



*A Biography of the*  
**Prophet**  
*of Islam*

**In the Light of the Original Sources**  
**An Analytical Study**

**Volume 2**

**By: Dr. Mahdi Rizqullah Ahmad**  
**Translated by: Syed Iqbal Zaheer**

**DARUSSALAM**

السيرة النبوية

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The Prophet  
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## Chapter 7

### The Battle of Uhud

#### Date of the Battle

Biographical works are unanimous in that the fight took place in Shawwāl of the third year after *Hijrah*.<sup>1</sup> However, they disagreed over the day. Most opinions are that it was a Saturday,<sup>2</sup> in the middle of Shawwāl.<sup>3</sup>

#### Reasons

The most important reason was that the Quraysh intended to take revenge for their defeat at Badr and reclaim their position that stood damaged after the defeat at Badr.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See this in the books of *Sirat*.

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/199), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/36) and *Balādhuri* in *Ansāb* (1/310), said that it was on Saturday, seven remaining of Shawwāl after the elapse of thirty-two months after *Hijrah*. But the chains are weak.

<sup>3</sup> This part of a narration by *Khalifah bin Khayyāt* in his *Tārikh*, (p. 79), via a chain which has unknown persons. It is also *Disconnected (Mursal)*. *Tabari* also mentioned it in the *Tafsir* (7/399) through a chain in which falls *Husayn bin 'Abdullah* who was unreliable; as also *Ibn Ishāq* in the *Sirat*, p. 324, via double *Mursal* chain which has a mix up of reliable and unreliable transmitters. *Tabari's* narration is more reliable than others. See *Dr. 'Umari: Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ibn Ishāq* in the *Sirat*, p. 322, and *Ibn Hishām* 3/86-88) through a *Mursal* chain. It has a group of his teachers, some reliable, some not. Also see *Al-Wāqidi* (1/199) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/37) who picked it from *Wāqidi*.

Another factor was that the Quraysh wished to free their trade routes from the threats of the Muslims. Delivering them a blow would discourage them from challenging their caravans. They also hoped to crush the Muslim power base, before it got unmanageable.<sup>5</sup>

### Their Numbers

The Quraysh set apart the profit they had earned from Abu Sufyān's caravan (which had led to the battle of Badr) for meeting the expenses of the next battle.<sup>6</sup> They collected around 3000 men. Some of them were from their allies in Kinānah and Tihāmah. They had two hundred horses and seven hundred armored men with them. Khālid bin Walid was in charge of the right flank and 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl of the left. A group of women also accompanied them hoping to encourage them and prevent their flight through their taunts. Ibn Ishāq gives their number as eight. But Wāqidi has said that they were fourteen.<sup>7</sup> Both have given their names. Ibn Sa'd said they were fifteen.<sup>8</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ saw in a dream what was going to happen at Uhud. He mentioned it to his Companions saying, "I have seen in a dream that I brandished a sword and its front part broke." That's what happened to the believers on the day of Uhud. "Then I brandished it a second time and it became whole as before." That was the help that Allāh (ﷻ) had extended and the regrouping of the believers. "And I saw a cow - and Allāh is the Good - lo, they were the believers on the day of Uhud."<sup>9</sup> According to another report, "I saw an armor that protected, and I interpreted it as meaning Madinah." Thus the Prophet ﷺ interpreted the dream as foretelling

<sup>5</sup> This was said by Ibn Ishaq in the *Sirat*, p. 322, and in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* through a chain already discussed.

<sup>6</sup> This was said by Wāqidi (1/600).

<sup>7</sup> See *Ibn Hishām* (3/87) being a narration of Ibn Ishāq without a chain. See also *Tārikh* of Tabari (3/504) being a narration by Wāqidi; and Wāqidi himself (1/201).

<sup>8</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/37).

<sup>9</sup> Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/123-124/H. 3622) and *Muslim* (4/1779-1780/H. 2272).

the defeat and that some killing was destined to happen.<sup>10</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ learnt of the Makkan army approaching Madinah, he consulted his Companions giving them the choice between fighting from within the town and going out into the open. Some of the *Ansār* said: "O Messenger of Allāh! We don't like to fight in the streets of the town. We used to avoid this in pre-Islamic times and it is all the more unbecoming that we should do it after Islam. So, let's go out and face the enemy in the open." The Prophet ﷺ left them, entered his house and put on his armor. However, after he had retreated to his house, people began to criticize each other saying, "It looks like the Prophet intended something but you intended something else." They told Hamzah ؓ: "Go and tell him that we would rather follow his opinion." Hamzah went to the Prophet ﷺ and told him about what they were saying. The Prophet ﷺ said, "It is not for a Prophet to wear armor and then remove it until he has fought."<sup>11</sup>

Ibn Ishāq<sup>12</sup> has reported to the effect that 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy had agreed with the Prophet ﷺ that they fight from within the town. However, that does not coincide with Suddi's opinion in

<sup>10</sup> Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/50). Sā'āti said that its chain is reliable. See other reports mentioned by him (21/51), and Ibn Sa'd (2/245), both with authentic chains. However, the chains are in words, "from so-and-so" (not named) and so Truncated (*Mudallas*).

<sup>11</sup> *Tafsir At-Tabari* (7/372-373/Shākir), through a Good (*Hasan*) but Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain ending with Qatādah. Ahmad brought it with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain (3/351) and *Ar-Rabbāni* (21/51-51); as well as *Al-Majma'* (6/107) but which is with a "so-and-so" of Abu Zubayr who himself was not reliable. It is strengthened by the narration of Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/204) through a *Hasan* chain from Ibn 'Abbās. The other through Musa bin 'Uqbah, *Mursal* with Zuhri (3/208). The *Hadith* was also reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/364-365) *Mursal*, coming from 'Urwah, as also in *Al-Hākim* (2/128-129, 296, 297) who declared it reliable and has the approval of Dhahabi. It was also reported in *Ibn Sa'd* (2/38) with a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain. The report thus becomes reliable considered as a whole. See Albāni's commentary on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazāli, p. 269; and the thesis for Master's degree by Husayn Bākiri, *Marwiyyāt Uhud*, p. 62, and 'Umari in *Al-Mujtama': Al-Jihād*, p. 67, and Hammām Sa'eed and Abu Su'aylik in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (3/92).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/91).



Tabari<sup>13</sup> which says the opposite. That report has a good chain of narrators, but it is Disconnected (*Mursal*). One of the transmitters was not too strong of memory, and also committed errors. Therefore, Bākiri<sup>14</sup> has accepted Ibn Ishāq's report for its trustworthiness and because it is narrated by several biographers. It is also agreed that Ibn Salul's excuse for breaking off later was on the pretext that his opinion had been disregarded.

Biographers have also said that an additional reason for preferring to go out into the open to fight the enemy was to fight to their heart's fill, and demonstrate their courage, especially on part of those who had missed participation in Badr.

As for the Prophet ﷺ, and those who were with him, their reasons for fighting from within the town were to use it as a fort and use every able-bodied person for the fight, as well as to have the resources close at hand.<sup>15</sup>

However, after the Prophet ﷺ had made up his mind, a black flag was raised along with three standards.<sup>16</sup> One was that of the *Muhājir*, which was in the hand of Mus'ab bin 'Umayr (taken over by Ibn Abu Tālib after his martyrdom). Another was that of Aws, which was in the hand of Usayd bin Hudayr. A third was that of Khazraj which was carried by Hubāb bin Mundhir.<sup>17</sup> Their total reached a figure of one thousand. They had two horses and a hundred armored personnel.<sup>18</sup> The Prophet ﷺ was wearing two coats of mail.<sup>19</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ passed by Thaniyyatul-Wada' on his way out, he noticed a battalion composed of vulgar men. He inquired

<sup>13</sup> His *Tafsir* (7/162) and the *Tārikh* (3/11).

<sup>14</sup> *Marwīyyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, p. 62.

<sup>15</sup> See Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/91-92); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/209-211) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/38).

<sup>16</sup> *Tārikh* of Ibn Khayyāt, p. 67, through a *Hasan* chain reaching up to Sa'eed bin Musaiyab, Disconnected (*Mursal*). However his *Mursal* reports are considered strong.

<sup>17</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/215). However, none of the reports considering flags are strong enough for serious consideration.

<sup>18</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (3/504), and *Tārikh* of Tabari (3/504).

<sup>19</sup> A *Hadith* reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/25) which he declared reliable and Dhahabi agreed with him; *Wāqidi* (1/219).

about them and was told that it was 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul who had brought six hundred men as volunteers from the Qaynuqā' Jews. They were of the same group as 'Abdullah bin Salām. He asked, "Are they Muslims?" They said, "No." He said, "Tell them to return, for we do not seek help of the polytheists against polytheists."<sup>20</sup> If this report is true then Qaynuqā' must have been expelled only after Uhud.

When the Muslim forces reached a place called Shawt,<sup>21</sup> Ibn Salul withdrew with three hundred of hypocrites on pretext that no fighting was going to take place, and objecting to the decision to go out and face the enemy in the open. He said, "He (Muhammad ﷺ) has followed the opinion of young men and those who have no sound opinion but ignored me. So, why should we get killed?"<sup>22</sup>

Some of the believers thought they should fight these hypocrites also, while others said fighting against them was disallowed. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Sa'd reported it at two places, the first (2/39), without a chain, and the second (2/48) which we have brought here and whose chain has been disputed for reliability. For, Ibn Khidāsh was truthful, but committed errors; Muhammad bin 'Amr was truthful, but given to doubts, and Ibn Mundhir was acceptable. Nonetheless, the report is strengthened by others, e.g., Hākim's report in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/122); Bayhaqi in his *Sunan* (9/37); Tabarāni in *Majma'ul-Bahrayn* (2/223); Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/203) where he said that Tabarāni recorded it in *Al-Kabir* and *Al-Awsat* but which has Sa'd bin Mundhir, who was treated as reliable by Ibn Hibbān. Other narrators are trustworthy. Ibn Ishāq also reported, however, its chain is Interrupted (*Munqati'*)—*Ibn Hishām* (3/93); *Wāqidi* (1/215-216).

<sup>21</sup> Now it is a sports training ground in Madinah. So said 'Ayyāshi in his book *Al-Madinah Baynal-Mādi wal-Hādir*, p. 369; and Bilādi mentioned it in his book: *Mu'jamul-Ma'ālimil-Jughrāfiyah fis-Siratun-Nabawiyyah* (A Dictionary of Geographical Landmarks in the Life History of the Prophet), p. 170. According to Wāqidi, the place of retreat was near the *Shaykhayn* area, close to Uhud—*Maghāzi* (1/219).

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ishaq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/92); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/219); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/39); Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (3/208) being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Disconnected (*Mursal*) form. Bukhāri and others reported that "when the Prophet ﷺ came out for the Uhud campaign, some people who were with him returned..." See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/232/H. 4050) and *Bākiri*, p. 71.

﴿فَمَا لَكُمْ فِي الْمُنَافِقِينَ فِتْنَةٍ وَاللَّهُ أَرَكَّهُمْ بِمَا كَسَبُوا﴾

“So what is it with you that you are two groups with regard to the hypocrites, while Allāh has held them because of what they earned?”<sup>23, 24</sup>

When they withdrew, ‘Abdullah bin ‘Amr bin Harām went after them and pleaded, “I beseech you in the Name of Allāh that you do not dishonor your people and your Prophet at a time the enemy is at the gates.” They replied, “If we knew there is going to be a fight, we would not abandon you. But we don’t see a fight taking place.” When they persisted against him, he cursed them in words, “O Allāh’s enemies. May you be distanced. Allāh is quit of you and so is His Prophet.” The Qur’ān referred to this talk when it was revealed,

﴿وَمَا أَصَابَكُمْ يَوْمَ التَّمَيِّمِ الْجَمْعَانِ فَيَاذَنَ اللَّهُ وَلِيَعْلَمَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿١٦٦﴾ وَلِيَعْلَمَ الَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا وَقِيلَ لَهُمْ تَعَالَوْا فَنَلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَوْ أَدْفَعُوا قَالُوا لَوْ نَعْلَمُ قِتَالًا لَاتَّبَعْنَاكُمْ هُمْ لِلْكَفْرِ يَوْمَئِذٍ أَقْرَبُ مِنْهُمْ لِلْإِيمَانِ يَقُولُونَ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ مَا لَيْسَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يَكْتُمُونَ﴾

“What befell you the day the two forces met (at Uhud), was by the Will of Allāh, in order that He may know the (true) believers; and in order that He may know those who resorted to hypocrisy. They were told, ‘Come. Fight in the way of Allāh, or defend (yourselves).’ They replied, ‘If we knew there would be a fight, we would have followed you.’ That day they were nearer to disbelief than they were to belief, uttering with their mouths what was not in their hearts. And Allāh is better informed of what they conceal.”<sup>25, 26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Surat An-Nisa’: 88.

<sup>24</sup> This is mentioned in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/232/H. 4050). See other reports with Tabari in his *Tafsir* (9/7-9/Shākir). However, other reports have also come down regarding the cause of revelation of this Verse. See (9/9-16).

<sup>25</sup> Surat Āl ‘Imrān: 166-167.

<sup>26</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/93).

Also, Banu Salamah of Khazraj and Banu Hārithah of Aws were about to follow suit and fall back along with the hypocrites, had not Allāh fixed their feet along with the believers. Allāh (ﷺ) said about them,

﴿إِذْ هَمَّتْ طَّائِفَتَانِ مِنْكُمْ أَنْ تَفْشَلَا وَاللَّهُ وَلِيَهُمَا...﴾

“When two of your groups were about to lose heart, (but) Allāh was their (Friend and) Protector. And it is in Allāh that the believers ought to place their trust.”<sup>27, 28</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ returned from his party those who were not of age: anyone fourteen years old or less. Those sent back were: ‘Abdullah bin ‘Umar, Zayd bin Thābit, Usāmah bin Zayd, Nu’mān bin Bashir, Zayd bin Arqam, Bara’ bin ‘Āzib, Usayd bin Zuhayr, ‘Arābah bin Aws and Abu Sa’eed Khudri. It is said that they were some fourteen boys. Ibn Sayyidin-Nās<sup>29</sup> has named them. It is also proven that ‘Umar’s son was one of them.<sup>30</sup> However, the Prophet ﷺ allowed Rāfi’ bin Khadij when he was told that he was a good shooter. And Samurah bin Jundub was also allowed to remain because he claimed he was stronger than Rāfi’ and actually floored him in a wrestling match<sup>31</sup> (right then and there).

That night Zakwān bin ‘Abdul-Qays took charge of guarding against the army. It is said that he kept himself around the Prophet ﷺ not parting his company.<sup>32</sup>

When the army moved the next day—Saturday—to face the enemy, they passed by Mirba’ bin Qayzi’s orchard. He was blind and a hypocrite. He began to throw dust in the faces of the Muslims.

<sup>27</sup> Surat Āl ‘Imrān: 122.

<sup>28</sup> This was reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (5/233/H. 4051), and *Muslim* (4/1948/H. 2505) and Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/154), and Tabari’s *Tafsir* (7/166). See also Bayhaqī’s *Dalā’il* (3/220-222).

<sup>29</sup> *Uyunul-Athar* (2/7). See them in *Al-Wāqidi* (1/216) and *Ibn Hishām* (3/96) without a chain.

<sup>30</sup> Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/276/H. 4097) and *Muslim* (3/1490/H. 1868).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/96) without a chain.

<sup>32</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/217) without a chain.

He told the Prophet ﷺ, "O Muhammad, if you are a Prophet, then let me tell you that I don't allow you to enter into my orchard. By Allāh, if I was sure I wouldn't hit anyone else, I would have hit at your face with them." The people were upset and wanted to kill him but the Prophet ﷺ restrained them saying, "Don't kill him. This man is blind of eye, blind of heart." However, before his words were completed, Sa'd bin Zayd ؓ had already hit the man and injured him.<sup>33</sup>

On the way to the field 'Umar ؓ asked his brother to put on his coat of mail. Zayd ؓ replied, "I am also aiming at the same martyrdom that you are aiming at." So, neither of them used it.<sup>34</sup>

When they reached the valley below Mount Uhud, the Prophet ﷺ placed his men facing Madinah and back to the Mount. He also selected fifty archers placing them under 'Abdullah bin Jubayr's command, and asked them to be on a hill called 'Aynayn, facing Mount Uhud. He feared that the pagan forces might attack from that side. He told them, "Do not abandon your position even if you see vultures circling over our heads until I send my word."<sup>35</sup> In this manner the believers took charge of the mountains leaving the open valley to the pagans.

When the two armies met, Abu 'Āmir ('Abd 'Amr bin Sayfi)<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/94); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/218).

<sup>34</sup> Reported by Tabarāni as recorded in *Al-Majma'* (5/298). Haythami said: "Its narrators are trustworthy." Bākiri also traced it, p. 93, adding, "I could not trace Ibrāhim bin Nasr. However, Ibrāhim bin Hamzah was reliable. So was 'Abdul-'Aziz bin Hamad. It has other supporting traditions, though weak, that Ibn Sa'd traced (3/383) which has been treated weak because of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar 'Umari. But the *Hadith* is reliable which more than one of the biographers have mentioned.

<sup>35</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/132/H. 3039) and (15/224-225/H. 4043); *Musnad* of Ahmad and Hākim who quoted: "Take care of our rear. If you see us being killed, do not help us, and if you see us collecting the booty, do not join us"—*Musnad* (4/209/Shākir); who declared its chain authentic, and *Mustadrak* (2/296) who also declared its chain reliable. Dhahabi agreed with him. See its meaning reported by the biographers and war chroniclers: *Al-Wāqidi* (1/219-220) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/39-40).

<sup>36</sup> He was one of the Aws. He left Madinah to part company with the Prophet ﷺ. He had a couple of young Aws men. He had promised

called out to his Aws men to (abandon the Prophet ﷺ) and join up with the pagans. But they rebuked him in response and said, "May Allāh let you not experience anything good, you wretched man." He replied, "My people seem to have fallen prey to evil after me," and began to throw stones at them.<sup>37</sup>

The battle began with a duel between 'Ali ؓ and Talhah bin 'Uthmān who was a standard-bearer of the pagans. 'Ali killed him.<sup>38</sup> Then the two armies began to fight vigorously. The Muslims were able to break their ranks and penetrate deep in their lines. The Prophet ﷺ encouraged them by raising high a sword and saying, "Who will take this from me." Many men stretched their hands, saying, "I, I." He said, "Who will justify taking it?" Hands fell down. Abu Dujānah came forward and said, "I'll take it and justify taking it." He proved his words true and broke the pagan lines.<sup>39</sup>

Quraysh that if his followers met an enemy, not two of them would part company with him. He used to be known as *Ar-Rāhib* (the ascetic), but the Prophet ﷺ named him *Al-Fāsiq* (an evil person).

<sup>37</sup> Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/97-98), *Disconnected (Mursal)*; *Al-Wāqidi* (1/223) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/40).

<sup>38</sup> Tabari reported in his *Tafsir* (7/281) with a *Sahih* chain but is one of the *Mursal* reports of Suddi.

<sup>39</sup> *Muslim* (4/1917/H. 2470); Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/123); *Al-Hākim* (3/230) that declared it reliable and with it Dhahabi agreed. But Bākiri did not agree (p. 108) counting this as an error from the two. For, 'Ubaydullah is unknown. Also *Ibn Sa'd* (3/556) and Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/97). Ibn Ishāq's tradition which goes without a chain states that Abu Dujānah asked the Prophet ﷺ: "What is the obligation on the sword?" The Prophet ﷺ answered: "It is to strike with it until it is bent." Abu Dujānah was a brave person who took pride during battles. When he wore on a red band over his head, people knew that he would fight. So, when he took the sword from the Prophet ﷺ, he brought out that red band, tied it on his head, and began to strut between the two warring parties. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him he remarked, "It is a gait that Allāh disapproves of, except in such a situation." Its chain is *Mursal* and is a very weak tradition as stated by Bākiri, p. 106. It is a report found in *Sirah Ibn Hishām* and Ibn Ishāq, p. 326 as well as *Usdul-Ghabah* (5/184). According to a weak report of Hākim, Abu Dujānah fought with it until he reached the mountain where he found women. One of them said, "We are daughters of the stars who walk upon carpets." He intended to slay her but remembered that it

That day the password of the Muslims was "Amit, Amit"<sup>40</sup> (i.e., die, die)." Some six hundred of them defied death that day. History records the death-defying attitude of Hamzah and a few others. Sibā' bin 'Abdul-'Uzza<sup>41</sup> came up challenging the Muslims for a duel. Hamzah ﷺ went forward and slew him. He slew a few others also,<sup>42</sup> such as 'Uthman bin Abu Talhah, and Abu Shaybah who was another standard-bearer of the pagans.

Wahshi - an Ethiopian slave - had entered into a contract with his master Jubayr bin Mu''im to the effect that he would be freed if he managed to kill Hamzah - in revenge of his uncle Tu'aymah bin 'Adi whom Hamzah had killed at Badr. Wahshi concealed himself behind a rock waiting for Hamzah to fall on line. When he came on line, he threw a powerful spear at him and killed him treacherously.<sup>43</sup>

Wāqidi has a different version. He reported Wahshi as saying that when he was sure Hamzah was dead, "I remembered Hind, the

was the Prophet's sword not fit for killing a woman therewith. Some reports have recorded a piece of poetry also that he was singing as he took the sword. It said,

*I am the one from whom my friend took the promise  
While we were at the foot of the mountain at the palm grove  
That I shall never be at the rear of the army  
But rather, strike with Allāh's and His Messenger's sword.*

See Bākiri: *Marwiyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, p. 109.

<sup>40</sup> *Al-Mustadrak* (2/107-108) of Hākim who declared it authentic although Dhahabi was uncommitted; *Abu Dāwud* (3/74); the *Musnad* of Ahmad (4/46), Dārimi: *Sunan* (2/219) in brief; *Ibn Hishām* without a chain; and *Al-Waqidi* (1/234). Said the two redactors of *Ibn Hishām*: "The chains of Ahmad, Abu Dāwud and Hākim are authentic despite the presence of 'Ikrimah; but his narration is from Iyās Sālih, and is strengthened by the report of Abul-'Umayy, he from Iyās, as in Hākim. The report meets with the conditions of Muslim. It is also in Dārimi and the report could be reliable."

<sup>41</sup> Mentioned by Bukhāri in a long *Hadith* of Wahshi regarding the killing of Hamzah - *Al-Fath* (15/247/4072) and *Al-Waqidi* (1/308).

<sup>42</sup> See *Al-Wāqidi* (1/307).

