-Basri (an important theologian and traditionist of the second generation) that the Messenger of Allah went next morning holding Hasan and Husayn by the hand; he was followed by Fatimah, and 'Ali walking by his side. al-`Aqib and as-Sayyid likewise came with two sons, one of whom was decorated with two pearls as large as dove's eggs.

They all surrounded Abu Harithah. Abu Harithah asked: “Who are these who are with him?” He was told, “This is his paternal cousin and husband of his daughter, these are their two sons, and this is his daughter. They are the dearest people to him and nearest to his heart.”

The Messenger of Allah stepped forward and knelt on his knees. Abu Harithah exclaimed: “By Allah, he knelt as would prophets for the *mubahahlah* ! ” He then stepped back frightened, and refused to engage in the contest. as-Sayyid said: “Come forth, O Abu Harithah, for the *mubahahlah* ! ” Abu Harithah answered: “I see here a man coming for the *mubahahlah* with courage and resolution. I am afraid that if he be truthful, the year would not elapse with any Christian remaining alive to drink water.” It is reported that, had they engaged the Prophet in the *mubahahlah*, torment would have come down from heaven against them.

They finally, said: “O Abu 'l-Qasim, we shall not enter with you into a test of prayer, but rather we wish to make peace with you.” The Messenger of Allah thus concluded a truce with them with the agreement that they remit two thousand costly garments, the value of each being forty sound dirhams. He had a document drawn up concerning this agreement. He then said to Abu Harithah, the bishop: “I see that you shall go to your saddle sleepy and thus will tie it onto your mount front to back.” When he prepared to leave, he did actually saddle his mount upside down. He then exclaimed: “I bear witness that Muhammad is the Apostle of Allah! ”

Then the Messenger of Allah sent 'Ali to Yemen to call its people to Islam. It is also reported that he was sent in order to receive the fifth of their obligatory alms (*zakaat*), teach them the precepts of Islam and clarify for them the things that are lawful and those that are unlawful. He was also sent to the people of Najran to collect their freewill gifts, and to bring back to the Prophet their *jizyah*.

It is related by Abu `Abdillah, al-Hafiz on the authority of `Amr ibn Shas al-Aslami who said: “I was with 'Ali ibn Abi Talib with a group of people. 'Ali acted somewhat coolly towards me, and I felt some hostility in my heart toward him. When I returned to Medina, I accused him to anyone I met. I came one day to the Mosque where the Messenger of Allah was sitting. He gazed at me until I sat near him. He then said: “O `Amr ibn Shas, you have hurt me.” I answered: “To Allah do we belong, and to Him we shall return. I take refuge in Allah and in Islam from injuring the Apostle of Allah.” He declared: “Anyone who hurts 'Ali has hurt me.”

The Prophet had previously sent Khalid ibn al-Walid to the people of Yemen to call them to Islam, but they did not listen to him. al-Bard' (a well-known Companion) related: “I was with 'Ali when we came

near the people; he led us in prayer. Then seating us all in one line, he began to read to them the Messenger of Allah's letter.

Thereupon the tribe of Hamdan in its entirety entered Islam. 'Ali wrote concerning this to the Apostle of Allah, who fell prostrate when the letter was read to him. Then lifting his head up, he said: "Peace be upon the people of Hamdan." It is also related that 'Ali said: "The Messenger of Allah sent me to Yemen. I asked, 'O Apostle of Allah, would you send me when I am yet a youth, to judge among the people without knowing what judging really is?' He struck me with his hand in the chest and prayed, 'O Allah, guide well his heart and confirm his tongue!' By Him in whose hand is my soul, I never thereafter doubted any judgment I passed between any two people. "

On the 25th Dhu'l-Qi'dah, the last month of 10/632, the Apostle of Allah set out from Medina for the pilgrimage. He declared the call for the *hajj* (greater pilgrimage) to all the Muslims. People made ready to set out with him; thus the suburbs of Medina and its districts were crowded with pilgrims. When they reached Dhu'l-Hulayfah, Asma' daughter of 'Umayy gave birth to Muhammad son of Abu Bakr. The Prophet remained there that night for her sake, entering, however, with the people into the state of consecration in Dhu'l-Hulayfah. He intended that *ihram* (state of consecration) be for both the lesser and greater pilgrimages. He thus led the animal sacrifices – leading with him sixty six head of cattle and camels.