<sup>43</sup> Being part of a long *Hadith* of Wahshi in connection with Hamzah's killing as in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/245-49/H. 4072). The story was also reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/59-60) and Ibn Ishāq, who has the same chain as that of Bukhāri - *Ibn Hishām* (3/102-105).

daughter of 'Utbah and what misfortune she had been struck with. So when his companions moved away, having lost hope of his revival, I went up to the body, slit open the chest, pulled out his heart and went back to Hind. I asked her, 'What if I kill your father's killer?' She said, 'My booty.' I said, 'Here! This is Hamzah's heart.' She chewed it but spat it out. I don't know if she couldn't swallow it or because it was unpalatable. She removed her garments and jewelry and gave them to me and added, 'When we return to Makkah, you shall have another ten dinar.' Then she asked me to show his body. I took her there. She severed his genital organs, his nose and ears, and made necklace, bracelet and anklet out of them wearing them on until she arrived at Makkah. She also carried a piece of his heart with her."

Mus'ab bin 'Umayr fought relentlessly until he was martyred. 'Ali ﷺ picked up the standard after his fall.<sup>44</sup> Those Muslims who had expressed their desire at Madinah to fight, proved themselves true. They brought down every standard-bearer until the pagans left them on the ground: no one courageous enough to pick them up.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the Muslims secured an upper hand in the first round of the battle. The Qur'ān was referring to this when it revealed,

﴿وَلَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَعْدَهُ إِذْ تَحُسُّونَهُم بِإِذْنِهِ﴾

"Allāh made true His promise when you were cutting them down by His leave."<sup>46, 47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Ibn Khayyāt in the *Tārikh*, p. 67 through a *Mursal* chain stopping at Ibn Musaiyab. The report is strong enough.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain - *Ibn Hishām* (3/112).

<sup>46</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 152.

<sup>47</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/225/H. 3043). Also see the reports that are in Tabari's *Tafsir*, in explanation of this Verse (77/281-288/the reports from 8004-8011/Shākir) especially the report numbered 8008; Ibn Kathir in the *Tafsir* (2/114-115) being a narration of Imam Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (1/287, 288) which happens to be a narrative of Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ. Ibn Kathir noted: "This is a strange report with a strange context. It happens to be a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Ibn 'Abbās who himself did not participate, nor did his father. The *Hadith* was also reported by *Al-Hākim*

When the pagans lost their ground, with their women lifting their skirts and exposing their calves and anklets as they ran, Ibn Jubayr's companions on the hilltop began to say, "Spoils of war, O men! Your companions have overcome. What are you now waiting for?" Abdullah bin Jubayr reminded them: "Have you forgotten the Prophet's instruction?" They said, "By Allāh. We will join the rest and collect the booty." And they went after it.

This was a chance that Khālid bin Walid was waiting for. He thought that if he could come from the rear of the Muslim position, the pagans could be persuaded to turn back and fight<sup>48</sup> the encircled Muslims. Accordingly, as he turned around the hill with his men and came from the rear, the Muslims got caught in between. Such confusion ensued that they killed their own man Yamān, Hudhayfah's father despite the fact that he was shouting that it was his father. He cried out in desperation, "O slaves of Allāh, this is my father." But when they had killed him, he only said, "May Allāh forgive you."<sup>49</sup> Many Muslims were slain. Meanwhile, the Prophet ﷺ disappeared from the sight and the

(2/296) coming from Abu Nadr Faqih. Similarly it was reported by Ibn Abu Hātim and Bayhaqī in his *Dalā'il* some of its parts are present in *Sahih* and other works." Ibn Kathir then brought in supporting evidences to demonstrate the authenticity of the present narrative: both in his *Tafsir* as well as *Tārikh* (4/29, and the following pages). Sā'āti said in *Fathul-Rabbāni* (21/55), "Hākim traced it, as well as Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir*. Hākim treated it authentic and Dhahabi agreed with him." Haythami also documented it saying, "Ahmad recorded it. Its chain has 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Abu Zinād who has been treated reliable despite his weakness. See the report in Ibn Sa'd (2/41), where it is Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

<sup>48</sup> A Disconnected (*Mursal*) narration of Suddi. Tabari mentioned it in his *Tafsir* (7/281-282/H. 8004/Shākir), which Ibn Ishāq reported through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/112). He did not mention that the person who turned around was Khālid himself.

<sup>49</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/239-240/H. 4065); *Al-Hākim* (3/202) that declared it *Sahih* and Dhahabi approved it; *Musnad Ahmad* (4/209-211/Shākir). Shākir declared the report authentic. He also quoted the story of Yamān staying away with his children at the start in the forts, then his joining the Prophet ﷺ and getting killed. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/127-128).

word spread that he was killed.<sup>50</sup>

With that the Muslims began to flee the battlefield. Some of them sat down, away from the field: not knowing what to do.<sup>51</sup> A few stood their ground in the battlefield and encouraged others to fight on and achieve martyrdom. One of them was Anas bin Nadr who was eager to compensate his absence at Badr. When he observed some of the Muslims sitting by he said, "Paradise, by the Lord of Nadr. I can feel its smell coming from the Uhud side." When the battle was over and he was identified, some eighty and odd wounds were found on his body. It was only his sister who could identify him which she did with the help of his finger tips. After the battle, the Prophet ﷺ sent Zayd bin Thābit to look for him. When he found him, he was in his final moments. He replied to the greeting and said, "I can feel the smell of Paradise from the Uhud side. Tell my people, the *Ansār*, that they'll have no excuse if they failed to protect the Prophet, so long as there is anyone left in them batting an eyelid."<sup>52</sup> With that his eyes filled with tears. Allāh ﷻ revealed in praise of him and others of his kind,

﴿مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمِنْهُمْ مَّن قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَّن يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا﴾

"Among the believers are men who kept true the promise they made to Allāh. So, there are some who have completed their term while there are others who are waiting – and they did not change by the least."<sup>53, 54</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/226) who ascribed it to Tabari being a report of Suddi. It was also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/112), who reported it through other chains too.

<sup>51</sup> See: Ibn Ishāq with a *Sahih-Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/120), *Al-Wāqidi* (2/280), the *Tārikh* of Tabari (2/517) and the *Tafsir* of Tabari (7/256).

<sup>52</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a trustworthy chain as in *Majma'ul-Bahrayn* (2/239), *Sharhul-Mawāhib* (2/44). As for his recognition by his sister with the help of finger tips, this was reported by Ibn Ishāq as in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (3/120), through an Acceptable (*Maqbul*) chain, being a report of Anas bin Mālik.

<sup>53</sup> *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 23.

<sup>54</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/283/H. 2805) and Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan*

Those who fled paid no attention to anyone despite the Prophet's call to stay with him. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿إِذْ تَصْعَدُونَ وَلَا تَكُونُ عَلَى أَحَدٍ وَالرَّسُولُ يَدْعُكُمْ فِي  
أُخْرَتِكُمْ﴾

"When you were climbing (the hills) and turned to no one while the Messenger was calling you from your rear."<sup>55</sup>

However, Allāh (ﷻ) forgave those who fled. He said,

﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ تَوَلَّوْا مِنْكُمْ يَوْمَ الْتَفَى الْجَمْعَانِ إِنَّمَا اسْتَزَلَّهُمُ الشَّيْطَانُ بِبَعْضِ  
مَا كَسَبُوا وَلَقَدْ عَفَا اللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ حَلِيمٌ﴾

"Those who turned away from you the day the two groups clashed, surely it was Satan who made them to slip because of some of what they had earned. However, Allāh forgave them. Surely, Allāh is Most Forgiving, Most Kind."<sup>56</sup>

Ibn Jawzi<sup>57</sup> has said that one of the two reasons for their fleeing was the spread of the rumor that the Prophet ﷺ was dead.

The first to learn that the Prophet ﷺ was alive was Ka'b bin Mālik. He shouted out the good news. But the Prophet ﷺ stopped him, so that the pagans wouldn't know.<sup>58</sup>

Some of the pagans were able to reach up to the Prophet ﷺ to attack him. There were seven of the *Ansār* and two of the Quraysh around him. He said, "Who will spurn their attacks and be my

chain—Ibn Hishām (3/120), and *As-Sirat*, p. 230. For causes leading to the revelation of this Verse see *Al-Hākim* (3/200) who treated it reliable and Dhahabi agreed with him.

<sup>55</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 153. See *At-Tabari* for different reports that were mentioned in its explanation (7/301-302).

<sup>56</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 155. The verifiers of *Zādul-Masir* (1/483) mentioned that Imam Ahmad, Abu Ya'la, Tabari and Bazzār reported the *Hadith* through a *Hasan* chain and mentioned that the Verse was revealed in connection with those who fled the battle of Uhud.

<sup>57</sup> *Zādul-Masir* by Ibn Jawzi (1/483).

<sup>58</sup> Being a *Hadith* reported by *Al-Hākim* (3/201) which he declared authentic with Dhahabi agreeing with him. Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/112):

companion in Paradise?" One after another all the seven of the *Ansār* responded and fought until they were martyred. The Prophet ﷺ turned to his two Quraysh Companions and remarked, "We didn't do justice to our companions."<sup>59</sup>

Of those who fought bravely in defense of the Prophet ﷺ was Talhah bin 'Ubaydullah ؓ. He fought until his arm with which he shielded the Prophet ﷺ was paralyzed.<sup>60</sup> Another was Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās ؓ to whom the Prophet ﷺ would hand over an arrow and say, "Shoot, Sa'd. May my parents be sacrificed for you." The Prophet ﷺ never named his father and mother together for anyone except Sa'd bin Mālik bin Abu Waqqās, as 'Ali ؓ reported, and as Sa'd said about himself. Another who fought well was Abu Talhah Ansāri ؓ. He was a skilled archer. When the Prophet ﷺ passed by someone who had an arrow, he would tell him, "Give it to Abu Talhah." When the Prophet ﷺ tried to raise his head over theirs to get a look at the fighters, Abu Talhah would say, "By my parents, don't raise your head, O Messenger of Allāh, lest an arrow strikes you. May I offer my neck for your neck."<sup>61</sup> Impressed by Abu Talhah's fighting ability, the Prophet ﷺ said, "Abu Talhah is heavier than a group of people upon the pagans." Another person

"Narrated by Tabarāni in *Al-Awsat* and *Al-Kabir*, with the narrators of *Al-Awsat* being reliable. Ibn Sa'd (2/46) also reported it as a Discontinuous (*Mursal*) report quoting it through Zuhri (2/46). Also Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dala'il* (2482) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) and *Hasan* attribution, being a report of Ibn Ishāq who has a Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—Ibn Hishām (3/121).

<sup>59</sup> *Muslim* (3/1415/H. 1789).

<sup>60</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/229/H. 3724). He it is who crouched down for the Prophet ﷺ to lift himself up to a rock on the mountain when the disbelievers surrounded them in Uhud. The Prophet ﷺ said: "It became obligatory for Talhah," i.e., Paradise. Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/126). The Prophet ﷺ remarked: "Whoever wishes to see a martyr walking on the earth, may see Talhah bin 'Ubaydullah." Albāni commented in his *Silsilatul-Ahādithus-Sahihah* (2/32): "Isfahāni has preserved it through a reliable chain, so judged for its supporting evidences..."

<sup>61</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/233-236/H. 4057) and (14/230/H. 3725).

who fought courageously<sup>62</sup> was Abu Dujānah ؓ. He was shielding the Prophet ﷺ with his back. Arrows were hitting him in large numbers while he remained leaning over the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>63</sup>

It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ himself shot so many arrows that his bow broke down. Qatādah bin Nu'mān took it from him and kept it for himself. That day Qatādah was hit in the eye. The eyeball fell out and hung on his cheek. The Prophet ﷺ returned it to the socket, and it became whole again.<sup>64</sup>

In these difficult conditions 'Umārah's mother Nusaybah bint Ka'b Māziniyah joined the band of those who were defending the

<sup>62</sup> Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/589) through narrators that are trustworthy. See also *Al-Wāqidi* (1/243) whose words are: "Abu Talhah's voice in an army is better than forty men."

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/119).

<sup>64</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/119) that stops at 'Ali bin 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah thus it is discontinuous. Abu Nu'aym completed the chain in *Dalā'il* (2/483-484/H. 416) through this chain as well as another (2/484-417). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (8/291-298), "Tabarāni and Abu Ya'la have documented it. However, Tabarāni's chain has someone whom I do not know. Abu Ya'la's chain has 'Abdul-Hamid Hammāni who was weak." Haythami also said in *Al-Majma'* (6/113) speaking of Abu Nu'aym's (417), "There is someone in the chain whom I do not know." The report in *Musnad Abu Ya'la* is in (3/120/H. 1549). Bayhaqi reported it in *Dalā'il* (3/251-253) both truncated as well as continuous. The truncated report says it happened on Sunday (3/252). The continuous reports are three. They say it was the day of Badr (3/251, 252, 100). In one of them occurs Hammāni (3/1000) who was weak. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (3/217): "It was reported by Dārāqutni, Ibn Shāhin and Baghawī through Qatādah, and Dārāqutni and Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il*." Ibn Athir mentioned in *Uṣṣul-Ghābah* (4/195) through 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān, who had been abandoned. Haythami said in *Majma'* (8/292), "Abu Ya'la recorded it through 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān who was weak." And *Al-Wāqidi* (1/242) reported it, but Wada'i did not mention this story in the *Musnad Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* which means he was not sure of the reliability

I might point out that all these reports speak of a basis for the story in question. See Qatādah bin Nu'mān's biography in *Al-Istī'āb* (3/248) and *Al-Isābah* (3/255/no. 7076).

Prophet ﷺ until she was struck by Ibn Qami'ah in the shoulder.<sup>65</sup> It left a deep mark there.

The Prophet ﷺ himself fought very hard that day and received several injuries. His teeth broke, the face was cut, and blood flowed down. He began to wipe it and say, "How can a people succeed if they injure a Prophet who invites them to Islam?" Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿لَيْسَ لَكَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ شَيْءٌ أَوْ يَتُوبَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَوْ يُعَذِّبُهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ ظَالِمُونَ﴾

"You have no say in the affair. (Allāh may) turn to them (in mercy) or He may punish them for they are transgressors."<sup>66,67</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ then said, hoping for their Islam, "O my Lord, forgive my people, they are ignorant."<sup>68</sup> According to the report in *Al-Bukhari*,<sup>69</sup> the Prophet's teeth broke, face was injured, and the skin on his head split.

When he received these injuries from the pagans he remarked, "Allāh's anger is evoked against a people who did this to their Prophet—pointing to his teeth. And Allāh's anger is evoked against a man who killed His Prophet in the way of Allāh. Allāh's anger is evoked against a people who bloodied the face of Allāh's Prophet."<sup>70</sup> Fātimah ؓ washed his blood and 'Ali ؓ bandaged his

<sup>65</sup> *Ibn Hishām*, through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain (3/118); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/268-269) and *Ibn Sa'd* (8/412-415) through Wāqidi.

<sup>66</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 128.

<sup>67</sup> *Muslim* (3/1417/H. 1791), and *Al-Bukhārī* in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report—*Al-Fath* (15/243/*Maghāzī*). While commenting on it, Ibn Hajar mentioned the names of the *Hadith* scholars who narrated the whole chain as also *At-Tirmidhi* (8/184/*Tafsir*/H. 3005) who said that it was Good & Sound (*Hasan-Sahih*). Albāni too thought it was reliable. See *Sahih* of Tirmidhi (3/33/*Tafsir*/H. 3201); and *Sahih* of Ibn Mājah by Albāni (2/372/H. 4027) remarking that it is reliable. Also *Ahmad* (3/99, 179, 206, 253, 288). Ibn Ishāq reported a part of it without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/144). Also *Ibn Hishām* (3/115) through a *Munqati'* chain in which falls Rubayh who was acceptable, however, he did not mention the Verse.

<sup>68</sup> *Muslim* (3/1417/H. 1791).

<sup>69</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/152/H. 4073-4075).

<sup>70</sup> It was mentioned by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/124)

wounds. When Fātimah found that blood wouldn't stop, she took some frond, burnt it and pressed it on the wound.<sup>71</sup>

Many heroes emerged in this battle. One of the men asked the Prophet ﷺ, "Tell me, where will I be if I was killed?" He said, "In Paradise." He threw away some dates that he had in his hands, fought and attained martyrdom.<sup>72</sup>

'Abdullah bin Jahsh ؓ said before the battle: "I beseech (You O Allāh) that we meet the enemy. And when we have met them, they kill me, then they split my stomach and cut my body parts. So that when I meet You, You ask me, 'How did this happen?' And I say, 'For your sake.'" It so happened that when he met the enemy and was killed, they did to him what he had desired.<sup>73</sup>

'Amr bin Jamuh participated with his four sons. They had tried to prevent him from participating because he was lame. But when he insisted, the Prophet ﷺ advised his sons to let him remain if he was after martyrdom. He asked the Prophet ﷺ, "Do you think if I am killed today, I'll be in Paradise walking about with my lame foot?" When he replied in a yes he said, "By Him Who sent you, I shall walk about in Paradise today with my lame foot." So he fought until he achieved his objective.<sup>74</sup>

And, despite the fact that the Prophet ﷺ had allowed the aged to stay back, Yamān and Thābit bin Waqsh refused to sit back with the children at Madinah and decided on participating in the battle to

mentioned apart of this narration whose words are: "Allāh's anger was provoked by those who bloodied His Prophet's face."

<sup>71</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/251-252/H. 4075).

<sup>72</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/230/H. 4046).

<sup>73</sup> Hākim reported it (3/199) being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) tradition of Sa'eed bin Musaiyab and remarking, "This report is on the conditions of the *Shaykhayn*, if not for the missing name of the Companion." Dhahabi said: "It is *Mursal* but *Sahih*."

<sup>74</sup> Ibn Mubārak: *Kitabul-Jihād*, p. 69, being a *Mursal* report of Ikrimah; Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/132) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/299) in brief coming through Ibn Ishāq whose transmitters are reliable except for Yahya bin Nadr Ansāri, who in any case was trustworthy as stated in *Al-Majma'* (9/315). Thus the tradition is authentic through Ahmad's source.

achieve martyrdom. Thābit ؓ was killed by the pagans while Yamān ؓ was killed by mistake by the Muslims. The Prophet ﷺ promised to pay the blood money but his son Hudhayfah refused to accept it, which increased his status in the eyes of the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>75</sup>

Hanzalah bin Abu 'Āmir was a newly married man on the day of the clash. When he heard the call, he hurried up without finding time for a wash. He fought until he achieved martyrdom. When the Prophet ﷺ saw his body he remarked, "Your companion is being given a wash by the angels." Thereafter he was known as one given wash by the angels, or, simply, "The washed one."<sup>76</sup>

So also, Mukhayriq fought by the side of the Prophet ﷺ until he was killed. He was a good example for those Jews who had embraced Islam. He had said when he left for the battlefield, "If I am killed, my property will go to Muhammad. Let him deal with it the way he wishes."<sup>77</sup> The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Mukhayriq was the best of the Jews."<sup>78</sup>

Usayrim of Banu 'Abdul-Ashhal, whose name was 'Amr bin Uqaysh, was dillydally in Islam. But, by Uhud he became a sincere Muslim, joined the Prophet ﷺ, fought and obtained martyrdom. He hadn't offered a single prayer in Islam.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/127), and Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/202) declaring it trustworthy with Dhahabi agreeing with it; *Al-Wāqidi* (1/232).

<sup>76</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/107-108); *Al-Hākim* (3/204) however gave the whole chain, and treated it as *Sahih* with which view Dhahabi agreed. Albāni counted it as *Hasan* in his *Silsilatul-Ahādithus-Sahihah* (4/36/no. 326). It comes through Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>77</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) form—*Ibn Hishām* (3/129).

<sup>78</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq in complete form—*Ibn Hishām* (3/131); Ibn Sa'd (1/501) through Wāqidi; and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/263). Ibn Hajar said in *Isābah* (3/393), "Mukhayriq Nadari Israeli was of the Banu Nadir. Wāqidi mentioned that he embraced Islam and died a martyr in Uhud. Wāqidi and Balādhuri also added that some have thought that he was of the Banu Qaynuqa'."

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/131) – see al *Al-Isābah* (2/519), – and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/43/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2537) and *Al-Hākim* (3/28) who considered it *Sahih* with which Dhahabi agreed.



Although Hassān bin Thābit could not participate in the *Jihād* with the sword, neither in this battle nor in others, he did not miss to fight for the Muslims with his effective poetry as his weapon. He encouraged the Muslims not only in this battle, but in many others.

Hassān as such was not a coward. Kalbi<sup>80</sup> has stated that cowardice was not Hassān's quality. In fact, he was a courageous man. It was a disability that had struck him which prevented him from entering the battlefields.<sup>81</sup> His arm-vein had been severed and so he was incapable of striking with a sword. This information helps us explain his attitude during later wars. Tabrāni<sup>82</sup> has it that on the day of Uhud, Hassān was with the children on a fort wall. A Jew came and tried to climb the wall. Safiyyah bint 'Abdul-Muttalib asked him to kill the man. He replied, "If I didn't suffer the disability, I would be with the Prophet at this moment." So Safiyyah killed him and asked Hassān to throw the man's head down the fort to the Jews waiting there. Hassān begged excuse of that too and so Safiyyah did it herself. The Jews at the foot dispersed under the impression that there were men on top guarding the fort.

Balādhuri<sup>83</sup> and Ya'qubi<sup>84</sup> have confirmed that this incident took place at the time of Uhud although Ibn Ishāq<sup>85</sup> said it happened during the Khandaq expedition.

Hassān-Safiyyah story is not well documented. But what led us to accept the reports of Wāqidi and Kalbi is that Hassān used to encourage the fighters with his poetry both before and after Islam.

<sup>80</sup> Ibn 'Asākir quoted it from him in his *Tārīkh Dimashq* (4/140).

<sup>81</sup> Isfahāni took it from him for his *Aghāni* (4/16).

<sup>82</sup> Haythami: *Al-Majma'* (6/114). In its chain falls Ja'far bin Zubayr who was abandoned because he was a liar, fabricator and narrator of strange reports. See *Mizān-ul-'I'tidāl* (1/406). Tabarāni also recorded it, through 'Urwah through a weak chain (*Al-Majma'* 6/134), as did Abu Ya'la in his *Musnad* (1/84). Haythami quoted it from him in *Al-Majma'* (6/134) declaring its chain unreliable. To Zurqāni however it was authentic: *Al-Mawāhib* (2/11) despite the presence of Ja'far bin Zubayr. The *Hadith* was also reported by Bazzār in *Al-Kashf* (2/223-234) with Haythami declaring it weak.

<sup>83</sup> *Ansābul-Ashrāf* (1/324).

<sup>84</sup> His *Tārīkh* (2/48).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/317-319) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

But no one ever taunted him for his cowardice. If what Tabarāni states is true then, surely, many poets would have aimed their satires and lampoons at him, especially when Hassān was making fun of those who had fled battlefields out of cowardice. Add to this the fact that Hassān was too old to take active part in a battle. This is confirmed by Ibn Hishām.<sup>86</sup> Ibn 'Abdul-Barr<sup>87</sup> said, explaining Hassān's absence from several battles, "because of that his son would have been taunted since he also used to string satires against many poets including Najāshi, the ruler of Habashah."