'Ali also set out for the *hajj* from Yemen, leading with him thirty-four head of cattle and camels for sacrifice. He set out with the fighters who accompanied him to Yemen, and brought the rich garments which he had received from the Christians of Najran. As the Messenger of Allah approached Mecca on the road from Medina, the Commander of the Faithful, 'Ali, approached it at the time on the road from Yemen. He preceded the army in order to meet the Messenger of Allah, who was gladdened by his coming. He asked 'Ali: "How did you determine the rising of the crescent, O 'Ali?" He answered: "O Apostle of Allah, you did not write to me concerning your sighting of the moon. I therefore made my intention to agree with yours; I prayed, 'O Allah, grant me sighting of the moon similar to that of your Prophet.'" The Prophet concurred saying: "You are my partner in my pilgrimage rites, my devotions and sacrifices. Continue, therefore, in your state of consecration, and hasten to your army so that we may all meet in Mecca.

It is also reported on the authority of the Imam as-Sadiq that the Messenger of Allah led with him one hundred head for sacrifice, but slaughtered only some sixty animals. He gave the rest, some thirty animals, to 'Ali. When 'Ali reached his army, he found that the people had donned the garments which he had brought from Najran. He reproached his representative saying: "Woe to you, how could you do this without the permission of the Apostle of Allah?" He answered: "They asked me to give them the garments, so that they would adorn themselves with them, and perform their *ihram* in them." He retorted: "Bad indeed is that which both you and they have done!" He thus took the garments away from them and packed them in sacks. Men began to complain against 'Ali from all sides. Then the crier of the

Messenger of Allah went around calling: "Hold your tongues from any accusations against 'Ali, for he is harsh in Allah's cause!"

When the Prophet arrived in Mecca and performed the rites of circumambulation (*tawaf* of the Ka'bah) and running (*sa'i*, between the two hills of as-Safa and al-Marwah), Gabriel came down to him while he was on al-Marwa with this verse:

Complete the pilgrimage and the lesser pilgrimage for Allah . . . (Qur'an 2 : 196) .

He thus delivered a sermon, praising Allah, then said: "The *'umrah* has entered into the *hall*' in this manner, and shall remain so till the Day of Resurrection" – and he intertwined his fingers.

He continued: "Had I encountered at the start of my journey what I encountered at its end (that is, meeting 'Ali and his army), I would not have brought animal sacrifices with me." He then ordered his crier to declare to the people: "Anyone of you who has not brought animal sacrifices with him, let him release himself from the state of consecration and make his pilgrimage only an *'umrah*. But as for those who did bring their animal sacrifices with them, let them remain in their state of consecration."

A man of the tribe of `Adiyy came to the Prophet and objected: "O Apostle of Allah, would you lead us to Mina (one of the pilgrimage stations) while our hairs drip with the water of washing after sexual relations with our wives?" He answered: "You shall not believe in it until you die!" (The reference here is to the *mut'ah* (enjoyment) of the *hajj*, which means release from the state of *ihram* for the *'umrah* and then renewing one's consecration for the *hajj*.) Another man, Suraqah ibn Malik ibn Ju'shum, came forth and enquired: "O Apostle of Allah, is this for this year only, or for ever?" "No", he answered, "but forever." Thus all the people, except those who had brought their animal sacrifices with them, were released from the state of *ihram*.

On the day of leaving Mina, the Messenger of Allah spoke again to the people and bade them farewell. When he had completed his pilgrimage rites and set out for Medina, the Messenger of Allah reached the place known as Ghadir Khumm. Even though it was not a suitable spot for stopping, because of the lack of water and pasturage, still Gabriel came down to the Prophet and ordered him to halt and appoint `Ali as *imam* (spiritual and temporal leader) of the people. The Prophet protested saying: "My community is still too close to the *jahiliyyah*." It was, however, revealed to him that this was a command which could not be revoked. The verse:

O Apostle, convey that which has been sent down to you from your Lord! For if you do not, you would not have conveyed His message, and Allah shall protect you from the people (Qur'an 5 : 67)

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was sent down.

Thus the Messenger of Allah and all the Muslims around him dismounted in the spot which we have

already mentioned, on an exceedingly hot day. The Messenger of Allah ordered that canopies be spread over some trees. He likewise ordered that saddles be brought and stacked one on top of another (so as to make a pulpit). He then ordered his crier to cry out to the people “Hasten to congregational prayer!” The people gathered to the Prophet from all sides, many of them wrapping their feet with their garments because of the heat.

The Prophet mounted the saddles until he stood at the top, then called 'Ali to his side. As 'Ali stood at the right hand of the Prophet, the latter spoke to the people, first praising Allah and exalting His Name, then admonishing the people and informing them of his impending end. He said: “I have been summoned, and I shall soon answer. My time to depart your company has come. Yet I am leaving with you that to which, if you hold fast, you shall never go astray: the Book of Allah and my progeny, the people of my Household.

They shall not be separated until they come to me at Hawdu'l-Kawthar (a paradisaal pool).” He then cried out with a loud voice: “Am I not more master over you than your own selves?” “By Allah, yes!” they all answered. He said: “Then continue in this manner.” He then took hold of 'Ali's two arms and lifted them high until people could see his white underarms. He said: “Of whomever I am the master, 'Ali is his master. O Allah, befriend those who hold loyalty to him, and be an enemy to those who hold hostility towards him. Grant support to those who support him, and abandon those who abandon him!”

Following this, the Prophet came down; it was the noon hour. He offered two *rak'ahs* of prayer, and when the sun reached its meridian his *mu'adhdhin* raised the call of prayer, and the Prophet led the people in the noon prayer. He then sat in his tent and ordered 'Ali to sit in a tent close by. The Prophet then ordered all the Muslims to go into 'Ale's tent in groups to congratulate him on appointment to the imamate, and greet him with the title of “Amirul mu'minin” (Commander of the Faithful). For the rest of the day, people went in and out of 'Ale's tent in accordance with the Prophet's command. He then ordered his wives and all the wives of the men of faith to enter with him into 'Ale's tent and greet him with the title of “Commander of the Faithful”. They all did as he ordered. The man who was most lavish in his congratulations was 'Umar ibn al-Khattab. He said among other things, “Well well! O 'Ali, you have now become my master (*maula*) and the master of every man and woman of faith.”

Hassan (the Prophet's poet) recited in honour of this occasion the following verses:

On the day of Ghadir Khumm their Prophet called them,

With a voice loud for all to hear.

Said he. – "Who is your master arid patron?" Said he. – "Who is your master arid patron?"

They replied, without a trace of hostility:

"Your Cod is our Master, and you are our patron;

Nor would you find among us today anyone who might abandon you. "Nor would you find among us today anyone who might abandon you. "

Said he: "Rise up, O Ali, for I Said he: "Rise up, O Ali, for I

Have chosen you as imam and guide after me.

Anyone whose master I am, lie too shall be his patron;

Be you all to him true supporters and loyal allies!"Be you all to him true supporters and loyal allies!"

There did lie pray: "O Allah, be a friend to his friend,

And are enemy to anyone who shows Ali hostility!"And are enemy to anyone who shows Ali hostility!"