Of those who fought on the day of Uhud, but not intending *Jihād*, rather, intending to protect his kinsfolk, was Quzman. He killed no less than seven or eight pagans. But the Prophet ﷺ had said about him, "He belongs to the Fire." On the day of Uhud when he received several injuries, he could not bear them and committed suicide.<sup>88</sup> This proved to be a proof of the Prophet's authenticity and the basis for the rule that intention is of prime importance in *Jihād*.

Some Muslim women also went into the battlefield. They were to supply water to the thirsty. Some of those that have been named

<sup>86</sup> For their discussion and that of Khushani, see *Ibn Hishām* (3/318), and Suhayli in *Rawdah* (3/281), as well as Bākiri in his thesis: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, pp. 260-264.

<sup>87</sup> *Ad-Durar*, p. 186.

<sup>88</sup> His story is reported by Ibn Ishāq, via a chain broken off—*Ibn Hishām* (3/129) which Abu Ya'la completed through another route via a trustworthy chain as mentioned by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/116), but he didn't name the person. It tells us that the intention is the basis. It was also reported in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/48-49/H. 4202) but did not name the person in both the chains. In fact, through the first chain he did not even name the campaign while mentioning in the second that it was Khayber. *Muslim* (1/105-106/H. 111) also reported through two routes (1/105-106/H. 111): In the first, he mentioned that the campaign was that of Hunayn, while remaining silent about the campaign in the second. In both he did not mention the person. Ahmad recorded it in the *Musnad* (4/135) reporting that it was the Khayber campaign. Wāqidi too reported the story (1/263) as did Ibn Ishāq who gave the name as Quzmān. We agree with Bākiri (p. 249) that there is no contradiction between the narratives as reconciliation is possible by assuming that it occurred several times, Allāh knows best.

are: 'Umm 'Amārah,<sup>89</sup> Hamnāh bin Jahsh Asadiyyah,<sup>90</sup> Umm Sulayt,<sup>91</sup> Umm Sulaym and 'Āishah, the Prophet's wife.<sup>92</sup>

Muslim has reported<sup>93</sup> that Umm Sulaym and other women participated in several battles along with the Prophet ﷺ to water the thirsty and bandage the wounded.

Allāh (ﷻ) sent Jibril and Mikā'il to defend the Prophet<sup>94</sup> on the day of Uhud. Allāh (ﷻ) had promised the believers that if they stayed firm and the enemy showed up on a sudden, He would help them with angels. However, when they failed to demonstrate patience,<sup>95</sup> Allāh (ﷻ) also withheld the angels. Allāh said,

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Hishām reported her story in connection with the day of Uhud through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain (3/118); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/268-269) and *Ibn Sa'd* (8/412-415) through Wāqidi.

<sup>90</sup> Tabarāni documented through a *Hasan* chain of transmission as judged by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (9/292). Several reports, although all weak, lead us to believe that she was not present during the battle, and that when she encountered the people who had returned from the battle, and was told of the death of her brother 'Abdullah and uncle Hamzah, she sought refuge in Allāh and His forgiveness for them. But when she was told about the death of her husband Mus'ab, she shrieked and broke into a wail. The Prophet ﷺ then remarked that "For a woman, a husband has a special place." The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/144); *Ibn Mājah* (1/507/The Book of Funerals) in which falls 'Abdullah 'Umari who was considered weak. Hamnah was the sister of Zaynab bint Jahsh ﷺ, the Mother of the Believers.

<sup>91</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/245/H. 4071) which says that she used to go about with a water pitcher on the day of Uhud. She was the mother of Abu Sa'eed Khudri, a wife of Abu Sulayt who died before her before *Hijrah*; then Mālik bin Sinān Khudri married her and she gave birth to Abu Sa'eed. This is stated by Ibn Hajar in the explanation of the tradition. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/31-32/H. 2880-2883).

<sup>92</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/238-39/H. 4064), who also reported it in *The Book of Jihād*, the number of the *Hadith* being 2880; and *Muslim* (3/1443/H. 1811) where it is mentioned that they used to carry the waterskins on their backs to pour water into the mouths of the fighters.

<sup>93</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1443/H. 1810).

<sup>94</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/234-235/H. 4045) he did not name the two angels, but rather, he said two men. Muslim named them in his narration (4/1802/H. 2306).

<sup>95</sup> See 'Urjun: *Muhammad Rasulullah* ﷺ (3/395 and the following pages), and 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 79.

﴿إِذْ تَقُولُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَلَنْ يَكْفِيَكُمْ أَنْ يُمَدِّدَ رَبُّكُمْ بِثَلَاثَةِ آَلْفٍ مِنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُزْلِينَ ﴿١٢٤﴾ بَلَىٰ إِنْ تَصْبِرُوا وَتَتَّقُوا وَيَأْتُوكُم مِّن فَوْرِهِمْ هَذَا يُمَدِّدْكُمْ رَبُّكُمْ بِخَمْسَةِ آَلْفٍ مِنَ الْمَلَائِكَةِ مُسَوِّمِينَ ﴿١٢٥﴾﴾

"When you were saying to the believers, 'Isn't it enough that your Lord should extend help with three thousand angels, coming down. Indeed, if you stayed firm and feared Allāh, and they came down on a sudden, your Lord will extend help with five thousand angels, marked (for distinction).'"<sup>96, 97</sup>

Allāh (ﷻ) sent down slumber on the believers at Uhud. They were in great distress over what the Prophet ﷺ and their brothers had been through. They dozed off for a short moment and when they were themselves again, they felt refreshed and revived their efforts in defense of the Prophet ﷺ. Abu Talhah Ansāri ﷺ was one of those who were overcome by slumber. His sword would fall off his hand and he would reaffirm his grip.<sup>98</sup> Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿ثُمَّ أَنْزَلَ عَلَيْكُم مِّن بَعْدِ الْغَمِّ أَمَنَةً نُّعَاسًا يَغْشَى طَآئِفَةً مِّنكُمْ وَطَآئِفَةٌ...﴾

"Then He sent down, after your grief, peace: slumber that was overcoming some of you."

As for the hypocrites, whether those who left with Ibn Ubaiy or remained with the main body of Muslims, the Verse quoted above spoke of them also. It said,

﴿طَآئِفَةٌ مِّنكُمْ وَطَآئِفَةٌ قَدْ أَهَمَّتْهُمْ أَنفُسُهُمْ يَظُنُّونَ بِاللَّهِ غَيْرَ الْحَقِّ ظَنَّ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ يَقُولُونَ هَل لَّنَا مِنَ الْأَمْرِ مِن شَيْءٍ قُلْ إِنَّ الْأَمْرَ كُلَّهُ لِلَّهِ يُخْفُونَ

<sup>96</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 124, 125.

<sup>97</sup> See the *Tafsir* of this Verse in *At-Tabari* (7/137-90). And, what we have presented is the preferred opinion of Tabari and others, although a lot of discussion has taken place over the issue. Anyone seeking details may refer Tabari or 'Urjun.

<sup>98</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/242/H. 4068).

فِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ مَا لَا يُبَدُونَ لَكَ يَقُولُونَ لَوْ كَانَ لَنَا مِنَ الْأَمْرِ شَيْءٌ مَا قُتِلْنَا هَهُنَا ﴿٩٩﴾

“And a group (of men) were there, occupied with concerns of their own, they were imagining things of the pre-Islamic days, saying, ‘Do we have any say in the affair?’ Say, ‘The affair – all of it – is for Allāh alone.’ They were concealing in their hearts what they were not revealing to you saying, ‘If we had any say in the affair, we wouldn’t have been killed here.’”<sup>99</sup>

The pagans made several attempts at the life of the Prophet ﷺ. But Allāh (ﷻ) saved him from them. It is reported that Ubaiy bin Khalaf used to say in Makkah that one day he would kill him. When the Prophet ﷺ had heard of it he had remarked, “Rather, I’ll kill him, Allāh willing.”<sup>100</sup>

He encountered the Prophet ﷺ in a valley on the day of Uhud battle and cried out, “Muhammad. I shall not be alive if you are alive.” One of those around the Prophet ﷺ asked him, “Should not one of us finish off this man?” The Prophet ﷺ said, “Let him alone.” When he came closer, the Prophet ﷺ took a javelin from Harith bin Simmah, aimed at him and threw it. It missed him narrowly, scratching him in the neck as it went. But he felt the impact and shook on his horse several times.<sup>101</sup> Then he sped away. The wound began to bleed. He was saying, “By God. Muhammad killed me.”

<sup>99</sup> Surat Āl ‘Imrān: 154. See the *Tafsir* of this Verse and the authentic relevant reports in *Tafsir* of Tabari (7/315-323); Ibn Hajar’s explanation of the *Hadith*, and Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (2/124-126).

<sup>100</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through an Interrupted (*Munqati’*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/122); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/251) and *Ibn Sa’d* (2/46) via a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain stopping at Sa’eed bin Musaiyab. Wāhidi mentioned the complete chain in *Asbābun-Nuzul* (p. 56.) See also *Dalā’il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (3/258-59) whose chain stops at ‘Urwah. Further, Ibn Lahiy’ah falls in this chain whose reports are *Hasan*, as well as a *Mursal* report of Musa bin ‘Uqbah, he through Zuhri and he through Sa’eed bin Musaiyab (3/211-212). The reports that stop at Sa’eed bin Musaiyab are considered strong enough. See also Tabari in his *Tafsir* (7/255) whose report stops at Suddi.

<sup>101</sup> Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu’allaq*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/121-122).

His people tried to console him by reminding that it was after all a minor injury. But he reminded them of what the Prophet ﷺ had told him. He said, “By God. If he spat on me I would die.” He died at a place called Sarif during the return journey.<sup>102</sup> This was of course one of the signs of the authenticity of the Prophet ﷺ.

With the Companions showing great courage in the defense of the Prophet ﷺ, laying their lives for him, the efforts of the pagans to kill him went awry. Abu Sufyān gave up but promised that they would meet in another battle the coming year. The Prophet ﷺ accepted the challenge.<sup>103</sup>

It is also reported that Abu Sufyān arrived at the foot of the hill the Muslims were occupying and cried out, “Is Muhammad with you?” The Prophet ﷺ told them not to reply. He asked, “Is Ibn Abu Quhāfah (Abu Bakr) with you?” The Prophet ﷺ told them, “Don’t answer.” Abu Sufyān asked, “Is ‘Umar bin Khattāb with you?” Then he added, “It seems they are dead. If they were alive they’d have answered.” ‘Umar ﷺ could not hold his peace, he cried out, “You have spoken a lie, O enemy of Allāh. Allāh has preserved us for your grief.” Abu Sufyān said, “Hubal be exalted.” The Prophet ﷺ told them, “Answer him.” They asked, “How shall we answer him?” He said, “Say, ‘Allāh is the Exalted, Most Honored.’” Abu Sufyān said, “We have ‘Uzza whereas you have no ‘Uzza.” The Prophet ﷺ said, “Answer him.” They asked, “How shall we answer him?” He said, “Tell him, ‘Allāh is our Protector whereas you have no protector.’” Abu Sufyān said, “Today was the reply to the day of Badr. War has its ups and downs. You will find some people with their noses and ears cut. I didn’t order that. But it doesn’t hurt me either.”<sup>104</sup> According to a report in Ahmad<sup>105</sup> and Ibn Ishāq,<sup>106</sup> ‘Umar said, “We are not equal. Our dead are in Paradise, but yours in the Fire.”

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati’*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/122-123).

<sup>103</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/136), and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/297).

<sup>104</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/227-228/H. 4043).

<sup>105</sup> *Al-Musnad* (4/209, 6/181) through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/136) without a chain.

When the pagans had retreated after what they had inflicted on the Muslims, the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Ali bin Abu Tālib behind them saying, "Follow them and see what they do. If they spare their horses and ride the camels it would mean they would be heading for Makkah; but if they ride the horses and drive along the camels, it would mean they are heading for Madinah. By Him in Whose Hand is my life, if they intend Madinah, I'll follow them, and then we shall punish them." 'Ali followed them and reported that they had mounted their camels and were driving along their horses, meaning, they were heading for Makkah.<sup>107</sup>

The battle left seventy Muslims<sup>108</sup> and twenty-two pagans dead.<sup>109</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ went in search of Hamzah ؓ and found him in the middle of the valley. His abdomen had been ripped open, liver pulled out and his nose and ears severed.<sup>110</sup> He remarked, "If not for Safiyyah's grief, I'd leave him there for the stomachs of the wild beasts and vultures. If I get better of the Quraysh in one of the encounters I will do the same thing to thirty of them." The Muslims were also greatly moved by the Prophet's grief and vowed, "If Allāh grants us victory over them one of these days, we shall disfigure their corpses in a manner the Arabs never heard of before."<sup>111</sup> But

<sup>107</sup> Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/136-137); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/298); and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/282) reporting with a chain that stops at 'Urwah. Further, there falls in the chain Ibn Lahiy'ah whose reports are Good (*Hasan*). Wāqidi and Bayhaqi report that the one sent by the Prophet ﷺ for reconnaissance was Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās. Dr. 'Umari, however supported the opinion of Ibn Ishāq—see *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 81.

<sup>108</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/226/H. 4043). It is mentioned through a report without a chain, with Ibn Ishaq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/179) that they were sixty-five men. He mentioned their names, Ibn Hishām completed the naming to seventy (3/179-180). Wāqidi (1/200) thought they were seventy-four. See Bākiri, pp. 367-369.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/182). Wāqidi (1/307) said twenty-seven, while Ibn Sa'd (2/42) said they were twenty-three. See Bākiri, p. 369.

<sup>110</sup> This was mentioned by Ibn Ishāq in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/138).

<sup>111</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/138-139). It has been reported on the authority of his chain, as

Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿وَإِنْ عَاقَبْتُمْ فَعَاقِبُوا بِمِثْلِ مَا عُوقِبْتُمْ بِهِ وَلَئِنْ صَبَرْتُمْ لَهُمْ خَيْرٌ لِّلصَّابِرِينَ...﴾

"If you retaliate, then retaliate in the like manner as you have

well as others, although all weak. See *Ibn Hishām* (3/138-139) footnote of the redactors. This *Hadith* is supported by other narrations like: (a) The *Hadith* of Abu Hurayrah ؓ which Hākim recorded in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/197); Ibn Sa'd in *At-Tabaqāt* (2/13-14); Bazzār in his *Musnad* (2/326-27); Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* (3/156-57/H. 2936); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/288); Wāhidi in *Asbānul-Nuzul* (p. 291) and Ibn 'Adi in *Al-Kāmil*. (4/1381) all of them through Sālih bin Bashir Murri who was considered weak. (b) The *Hadith* of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ that Ibn Ishāq traced (*Ibn Hishām* 3/140) through a weak chain because of Ibn Ishāq not naming who reported to him. However, the report is authentic through other chains such as one in *At-Tirmidhi* (5/299-300); Ahmad as in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (18/192-193); Hākim (2/359) which he declared *Sahih* and seconded by Dhahabi. It also gains strength from a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Muhammad bin Ka'b Qurazi, who was very weak, and the one recorded by Ibn Ishāq (*Ibn Hishām* 3/140). This is for two reasons: Not naming the Companion, and for the possibility that his master was Buraydah bin Sufyān who had been abandoned. It also gathers some strength from the *Mursal* report of 'Ata' bin Yasār, who too was very weak. And the one that Ibn Ishāq reported and which Ibn Kathir picked up for his *Tafsir* (2/592). That is because his *Mursal* reports are not authentic. Further, it has an unknown narrator, as Ibn Kathir noted. This kind of report is not useful for scholarly purposes.

The text of the *Hadith* was reported by *At-Tirmidhi* (8/559-560/H. 5136); by 'Abdullah the son of Imam Ahmad in *Az-Zawā'id* (5/135); Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* (3/157/H. 2937); Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih* (p. 411, H. 1695), and *Al-Hākim* (2/358-359), all of them reporting a narration of Ubaiy bin Ka'b. *Tirmidhi* said about it: "This is a Good & Unfamiliar (*Hasan-Gharib*) report." However, Hākim declared it authentic and was approved by Dhahabi and Albāni in his *As-Silsilatud-Da'ifah* (2/28-29). In sum, the tradition is *Sahih li Ghayrihi* for the supporting evidences.

Also see the reports concerning Hamzah's disfigurement on the day of Uhud and the revelation of the Verse in this connection at Sa'd bin 'Abdullah Humayd in his *Mukhtasar Talkhisidh-Dhahabi li-Mustadrakil-Hākim* by Ibn Mulaqqin second part at the beginning, being a Master's thesis in manuscript form: The Muhammad bin Sa'ud Islamic University, 1407.

been wronged. But, if you bear it with patience, then, that is better for those who are patient."<sup>112</sup>

So the Prophet ﷺ forgave them and forbid disfiguring of the corpses.<sup>113</sup>

As regards Hamzah's disfigurement, Musa bin 'Uqbah<sup>114</sup> reported that it was Wahshi who had ripped open his abdomen, pulled out the liver for Hind bint 'Utbah. She tried to chew and eat some but couldn't manage it and threw it out.

But Ibn Ishāq<sup>115</sup> reported that it was Hind who tore open Hamzah's abdomen. He adds that she made an anklet and a necklace from the nose and ear pieces severed from the Muslim corpses, wore them on and gave away her own anklet and necklace to Wahshi.

Wāqidi<sup>116</sup> has it that when Wahshi killed Hamzah ﷺ, he carried his liver to Makkah to show it to his master Jubayr bin Mut'im.

Shāmi<sup>117</sup> has produced a report from Wāqidi and Muqrizi to the effect that Wahshi tore open Hamzah's abdomen and took the liver to Hind. She chewed but (couldn't swallow and) threw it out. Then she accompanied him to where Hamzah lay where she cut out some more of it, as well as his nose and ears and made necklace, bracelet and anklet which she wore on until she reached Makkah.

In this way Wāqidi's and Muqrizi's reports can be reconciled with the reports of Ibn 'Uqbah and Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>112</sup> *Surat An-Nahl*: 126.

<sup>113</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain — *Ibn Hishām* (3/140). *At-Tirmidhi* (5/299-300) reported following another route and remarked: "This *Hadith* is *Hasan-Gharib*." The *Hadith* was also mentioned by Ahmad in *Al-Musnad — Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (18/192-193); Wāhidi in *Asbābun-Nuzul*, pp. 191-192, and *Al-Hākim* (2/359) a similar report as that of Tirmidhi and Ahmad, which he declared authentic with Dhahabi's approval.

<sup>114</sup> Ibn Kathir mentioned in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/43) without a chain, so it is weak.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/133) through a *Munqati'* chain that stops at his Shaykh Ibn Kaysān, and therefore weak.

<sup>116</sup> See *Al-Maghāzi* (1/332); Wāqidi who was abandoned so his narratives are weak.

<sup>117</sup> See *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (4/321).

As regards the disfigurement of Hamzah's corpse, it is confirmed by reports in *Sahih* collections which lead us to believe that the opening of his abdomen for ripping off his liver, as mentioned by the biographers, has a basis.

History also records the heroism of some Muslim women who responded courageously to their personal losses but expressed joy at finding that the Prophet ﷺ was alive. For example, the Prophet ﷺ and some of his Companions passed by a woman of Banu Dinār.<sup>118</sup> She had lost her husband, brother and father. When they tried to console her she asked, "What happened to the Prophet?" They said, "He is alright. He is, by Allāh's grace well and good." She said, "Let me have a look at him." He was identified for her. When she looked at him she said, "Every misfortune after you is easy to bear."<sup>119</sup>

When Safiyyah, Hamzah's sister wished to see Hamzah's body, the Prophet ﷺ asked Hamzah's son Zubayr to prevent her from the ghastly sight. When she was discouraged she asked, "Why? I have been told that my brother has been disfigured. But that is in the way of Allāh. I shall, Allāh willing, accept it with endurance." When Zubayr informed the Prophet ﷺ of her words, he allowed that she visit Hamzah. So, she went up, saw him, sought Allāh's forgiveness for his sins and supplicated for him. Thereafter he was buried.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Wāqidi named her as Sumayra' bint Qays — *Al-Maghāzi* (1/292). It can be concluded from the *Hadith* that 'Aishah ﷺ was not present during that battle which is contrary to what is mentioned in the *Sahih* works. However, it is possible to reconcile between the two narratives to say that 'Aishah reached the grounds during the second phase of the war when the Muslims were put on trial.

<sup>119</sup> Ibn Ishāq recorded it *Ibn Hishām* (3/145-146). Bākiri (p. 283) said its chain is *Hasan* based on the Connected (*Muttasil*) chain of Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Kathir's *Tārikh* (4/53), because the chain in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* is Interrupted (*Munqati'*). The two redactors of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* did not discover this narration of Ibn Hishām and so declared the report weak.

<sup>120</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq — *Ibn Hishām* (3/141-142). Ahmad too reported in nearabout words in his *Musnad* (1/165). See *Kashful-Astār* (2/328); Abu Ya'la's *Musnad* (2/45-46); Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/289-290) which the two redactors of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* thought authentic. It gives the additional information that when she came, she had two pieces of cloth to enshroud Hamzah ﷺ with. But when they found an *Ansāri* next to Hamzah, similarly treated, then the Prophet ﷺ disapproved that Hamzah be enshrouded but not the *Ansāri* and

Bukhāri<sup>121</sup> and Abu Dāwud<sup>122</sup> have preserved reports that the Prophet ﷺ buried two men together. He would ask, "Which of them knew more of the Qur'ān?" and then place that person's body first. He also said that he would bear witness for them on the Day of Judgement. The martyrs were buried with their blood, and without the customary funeral prayers. In some cases he got three buried in one grave.<sup>123</sup> He also ordered that they be buried where they had fallen so that those whose bodies had been taken to Madinah were brought back.<sup>124</sup>

After the burying was over, the Prophet ﷺ arranged his Companions in rows, said praises to his Lord and then supplicated to Him that He bestow on them the best of rewards. He also prayed for the destruction of the disbelievers.<sup>125</sup>

He had himself wished before the battle that he die along with those who attain martyrdom and lost no opportunity to praise the gallantry of those who did.<sup>126</sup> When he heard 'Ali ؓ saying to

said, "Let the *Ansāri* have one shroud and Hamzah another." Further, one of the shrouds was larger than the other, so they drew a lot to determine who would get what, after which they enshrouded both.

<sup>121</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/255/H. 4079).

<sup>122</sup> *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (2/174/The Book of Funerals) through chains whose narrators are reliable. However, the reports speak of prayers on them do not gain strength because of the reports that declare prayers on them not obligatory. See (3/498/H. 3134, 3135) and (3/547/H. 3215), and (3/501/H. 3136 and H. 3138).