The Messenger of Allah said to Hassan, "You shall be fortified always with the Holy Spirit (that is, Gabriel) so long as you render us support with your tongue. The Messenger of Allah did not depart that spot until Allah sent down to him:

Today have I perfected your religion for you; I have completed my favour unto you, and have chosen Islam as a religion for you (Qur'an 5 :3) ;

He concurred: "Praise be to Allah for the perfection of faith, the fullness of His favor, His pleasure with my apostleship, and the authority (*walayah*) of 'Ali after me."

When the Messenger of Allah arrived in Medina from the farewell pilgrimage, he appointed Usamah ibn Zayd a leader of a large army and ordered him to set out for the spot wherein his father had been slain. He said to him: "Let your horses reach the end of Syria and the beginnings of the lands of Byzantium." He included in Usamah's army the notables of the Immigrants and the Ansar. Among them were Abu Bakr, `Umar, and Abu `Ubaydah. Usamah set up camp in a place called al-Jurf (just at the outskirts of Medina). The Apostle of Allah, however, fell ill; it was the illness of which he died. He repeated often during his illness: "Send off Usamah's army." He did so in order that there would be no people remaining in Medina after his death who would show discord concerning the imamate of the Muslims, or covet command. This position (he hoped) would be assumed without opposition by its rightful claimant.

The Death of The Prophet

It is reported that when the Prophet sensed the illness which had come upon him, on a Saturday or Sunday towards the end of Safar the second month of 10/632, he took 'Ali by the hand, and accompanied by a few of his Companions, went to al-Baqi` (the graveyard of Medina). There he exclaimed: "Peace be upon you O people of the graves; be of good cheer in what you have attained over (living) people. Seditions have come, thick and dark as a black night; the beginnings of some follow quickly upon the ends of others! " He said further: "Gabriel used to review the Qur'an with me once a year, but this year he reviewed it with me twice.

I see this as an indication of the coming of my end." Then addressing `Ali, he continued: "I was, O 'Ali, given the choice of the treasures of this world and eternal life besides, or Paradise, but I chose Paradise and meeting my Lord. When I die, you should wash me and cover my nakedness, for no one shall look upon it except a man born blind."

The Prophet then returned to his home, where he remained ill for three days. On Wednesday, he went out to the mosque with his head tightly bandaged with a cloth. He was leaning on 'Ali with his right hand, and on al-Fadl ibn al-`Abbas with the other. He sat on the pulpit and praised Allah repeatedly, then said: "O people, my term among you shall soon come to an end. Let, therefore, anyone who has entrusted me with an object of value, come to me that I may return it to him. Anyone to whom I am in debt, let him come and declare it to me." A man rose up and said: "O Apostle of Allah, you owe me a promise; I married, and you promised me three ounces of precious metal." He said: "Give them to him, O al Fadl."

He remained thus Wednesday and Thursday, but on Friday, he again sat on the pulpit and spoke to the people. He said: "O people, there is nothing which can stand between Allah and anyone that could benefit a man or ward off evil from him except good deeds. O people, let no ambitious man claim anything, or one full of desires, desire anything! For by Him Who sent me with the truth, only good deeds coupled with Allah's mercy can lead to salvation. Even I, had I rebelled against Allah, would have fallen. O Allah, I have thrice conveyed (that is, Allah's command concerning `Ali)." He then stepped down and led the people in prayer, then entered his chamber. He was at the time in the house of Umm Salamah. He remained there one or two days; then `A'ishah came asking him to move to her chamber in order that she might nurse him. He agreed and moved to the house in which `A'ishah lived.

His illness persisted for some days, until he became seriously ill. Bilal then came at the time of the dawn prayers, while the Apostle of Allah was overwhelmed by his illness, and called out: "Time for prayers, may Allah have mercy upon you!" The Prophet answered: "Let one of the men lead the rest in prayers." `A'ishah added: "Order Abu Bakr (i.e., her father) that he lead the people in prayers!" Hafsa said: "Order `Umar (i.e., her father)!" The Prophet retorted: "Cease, for you two are like Joseph's little women!"
[18](#)

He then rose, even though he was unable to stand because of weakness. He leaned on `Ali and al-Fadl and went to the mosque dragging his feet because of weakness. When he entered, he found that Abu Bakr had already stood facing the niche. He beckoned to him, and Abu Bakr stepped back. The Messenger of Allah stood up, and uttering the formula of consecration (that is, *takbiratu'l-ihram*), he began the prayers. When he had done and returned to his chamber, he called for Abu Bakr and `Umar along with others who were present and said: "Have I not commanded you to send off Usamah's army?" Abu Bakr replied: "I had already set out, but I returned to see you." `Umar said: "I did not go because I did not wish to be absent, and thus have to enquire of the caravan to get news about you." He repeated three times: "Send off Usamah's army!"

He then fell into a swoon because of the fatigue which he suffered. He remained thus unconscious for a while, so that the Muslims began to weep and his wives and children began to wail loudly. But he regained consciousness and said: "Bring me a pen and shoulder blade that I may inscribe for you a writ after which you shall never go astray!" Again, he lost consciousness. One of his Companions present

was about to go and fetch a pen and shoulder blade, but `Umar said to him: “Come back, for he is hallucinating!” When the Prophet again regained consciousness, some of his Companions said: “O Apostle of Allah, should we not bring you a pen and shoulder blade?” “No”, he said, “not after what you have said! Rather, keep well my memory through kindness to the people of my Household. Treat with kindness the people of *dhimmah* (that is, Jews and Christians), and feed the poor. Observe regular prayers, and be kind to the women whom your right hands possess.”

He continued to repeat these injunctions until he could endure no longer, and turned his face away from the people. Everyone got up and left except al-`Abbas, al-Fadl, 'Ali and others of his close family; they stayed by his side. al-`Abbas said: “O Apostle of Allah, if this affair (that is, the succession) shall remain forever with us (that is, the tribe of Hashim) after you, then announce to us the good news! If, however, you know that we shall be forced to abandon it against our will, then commend us to the people.” He said: “You are those who shall be oppressed after me.”

He then fell silent. The people wept as they got up to leave. When they had all gone, he demanded: “Let my brother `Ali ibn Abi Talib and my uncle return to me!” When they had sat down, the Messenger of Allah said: “O al-`Abbas, uncle of the Apostle of Allah, would you accept to execute my will, carry out my funeral rites and remit my debts?” He replied: “Your uncle is an old man with many dependants, and you are more powerful than a strong gale in generosity and bounteous giving! There are incumbent upon you such expectations, that your uncle shall be unable to fulfill.”

The Prophet then turned to 'Ali and put to him the same questions. `Ali replied: “Yes, O Messenger of Allah.” “Come close to me”, the Prophet said. As 'Ali bent down, he embraced him and, taking his ring from his finger, said: “Take it and put it on your finger!”

The Prophet then called for his sword and suit of armour – or according to some reports Gabriel brought them down from heaven – and gave them to the Commander of the Faithful saying: “Receive these during my life!” He also gave him his mule and saddle, and said: “Go to your home with Allah's blessings.”

Next morning, he allowed no one to come in to see him because of his grave illness. 'Ali, however, stayed beside him, not leaving him except for necessary errands. As `Ali left briefly for a special need, the Prophet awoke and said: “Call my friend back to me.” He again was overcome by weakness. `A'ishah said: “Call Abu Bakr.” When he came, the Prophet looked at him and turned away his face. He insisted: “Call back for me my brother and friend!” Hafsa said: “Call `Umar for him!” When he came, the Prophet likewise turned his face away from him. Again he demanded: “Call my brother and friend to me!” Umm Salamah then said: “Call 'Ali for him, for he wants no one else.”

When 'Ali came close to him, he bent down and the Messenger of Allah spoke to him privately for a long time. `Ali then went and sat a little to the side. He dozed for a while until the Messenger of Allah fell asleep. He then went out, and the people asked him: “O Abu 'l-Hasan, what did he confide to you?” He said: “The Messenger of Allah instructed me in a thousand branches of knowledge. Each branch opened

to, me a thousand other branches. He also charged me with things which I shall, if Allah wills, fulfill.”