<sup>123</sup> *Tirmidhi* (5/371/*Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*/The Book of Funerals), who said: "*Hasan-Sahih*." Albāni agreed with it: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* (2/142/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 1713); and *Da'ās* (6/34/*Jihād*/H. 1713). See also Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/142-143).

<sup>124</sup> *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/514/The Book of Funerals/H. 3165) and *At-Tirmidhi* (5/279/*Jihād*/H. 1717) *Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*. *Tirmidhi* ruled: *Hadith is Hasan-Sahih*; Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (8/149) through a reliable chain, and *An-Nasa'i* (4/79/The Book of Funerals/H. 2006) through a *Hasan* chain whose transmitters are trustworthy except for Nubayh 'Anazi who was in any case acceptable *At-Taqrīb*, p. 559; Ibn Mājah in *Janā'iz* (H. 1516).

<sup>125</sup> See the whole supplication in the *Musnad* of Imam Ahmad (3/423) and *Al-Mustadrak* of Hākim (3/23) who thought it *Sahih* with Dhahabi seconding him.

<sup>126</sup> Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/58) through a *Hasan* chain.

Fātimah ؓ, "Here keep this sword of mine safely. It served me well," he remarked, "If only you had struck better with your sword! Sahl bin Hunayf, Abu Dujānah, 'Āsim bin Thābit Aqlah, and Hārith bin Sammah<sup>127</sup> used their swords very well."

The Prophet ﷺ also gave the good news to the Muslims of the rewards the martyrs had earned. When he heard 'Abdullah bin 'Amr's daughter Fātimah crying, he asked, "Why does she cry? The angels were shielding him with their wings all the time until he was buried."<sup>128</sup>

According to another report he said about her weeping, "Whether she weeps or not, the angels kept shielding him until you lifted his body."<sup>129</sup>

Allāh (ﷻ) also revealed concerning the martyrs of Uhud,

﴿وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ الَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ أَمْوَاتًا بَلْ أحيَاءٌ عِنْدَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزُقُونَ﴾

"Do not consider those who were killed in the way of Allāh as dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, being fed."<sup>130</sup>

Muslim<sup>131</sup> has reported that Ibn Mas'ūd ؓ was asked to explain this Verse. He replied, "We asked the Prophet about it. He said, 'Their souls have taken dwelling in (the bodies of) green birds. They have chandeliers hung for them by the 'Arsh. They fly about in

<sup>127</sup> Reported by *Al-Hākim* (3/24) who declared it reliable and Dhahabi approved it; Tabarāni as in *Al Majma'* (6/123) where Haythami said, "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih*."

<sup>128</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (4/1917-1918/H. 2471).

<sup>129</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15255/H. 4080) and (6/141/H. 1244) and *Muslim* (4/1918/H. 2471).

<sup>130</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 169. The *Hadith* was reported by Imam Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/123); Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/15) and *At-Tirmidhi* (8/188-1789/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3013, 3014) commenting upon the first one as *Hasan-Gharib*, and about the second one as *Hasan-Sahih*; Hākim, who judged it reliable with Dhahabi agreeing with him.

<sup>131</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1502-1503/H. 1887). The *Hadith* was reported by more than one of the compilers of *Sunan*. See Shawkāni: *Fathul-Qadir* (1/399) where one can find several scholar's opinion about their life in the Next World.

Paradise wherever they wish. Then they return to the chandeliers..." Accordingly, scholars say that martyrs are alive as also clearly confirmed by several *Ahādith*.<sup>132</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ returned to Madinah, he heard women crying for their dead. He remarked, "No one cries for Hamzah." When he woke up he heard women crying for Hamzah.<sup>133</sup> However, he forbid shouting, wailing, tearing of clothes, and such other acts.<sup>134</sup>

Several Verses were revealed referring to various aspects of the Uhud battle bearing many lessons for the believers.<sup>135</sup> A few are as follows:

﴿وَلَا تَهِنُوا وَلَا تَحْزَنُوا وَأَنْتُمْ الْأَعْلَوْنَ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ﴾

1. "Do not weaken down nor grieve. You will be victorious if you are steadfast."<sup>136</sup>

﴿إِنْ يَمَسَّكُمْ فَرْحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ الْقَوْمَ فَرْحٌ مِثْلُهُ وَتِلْكَ الْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا بَيْنَ النَّاسِ﴾

2. "If injuries have struck you, the people (your enemies) have also been struck with similar injuries. And these are days that We alternate among the people."<sup>137</sup>

<sup>132</sup> See Shawkāni: *Fathul-Qadir* (1/399) who depends on a report in *At-Tirmidhi* (8/188-89/H. 3013, 3014).

<sup>133</sup> Recorded by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (7/82). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih*; *Al-Hākim* (1/381) in brief, treating it as reliable with Dhahabi's approval; *Ibn Sa'd* (3/16) also reported the *Hadith* through chains whose transmitters were trustworthy except for Usamah bin Zayd Laythi, who suffered slight weakness. His narrative is strengthened by reports that Ibn Sa'd brought after this report and after the reports of Ahmad and Hākim. Ibn Ishāq preserved it through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/144-145).

<sup>134</sup> This *Hadith* was mentioned by *Ibn Hishām* (3/145) through a *Mu'allaq* report, and *Ibn Sa'd* (3/17).

<sup>135</sup> See a big portion of these Verses in *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (3/154-174).

<sup>136</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 139.

<sup>137</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 140.

﴿أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَنْ تَدْخُلُوا الْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَعْلَمِ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ جَاهَدُوا مِنْكُمْ وَيَعْلَمِ الصَّابِرِينَ﴾

3. "Do you reckon you will enter into Paradise when Allāh has not yet known those among you who can fight and are patient?"<sup>138</sup>

﴿وَلِيَعْلَمَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَيَتَّخِذَ مِنْكُمْ شُهَدَاءَ وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾

4. "(The defeat was) in order that Allāh may take some of you as martyrs and Allāh does not approve of the transgressors."<sup>139</sup>

﴿وَلَقَدْ كُنْتُمْ تَمَنَّوْنَ الْمَوْتَ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ تَلْقَوْهُ فَقَدْ رَأَيْتُمُوهُ وَأَنْتُمْ تَنْظُرُونَ﴾

5. "And, you were wishing for death before you encountered it. Now, you have seen it, with your own eyes."<sup>140</sup>

﴿وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ أَفَإِنْ مَاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ انْقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَى أَعْقَابِكُمْ وَمَنْ يَنْقَلِبْ عَلَى عَقْبَيْهِ فَلَنْ يَضُرَّ اللَّهَ شَيْئًا وَسَيَجْزِي اللَّهُ الشَّاكِرِينَ﴾

6. "Muhammad is no more than a Messenger. Other Messengers have passed before him. So, if he died, or was killed, will you turn on your heels? And whoever turned on his heels will do no harm to Allāh. And, Allāh will soon reward the grateful."<sup>141</sup>

﴿وَمَا كَانَ لِنَفْسٍ أَنْ تَمُوتَ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ كِنَبَأًا مُوَجَّهًا﴾

7. "And, it is not for anyone to die but by Allāh's leave: 'a determined decree'."<sup>142</sup>

<sup>138</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 142.

<sup>139</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 140.

<sup>140</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 143. See this Verse explained in the books of *Tafsir*.

<sup>141</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 144.

<sup>142</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 145.

believe and are God-fearing, you shall have a great reward."<sup>146</sup>

### Lessons and Rules

Ibn Qaiyim<sup>147</sup> has offered us a few lessons and rules that can be drawn from the battle of Uhud. We reproduce them in brief:

1. *Jihād* requires that the first action be taken for it: if preparations have been made for it and (the army has) advanced (to the front) then there should be no withdrawing, until a fight has taken place.
2. It is not necessary for the Muslims to go out into the open and face the enemy's attack. It is allowable that they fight from within the town, if that suits them militarily, as the Prophet ﷺ initially decided to do.
3. It is allowed for the leader of the Muslims to pass through any private property if it happens to fall on their way, as it happened with Mirba' bin Qayzi's estate.
4. Those who have not reached the age of puberty may not be allowed to participate in a war. They might be returned as the Prophet ﷺ returned Ibn 'Umar and others.
5. It is allowed to make use of women's services in wars, but, of course, not for fighting, but rather, for medical and supply services (i.e., logistics).
6. It is allowed to penetrate deep into enemy lines as Anas bin Nadr and others did.
7. If the Imam receives wounds and offers prayers from a sitting position, as did the Prophet ﷺ, then the followers should also sit down and offer their prayers from that posture.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān : 179.

<sup>147</sup> Zādul-Ma'ād (3/211-212).

<sup>148</sup> See these details in *Al-Mughni* (2/220-21), *Al-Muhalla* (3/59), and *Naylul-Awtār* (3/159).

﴿يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا إِن تُطِيعُوا الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا يَرُدُّكُمْ عَلَيَّ  
أَعْقَابِكُمْ فَتَنْقَلِبُوا خَاسِرِينَ﴾

8. "O you who have believed! If you obeyed the disbelievers, they will turn you back on your heels. In that event, you will be turning losers."<sup>143</sup>

﴿تَكُونُوا تَأْلَمُونَ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَأْلَمُونَ كَمَا تَأْلَمُونَ وَرَجُونَ مِنَّا مَا لَا  
يَرْجُونَ﴾

9. "If you feel the pain, they also feel the pain. But you hope from Allāh what they do not hope."<sup>144</sup>

No less than fifty-eight Verses came down in reference to this battle in the chapter titled *Āl Imrān* beginning with the mention of the very first stage of the battle. It said,

﴿وَإِذْ غَدَوْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِكَ تُبَوِّئُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَقْعِدَ لِلْقِتَالِ﴾

"And when you started off from your home folk in the morning, posting the believers at their stations for the fight."<sup>145</sup>

The discourse ended with a remark that summed up the whole event,

﴿مَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيَذَرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَىٰ مَا أَنْتُمْ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّىٰ يَمِيزَ الْخَبِيثَ مِنَ الطَّيِّبِ  
وَمَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيُطْلِعَكُمْ عَلَى الْغَيْبِ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يَجْتَبِي مِن رُّسُلِهِ مَن يَشَاءُ فَآمِنُوا بِاللَّهِ  
وَرُسُلِهِ وَإِن تُؤْمِنُوا وَتَتَّقُوا فَلَكُمْ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"It was not for Allāh to leave the believers in a state in which you were until He had distinguished between the good and the rotten. And Allāh was not such as to allow you knowledge of the Unseen. Rather, Allāh chooses as Messengers whom He wills. Therefore, believe in Allāh and His Messenger. And, if you

<sup>143</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān : 149.

<sup>144</sup> Surah An-Nisa': 104.

<sup>145</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān: 121



8. It is allowed that a man desire for martyrdom and death in the way of Allāh, as did 'Abdullah bin Jahsh. This is not the desire for death that is ordinarily disallowed.
9. If a believer commits suicide, as did Quzmān, he is of the people of Fire.
10. It is *Sunnah* not to wash the martyrs or enshroud them in coffin cloth. They might be buried in their bloodied clothes. The reason being, as given in Tirmidhi's<sup>149</sup> report, that they will rise on the Day of Judgement with their blood flowing down their wounds which will smell like musk. Ibn Ishāq<sup>150</sup> has reported the Prophet ﷺ as saying about the martyrs of Uhud, "I shall bear witness for them. There isn't a wound in the way of Allāh but Allāh will resurrect him on the Day of Judgement with the wound bleeding, the blood of blood color, but issuing the fragrance of musk."
11. As for the funeral prayers over the martyrs, there is difference in opinion between the scholars. Ibn Qaiyim<sup>151</sup> has said that the Imam has the choice to offer or not to offer the prayers. Reports of both choices have come down to us.

The editors of *Zādul-Ma'ād*<sup>152</sup> have reproduced all the *Ahādith* on this topic and then said, "These narrations prove that the funeral prayers for the martyrs are allowed, but not obligatory. Many Companions were martyred at Badr and other places but it is not reported that the Prophet ﷺ prayed over them. Had the Prophet ﷺ done it, the matter would not have gone unreported."

12. It is *Sunnah* that the martyrs be buried where they fall.

<sup>149</sup> Sunan (3/412-413/chapter of Janā'iz/H. 1036/Da'ās).

<sup>150</sup> Ibn Hishām (3/142-143), which is of the Disconnected (*Mursal*) reports of the Companions whose chain is *Hasan* and which Bayhaqi copied in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (3/290) and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/431) picking it up from Ibn Ishāq who did not name his first source.

<sup>151</sup> *Tahdhibus-Sunan* (4/295).

<sup>152</sup> Footnote of (3/213-214). With its importance in view, see its details.

13. Those whom Allāh (ﷻ) allows to stay back from *Jihād*, because of a disease or disability, or old age ... they can still go out if they so wish, although it is not obligatory on them. We have the case of 'Amr bin Jamuh participating in the battle despite his lameness; or Yaman, Hudhayfah's father; or Thābit bin Waqsh who were both of advanced age.
14. If a Muslim is accidentally killed by other Muslims in a battle, the Imam is required to pay the blood money from the government treasury as it happened involving Yamān.

Ibn Qaiyim<sup>153</sup> also mentioned some of the aims and objectives of the battle of Uhud picking them up from Allāh's discourse in the chapter *Āl 'Imrān*. He began with the following words,

﴿وَإِذْ غَدَوْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِكَ تُبَوِّئُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَقْعِدَ لِلْقِتَالِ﴾

"When you started off in the morning from your home folk, posting the believers at the stations of fight."<sup>154</sup>

The discourse went on until the 60th Verse of the chapter. Some of those that Ibn Qaiyim mentioned are as follows:

- (1) The battle taught the Muslims to realize how serious it is to disobey. Further, the losses they had suffered had a reason as Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَلَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَعْدَهُ إِذْ تَحُسُّونَهُم بِإِذْنِهِ حَتَّى إِذَا فَشِلْتُمْ وَتَنَزَعْتُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ وَعَصَيْتُمْ مِمَّا بَعَدَ مَا أُرْسِلْتُمْ مَّا تَحِبُّونَ مِنْكُمْ مَنْ يُرِيدُ الدُّنْيَا وَمِنْكُمْ مَنْ يُرِيدُ الْآخِرَةَ ثُمَّ صَرَفَكُمْ عَنْهُمْ لِيَبْتَلِيَكُمْ وَلَقَدْ عَفَا عَنْكُمْ﴾

"Surely, Allāh kept His Promise with you when you were cutting them down by His Will. (That), until you flinched, and fell to disputing in the affair (of the booty) and disobeyed (the Prophet) after He (your Lord) had shown you (within easy reach) what you love. (So victory would have been yours, but) there were some

<sup>153</sup> *Az-Zād* (3/218 and the pages that follow).

<sup>154</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 121.

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<sup>149</sup> *Sunan* (3/412-413/chapter of *Janā'iz*/H. 1036/Da'ās).

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13. Those whom Allāh (ﷻ) allows to stay back from *Jihād*, because of a disease or disability, or old age ... they can still go out if they so wish, although it is not obligatory on them. We have the case of 'Amr bin Jamuh participating in the battle despite his lameness; or Yaman, Hudhayfah's father; or Thābit bin Waqsh who were both of advanced age.
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"When you started off in the morning from your home folk, posting the believers at the stations of fight."<sup>154</sup>

The discourse went on until the 60th Verse of the chapter. Some of those that Ibn Qaiyim mentioned are as follows:

- (1) The battle taught the Muslims to realize how serious it is to disobey. Further, the losses they had suffered had a reason as Allāh (ﷻ) said,

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"Surely, Allāh kept His Promise with you when you were cutting them down by His Will. (That), until you flinched, and fell to disputing in the affair (of the booty) and disobeyed (the Prophet) after He (your Lord) had shown you (within easy reach) what you love. (So victory would have been yours, but) there were some

<sup>153</sup> *Az-Zād* (3/218 and the pages that follow).

<sup>154</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 121.

among you who aimed at this world, while there were others who aimed at the Hereafter. So He turned you away from them - (and from victory) - in order that He might try you. However, (lay that aside now, for) He has forgiven you (and spared you a total defeat). And Allāh is full of grace for the believers."<sup>155</sup>

The result was that when they had suffered the consequences of their disobedience of the Prophet ﷺ, their disagreements between themselves and their failure to do what was commanded. Thereafter, they became extremely careful to avoid the causes that had produced those results.

- (2) It is Allāh's *Sunnah* with the Messengers and their followers that they should both win as well as lose. However the ultimate triumph is theirs. Had they always won, the objective of raising Prophets would not have been achieved. Allāh's Wisdom demanded that He should combine the two, victory and defeat, in order to distinguish between those who are true believers and followers of the truth and what the Prophets bring, from those who are otherwise. This in fact is one of the signs of a true Messenger as Heraclius remarked when he asked Abu Sufyān, "Have you fought him?" He replied, "Yes." He asked, "With what results?" He replied, "Like a pail (of water going up and down), sometimes in our favor, sometimes in his." Heraclius remarked, "That is how the Messengers are tested. However, final victory is theirs."<sup>156</sup>

- (3) The disaster at Uhud helped differentiate between the believers and hypocrites who had outwardly submitted to Islam after the battle of Badr. It is to this that Allāh (ﷻ) referred when He said,

﴿مَا كَانَ اللَّهُ لِيَذَرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَىٰ مَا أَنْتُمْ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّىٰ يَمِيزَ الْخَبِيثَ مِنَ الطَّيِّبِ...﴾

<sup>155</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān: 152.

<sup>156</sup> Being a narration of Abu Sufyān in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/71/H. 2941), and *Muslim* (3/1395/H. 1773).

"It was not for Allāh to leave the believers in the state you were until He had distinguished between the good from the rotten."<sup>157</sup>

- (4) Another function of the battle was to bring to light the quality of devotion of His supporters and forces in ease as well as in difficulty. When they stayed firm in their obedience, in all circumstances, easy and difficult, they proved that they were true slaves and not of the kind who are true slaves so long as the going is easy, good and pleasant.
- (5) Nothing less than both ease and difficulty suit Allāh's slaves. He determines the affairs of His slaves following His Wisdom. When He wishes to feed his slaves, help them and take them to heights of glory, He first breaks them. Then His help follows in proportion to how humble and weak they become. This is what happened at Badr. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِبَدْرِ وَأَنْتُمْ أَذِلَّةٌ﴾

"Surely, Allāh helped you at Badr although you were weak,"<sup>158</sup>

and at Hunayn about which Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَيَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ إِذْ أَعْجَبَتْكُمْ كَثْرَتُكُمْ فَلَمْ تُغْنِ عَنْكُمْ شَيْئًا﴾

"And (remember) the day of Hunayn when your numbers pleased you, but that availed you nothing."<sup>159</sup>

- (6) Allāh has prepared for His true servants abodes in Paradise that they will not attain because of their deeds, but rather, they will attain them through trials and sufferings. Allāh creates those means by which they can be put to trials and sufferings, as He also inspires them to good deeds. He also opens for them several other opportunities for deeds by which they come to deserve their abode in Paradise.
- (7) Human souls are prone to become arrogant and rebellious if they

<sup>157</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān: 179.

<sup>158</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān: 123.

<sup>159</sup> Surat At-Tawbah: 25.

experience perpetual victory and enjoy untroubled existence. This becomes a hurdle to traversing towards Allāh and the Hereafter. Therefore, when Allāh wills mercy and favor for it (the soul) He imposes trials that hold the cure for its diseases.

- (8) Martyrdom is the highest of ranks possible for Allāh's slaves. And, it is not possible to attain this rank without the means and elements being in place first, such as, the enemy overcoming them.
- (9) In trials and tribulations that descend from Allāh, is the cleansing and purifying of Allāh's slaves and an opportunity to attain martyrdom. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿... وَلَيَعْلَمَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَيَتَّخِذَ مِنْكُمْ شُهَدَاءَ وَاللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ الظَّالِمِينَ ﴿١٤٠﴾ وَلِيُمَحِّصَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَيَمْحَقَ الْكٰفِرِينَ﴾

*"If you were inflicted wounds (at Uhud), then (don't forget that) the (disbelieving) people also received similar wounds (at Badr, which did not weaken them. So why should you weaken)? These days of (victory and defeat) We run through the people in turns in order that He knows the (true) believers (from the false ones), and in order that He may take martyrs from your ranks. (As for the success of the disbelievers at Uhud, you should know that) Allāh does not approve of the transgressors (whatever their achievements). And, (the setback at Uhud was) in order that Allāh may purify the believers and destroy the disbelievers."*<sup>160</sup>

- (10) When Prophets are struck by misfortunes such as wounds, pain and illness, which is designed to raise their ranks, it becomes a *Sunnah* for their followers to bear their own tribulations with patience. The ultimate end is for them. This is Allāh's way with them.<sup>161</sup>
- (11) The Prophet's participation in the battle, along with his followers, shoulder to shoulder, as one of the rank and file, was to impress on them that he did not wish to stand apart, rather stood equal to the common fighters. It also proved his courage, patience, and forbearance and readiness to bear the brunt in the way of Allāh.

<sup>160</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān: 140, 141.

<sup>161</sup> See Husayn Bākiri, *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, p. 371.

## Events between Uhud and Muraysi'

### The Hamra'ul-Asad Expedition

Some time after departing from Uhud, on their way back, the pagans began to wonder if they should return and deliver a final and finishing blow to the Muslims. When the Prophet ﷺ learnt of their intention he invited his Companions to march out and confront them. But he added, "Let no one accompany us except those who fought with us at Uhud." Despite their losses and wounds still fresh, the Muslims responded well. Jābir bin 'Abdullah ؓ sought the Prophet's permission to join in although he hadn't participated at Uhud. That was because his father had left him behind to look after his sisters. He was allowed to join in.

The Muslims marched until a place called Hamra'ul-Asad.<sup>1</sup> When a traveler, Ma'bad bin Abu Ma'bad Khuzā'i met the Prophet ﷺ during the march, the Prophet ﷺ asked him to go up to Abu Sufyān and discourage him from returning. Ma'bad met Abu Sufyān at Rawhā'. His Islam was still not known. He told him about the Muslims advancing right upon him, having already reached Hamra'ul-Asad, and discouraged him from facing them. He suggested that a quick return to Makkah was a better course for him.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A place eight miles off Madinah on the right side of Dhul-Hulayfah.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ishāq, a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report — *Ibn Hishām* (3/148, 149, 150).

Allāh (ﷻ) said about this expedition,

﴿الَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لِلَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا أَصَابَهُمُ الْقَرْحُ لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا مِنْهُمْ  
وَاتَّقُوا أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

“Those who responded to Allāh and the Messenger after the wounds had inflicted them. A great reward is in store for those of them who did well and were pious.”<sup>3</sup>

Ibn Ishāq<sup>4</sup> reports that while the Muslims were returning from Hamra'ul-Asad, they captured Mu'āwiyah bin Mughirah, the maternal grandfather of 'Abdul-Mālik bin Marwan, along with Abu 'Izzah Jumahi whom the Prophet ﷺ had set free after Badr without ransom. He pleaded to be freed again. The Prophet ﷺ said, “By Allāh, you will not pass your hands over your cheeks in Makkah and say, ‘I fooled Muhammad twice.’” Zubayr beheaded him on the Prophet's orders. Some reports say that the Prophet ﷺ said to Abu 'Izzah, “A believer cannot be stung from the same hole,” and ordered 'Āsim bin Thābit to sever his head.<sup>5</sup>

This expedition took place on the eighth of Shawwāl thirty-two months after Hijrah. Other dates have also been suggested.<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ishāq's<sup>7</sup> opinion is that it took place on Sunday, the sixteenth day of Shawwāl.

<sup>3</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān: 172. Bukhāri noted that Zubayr and Abu Bakr were among them. See *Al-Fath* (15/253/H. 4077); Muslim also reported it (4/1881/H. 2418). A *Hadith* says that the Prophet ﷺ selected seventy men out of his Companions to confront Abu Sufyān. Shāmi explained that there is no contradiction between this statement and what the biographers have they all started off together, for seventy of them preceded, others followed by the rest.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/152), through a weak chain.

<sup>5</sup> Reported by *Ibn Hishām* on the authority of Ibn Musaiyab (3/152), and the *Hadith* is in the *Sahihayn*. Nevertheless, it is of a general nature and does not refer specifically to any occasion. See *Al-Fath* (22/333/H. 6133) which happens to be a narrative of Ibn Musaiyab which means Ibn Hishām's report has its origin in the *Sahih* works. Ibn Hajar mentioned in his explanation of Bukhāri's report that Ibn Ishāq reported this *Hadith* in the *Maghāzi* without a chain.

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/334), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/48) which both are weak narratives.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/147) without a chain, reported by Tabari in his *Tārikh* and

### Lessons

1. The Prophet's journey to Hamra'ul-Asad, in that state of injuries, is an example of his courage, patience and refusal to submit out of weakness. It also speaks of his accurate understanding of the situations of war and peace. The event also speaks well of his Companions who obeyed him in that situation of great distress and exhaustion. Allāh (ﷻ) said about them,

﴿الَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لِلَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا أَصَابَهُمُ الْقَرْحُ لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا مِنْهُمْ  
وَاتَّقُوا أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١٧٢﴾ الَّذِينَ قَالَ لَهُمُ النَّاسُ إِنَّ النَّاسَ قَدْ جَمَعُوا لَكُمْ فَاخْشَوْهُمْ  
فَزَادَهُمْ إِيْمَانًا وَقَالُوا حَسْبُنَا اللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ الْوَكِيلُ ﴿١٧٣﴾ فَانْقَلَبُوا بِنِعْمَةٍ مِنَ اللَّهِ  
وَفَضْلٍ لَمْ يَمَسَّهُمْ سُوءٌ وَأَتَّبَعُوا رِضْوَانَ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ ذُو فَضْلٍ عَظِيمٍ﴾

“Those who responded to Allāh and the Messenger after the wounds had inflicted them, a great reward is in store for those of them who did well and were pious. Those to whom people said, ‘Forces have gathered against you, therefore, fear them,’ but their faith increased and they said, ‘Allāh is sufficient for us. And He is the best of those to be trusted.’ They returned with Allāh's blessing and bounty, with no evil having touched them. They followed Allāh's good Pleasure, and Allāh is the owner of great bounties.”<sup>8, 9</sup>

### Abu Salamah's Expedition

When the Bedouin tribes around Madinah heard of the Muslim defeat at Uhud, they felt encouraged against them. News began to come in from Banu Asad of Najd and Banu Hudhayl of 'Arafāt

his *Tafsir*, coming from Ibn Ishāq. It stops at 'Ikrimah. It has in its chain Husayn bin 'Abdullah who was a weak reporter. See *Tafsir Al-Tabari* (7/99/Shākir).

<sup>8</sup> Surat Āl 'Imrān: 172-174.

<sup>9</sup> See reasons behind the revelation of these Verses: *Tafsir Al-Tabari* (7/399-415) who reports through authentic chains.

about their preparations to attack Madinah. News also reached the Prophet ﷺ that under the leadership of Tulayhah Asadi and his brother Salamah, Banu Asad bin Khuzaymah were preparing to attack Madinah, in hope of booty and winning credit with the Quraysh. The Prophet ﷺ took the immediate step of sending a force of a hundred and fifty men composed of the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār*, with Abu Salamah bin 'Abdul-Asad at their head. The Muslim force surprised their enemies at the waters near a mountain called Qatan. The enemy fled and the Muslims captured their cattle and returned to Madinah safely. That was in Muharram, thirty-five months after Hijrah.<sup>10</sup>

### The Expedition of 'Abdullah bin Unays

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Abdullah bin Unays to do away with Khālid bin Sufyān Nubayh Hudhali who was either at Nakhlah, or at 'Uranah near Tā'if. Khālid was collecting forces to attack Madinah. Before leaving, 'Abdullah asked the Prophet ﷺ to describe the man. The Prophet ﷺ gave him the description and a few signs by which he could recognize him. When he met Khālid and found the signs on him, he cornered him and killed him. When he returned, the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Success to the man ..." He admitted him into his house and gave him a cane with which he could support himself, and which would be a sign between them on the Day of Judgment. He told him while handing the cane, "Few people will be on any support on that Day." So, 'Abdullah preserved it until his death.<sup>11</sup> It was buried with him when he

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/340); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/50) without a chain; *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (4/344), *Suspended (Mu'allaq)* and shortened and *Ibn Kathir: Al-Bidāyah* (4/70). No report has come in this regard worthy of acceptance.

<sup>11</sup> We mentioned it briefly. See *Ibn Ishāq* for the complete story—*Ibn Hishām* (4/354-355) with an *Interrupted (Munqati')* chain. But *Bayhaqi* mentioned the complete chain in *Dalā'il* (4/42-43) as well as in *Sunan*. His chain is *Good (Hasan)*. It is also reported by *Ahmad* in his *Musnad* (3/496) via the same chain. It is also *Hasan*; and *Abu Dāwud* in his *Sunan* (2/41-42/*The Book of Prayer/H.* 2249). It does not state the burial of the cane with him. It happens to be coming from *Ibn Ishāq* who did not mention whom he

died. The expedition was dated as on the fifth of Muharram, thirty-five months after Hijrah.<sup>12</sup>

### Raji' Expedition

*Bukhāri*<sup>13</sup> has preserved the report that the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Āsim bin Thābit ؓ<sup>14</sup> along with others to watch the movement of the enemies. When they had gone as far as 'Ufān, they were spotted by someone who passed the news to one of the tribes called Banu Lihyān. They followed their footsteps until a place where the

heard from. *Ibn Hajar* considered it *Hasan* in *Al-Fath* (15/260/*The Book of Maghāzi*). Also see *Al-Wāqidi* (2/531) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/50).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/50). *Wāqidi* mentioned that *Ibn Unays* left on Monday the fifth of Muharram, fifty-four months after the Hijrah, and arrived at Madinah on the seventh of Muharram. *Ibn Sa'd* seems to be more accurate because *Wāqidi* himself stated that the *Raji'* tragedy was due to the Muslims killing *Khālid Hudhali*. *Wāqidi* maintains that *Raji'* was in Safar, thirty-six months after Hijrah—*Al-Wāqidi* (3541).

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/260-265/H. 4086). It is also reported by *Ahmad* in his *Musnad: Ar-Rabbāni* (21/60-62) being similar to the narration of *Bukhāri*. Biographers have also reported the story, viz., *Ibn Ishaq* through a chain stopping at 'Āsim bin 'Umar—*Ibn Hishām* (3/241-260); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/354-363) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/55-56) with a correct chain. It states that they were a group of people from the tribe of *Khuzaymah*. They said, "O Messenger of Allāh. We have Islam in us. So, send along with us a few of your men who can instruct us and teach us how to recite the Qur'ān and teach us the law of Islam." So the Prophet ﷺ sent with them ten men ... to the end of the story. You might compare this text and the text that is with *Bukhāri* and others.

<sup>14</sup> Both *Bukhāri* and 'Urwah in *Al-Maghāzi* mentioned the same reason behind the expedition of *Raji'*. See *Maghāzi* of 'Urwah, p. 175. 'Urwah did not mention except three and added that *Banu Lihyān* were of the *Hudhayl* encountered them at *Raji'* of the *Najd*. But what is better known is that *Raji'* is a watering place for *Hudhayl* in the *Hijāz* region. See *Ibn Qaiyim's Zād* (3/244).

However, the reason according to *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (3/242) through a *Disconnected (Mursal)* chain is that a group of people came from 'Adal and Qārah to the Prophet ﷺ and told him that there was Islam in their tribe and asked for some *Companions* to accompany them and teach them Islam. *Ibn Sa'd* agreed with this version. *Ibn Ishāq* said that their number

Muslims had encamped earlier. They found Madinan seeds in the cattle droppings and thereon kept following their footsteps. Finally, they caught up with them. When 'Āsim and his men found themselves surrounded, they climbed a hill to which the Banu Lihyān laid siege. They said, "We give you our word that if you come down, we shall not kill any of you." 'Āsim responded by saying, "So far as I am concerned, I shall not go down on a word given by a disbeliever. O Allāh, deliver our news to the Prophet." So they fought and seven of them jointly killed 'Āsim with arrows. Khubayb, Zayd and another man were left.<sup>15</sup> They gave them the word once again that if they came down they wouldn't harm them. So Khubayb and Zayd went down. But when they had surrendered, they disarmed them and tied them up. The third man with them said, "This is the first deceit," and refused to move with them. They tried to pull him along but he wouldn't budge, so they killed him. They took Khubayb and Zayd to Makkah and sold them there. Banu Hārith bin 'Āmir bin Nawfal purchased Khubayb. Khubayb had killed Hārith bin 'Āmir at Badr.<sup>16</sup> He remained in their custody for a few days until they decided to finish him off. Once Khubayb

was six, with Marthad bin Abu Marthad as their leader. He named others. On the other hand Wāqidi mentioned their number as seven. He also named them. He also put it as ten, but in weak terms, naming Marthad as their leader, but in weak terms that it was 'Āsim. He stated the cause as some of the Banu Lihyān went up to 'Adal and Qārah and tipped them with some money to accompany them to the Prophet and seek from him to send those who could invite them to Islam. They planned to capture them and sell them in Makkah. It is possible to reconcile the two reports of Bukhārī and Ibn Ishāq by saying that he agreed to send them because of the coming down of men from 'Adal and Qārah. See 'Urjun: *Muhammad Rasulallah* (4/41).

<sup>15</sup> He is 'Abdullah bin Tāriq as in the narration of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/244) and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/357).

<sup>16</sup> Some biographers mention that Khubayb did not attend Badr, but rather the one who attended it and killed Hārith bin 'Āmir was Khubayb bin Isāf. The reconciliation of reports between the biographers and Bukhārī, offered by Ibn Hajar, is that they killed Khubayb in retaliation of Hārith by Khubayb bin Isāf, following the tradition of the *Jāhiliyyah* according to which they killed anyone of a tribe in retaliation of murder. See 'Urjun's discussion in: *Muhammad Rasulallah* (4/53-65).

borrowed a knife from one of the women to cleanse himself. She lent it to him but forgot about her little son. She reports, "Khubayb picked up the child and placed him on his lap. When I saw that I was terrified. He noticed my terror. The child was with him and the big knife in his hand!" But Khubayb assured her, "Are you afraid that I will kill him? I shall not do that, Allāh willing." She later said, "I haven't seen a prisoner better than Khubayb. I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes when there were no grapes in Makkah those days while the man was in chains. Surely, Allāh had fed him."<sup>17</sup>

Finally, they took him to the Haram area to kill him there. He asked them to allow him to pray. After he had done it he said, "If you didn't think it was from fear of death, I would have prolonged my prayer." Thus, he became the first ever to do two cycles of prayer before death. Then he said, "O Allāh. Count them in numbers, destroy them in total, and spare none of them." Then he sang out a poetical piece which said,

*"What do I care if I am killed a believer  
As to which of my side falls in Allāh's way.  
This is for Allāh's sake, and if He wills  
He will bless the limbs thus torn."*<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> The report of this thaumaturgy has been mentioned by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/246) to whom it was Māwiyyah the freed slave-girl of Hujayr bin Abu Ihāb who had spoken. She had embraced Islam.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Hajar said in explanation of this *Hadith* (15/265): "Abul-Aswad quoted from 'Urwah a few more verses than these. Then he quoted those verses as follows:

*"Gangs have gathered around me, responding to the call of the tribes, and have assembled all of whom they could collect.*

*They have brought together their wives and children, and I have come close to a long trunk.*

*To Allāh I complain of my days away from home and my pain, and how the gangs captured me at the place of my fall.*

*Lord of the 'Arsh, bestow on me patience against their intentions, for they have cut up my flesh and my hope has dried.*

*This is for Allāh, and if He wishes He could bless the limbs of my corpse torn apart.*

Then 'Uqbah bin Hārith<sup>19</sup> got up and killed him.

On the other side, the Quraysh sent someone to 'Āsim's corpse to bring back some flesh from his body. 'Āsim had killed one of their great<sup>20</sup> chiefs at Badr. But Allāh (ﷺ) sent swarms of bee that covered his body and so they could not get close to it.<sup>21</sup>

Hassān bin Thābit said some very moving poetry on Khubayb and his companions.<sup>22</sup>

As for Zayd bin Dathinah, Safwān bin Umaiya bought him to kill him in revenge of his father Umaiya bin Khalaf. When they took him to Tan'im in order to kill him, a few of the Quraysh gathered to watch. Abu Sufyān was one of them. He asked, "Tell me in Allāh's name, don't you wish that Muhammad was in your place to be killed and you among your home folk?" Zayd replied, "I don't

*By my life, I don't care so long as I die a Muslim, what kind of death it is going to be."*

See the *Maghāzi* of 'Urwah, p. 177. *Ibn Hishām* noted (3/250) that some of the experts in poetry have doubted some of the pieces attributed to him. Ibn Hajar reported that Ibn Ishāq quoted a few more poetical Verses from Khubayb.

<sup>19</sup> In a second narration from Bukhāri it was mentioned that the one who killed him was Abu Sarwa'ah: *Al-Fath* (15/266) while a third narration says that the one who killed him was Abu Sarwa'ah 'Uqbah bin Hārith (15/177). Ibn Hajar pointed out that Abu Sarwa'ah was 'Uqbah's brother and Sarwa'ah and 'Uqbah are not the same persons. According to another report of Ibn Ishāq, coming through a *Hasan-Sahih* chain, 'Uqbah bin Hārith didn't kill Khubayb because he was too small for that, but rather the one who killed him was Abu Maysarah 'Abdari. He placed the spear in the hand of the child then he took his hand and pierced Khubayb until he died.

<sup>20</sup> He is 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt who was taken as prisoner at the battle of Badr and was killed by 'Āsim according to the instruction of the Prophet ﷺ.

<sup>21</sup> Ibn Ishāq mentioned that Hudhail wanted to take the head of 'Āsim and sell it to Sulāfah bint Sa'd bin Shuhayd. She had vowed when her two sons were killed at Uhud that if she got hold of 'Āsim's head, she would open the skull to drink wine from it—*Ibn Hishām*, without a chain (3/244).

<sup>22</sup> See the report in Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/250-260) and 'Urwah's *Maghāzi*, p. 177. A'zami said: "Tabarāni recorded it but it has in its chain Ibn Lahiy'ah whose reports are *Hasan* because of some weakness."

wish that Muhammad be in the place where he is now and a thorn prick him while I am sitting amongst my home folk." Abu Sufyān remarked, "I have never seen anyone loved, the way Muhammad's companions love him." Thereafter a freed slave of Safwān<sup>23</sup> called Nistās beheaded him.

When these people were killed, the hypocrites said, "How unlucky of these people to be killed in this manner. Neither they are at home now with their people, nor did they convey the message." Allāh (ﷺ) revealed in response,

﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يُعْجِبُكَ قَوْلُهُ فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا وَيُشْهَدُ اللَّهُ عَلَى مَا فِي قَلْبِهِ  
وَهُوَ أَلَدُّ الْخِصَامِ﴾

"Among the people there is one whose words concerning the life of this world sends you wondering. He swears by Allāh over what he has in his heart, although he is the fiercest in argument."<sup>24</sup>

He also revealed about those that were martyred in that expedition,

﴿وَمِنَ النَّاسِ مَنْ يَشْرِي نَفْسَهُ ابْتِغَاءَ مَرْضَاتِ اللَّهِ وَاللَّهُ رَءُوفٌ  
بِالْعَبَادِ﴾

"And among the people are some who will sell themselves seeking Allāh's Pleasure. And Allāh is Kind to His servants."<sup>25, 26</sup>

The Prophet (ﷺ) sent 'Amr bin Umaiya Damri to Quraysh to bring back Khubayb's body. He said, "Concealing myself from all eyes, I went up to Khubayb and untied him from his cross. His body

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/245); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/56).

<sup>24</sup> *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 204.

<sup>25</sup> *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 207

<sup>26</sup> This was said by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/248). It has a narrator who was not named. Ibn Kathir however gave the complete chain in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/76) using the same chain naming the unknown narrator as Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad. Nevertheless, the report is weak for two reasons: Ibn Ishāq's employment of "so-and-so" who dropped the name of the Companions, and for the fact that Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad was unknown as in *At-Taqrīb*, p. 505.



fell down on the ground. I moved away a little (afraid someone will turn up from the sound). Then I turned again but I couldn't see him at all. As if the earth had swallowed him (i.e., his body). I haven't seen any sign of him since then."<sup>27</sup>

This expedition took place in Safar, thirty-six months after Hijrah.<sup>28</sup>

### The Ma'unah Well Expedition

And in the same month during which the Prophet ﷺ sent his men in the campaign of Raji', he also sent his men in the campaign of Bī'r Ma'unah.<sup>29</sup>

Trustworthy reports tell us that the Prophet ﷺ sent seventy of his best men towards Najd. They were all well versed in the Qur'ān, who spent the day in gathering wood, and the night<sup>30</sup> in devotional acts. What they earned from gathering wood, they spent on the People of the Platform (*Ashāb Suffāh*).

Muslim's report says that some people went to the Prophet ﷺ and requested that he send some of his men to teach them Qur'ān and his *Sunnah*.<sup>31</sup>

Bukhārī<sup>32</sup> on the other hand has it that the people that came to the Prophet ﷺ were of the branches of Banu Sulaym: Ri'l, Dhakwān, 'Usaiyah and Lihyān; they sought the Prophet's help against their enemies. In response he sent seventy of his men. Bukhārī is in agreement with Ibn Sa'd<sup>33</sup> over this version.

<sup>27</sup> Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/139) and (6/287) and Ibn Abu Shaybah through Ja'far bin 'Amr bin Umaiya, and he through his father. In this chain falls Ibrahim bin Ismā'il over whom the unanimous opinion is that he was weak. See *At-Taqrīb*, p.88.

<sup>28</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/354), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/55), their attributions were weak.

<sup>29</sup> This was said by *Al-Wāqidi* (1/346); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/51), and *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (3/260), their attributions were weak.

<sup>30</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/268/H. 4090).

<sup>31</sup> *Muslim* (3/1511/H. 677).

<sup>32</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/267/H. 4090).

<sup>33</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/53) through an authentic source.

Some historians<sup>34</sup> have added that Barā' bin 'Āmir bin Mālik visited Madinah. The Prophet ﷺ invited him to Islam. He neither accepted nor rejected, but said, "If you could send your men to the people of Najd to invite them to Islam; I expect them to respond positively." The Prophet ﷺ expressed his fear of the Najdis. Abu Barā' said, "I offer my protection."

It is also possible to say by way of reconciling the two reports that both events took place. That is, both Barā' and Banu Sulay made their requests and the Prophet ﷺ responded to their requests.

In any case, when these people encamped at the waters of Ma'unah, a place between the 'Āmir territory and that of Banu Sulaym, they sent Harām bin Milhān, a brother of the Banu Sulaym, with the Prophet's letter to 'Amir bin Tufayl. But the man did not read the letter. Instead, he signaled his men and two of them struck Harām with spears from the rear. When Harām saw blood flowing out, he remarked, "Allāh is Great. By the Lord of the Ka'bah,<sup>35</sup> I have succeeded."

Thereafter, Ibn Tufayl began to recruit men to fight the Muslims. The response was not good because of Abu Barā's protection. So, he appealed to the Banu Sulaym. 'Usaiyah, Ri'l and Dhakwān responded well. Consequently, a fierce battle ensued in which all the seventy Muslims were killed, except for Ka'b bin Zayd bin Najjār. He was left presumed dead. However, he recovered and lived up to the expedition of the Ditch. Two others, 'Amr bin Umaiya and Mundhir had lingered behind, arriving at the scene later. When they arrived they too fought. Mundhir was killed and 'Amr was captured. However, 'Āmir released him in return of a slave that his mother owed.

'Amr bin Umaiya returned to Madinah with the news. On his way he killed two men of Banu Kilāb in revenge of his companions. However, he didn't know that the Prophet ﷺ had a treaty with them. Therefore, the Prophet ﷺ paid blood money for two. While

<sup>34</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/260) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/51) without a chain and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/346). All their attributions are weak.

<sup>35</sup> Here the narration of the biographers agree with those of the *Sahihayn* except for the point about leadership of Mundhir and his nickname, which is mentioned in the narrations of the biographers.

raising the funds he appealed both to the Muslims as well to those Jews with whom he had a treaty.

But when he went to the Jews seeking their part, they tried to assassinate him. This was one of the reasons of the Banu Nadir expedition, as we shall see presently.

The Prophet ﷺ was in deep grief over the two incidents: Raji' and Ma'unah. For thirty consecutive days he prayed against those who had treacherously killed his Companions, naming Ri'l, Dhakwān, Lihyān and 'Usaiyah.<sup>36</sup>

During this expedition something happened<sup>37</sup> that spoke of 'Amir bin Fuhayrah's high status in Islam. When 'Amr Damari was captured, Ibn Tufayl pointed to a dead body and asked, "Who is this?" 'Amr told him it was 'Amir bin Fuhayrah. Ibn Tufayl said, "After he was killed I saw that he was being raised until I saw him between the heaven and earth. And then he was brought down."

#### Lessons and Notes on Raji' and Ma'ūna Expeditions<sup>38</sup>

1. The message that these two events have for the Muslims is that the mission and the call are the responsibility of every Muslim. It is not the duty of Prophets and Messengers alone, or of Muslim scholars.