The condition of the Messenger of Allah became grave, and he was near death. As his soul was about to depart, he said: “O 'Ali, place my head in your lap, for Allah's command is about to be fulfilled. When my soul is released, take it in your hand and rub it on your face. Turn then my face towards the *qiblah*, prepare me and be the first to offer the funeral prayer over me. Do not leave me until you have put me in my tomb. Seek Allah's help.”

'Ali placed the Prophet's head in his lap, whereupon he lost consciousness. Fatimah bent over him, gazing at his face and raising the dirge for him as she cried, and said:

*“A radiant face has he, for which the rain clouds pour down;
sufficient help for orphans and a protection for widows was he! ”*

The Messenger of Allah opened his eyes and said in a feeble voice: “O daughter, this was the saying of your uncle Abu Talib. Do not repeat it; rather say,

'Muhammad was only an apostle, before whom messengers came. Were he to die or be slain, would you then turn back upon your heels?' ” (Qur'an 3 : 144) .

She wept bitterly for a long time; then he beckoned to her to come close. When she drew near to him, he whispered secret words in her ears, and her face brightened with a smile.

The Prophet finally breathed his last, while the right hand of the Commander of the Faithful rested beneath his jaw. As his soul flowed forth, 'Ali lifted it up and rubbed his face with it. He then turned him to the *qiblah*, closed his eyes, spread his garment over him and looked after the rest of the burial preparations. Fatimah was later asked: “What did the Messenger of Allah say to you that you became so happy?” She replied: “He told me that I shall be the first of the people of his Household to follow him, and that in a short time I shall see him. This made me happy.”

It is related that Umm Salamah, the Prophet's wife, said: “I placed my hand on the Messenger of Allah's breast on the day he died, and for a long time, even though I ate and performed my ablutions, the fragrance of musk did not leave my hand.” It is related on the authority of Anas ibn Malik that Fatimah said: “When the Prophet's condition worsened and the pain of death had covered his face, I mourned him saying:

*'O my father whose death Gabriel has announced (to creation);
O my father whose Lord has taken him close to His presence;
O my father whose abode shall be the gardens of Paradise;
O my father who has answered the summons of the Lord Who called him forth!'"*

It is reported on the authority of (the fifth Imam) al-Baqir that when the Messenger of Allah was at the point of death, Gabriel came down to him and asked: “Do you wish to return to this world?” “No”, he

answered, "I rather wish to be with the Lord Most High." as-Sadiq is said to have reported that Gabriel came down to the Prophet and said: "This is the last time I come down to this world, for you were my only object of interest in it."

It is reported that Fatimah and all the Muslims wailed in a loud voice and threw dust over their heads. The Prophet died two nights before the end of Safar in the tenth year of his migration. It is also reported that it was on Monday, the twelfth of Rabi`u l-Awwal.

When 'Ali wished to wash the Prophet's body for burial, he called al-Fadl ibn al-`Abbas to pour the water for him, after he had him blindfolded. 'Ali rent the Prophet's shirt from the top to his navel (so as not to expose his nakedness) before he washed, embalmed and shrouded him. Having finished with his washing and other preparations, `Ali prayed over the Prophet. Aban related on the authority of Abu Ja'far (the fifth Imam al-Baqir) that the people later asked 'Ali, "How should the funeral prayer over the Prophet be performed?"

He answered: "The Messenger of Allah was our *imam* during his life, and he remains our *imam* after his death. The people, therefore, both young and old, went in groups of ten and prayed over him. This took all day Monday and Tuesday. They all prayed, male and female of the inhabitants of Medina and its neighbouring districts, without an *imam*.

The Muslims vehemently disputed as to where the Prophet was to be buried. `Ali then observed: "Allah did not receive the soul of a prophet in any place but that He chose that same place to be the spot of his grave. I shall therefore bury him in the chamber in which he was received. The Muslims all agreed with' this view. After the Muslims had prayed over him, al-`Abbas sent a man to Abu `Ubaydah al-Jarrah, who used to dig graves with a hollow in the middle (*darih*) for the people of Mecca.

He also sent Zayd ibn Sahl to Abu Talhah, who used to dig graves with a hollow in the side (*lahd*) for the people of Medina. al-`Abbas prayed: "O Allah, choose which of the two you wish for your Prophet." Abu Talhah was found and was told to dig a grave for the Messenger of Allah. He dug a *lahd* for him, and the Commander of the Faithful, al-`Abbas, al-Fadl and Usamah ibn Zayd went in to perform the burial rites of the Messenger of Allah.

The Ansar called in from behind the house saying: "O `Ali, we remind you of Allah and our right to the Messenger of Allah, that it should not be lost today. Let a man of us go in, so that we too may have a share in the burial of the Messenger of Allah." 'Ali answered: "Let Aws ibn Khawli, who was a man of the `Awf ibn al-Khazraj tribe, come forth. He was one of those who took part in the Battle of Badr. He entered the house, and `Ali told him to go into the grave.

He then placed the Messenger of Allah on the man's arms, who then lowered him into his tomb. `Ali then asked the man to come out, which he did. `Ali went down into the grave and uncovered the Prophet's face and placed his cheek on the ground, facing the *qiblah*, and laid him on his right side. He laid grave slabs and covered the tomb with earth.

The people took advantage of the preoccupation of the sons of Hashim with the Apostle of Allah, and of 'Ali's self-seclusion for mourning, to decide the matter of the Prophet's succession. Abu Bakr won the day because of the disagreement of the Ansar among themselves, and also because the people did not wish to postpone the decision until the men of Banu Hashim had completed all the funeral rites of the Apostle of Allah. Had they done so, the matter would have been decided in the proper manner. However, they gave allegiance (*bay ah*) to Abu Bakr because he was present. This book is not the proper place to explain all this; the subject is treated in its proper sources.

It is reported that Abu Sufyan came to the door of the Apostle of Allah and declared in verses:

O Sons of Hashim, Let not people take advantage of you;

Especially the people of Taym ibn Murrah (the clan of Abu Bakr) and Adiy (the clan of `Umar).

This matter must remain with you, for with you must be its determination;

There is no one more appropriate for it (that is, the caliphate) than Abu'l Hasan Ali.

Abul Hasan, grasp it with the hand of a determined man! Abul Hasan, grasp it with the hand of a determined man!

For you are most suitable for this much-coveted office.

He then cried with a loud voice: "O sons of Hashim, sons of `Abd Manaf, would you accept Abu Fasil (that is, Abu Bakr), a despicable man and son of a despicable man, to rule over you? By Allah, if you so wish, I will fill the place for you with horses and men!" The Commander of the Faithful called out to him: "Go away Abu Sufyan, for by Allah, you do not mean what you say. Rather, you continue to plot against Islam and its people. We are still preoccupied with the Apostle of Allah. To every man shall belong what he has earned, and he alone shall be responsible for what he has done."

It is reported that the people of Quraysh sent for `Ikrimah ibn Abi Jahl and his uncles al-Harith ibn Hisham and others and appointed them leaders of armies destined for Yemen and Syria, to which they were dispatched on that same night. They likewise sent for Abu Sufyan, whom they silenced by appointing Yazid ibn Abi Sufyan as a provincial governor.

It is reported that when people pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr, he was advised to recall Usamah's army and use it against any of the Arab tribes which might rise up against him. Most of the Immigrants had joined Usamah's army. Usamah asked Abu Bakr: "What would you yourself say?" He answered: "You see what the people have decided! I request that you exempt me and `Umar." Usamah assented: "I shall exempt you."