Also, we can see that despite the Prophet's fears, confirmed as true by the Raji' expedition, he did not withhold his men from Bir Ma'unah. In fact, he carried on thereafter sending his men across to teach the religion until the very end of his life. That is because he knew that the spread of the word of truth was the

<sup>36</sup> This summary is from *Sahih Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/266-274/H. 4088-4096), and they are nine traditions in total; *Muslim* (3/1511/H. 677); Ahmad in his *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/63-65); Haythami in the *Majma'* (6/126) who said: "The transmitters are all those of the *Sahih* reports;" Tabarāni as in *Majma'* (6/126-127); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/51-54) and Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/260-267).

<sup>37</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/272/H. 4093).

<sup>38</sup> This summary is from *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Buti, pp. 199-201; *Hadhal-Habib Muhammad ﷺ Ya Muhibb*, p. 282, 285; and *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazāli, pp. 298-301.

all-important affair in life, no matter how the situations turned during the struggle to establish Allāh's Word.

2. The salient feature of Islamic personality development was exemplified by Khubayb bin 'Adi when, despite been given the opportunity, he did not harm the child. He could have killed the child out of revenge, knowing very well that they were going to slaughter him anyway. On the other hand, the treacherous ways of the disbelievers came to be exposed in the Raji' and Ma'unah expeditions. Khubayb's exemplary behavior with the child did not teach them anything at all about the nobility of a character perhaps because treachery and deceit are characteristics of the disbelievers and pagans.
3. A Muslim should avoid surrendering himself to the enemy on promises of fair judgment. He should resist to the last, as did 'Āsim who refused to submit to the judgment of the disbelievers. But, if he can win firm promises of safety, he might take a chance, waiting for his own chance to win freedom, as did Zayd and Khubayb.
4. The miraculous event of Khubayb eating grapes while he was in prison confirmed that if miracles are possible for Prophets, thaumaturgies are possible for the *Awliya'*.
5. The legality of offering prayers just before being killed as did Khubayb. The Prophet ﷺ did not disagree with it.
6. Ibn Dathinah's strong faith manifested itself when he uttered those famous words. He said he didn't prefer that he be in peace among his folks while the Prophet ﷺ is pricked by a thorn. It demonstrated his love of the Prophet ﷺ. This of course should be the quality of every Muslim's love for the Prophet ﷺ.
7. The Companions of the Prophet ﷺ were the most beloved of the creations to Allāh (ﷻ), judging from the way they were tried in His cause.
8. The legality of special supplications in congregational prayers against the tyrants, and seeking the removal of tribulations descending on the Muslims

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## The Banu Nadir Expedition

### (a) The Cause

Historical sources point to three causes for this expedition.

1. Banu Nadir tried to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ after the Badr battle; they were prompted by the Quraysh.
2. Their efforts to assassinate him when he went up to them seeking help for the payment of blood money to the dependents of Banu Kalb killed by Damri.
3. Their efforts to incite the Quraysh to attack the Prophet ﷺ, and supply of secret information.

The sources tell us that the Quraysh sent word to the Jews that they will fight them too if they did not fight against the Prophet ﷺ. Banu Nadir responded by drawing up a plan to kill the Prophet ﷺ through treachery. They asked the Prophet ﷺ to come out with thirty of his men so that they could meet him with thirty of their own rabbis to discuss the issue of his message. If those thirty could be convinced, all the Jews would embrace Islam. When the two parties faced each other, the Jews suggested that initially three of their rabbis meet the Prophet ﷺ with three of his Companions. The rabbis were concealing daggers in their robes. But, one of their women revealed their plans to her brother who had turned a Muslim. He warned the Prophet ﷺ who returned immediately. A little later he ordered preparations for military action against them and besieged them until they agreed to leave with all the goods they could carry on their camels, but not arms.<sup>39</sup>

As regards the second cause, the sources report that when the Prophet ﷺ went up to them to collect funds for the payment of

<sup>39</sup> Reported by Abdur-Razzāq in his *Musannaf* (5/359-360) through an authentic chain whose narrators are reliable. As for the dropping of the Companion, it doesn't really affect; Abu Dāwud in the *Sunan* (3/404-406); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/178-179) reporting through Abu Dāwud and 'Abdur-Razzāq; Ibn Marduwayh through a trustworthy chain being a report of 'Abdur-Razzāq; 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Humayd in *Maghāzi*/chapter *Hadith Banu Nadir*; and *Hākim* (2/483).

blood money being raised for the Kalb tribe, following the treaty that he had entered into with the Jews, they consulted among themselves. Someone suggested that they would never get a better chance to kill him. They decided that 'Amr bin Jihāsh should climb the roof under whose wall the Prophet ﷺ was sitting and push down a rock on him. Allāh (ﷻ) informed him of their intention and he withdrew immediately back to Madinah. His Companions, who had gone with him, did not notice his return and only came to know later that he had left. When they returned he told them what had happened and ordered them to prepare for an attack. He besieged Banu Nadir for six days until they agreed to come down on the condition that they leave with what their camels could carry.<sup>40</sup>

As regards the third cause, it is only Musa bin 'Uqbah<sup>41</sup> who reports it. He wrote: "Banu Nadir incited the Quraysh to fight against the Prophet ﷺ and sent them secret information." He added that they did this when they came down raiding Madinah, that led to the battle of Uhud.<sup>42</sup>

Probably Dr. 'Umari did not come across the reports in Bayhaqi which adds to the report of Musa bin 'Uqbah. But Ibn Hajar makes a note of it. The additional information therein is, "when they came down for the battle of Uhud..." That seems to be the reason why 'Umari said that Musa's narration does not say when the Jews incited the Quraysh against the Muslims.

However, it is commonly known that the Jews had encouraged the Quraysh to revenge, which resulted in the battle of Uhud. They

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain — *Ibn Hishām* (3/267-268). This report is strengthened by others, such as one coming from Musa bin 'Uqbah as found in Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/202) and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/180-181). In the report with Ibn Hajar, coming from Musa bin 'Uqbah, there are additions over what Ibn Ishāq had to report such as, Banu Nadir used to penetrate Quraysh ranks to suggest that they should fight back the Prophet ﷺ and revealed to them the weaknesses (in defense). Bukhāri's caption for the chapter reserved for this incidence suggests that he accepts these additions.

<sup>41</sup> With Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/203).

<sup>42</sup> From a narration by Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/180) through a weak chain.

had also helped Abu Sufyān in his raid on Madinah resulting in the Sawiq expedition. It is also known that Ka'b bin Ashraf used to spin out poetry inciting the Quraysh to revenge. All these things point to their antagonistic attitudes towards the Muslims of such intensity that they even tried to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ which finally led to their deportation from Madinah.<sup>43</sup>

### (b) Warning

In view of the above incidents, the Prophet ﷺ ordered Banu Nadir to leave Madinah within ten days, warning them that anyone seen after that would be at risk to his life. However, as they were getting ready to leave, 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy went up to them and told them not to quit. He promised them his own help if attacked. So they announced that they weren't leaving and the Muslims besieged them.<sup>44</sup> Several Verses of *Surat Al-Hashr* referred to this incident. One of them said,

﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا يَقُولُونَ لِإِخْوَانِهِمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ لَئِن أُخْرِجْتُمْ لَنَخْرُجَنَّ مَعَكُمْ وَلَا نُطِيعُ فِيكُمْ أَحَدًا أَبَدًا وَإِن قُوتِلْتُمْ لَنَنصُرَنَّكُمْ وَاللَّهُ شَهِدٌ لِّكَلْبِتِهِمْ لَكَذِبُونَ...﴾

"Have you seen those who acted hypocritically? They said to their brethren in disbelief, 'If you are expelled, we shall leave with you, obeying none in this affair. And, if you are attacked, we shall help you.' Allāh is witness that they are liars..."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madri fi 'Ahdin-Nubuwwah*, p. 147.

<sup>44</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/367-369) recorded it mentioning the period; Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/269), *Ibn Sa'd* (3/57-58) without a chain being the same report as that of Wāqidi; Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/181-183) through two chains in which there are altogether four unknown persons. Thus, all the reports are weak.

<sup>45</sup> *Surat Al-Hashr*: 11-12. Of those who mentioned that the reason behind the revelation of the Verse were Banu Nadir and the hypocrites, were: Tabari

### (c) Deportation and its Conditions

Trustworthy collection of *Ahādith* tell us merely that the Prophet ﷺ besieged them when they antagonized him.<sup>46</sup> However, other works give us the details, especially the biographical and war accounts about the exact nature of their belligerent acts and the exile details. It is proven through trustworthy reports that the Prophet ﷺ besieged them and sent word, "You will not be in peace with me until you enter into a fresh treaty." But they refused the renewal so he fought them. The next day he left them and went to the Banu Qurayzah seeking to renew his treaty with them. They agreed. So he renewed the treaty with them and returned to Banu Nadir and besieged them once again until they came down opting for exile. The condition was that they would carry with them everything that a camel could carry except for arms. Accordingly, they set out with everything they could load on their camels, down to doors and windows. They even tore down their dwellings in order to get timber out.<sup>47</sup>

The Qur'an<sup>48</sup> confirms (*Al-Hashr*: 5) that the Prophet ﷺ ordered

in his *Tafsir* (28/46) with a weak attribution to Ibn 'Abbās, and another chain stopping at Mujāhid but whose narrators are reliable; and Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/272-273).

Thus all the reports are weak although some strengthen the others. As for the coming down of the *Surat Al-Hashr* in connection with Banu Nadir, this is proved through reliable reports. The *Surah* also contains some Verses that speak of the hypocrites. It is also known that Ibn 'Abbās called this *Surah* as *Surah Bani An-Nadir* as reported by Bukhāri. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/204/The Book of Maghāzi/H. 4029).

<sup>46</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/202/H. 4028).

<sup>47</sup> Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/358-361); Abu Dāwud in the *Sunan* (3/404-407/H. 3004); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/181-182), see *Al-Fath* (15/202). This report has also been recorded by the biographers: Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/268-269); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/57-58) a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report, and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/364-375) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

<sup>48</sup> *Surat Al-Hashr*: 5. "What you cut down of the palm trees, or you left them standing on their stems, it was by the leave of Allāh." Bukhāri reported that the Verse was revealed when the Prophet ﷺ cut and burned palm trees of

pulling out and burning down of a few date-palm trees during the siege in order to clear the way for attack.<sup>49</sup>

Some reports say that they were deported to Shām.<sup>50</sup> Others say they went to Khayber.<sup>51</sup> Ibn Ishāq<sup>52</sup> reconciles the two by saying, "So they went away to Khayber. However, some proceeded to Shām. Of their notable men who settled in Khayber were, Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq and Huyaiy bin Akhtab. They were welcomed there." Later events also confirm that some of them settled in Khayber as they fought the Prophet ﷺ when he raided them. Kinānah was killed in that encounter and Safiyyah was taken prisoner at that time.<sup>53</sup>

However, two of them embraced Islam: Yāmin bin 'Umar bin Ka'b and Abu Sa'd bin Wahb, and thus saved their property.<sup>54</sup>

Whatever was left of the property of Banu Nadir, as also the date-palm groves, were attached to the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>55</sup> He used to provide his family thereof, once in a year. And what was left thereafter, he used to spend on arms and equipment in Allāh's cause.<sup>56</sup>

Banu Nadir. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/266/H. 4884), and (15/205/H. 4031-4032).

<sup>49</sup> See Bukhāri's reports on the Chapter dealing with Banu Nadir—the same source; *Sunan At-Tirmidhi/Tuhfatul-Ahtwadhi* (5/157-158), and *Sunan Ibn Mājah* (3/948-49).

<sup>50</sup> This was reported by Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/358-361), through a trustworthy chain of transmitters.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (3/58) through a weak chain.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/269), *Mu'allaq*.

<sup>53</sup> See 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: At-Tanzimāt*, p. 149.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Ishāq - with a *Munqati'* attribution, being a narrative of his Shaykh 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr—*Ibn Hishām* (3/270). A *Munqati'* report is of course belongs to the weak class.

<sup>55</sup> This is according to the Verse: "And what Allāh gave as booty to His Messenger from them - for which you made no expedition with either cavalry or camelry ..." and the revelation of *Surat Al-Hashr* in reference to Banu Nadir as reported by Bukhāri: *Al-Fath* (18/266/H. 4882, 4883). See *Sahih Muslim* (3/1388-1390/H. 1768-1769).

<sup>56</sup> This was reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/266/H. 4885).

Their lands were divided between the *Muhājir*. The *Ansār* got nothing. Sahl bin Hunayf and Abu Dujānah were the exceptions. These two *Ansāris* were extremely poor.<sup>57</sup>

Notwithstanding these events, the Banu Nadir would not stay quiet even at Khayber. They encouraged the Makkans to attack, which resulted in the Khandaq encounter.<sup>58</sup>

#### (d) Date of Exile

'Abdur-Razzāq<sup>59</sup> has reported on the authority of Zuhri, as has Hākim<sup>60</sup> through 'Urwah, that the exile took place after the battle of Badr.<sup>61</sup> Bukhāri added in the chapter notes that it took place sixteen months after Badr and before Uhud. Ibn Hajar<sup>62</sup> has said that 'Abdur-Razzāq has traced it more in detail through Ma'mar and he through Zuhri, which Bayhaqi<sup>63</sup> has also reported, adopting the same chain of narrators. Bayhaqi<sup>64</sup> also reported through Zuhri through 'Aqil as have Bukhāri and 'Abdur-Razzāq.

<sup>57</sup> Reported by Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/358-361); *Abu Dāwud* (3/404/H. 3004) who did not reveal the names of the two, and Ibn Ishāq, through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/270).

<sup>58</sup> The report about the death of Sallām bin Abu Huqayq will be mentioned when we deal with the battle of Khayber. It was because he had instigated the battle of the Confederates. Ibn Ishāq, through a *Munqati'* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/298) mentioned the names of the Jews of Banu Nadir who incited the Confederates: Sallām, Huyaiy and Kinānah. Others who mentioned their names: 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/368-373); *Ibn Sa'd* (3/65-66); and Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/275) being a report coming from Musa bin 'Uqbah—Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). In sum, the reports on this topic are all weak although as a whole they get strong, some strengthening others, for they are to be found in the works of important biographers and war chroniclers and they have supporting evidences.

<sup>59</sup> *Al-Musannaf* (5/357) using an authentic chain.

<sup>60</sup> *Al-Mustadrak* (2/483) treated *Sahih* and Dhahabi agreed to it.

<sup>61</sup> The great battle of Badr was on the seventeenth of Ramadān in the second year after Hijrah.

<sup>62</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/201/The Book of Maghāzi, Hadith on Banu Nadir) - unnumbered.

<sup>63</sup> See: *Al-Musannaf* (5/357) and *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (3/178) with an attribution to 'Āishah ؓ.

<sup>64</sup> *Dalā'il* (3/176).

Thus, the *Hadith* books place it between Badr and Uhud. But the biographers and historians assert that it was after Uhud. Ibn Ishāq's<sup>65</sup> opinion is that it took place in the fourth year after *Hijrah*. Wāqidi<sup>66</sup> and Ibn Sa'd,<sup>67</sup> on the other hand, have stated the date as the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal, thirty-seven months after *Hijrah*. Ibn Hishām<sup>68</sup> agrees with them that it took place in Rabi'ul-Awwal.

Now, since everyone agrees that the Ma'ūnah expedition took place after Uhud, all available data point to the fact that the Banu Nadir exile took place after Uhud. Bukhāri has indicated his preference by quoting from Ibn Ishāq. He also states that 'Amr Damri was present in the Ma'ūnah expedition as also proving that Ma'ūnah was after Uhud. Further, 'Amr Damri is cited as one of the causes of the Banu Nadir expedition. Thus Banu Nadir exile can be placed after Uhud alone, as also after the Ma'ūnah expedition. This falls in line with what Ibn Ishāq and others of the biographers and historians have stated. Ibn Hajar,<sup>69</sup> Sindi<sup>70</sup> and 'Umari<sup>71</sup> are inclined towards this position which we adopt here.

### Lessons and Rules

1. Allāh's information to the Prophet ﷺ regarding the treacherous intentions of Banu Nadir goes to prove that Jews committed this several times. It also proved true Allāh's Promise to him that He would protect him, a promise stated in the Verse, "And Allāh will protect you from the people." This miracle, as also several others, should lead us to believe in the Prophet ﷺ.
2. The Prophet's uprooting and burning of some date-palm trees belonging to the Banu Nadir implies that it is allowed for the

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Hishām (3/267), suspended.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Maghāzi (1/363).

<sup>67</sup> At-Tabaqāt (2/57).

<sup>68</sup> As-Sirat (3/268).

<sup>69</sup> Al-Fath (15/203/H. 4028).

<sup>70</sup> Marwiyātu Tārikhi Yahudil-Madinah, p. 142.

<sup>71</sup> Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: At-Tanzimāt, pp. 144-145.

Commander of the Faithful to take such a step against the enemy, if he thinks it suits the war situation. This opinion has the backing of Nāfi', Mālik, Thawri, Abu Hanifah, Shāfi'i, Ahmad, Ishāq and the great majority of scholars.

However, Layth, Abu Thawr and Awzā'i have been reported as disallowing the uprooting and burning of enemy trees.

3. The jurists agree among themselves that what is obtained as war spoils without a fight taking place—technically known as *Fai*—is left to the discretion of the ruler. It is not obligatory on him to divide it among the fighters as other war spoils are divided that are obtained after a fight. They have used the Banu Nadir incident to substantiate this position, and some Qur'ānic Verses.<sup>72</sup>
4. The Prophetic stand towards Banu Nadir gives us the rule that the breaking of a convent is equal to declaration of war.

### Badr II

In Sha'bān of the fourth year after *Hijrah*, the Prophet ﷺ left Madinah to keep the appointment that Abu Sufyān had promised at Uhud. He had one thousand and five hundred men with him along with ten horses. He went as far as Badr. He waited for the pagans for eight days.

The pagans too came out led by Abu Sufyān. However, he went no further than a place called Marr Az-Zahrān, encamping near the Majannah waters, no more than forty km from Makkah. He returned from there on the pretext that it was a year of drought. His decision however betrayed his fear of the Muslims despite the setback at Uhud.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> See Nawawi's commentary on *Sahih Muslim* (12/50); Buti: *Fiqhus-Siratin-Nabawiyah*, pp. 204-205, who discussed the differences among the jurists over the lands taken as booty; *Al-Umm* (7/324); and *Dawābitul-Maslahati fish-Shari'atil-Islamiyah* by Buti, pp. 170-171.

<sup>73</sup> This is what Ibn Ishāq said, a *Mu'allaq* report—Ibn Hishām (3/292). As regards *Al-Wāqidi* (1/384) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/59) both of whom reported

## The Dhātur-Riqa' Expedition<sup>74</sup>

Biographers and historians have differed between themselves over the date of this expedition. Bukhāri<sup>75</sup> believes it happened after Khayber. But Ibn Ishāq<sup>76</sup> thinks it happened after the affair of Banu Nadir. It has also been suggested that it took place after Khandaq battle in the fourth year after *Hijrah*. Wāqidi<sup>77</sup> and Ibn Sa'd<sup>78</sup> say that it took place in Muharram of the fifth year after *Hijrah*. Abu Ma'shar<sup>79</sup> believes it took place after the Banu Nadir affair and that of Khandaq. Ibn Hajar<sup>80</sup> was inclined towards the opinions of Bukhāri and Abu Ma'shar. That is because it is reported that Abu Musa Ash'ari ؓ was present in this battle about whom it is known that he had come down from Abyssinia immediately after Khayber. Abu Hurayrah ؓ was also present in

*Mu'allaq* reports—they mentioned that it was on the first of Dhul-Qa'dah forty-five months after the *Hijrah*. Ibn Ishāq however is preferable to Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd when he does not state the accreditation and when Wāqidi does not fall in the chain.

<sup>74</sup> Biographers differed in naming this expedition, and the outweighing opinion is what Abu Musa Ash'ari mentioned in the *Sahih*, that it was so called because they wrapped their feet with rags after their footwear wore off, because of long walks as for every camel there were six riders who rode in turns. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/309/H. 4128). A *Hadith* says that he disliked it bringing to light because it was a matter of devotion that he did seeking the rewards of Allāh. This shows how our righteous ancestors understood the meaning of *Jihād*. Nawawi said in connection with this attitude of Ash'ari, "It is preferable for a Muslim to conceal his good deeds and those things as bother him in carrying out the obligations, showing only those that wisdom requires to be shown, such as to make manifest the wisdom behind it, or to encourage others to follow, etc." This explains the fact of some of the *Salaf* making public some of their deeds. See Nawawi's commentary on *Muslim* (12/197-198).

<sup>75</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/305/The Book of *Maghazi/Dhātur-Riqa' Expedition*) a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/285).

<sup>77</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (1/395).

<sup>78</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/61).

<sup>79</sup> This was mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/304).

<sup>80</sup> See the arguments of Ibn Hajar to the effect that it was after Khayber. See *Al-Fath* (15/304, 305, 311).

this battle; he had embraced Islam at the time of Khayber expedition. Also, it was during this expedition that the Prophet ﷺ shortened his prayers on account of fear (*Salātul-Khawf*). This prayer had not been instituted until Khandaq, rather it was ordered at 'Usfān, during the Hudaybiyah expedition in the sixth year after *Hijrah*.

On the other hand, Dr. Buti<sup>81</sup> is certain that Dhātur-Riqa' took place before the Khandaq battle. His argument is that it was at Khandaq, that moved by the Prophet's hunger, Jābir ؓ had sought the Prophet's permission to go home in order to ask his wife to prepare some food for him. It was in response to Jābir's invitation, which was meant for him alone, that the Prophet ﷺ had announced in the army that everyone was invited. The food, although prepared for a few, proved to be enough for the whole army, and, in fact, there was some left over. The Prophet ﷺ told Jābir's wife, "Eat thereof and send across as gift to others. The people are hungry." It is also proved by reports in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim* that the Prophet ﷺ asked Jabir in the Dhātur-Riqa' expedition if he was married and he said, "Yes." This means the Prophet ﷺ didn't know about his marriage until then. Dr. Buti rejects Ibn Hajar's arguments that it took place after Khayber. The answer to Ibn Hajar's argument that the *Salātul-Khawf* was instituted during the Khandaq battle is that he only repeated a prayer that was not done on time. It is possible that the Prophet ﷺ delayed offering the prayer because of heavy onslaught of arrows which did not allow him to move away from his position and, probably, the enemies were in the direction of the *Qiblah*. Or, maybe he delayed it on purpose to demonstrate how it was to be done when not done on time. Many scholars and historians have also said about Abu Musa's incident that perhaps he meant another battle when he called it Dhātur-Riqa'. This is strengthened by his words, "We went with the Prophet in an expedition while we were six men with a single camel between us that we rode in turns." But, the Dhātur-Riqa' expedition that we are talking about was participated by a large number of people.

<sup>81</sup> *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 210.



Dr. Hakami<sup>82</sup> and Dr. 'Umari<sup>83</sup> are inclined to be with Bukhāri and Ibn Hajar. However, this author is inclined to be with Dr. Buti for, his evidential material is in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*. In addition, Bukhari's opinion is conditional and his only argument is that Abu Musa came to Madinah after Khayber expedition. Buti has answered to this argument by saying that the reference is to more than one expedition of the same name.

As regards the reasons of this expedition, Wāqidi writes that someone came into town with his goods. He informed the Prophet's Companions that Anmār and Tha'labah of Ghatafān were assembling forces against them. The reports reached the Prophet ﷺ. He appointed 'Uthmān bin 'Affān ؓ as his deputy in Madinah and went in their pursuit. Ibn Sa'd also mentions this as the reason. But it is clear that he took the report from his mentor Wāqidi. Something else tells us about the Ghatafān's enmity towards the Prophet ﷺ. Ghaws said to the Ghatafān and Muhārib tribes, "Should I not assassinate Muhammad for you?" They said, "Sure, sure. But how will you do it?" He replied, "I'll accomplish it in complete secret." However, when he attempted to do it, Allāh (ﷻ) protected His Messenger by a miracle. The narration is from Wāqidi and is trustworthy.

In any case, no fighting took place during this expedition between the Muslims and the pagans of Ghatafān. But both feared each other and, and the Muslims resorted to *Salātul-Khawf*. It was offered in the following manner: A group formed rows behind the Prophet ﷺ while another kept watch over the enemy. When the Prophet ﷺ had offered one cycle with the group that was with him, he remained in the standing position while his first group followers completed their prayer. Then they went back to the battlefield to allow others to join up with him. He offered a second cycle with them after which he remained seated while they completed their second cycle.<sup>84</sup> Other reports say that he did two cycles with the first

<sup>82</sup> *Marwiyyātul-Hudaybiyah*, pp. 73-86.

<sup>83</sup> *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni; Al-Jihād*, p. 130.

<sup>84</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/308/H. 4127).

group and then another two with the second. Thus he himself prayed four cycles while they did two each.<sup>85</sup> Dr. Buti<sup>86</sup> writes: "One way to reconcile the two versions would be to say that the Prophet ﷺ offered the *Salātul-Khawf* more than once: once he offered the prayers as described in the earlier part, and another time as described in the second part.

This prayer was offered in the oasis that was about two days<sup>87</sup> travel distance from Madinah. Several important incidents took place during this expedition. They are as follows:

#### (a) The Bedouin's Story

Bukhāri,<sup>88</sup> Muslim<sup>89</sup> and others<sup>90</sup> have reported through Jābir that during their return journey the Muslims felt fatigued and decided to have a siesta. As they dismounted, they scattered and everyone found a shade for himself under a tree. The Prophet ﷺ too sought the shade of a tree and hung his sword by its branch. Jabir reported: So we went into a short nap. We were woken up by the Prophet's voice calling us unto him. We went up to him and found a Bedouin sitting by his side. The Prophet ﷺ said, "This man took my sword as I slept. I woke up and found him hovering over me with the sword. He asked me, 'Who will save you from me?' I said, 'Allāh!' Here he is by my side." The Prophet ﷺ did not however take any action against the Bedouin whose name was Ghawrath bin Hārith.

<sup>85</sup> *Muslim* (2/576/H. 311).

<sup>86</sup> *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 207/footnotes. See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/301).

<sup>87</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/305).

<sup>88</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/315-316/H. 4135, 4136) where the name of the Bedouin is mentioned.

<sup>89</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (1/576/The Book of *Salātul-Musāfirin*/H. 843).

<sup>90</sup> See Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (7/20-22); Ibn Ishāq, through a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain. But there falls in it 'Amr bin 'Ubayd Qadari about whom Ibn Kathir said that his narratives may not be accepted because of his innovations. Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/95); *Ibn Hishām* (3/287) and *Al-Isābah* (3/185).

Qatādah<sup>91</sup> and Ibn Ishāq<sup>92</sup> have said that Allāh's Words,

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا اذْكُرُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ هُمْ قَوْمٌ أَن  
يَبْسُطُوا إِلَيْكُمْ أَيْدِيَهُمْ فَكَفَّ أَيْدِيَهُمْ عَنْكُمْ﴾

"Believers, recall Allāh's favors on you when a people desired to stretch their hands towards you, but He prevented their hands from (reaching) you,"<sup>93</sup>

were revealed in connection with this incident.

Musaddad's narration coming through Jabir says that Ghawrath promised the Prophet ﷺ that he will not fight against him nor accompany those who fought him. So the Prophet ﷺ let him go. When he went to his people he said, "I am coming from the best of men."

### Lessons

This incident provides a good evidence of the Prophet's authenticity as a Messenger as well as proofs of his courage, faith in Allāh, and patience in face of ignorant people.<sup>94</sup>

### (b) The Story of those on Guard

While returning from the Dhātur-Riqa' campaign, the Muslims captured a pagan woman. Her husband vowed that he

<sup>91</sup> Being a report of 'Abdur-Razzāq taking his chain to Jabir through Ma'mar as mentioned by Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (3/58-59), and Tabari in his *Tafsir* (10/106), its chain is authentic. There are other reports in this connection with the meaning attached to the Verse as well as the causes of revelation. Tabari believes that the Verses were revealed because of the Jews of Banu Nadir when they attempted to kill the Prophet ﷺ. See the *Tafsir* (10/107-108). See also *Zādul-Masir* (2/308).

<sup>92</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/287-288) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain but there falls in it 'Amr bin 'Ubayd Qadari.

<sup>93</sup> *Surat Al-Mā'idah*: 11.

<sup>94</sup> See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/317).

would not return until he had killed one of the Prophet's men. He stole his way through at night into their camp. The Prophet ﷺ had placed two men on guard, while the others slept. They were 'Abbād bin Bishr and 'Ammār bin Yāsir. The man shot an arrow at 'Abbād while he stood in prayers. 'Abbād removed the arrow from his body but continued to pray. The man sent in two more arrows. But 'Abbād did not give up. He completed his prayer before waking up his partner. 'Ammār said, "Glory to Allāh. Why didn't you warn me?" He replied, "I was reciting a chapter of the Qur'ān and didn't like to terminate it. But when he kept shooting, I finished my cycle to wake you up. And, by Allāh, if not for a duty to the Prophet ﷺ, I would have died before breaking off the prayers."<sup>95</sup>

### Lessons

In the story of these two great Companions, the nature of Islamic *Jihād* is manifested. It tells us something about how the Prophet ﷺ had trained and educated his Companions. 'Abbād didn't wish to cut short his prayers because of the painful arrows that he received. He only did that when he felt that his duty to the Prophet ﷺ required it. This has a great and remarkable lesson for us about Islamic *Jihād* and devotional acts, as understood by the first-generation Muslims; something that cannot be compared with our own attitudes today.<sup>96</sup>

### (c) The Story of Jabir's Camel

Bukhāri,<sup>97</sup> Muslim<sup>98</sup> and others, as well as biographers such as

<sup>95</sup> Reported by *Al-Bukhāri* (1/52/*Wudu*), a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report giving it a tint of weakness by saying, "It is reported..." It is a report from Jābir; Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/290-292). Others also recorded a similar report.

<sup>96</sup> See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 213-214.

<sup>97</sup> *Al-Fath* (9/172/H. 2097). What we have mentioned is the substance of the report.

<sup>98</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (2/1089/H. 1466).

Ibn Ishāq<sup>99</sup> and others have reported that Jābir ؓ was lingering behind during the return journey. The Prophet ﷺ asked him the reason. He said his camel was not doing well. The Prophet ﷺ came down from his mount and stroked the camel with his driving cane. Then he supplicated for him and told him to ride on, and lo, the camel became one of the fastest. It kept overtaking the Prophet's camel and Jābir kept pulling it back. The Prophet ﷺ asked Jabir if he was married. He replied that he had recently married an (oldish) woman for whom it was the second marriage. The Prophet ﷺ asked, "Why not a younger woman you could sport with, and she with you?" Jābir explained that he had little sisters and wished someone could take care of them. The Prophet ﷺ told him to manage his affairs well when back in Madinah. Then he asked him if he would sell his camel. Jābir agreed and sold it to him for some gold. The next day when he brought the camel to him, the Prophet ﷺ ordered Bilāl ؓ to hand over the gold. Bilāl weighed it out and tilted the balance in his favor. On their way back, the Prophet ﷺ called him and returned his camel to him as a gift. According to Ibn Ishāq, the Prophet ﷺ told Jābir when he explained why he had married a previously married woman, "You did the right thing, Allāh willing." He also reports that he said, "When we reach Sirār,<sup>100</sup> we shall slaughter a goat, stay the whole of the day there so she (Jābir's wife) can shake the dust off her cushions (in preparation of his arrival)." Jābir said, "By Allāh, we do not own cushions." He said, "You shall have them soon." That version also reports Jābir as saying about the gold he received, "By Allāh, it kept growing with me, and its place could be spotted in our house..."

<sup>99</sup> Ibn Hishām (3/288-290) through a *Hasan* chain. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/99) that this *Hadith*, coming from Jabir, has different versions, and there are differences regarding the price of the camel and terms set for the transaction, details of which are better suited for law books. This particular incident is bound to the Tabuk campaign, and it is very unlikely that it happened more than once.

<sup>100</sup> A place three miles away from Madinah on the road to Iraq. See *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (3/398).

### Lessons

The above incident fully reveals the Prophet's regard, love, and care for his Companions. His interest in their personal affairs and his material and moral supports stand out. He knew for instance that Jābir was lagging behind because of a sick mount besides which he did not owe another. He was aware that his father had been martyred in the Uhud battle, leaving behind a number of children to look after. The Prophet ﷺ used the opportunity to express his understanding of the situation and help him out.<sup>101</sup>

### The Dumatul-Jandal Expedition

Most biographers and historians<sup>102</sup> agree that this expedition was undertaken in the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal,<sup>103</sup> in the fifth year after *Hijrah*. In fact, some have fixed the date as the twenty-fifth of the month, forty-nine months after *Hijrah*.<sup>104</sup>

Ibn Ishāq doesn't mention the causes. But what Wāqidi<sup>105</sup> and Ibn Sa'd<sup>106</sup> state can be briefly put as follows: The Prophet received the news that there was a large group of people in Dumatul-Jandal who were harassing small-time traders<sup>107</sup> who brought food grains and oil to Madinan markets. The area also had a large trading station well frequented by traders. Quite a few of the surrounding Arabs also allied themselves with them and they were all planning to attack Madinah. Therefore, the Prophet ﷺ called his men and started out with a thousand of them. In this journey their guide was a man called Madhkur who belonged to the Banu 'Udhrah tribe. The

<sup>101</sup> See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 212-213.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām, *Mu'allaq – Sirat Ibn Hishām* (3/297-298); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/402), and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/62), also *Mu'allaq*.

<sup>103</sup> Wāqidi determined these nights (1/402).

<sup>104</sup> This was determined by Wāqidi, followed by his student and scribe Ibn Sa'd.

<sup>105</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (1/402-404).

<sup>106</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/62-63).

<sup>107</sup> Those days the Nabatians used to carry food grains and oil to Madinah. See *An-Nihāyah* (3/22).

Prophet ﷺ seized some of the enemy flock before arriving at Dumatul-Jandal. There he seized some of their men while others fled. But, by the time he arrived at Dumatul-Jandal proper, local people dispersed, leaving the place completely vacant. He encamped there for a few days and sent smaller groups to capture their cattle wherever found, concentrating on camels alone. Muhammad bin Maslamah was the sole exception. He captured one of their men and then presented Islam to him. The man readily became a Muslim. The Prophet ﷺ returned after a few days of stay there.<sup>108</sup>

## Muraysi' Expedition (Banu Mustaliq)

Genealogists agree that Banu Mustaliq were a clan belonging to the Khuzā'ah tribe, and that Khuzā'ah themselves were an offshoot of Qahtān of Yemen.<sup>1</sup> The two branches join together at one point with the Aws and Khazraj through 'Amr bin 'Āmir, one of the two great-grandfathers of the Aws and Khazraj, and the fourth for Banu Mustaliq.<sup>2</sup> They inhabited the Qudayd and 'Usfān<sup>3</sup> areas in the middle of the Khuzā'ah territory which lay in between Marr Az-Zahrān<sup>4</sup> and Abwa'<sup>5</sup> areas, between Makkah and Madinah. Obviously, this being the trade route, it enjoyed strategic importance. Their importance, therefore, was not lost upon the Muslims who kept good relations with them, despite the fact that Khuzā'ah were polytheists who had a deity called Manāt installed among them at a place called Mushallal in Qudayd. In fact, this deity was held in such esteem that the Arabs used to perform pilgrimage to it. They were close to the Makkan territory and had never been in league with the Quraysh. This was for two reasons:

<sup>1</sup> See Nuwayri: *Nihāyhtul-Arab* (2/332), Qalqashandi: *Qalā'idul-Jumān*, p. 93, *Ibn Hishām* (1/136).

<sup>2</sup> Khalifah bin Khayyāt: *At-Tabaqāt*, p. 76, 107.

<sup>3</sup> Harbi: *Al-Manāsik*, pp. 458-463.

<sup>4</sup> Lies thirty kilometers away from Makkah and three kilometers east of Masturah. See 'Abdullah Āl Bassām, *Taysirul-'Allām Sharh 'Umdatul-Ahkām* (1/584).

<sup>5</sup> Lies 240 kilometers away from Makkah—see Quraybi: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Bani Mustaliq*, pp. 54-58.

<sup>108</sup> Wāqidi added one more reason for this expedition, viz., the Prophet ﷺ wished to get close to Shām in order to frighten the Caesar—*Al-Maghāzi* (1/403).

1. They had an old relationship and peace treaties with 'Abdul-Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather. Their old rivalry with the Quraysh had resulted in their ouster from Makkah in ancient times.<sup>6</sup> That was not forgotten and had led to a lasting struggle between them and Banu Bakr of Kinanāh. The latter were allied to the Quraysh. This had led them to a treaty with 'Abdul-Muttalib. It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ reconfirmed this treaty when the Khuzā'ah came to him at Hudaibiyah in the sixth year after Hijrah.<sup>7</sup>

Probably, it was the presence of Manāt deity among them, and the material and moral advantage they drew from it that Islam's progress was restricted in their territory and especially among the Banu Mustaliq.<sup>8</sup>

The first time that the Khuzā'ah people demonstrated their animosity toward Islam was when they helped the Quraysh<sup>9</sup> in their raid on Madinah resulting in the battle of Uhud.<sup>10</sup> And, when the Quraysh inflicted defeat upon the Muslims, the Banu Mustaliq felt encouraged. Their chief Hārith bin Abu Dirār began to collect arms and men and encourage the adjoining tribes to join up with him for an attack on Madinah.

When the Prophet ﷺ got wind of their intentions, he first sent Buraydah bin Husayb of the Aslam tribe for an assessment of the situation. Buraydah went up to them pretending to join them in their efforts; he got first hand information of their intentions and presented a report to the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>11</sup>

On the second last day of Sha'bān, of the fifth year after Hijrah,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Hishām (1/173) through an authentic chain, Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/20/ The Book of *Ahādith Anbiya'*.

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/781-782), Ya'qubi: *Tārīkh* (1/278-279).

<sup>8</sup> See 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> Those not of the Quraysh but who joined them. They were 'Udal and Dish, offspring of Khuzaymah.

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/200).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/63) through chains that cannot be distinguished between those that have Wāqidi and those who do not.

<sup>12</sup> This is the outweighing opinion, which is what Musa bin 'Uqbah said, narrating it from Zuhri and 'Urwah. See *Al-Bidāyah* (4/176) and (3/265), and the *Sunan Al-Kubra* by Bayhaqi (9/54). His chain does not follow the route of 'Abādilah ('Abdullah bin 'Abbās, 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, 'Abdullah

the Prophet ﷺ himself marched out of Madinah towards Banu Mustaliq, in the company of 700 fighters.<sup>13</sup> They had thirty horsemen with them.<sup>14</sup>

Banu Mustaliq were among those who had received the Islamic message. Yet they had joined the Quraysh in their raid at Uhud. They never failed to join hands with the enemies of the Muslims. Bukhārī<sup>15</sup> and Muslim<sup>16</sup> have reported that the Prophet ﷺ attacked them in their unawareness with their cattle at the waters. He killed some of their fighting men and captured their women and children. Juwayriyah the daughter of Hārith bin Abu Dirār was captured during that sweeping raid.

Ibn Ishāq<sup>17</sup> has reported, although through weak reports, that the fighting took place at the waters of Muraysi' where Banu Mustaliq were defeated. Some of them were killed while their women and children were taken prisoners. They were divided among the Muslims. However, narrations in *Sahih* works are more trustworthy which of course we accept.

Wāqidi<sup>18</sup> writes that the Muslims killed some ten men of Banu

bin Mas'ud, 'Abdullah bin 'Amr bin 'Ās), but has Ibn Lahiy'ah, and Muhammad bin Fulayh who was reliable but given to doubts. 'Uqbah's words were traced by Hākim and Abu Sa'eed as in *Al-Fath* (15/318/ The Book of *Maghāzi*). See also Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (4/44). As regards Bukhārī's statement that it was in the fourth year after Hijrah, it appears as if it is a slip of his pen as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/318). 'Uqbah was followed in this regard by: *Wāqidi* (1/404); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/63) and Abu Ma'shar Sindi, as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/318).

As for Ibn Ishāq, he mentioned that it was during Sha'bān of the sixth year after Hijrah – *Ibn Hishām*, *Suspended (Mu'allaq)*. This is contradicted by what is in the *Sahihayn* which say that Sa'd bin Mu'adh participated in this campaign and attained martyrdom in the campaign of Banu Qurayzah immediately after the battle of the Ditch and that took place in Shawwāl, the fifth year after Hijrah. This will be discussed later. See the discussion of Ibn Hajar (15/319).

<sup>13</sup> Dhahabi: *Tārīkhul-Islam, Al-Maghāzi*, p. 259.

<sup>14</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (1/405).

<sup>15</sup> *Al-Fath* (10/264/H. 2541).

<sup>16</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1356/H. 1730).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/402) with a *Mursal* chain.

<sup>18</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (1/410).

Mustaliq, and captured the rest of them at the waters. They were some 200 families. They also captured 2000 camels and 5000 goats. Ibn Ishāq<sup>19</sup> however has it that they captured 100 families which seems to be correct. Zurqāni<sup>20</sup> thinks they were more than 700. The two figures could be reconciled if we consider that a family is normally more than one person.<sup>21</sup>

One of the Muslims was martyred. He was of the Banu Kalb, named Hishām bin Subābah, Qays bin Subābah's brother. He was accidentally struck by a group belonging to 'Ubādah bin Sāmit who thought he was of the enemy. Qays came down from Makkah claiming to be a Muslim and demanded blood money. He was paid the blood money. But he wasn't satisfied with that. He killed his brother's killer and escaped to Makkah, becoming an apostate. The Prophet ﷺ had declared his blood lawful when he entered Makkah triumphant and so Numaylah bin 'Abdullah killed him, although he belonged to the same tribe.<sup>22</sup>

A group of hypocrites had also accompanied the Muslims in this expedition. As usual they created trouble: two incidents are worthy of note. One, they tried to incite the *Ansār* against the *Muhājir*. Second, they accused 'Āishah ؓ of misdemeanor: what is known as the *Ifk* incident.

### The First Incident

Zayd bin Arqam and Jābir bin 'Abdullah narrate this story. Zayd ؓ said, "I was in an expedition<sup>23</sup> when I heard 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy say, 'Do not spend on the men around the Prophet so that

<sup>19</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/409) through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>20</sup> *Sharhul-Muwāhibi Al-Ladunniyyah* (2/117) without any attribution, but rather by saying, "... said some of my teachers." See also 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 97.

<sup>21</sup> *Usdul-Ghābah* (5/400).

<sup>22</sup> *Usdul-Ghābah* (5/363); *Al-Isābah* (3/574, 603); Ibn Ishāq, a *Mu'allaq* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/406) and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/407-408).

<sup>23</sup> Other reports make it clear that it was the Banu Mustaliq campaign. See Ahmad's *Musnad*: (3/292-293) through a reliable chain, and Tirmidhi:

they disperse. If we return to the city the nobles among us shall expel the ignoble ones.' I mentioned his words to my uncle,<sup>24</sup> or 'Umar, and it was mentioned to the Prophet. He asked for me for a firsthand report. Thereafter he sent for 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy and his companions. They swore that they didn't say any such thing. So, the Prophet lay the lie on me. I was struck with grief like never before and stayed limited to my place. My uncle taunted me, 'What was your objective that the Prophet ultimately laid the lie on you and now hates you?' Then Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿إِذَا جَاءَكَ الْمُنَافِقُونَ...﴾

"When the hypocrites come to you..."<sup>25</sup>

The Prophet sent for me and said, 'You spoke the truth, O Zayd.'<sup>26</sup> He added, 'This is someone whose hearing Allāh vouchsafed.'<sup>27</sup> According to another report, 'Your ear proved itself true young man.'<sup>28</sup>

Jābir's report is in greater detail. He also referred to the words of Ibn Ubaiy. He said, "We were in an expedition. One of the *Muhājir* pushed aside an *Ansāri*.<sup>29</sup> The *Ansāri* called out, 'O *Ansār*.' And the *Muhājir* cried out, 'O *Muhājirun*.' The Prophet ﷺ heard of it and remarked, 'Why are they raising pre-Islamic calls?' He was told

*Sunan* (5/90) who remarked: "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* report."

<sup>24</sup> He means Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, the chief of Khazraj, and he is not his real uncle. His real uncle was Thābit bin Qays. See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (18/84).

<sup>25</sup> *Surat Al-Munāfiqun*: 1. The Verse was revealed on the way back to Madinah from the campaign as in the *Hadith* of Tirmidhi in his *Sunan* (5/88) who said, "A *Hasan-Sahih* report." This is also in the narrative of Abul-Aswad, coming from 'Urwah and Abu Sa'eed as stated by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/285). See the report of Ka'b bin Mālik in the second pledge at 'Aqabah.

<sup>26</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/284/H. 4900), *Muslim* (4/2114/H. 2772).

<sup>27</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/292/H. 4906).

<sup>28</sup> One of the (*Mursal*) reports of Hasan Basri, as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/286).