It is reported that no sooner had Usamah reached Syria than Abu Bakr dismissed him and appointed Yazid ibn~ Abi Sufyan as leader in his place. Thus only forty days elapsed between Usamah's departure from Medina and his return to it. When he arrived, he stood at the door of the mosque and declared: "O Muslims, I marvel at a man over whom the Messenger of Allah had set me as leader, yet who now sets himself up as commander over me and dismisses me!"

- [1.](#) See Qur'an 7:73 – 78; .54:23 – 31 and 91:11– 15.
- [2.](#) Al-Waqidi, Muhammad ibn `Umar ibn Waqid, Kitabu 'l-Maghazi, ed. B. Marsten Jones, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 197–8.
- [3.](#) Aban ibn `Uthman (commonly known as “al-Ahmar”), was a traditionist contemporary with the sixth and seventh Imams and resident in Kufah and Basrah. See as-Sayyid Abu 'l-Qasim al-Musawi al-Khui, Mu'jam Rijali 'l-Hadith, 23 vols., 3rd ed. (Beirut, 1403/1983), vol. 1, pp. 157 – 64; al-A'lam, 10 vols. 3rd ed. (Beirut, 1389/1969), vol. 1, p. 21.
- [4.](#) al-Majlisi, Muhammad Baqir, Biharul 'l-Anwar, 110 vols. 2nd ed. (Beirut: Mu'assasatu'l-Wafa', 1403/1983), vol. 20, pp. 164–6.
- [5.](#) al-Bukhari reported that it was after the Battle of Khaybar 7/ 628.
- [6.](#) See the Arabic text of this book, p. 195.
- [7.](#) This refers to the narrative in the Qur'an concerning the Jews unlawfully fishing on the Sabbath, upon which they were transformed into apes. See Qur'an 2 :65 and 7:166. For a variety of views of the commentators on this narrative, see Ayoub, M., The Qur'an and its Interpreters, pp. 109– 16.
- [8.](#) This refers to the controversy of hadithu'l-ifk, during the raid of Banu 'l-Mustaliq, where `A'ishah was suspected of adultery. See Ibn Hisham, vol. 3, pp. 341– 55, and Guillaume, pp. 493– 9.
- [9.](#) The reference here is to `Umar ibn al-Khattab and his protest against the truce of Hudaibiyyah between the Muslims and the Quraysh, represented by Suhayl ibn `Amr. See Ibn Hisham, vol. 3, pp.365–6, and Guillaume, p.504.
- [10.](#) See al-Waqidi; vol. 2, p. 364.
- [11.](#) See al-Bukhari, vol. 5, p. 87.
- [12.](#) See Qur'an 9 :60. This is a group of the Quraysh who did not enter into Islam, but who were sympathetic. The Prophet accorded them special treatment in order to win them over.
- [13.](#) See Qur'an 3: 103 and 7:86.
- [14.](#) This is a reference to the Khawarij (seceders) who rebelled against 'Ali after the Battle of Siffin. The Hadithu'l-Khawarij is a well known tradition reported in many versions in all the major books of hadith. See for example, Muslim, vol. 7, pp. 169–75. For the version here quoted, see al-Bukhari, vol. 8, pp. 52– 53.
- [15.](#) See al-Bukhari, vol. 8, p. 53.
- [16.](#) See Qur'an 9 :38 – 57.
- [17.](#) This refers to the controversy of hadithu'l-ifk, during the raid of Banu 'l-Mustaliq, where `A'ishah was suspected of adultery. See Ibn Hisham, vol. 3, pp. 341– 55, and Guillaume, pp. 493– 9.
- [18.](#) The question of who led the prayers during the Prophet's illness became crucial in choosing his successor. Shi'i sources have insisted that Abu Bakr was not allowed to lead the prayers as long as the Prophet lived. Thus the Prophet compared `A'ishah, daughter of Abu Bakr, and Hafsa, daughter of `Umar, to the foolish women who jealously taunted the wife of the Egyptian ruler for her infatuation with Joseph's beauty. See Qur'an 12 : 30 – 31.

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