<sup>29</sup> The name of the *Muhājir* mentioned by Ibn Ishāq according to a *Mursal* report, was: Jahjah bin Mas'ud Ghifāri, he was hired by Ibn Khattāb, and

that one of the *Muhājir* had pushed aside an *Ansāri*. He said, 'Cut it out. It stinks.' But Ibn Ubaiy remarked, 'Did they do that? By God, when we return to Madinah the honored ones among us shall expel the dishonored ones.' This statement reached the Prophet ﷺ. 'Umar ؓ got up and said, 'O Messenger of Allāh, allow me to behead this hypocrite.' He replied, 'Leave him alone. Let not the people say, 'The Messenger cuts down his own followers.' When the *Muhājir* first arrived at Madinah, they were fewer in number than the *Ansār*. But, later they became the majority."<sup>30</sup>

A few strong reports suggest<sup>31</sup> that Ibn Ubaiy said these words during the Tabuk expedition. But there has been some confusion, for he was never there in the Tabuk expedition.<sup>32</sup>

Subsequent to the incident, the Prophet ﷺ desired to cool the tempers and so ordered them to march. He kept them marching the whole of that day, the following night, and continued into the second day until the heat became unbearable. Then he ordered them to encamp. They all fell into uncontrollable sleep. This was to divert the minds and not allow them to talk over the issue and return to differences amongst themselves.<sup>33</sup>

the name of the *Ansāri* was: Sinān bin Wabr Juhani, allied to Banu 'Awf bin Khazraj—*Ibn Hishām* (3/402). Ibn Hajar mentioned the name as Jahjah bin Qays, called as the son of Sa'eed Ghifāri—*Al-Fath* (18/289).

<sup>30</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/28/H. 3518) and (18/289-290/H. 4905), *Muslim* (4/1998/H. 2584). According to the *Hadith* reported by Muslim, the Prophet ﷺ said: "A man should help his brother whether he is just or unjust, if he is unjust, he should stop him, and if he is just, he should support him." According to the narrative with Ibn Ishāq, with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain, whose transmitters are reliable, Ibn Salul said, "Did they do that? They drove us and multiplied amongst us. By God, nothing fits well the situation between us and the vagabonds of Quraysh except what the ancients said, "Fatten your dog and it will kill you." See *Ibn Hishām* (3/402-403).

<sup>31</sup> *At-Tirmidhi* (5/89/The Book of *Tafsir*). He remarked: "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* narrative," and Nasa'i: *Sunan* (3/201/*Tuhfatul-Ahwadhī*) whose narrators are of the *Sunan*.

<sup>32</sup> See Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (4/369) and Ibn Hajar's discussion in *Al-Fath* (18/290).

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain but with trustworthy

When Ibn Ubaiy's son 'Abdullah came to know what his father had said, he went up to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "O Messenger of Allāh. I have come to know that you might order my father killed. If that is so, allow me to do the job. I'll bring his head to you. The Khazraj know that in their entire tribe there is no one as good to his father as I am. I am afraid you will order someone else to kill him. It should not happen that I look at my father's killer walking about among the people and kill a believer for the life of a disbeliever, in turn entering into the Fire." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Rather, we shall be soft with him and do him good so long as he lives."<sup>34</sup> Later, at the gates of Madinah, 'Abdullah wouldn't allow his father to enter until the Prophet ﷺ allowed that he be let in.<sup>35</sup>

After that incident Ibn Ubaiy became the target of criticism and reproach by his own men. When the Prophet ﷺ came to know of that he told 'Umar, "Can you see now 'Umar? Had you killed him that day, it would have stirred commotion. But today, if I asked people to kill him, they would do it (without fear of retaliation)." 'Umar ؓ replied, "I realize the wisdom in your action against my suggestion."<sup>36</sup>

narrators—*Ibn Hishām* (3/404). It has supporting evidence in a *Hadith* of Ibn Abu Hātim which itself is a *Mursal* report of 'Urwah and 'Umar bin Thābit Ansāri. It is considered as a strong *Mursal* report as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/289). It has its origin in the *Sahihayn* which is a report of Zayd bin Arqam and Jābir bin 'Abdullah. Thus the report acquires the status of *Hasan li Ghayrihi* as said Dr. Quraybi in *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Banu Mustaliq*, p. 190.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/405-406), it was also reported by Ibn Mandah as Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Isābah* (2/327); Tabarāni as in *Al-Majma'* (9/318). Said Haythami, "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih* works except for 'Urwah bin Zubayr who never met 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy." Thus the report is *Mursal*. It is also in *Al-Bazzār* as in *Al-Majma'* (9/318). Haythami remarked: "Its narrators are reliable."

<sup>35</sup> *Tirmidhi: Sunan* (5/90) who added: "This *Hadith* is Good & Sound (*Hasan-Sahih*)."

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/406) and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/418).

### The Second Incident: The *Ifk* (Slander)

When the first attempt failed to provoke a quarrel between the Muslims, the hypocrites spun another story to kindle pre-Islamic hatred among them. Herewith the incident in brief:

It was 'Āishah's turn that she should accompany the Prophet ﷺ in this expedition.<sup>37</sup> During the return journey the Muslims stopped near Madinah for rest. She left her camel litter for a while for a personal need. When she returned she discovered that her necklace was missing. She traced back her steps looking for it. When she returned again, she found that the people had lifted her litter, placed it on the camel and marched off. She was so light that they didn't feel she was not inside the litter. When she found no one around, she sat down where her camel was, hoping for someone to discover her absence and come back. Safwān bin Mu'attal happened to pass by. He recognized her as he had seen her before the commandments concerning the veil were revealed. He let her mount his camel and then dutifully led it to Madinah, entering after the Prophet ﷺ had entered the town.

The hypocrites fell upon this incident and spun a story alleging misconduct on 'Āishah's part. Ibn Ubaiy played the leading role. Others who got involved in the slander were Mistah bin Uthāthah, Hamnah bint Jahsh and Hassān bin Thābit.

The Prophet ﷺ was mortified by the spread of the rumor. He expressed his trust in his wife and in Safwān before his leading Companions. Sa'd bin Mu'ādh ﷺ offered to kill anyone who spoke ill of the Prophet's wife, if he happened to be of Aws. However, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah didn't appreciate Ibn Mu'ādh's pledge, for one of Ubādah's people was involved in spreading the slander. The argument between the two nearly developed into a fight between the two families of the tribe, exactly as the hypocrites had hoped. But the Prophet ﷺ intervened and put out the fire of dissension.

<sup>37</sup> The Messenger of Allāh ﷺ used to draw lots and she accompanied whom the lot favored. This is a narrative of Bazzār through a *Hasan* chain, as mentioned by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (9/230) and with whom Suyuti agreed in *Ad-Durr* (5/27).

'Āishah ﷺ had sought to spend a few days with her parents. It was there that she heard of the slander against her. She lost her sleep. She expected that Allāh (ﷻ) would reveal her innocence through a dream of the Prophet ﷺ, considering herself too insignificant for a revelation to come down about her.

After a month's suffering on her part and on the part of the Prophet ﷺ, the revelation came down announcing her innocence and exposing the people's role in this slander. It said,

﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ جَاءُوا بِإِفْكِ عُصْبَةٍ مِنْكُمْ...﴾

*"Surely, those of you who indulged in the slander, were a group from among yourself..."*<sup>38</sup>

Abu Bakr ﷺ used to monetarily support his nephew Mistah. When he came to know of his role in the slander, he swore that he wouldn't spend anything on him thereafter. But a Verse came down saying,

﴿وَلَا يَأْتَلِ أُولُوا الْفَضْلِ مِنْكُمْ وَالسَّعَةِ أَنْ يُؤْتُوا أُولِي الْقُرْبَىٰ...﴾  
﴿أَلَا تُحِبُّونَ أَنْ يَغْفِرَ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ﴾

*"And let not those of wealth and virtue among you swear not to give to the kin ... Do you not love that Allāh should forgive you?"*<sup>39</sup>

With that revelation, Abu Bakr ﷺ resumed<sup>40</sup> his help to Mistah hoping for Allāh's forgiveness.

The Qur'an reproached those simpleminded people who fell into the trap laid by the hypocrites, such as Hamnah, Mistah and Hassān. It said,

﴿لَوْلَا إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ ظَنَّ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتُ بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ خَيْرًا وَقَالُوا هَذَا إِفْكٌ مُّبِينٌ﴾

<sup>38</sup> *Surat Al-Nur*: 11-20.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid*: 22

<sup>40</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/57-58/H. 4750); *Muslim* (4/2129/H. 2770) which has the most material in this regard; and *Tabari* in his *Tafsir* (18/89).



"Why, when you heard of it, did not the believing men and women think good of themselves and say, 'This is clearly a slander?'"<sup>41</sup>

Allāh (ﷻ) also recorded the exemplary character of those whose reaction befitted the character of a believer, who were awake to the mischief, and trusted the household of the Prophet ﷺ. Abu Ayyub Ansāri and his wife were among them. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed about them,

﴿وَلَوْلَا إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ قُلْتُمْ مَا يَكُونُ لَنَا أَنْ نَتَكَلَّمَ بِهَذَا سُبْحَانَكَ هَذَا بُهْتَانٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"And why, when you heard of it, did you not say, 'It is not for us to speak of this. Glory to You, O Allāh, this is a great slander?'"<sup>42</sup>

Wāhidi<sup>43</sup> has recorded a narration of 'Āishah ؓ which deals with the context of revelation of this Verse. She said, "When Abu Ayyub Ansāri's wife asked Abu Ayyub, 'Have you heard the story that is being circulated?' He asked back, 'What story is it?' She told him about the slander. He reacted in words, 'It does not behoove us that we say such a thing. Glory to Allāh. This is a great slander.' So, continues 'Āishah, Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿وَلَوْلَا إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ قُلْتُمْ مَا يَكُونُ لَنَا أَنْ نَتَكَلَّمَ بِهَذَا سُبْحَانَكَ هَذَا بُهْتَانٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"And why, when you heard of it, did you not say, 'It is not for us to speak of this. Glory to You, O Allāh, this is a great slander.'"

Bukhāri reported that when one of the *Ansāri* heard the allegation he remarked, "Glory to Allāh. It does not behoove us that we say such a thing. Glory to Allāh, it is a great slander."

<sup>41</sup> Surat An-Nur: 12.

<sup>42</sup> Surat An-Nur: 16.

<sup>43</sup> *Asbābul-Nuzul*, p. 218.

Explaining the above, Ibn Hajar wrote, "Ibn Ishāq has said that it was Abu Ayyub who said these words. Hakim also traced the words to him. But Tabrāni has a report in a chapter titled *Musnadush-Shāmiyyin*, as well as Abu Bakr Ājurri, tracing the report through 'Ata Khurasāni, Zuhri, 'Urwah and 'Āishah ؓ that the Verse that Ibn Ishāq<sup>44</sup> spoke of was "Glory to Allāh, this is clearly a slander,"<sup>45</sup> and not, "this is a great slander."<sup>46</sup> In any case the meaning is the same, and they came down at one time, discussing the same issue. Therefore, there is nothing strange if they came down concerning the stand taken by Abu Ayyub and his wife. Wāqidi<sup>47</sup> agrees with Ibn Ishāq and adds that it came down referring to Umm Tufayl and her husband Ubaiy bin Ka'b.<sup>48</sup>

Sunayd's commentary on the Qur'ān has a *Mursal* report coming through Sa'eed bin Jubayr that when Sa'd bin Mu'ādh heard of the allegation, he remarked, "Glory to Allāh. This is a great slander."<sup>49</sup>

In sum, Wāhidi's report is strengthened by that of Ājurri, Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi, and thus it is, to say the least, of acceptable status.<sup>50</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ ordered Hassān, Mistāh and Hamnah<sup>51</sup> to undergo the punishment for slander. As for 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul, he could not be punished, although he had played the leading role because he did not leave any evidence against himself. He used to allow the matter to be discussed and then spread the words and opinions (as coming from others) and kept the gossip alive.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Al-Fath* (28/110/H. 7370).

<sup>45</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/418-419).

<sup>46</sup> *Surat An-Nur*: 12.

<sup>47</sup> *Surat An-Nur*: 16.

<sup>48</sup> *Maghāzi* (2/434-435).

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (28/110).

<sup>50</sup> See Dr. Quraybi in *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Bani Mustaliq*, p. 276.

<sup>51</sup> Reported by Bazzār, through a *Hasan* chain, as Haythami mentioned in *Al-Majma'* (9/230), and Bayhaqi in *Sunan Al-Kubra* through a *Hasan* chain (8/250).

<sup>52</sup> *Muslim* (4/2134/H. 2770).

When the Prophet ﷺ had returned to Madinah, Juwayriyah bint Hārith bin Abu Dirār went to the Prophet ﷺ and spoke to him about her high position among her tribesmen. She asked his help to pay up the price that her master Thābit bin Qays bin Shammās had set for her freedom. The Prophet ﷺ suggested that he pays up the price and then she marry him. She agreed.

When the Muslims came to know of the deal, they freed all those of her tribe who had been enslaved –some hundred of them– because they couldn't think of keeping someone in slavery whose tribeswoman was in the Prophet's marriage. Thus Juwayriyah proved to be the source of a great blessing for her tribesmen.<sup>53</sup> The freedom she gained was her dowry.

When her father Hārith came down to Madinah and requested the Prophet ﷺ that he set her free, the Prophet ﷺ gave her the choice. She decided to remain with him.<sup>54</sup>

In consequence, Hārith bin Abu Dirār and his people embraced Islam and the Prophet ﷺ appointed him over his tribe as the collector of *Zakāt* funds.<sup>55</sup>

### Lessons from the Muraysi' Expedition

1. The legality of the division of spoils between the soldiers subsequent to the battle, after the removal of the fifth for Allāh and His Messenger ﷺ.
2. The handling of the social disturbance caused by Ibn Ubaiy

<sup>53</sup> The full report is in the *Sirat* of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/408-409).

<sup>54</sup> This is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāt in his *Tārikh*, p. 80, via a chain that is of the reliable narrators, but *Mursal*.

<sup>55</sup> Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/279) through a chain which has Dinār Kufi, who in any case was acceptable. Further, his narrative is strengthened by others of similar kind. There is one reported by Qatādah, although of *Hasan* chain, as recorded by Tabari in his *Tafsir* (26/476).

resting on a simple incident, demonstrated the Prophet's ability to handle such tricky situations. The result was that Ibn Ubaiy, who had carried the calumny forward, began to be reproached by his own followers.

3. The slander incident was only one of the many that were spun by the Prophet's enemies in order to distress him. It was Allāh's bounty on him and the believers that He unveiled their schemes. History recorded the exemplary attitudes of some of the Companions such as Abu Ayyub and his wife. They have set an example for the believers who might face situations of the same sort in their lives. After all, revelation has stopped, and now we have their good example alone to follow.
4. The incident also concealed some blessing in disguise. For instance, if the Prophet ﷺ had been himself the author of the Qur'anic revelation, he would not have waited for a whole month (to bring down a revelation clearing 'Āishah). The Prophet's humanness came out clear. After the revelation had come down, the relationship between him and 'Āishah ﷺ resumed its normal course and everybody was happy at the outcome after the intervening suffering. If the whole affair had not been Allāh's design, the Prophet's relationship with 'Āishah would never have normalized. Thus, the incident became a proof of the authenticity of the Prophet ﷺ.
5. The incident also proved the legality of punishment of those who slander chaste persons. It showed that it is unlawful to slander believing men and women, and that if someone does it, without sufficient proof, then, he deserves to be given eighty lashes.
6. It also demonstrated the legality of someone choosing a wife by lot to accompany him in a journey, in lieu of a random choice. This is more likely to be happily accepted; as proved by reports coming down in this regard.
7. Legality of a *Mujāhid* taking his wife with him in an expedition if the situation allows it.

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7. Legality of a *Mujāhid* taking his wife with him in an expedition if the situation allows it.

8. The Verses of *Surat An-Nur*, starting from, "Verily, those of you who brought the slander are a group from among yourselves," until "for them is forgiveness and an honorable reward," speak of the great position enjoyed by 'Aishah رضي الله عنها. The Qur'ānic reproach has not been stronger for any other sin than those mentioned in connection with the slander.

## Battle of the Ditch

### Date

This expedition took place in Shawwāl of the fifth year after *Hijrah*. This is the opinion of Ibn Ishāq<sup>1</sup> and those who followed him. It also happens to be the opinion of the great majority.<sup>2</sup> Wāqidi<sup>3</sup> has it however that it took place on a Wednesday, the eighth of Dhul-Qa'dah in the fifth year after *Hijrah*. Ibn Sa'd<sup>4</sup> has another opinion. He wrote, "Allāh responded to the Prophet's supplication and handed defeat to the enemies on a Wednesday of Dhul-Qa'dah in the fifth year after *Hijrah*. Nonetheless, Zuhri, Mālik bin Anas and Musa bin 'Uqbah have held that it took place in the fourth year after *Hijrah*.<sup>5</sup>

Scholars say that those who said that the battle took place in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/298) without a chain.

<sup>2</sup> See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/105-106).

<sup>3</sup> *Maghāzi* (2/440) without a chain.

<sup>4</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/65, 73) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain, one of the narrators was Kathir bin Zayd who was truthful but committed errors. Therefore the chain is weak although of the kind that those scholars accept who do not think that unless the weakness is of high order, and unless it is a matter of creed or law, such reports can be accepted.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Kathir *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/105), *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/257/The Book of *Maghāzi*/chapter *Ghazwah Khandaq*) who quoted the words of Musa bin 'Uqbah, but Suspended (*Mu'allaq*), in the chapter heading. See also Fasawi: *Al-Ma'rifah wat-Tārikh* (3/258).

fourth year, counted the date from the first Muharram of the year in which *Hijrah*<sup>6</sup> took place. They discounted the months preceding it, until Rabi'ul-Awwal. So, according to them Badr battle took place in the first year, the Uhud battle in the second and Khandaq in the fifth. But the great majority have disagreed with this way of counting. Ibn Hazm<sup>7</sup> insists that it took place in the fourth year. He draws evidence from Ibn 'Umar's statement that the Prophet ﷺ rejected him before the start of the battle of Uhud on grounds of age. That of course was in the third year after *Hijrah* and he was then fourteen years old.<sup>8</sup> But Bayhaqi,<sup>9</sup> Ibn Hajar<sup>10</sup> and others have said that Ibn 'Umar had just entered into his fourteenth year at the time of Uhud and during Khandaq he was at the end of his fifteenth year. This agrees with the statement of the majority of scholars.

### Causes

The struggle between Muslims and the Quraysh did not come to an end until the fall of Makkah in the eighth year after *Hijrah*. Therefore, it was not out of expectation that the pagans would make every effort in between to break Muslim power which they saw as constantly threatening their trade routes as well as their status among the Arabs.

Therefore, the Quraysh decided to give a final blow that would end the struggle between the two forces. Accordingly, they began to work on raising a force so large that they had to seek the help of everyone they were in league. In the Jews of Banu Nadir who had been exiled from Madinah, they found ready assistance. Their interests were common: finish off the Muslims.

The first of those to whom the idea occurred was the Jewish

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath*, p. 276, Ibn Kathir: the same source, and Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (3/369). He wrote extensively on this expedition in his *Tārikh*. See (3/392-397). See also the discussions of the redactor in the footnotes.

<sup>7</sup> *Jawāmi'us-Sirah*, p. 185.

<sup>8</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/275-276/H. 4097).

<sup>9</sup> *Dalā'il* (3/396).

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/276).

leaders of Banu Nadir who were expelled to Khayber. They went up and met with the leaders of the Quraysh and other chieftains. Obviously, they hoped to provoke them to war so that they could shift back to Madinah. The delegation that arrived consisted of: Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, Huyaiy bin Akhtab, Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq, who were all of the Banu Nadir, and Hawdhah bin Qays, Abu 'Ammār, of the Wā'il tribes, accompanied by a few plebeians of both Banu Nadir and Banu Wā'il tribes. They urged the Quraysh to fight the Prophet ﷺ promising to fight with them until they jointly uprooted him. They proclaimed that the religion of the Quraysh was better than the religion of Muhammad ﷺ. It is about this that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ أُوتُوا نَصِيبًا مِّنَ الْكِتَابِ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْجِبْتِ وَالطَّاغُوتِ وَيَقُولُونَ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا هَتُّوْا أَهْدَىٰ مِنَ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا سَبِيلًا﴾

"Have you considered those who were given a portion of the Book? They believe in sorcery and the devil, and say about those who have disbelieved, 'These are better guided on the path than the believers.'"<sup>11, 12</sup>

Thereafter they went up to the Ghatafān tribe of the Najd area and convinced them to join forces with the Quraysh and of their own, against the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>13</sup> They promised them half of the

<sup>11</sup> *Surat An-Nisa'*: 51.

<sup>12</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/298-99); and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah*, (4/106); and Tabari in his *Tafsir* (8/469-471/Shākīr) being a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās a chain in which falls Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad, who was unknown. Tabari mentioned the views of different scholars regarding the reason behind the revelation of this Verse. His own opinion can be summarized as follows: "The opinion closest to being correct is of him who said that this is an information from Allāh, Glorified is He, about a group of Jews, although it is possible that the group is the one that Ibn 'Abbās named in the report narrated by Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad, and he from 'Ikrimah or Sa'eed. Or, it could have been Huyaiy along with another with him, such as Ka'b, or others." The *Hadith* was also reported by *Al-Wāqidi* (2/441-42).

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (1/513) being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain reaching up to Ibn 'Abbās. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/300).

Khayber<sup>14</sup> date crop if they joined in the battle with them. It was Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq who had gone up to Ghatafān and received a good response from 'Uyaynah bin Hisn Fazāri.<sup>15</sup>

The pagans also wrote to their ally Banu Asad. In response Talhah bin Khuwaylid and those who followed him came out and joined with the Quraysh. Following that, Abu Sufyān left Makkah along with all those tribes that had agreed to help him. Their first encampment was at Marr Az-Zahrān. There he was joined by Banu Sulaym led by Sufyān bin 'Abd Shams, the father of Abul-A'war.<sup>16</sup> Banu Murrah also joined the Quraysh there, led by Hārith bin 'Awf as well as Banu Ashja' led by Mis'ar bin Rakhilah.<sup>17</sup> The settlers in the Makkan outskirts, known as *Ahābish*, also joined the Quraysh along with those of the Banu Kinānah who were their allies as well as some of the Tihāmah.<sup>18</sup> They became a huge army. Allāh (ﷻ) called them 'Confederates'.<sup>19</sup> Ibn Ishāq<sup>20</sup> has mentioned their numbers as 10,000 while the Muslims against them were 3,000.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/443) and they offered to give them the produce of Khayber dates of one year.

<sup>15</sup> Being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah, through his own chain reaching up to Zuhri, as in *Al-Fath* (15/275) and Bayhaqi as in *Dalā'il* (3/398).

<sup>16</sup> A narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah*, and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar (15/275). That report says that Banu Sulaym were under the leadership of Abul-A'war. But that is probably incorrect and what Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd report, to the effect that it was Abu Sufyān, the father of Abul-A'war, one of the commanders of Mu'āwiyah, in Siffin. See *Al-Wāqidi* (2/443) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/66).

<sup>17</sup> A narration of Ibn Ishaq, with a chain leading up to Zuhri and others of his masters, but *Mursal*—*Ibn Hishām* (3/300).

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Ishāq through his own chain leading up to his masters—*Ibn Hishām* (3/306).

<sup>19</sup> Being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398), and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar—the above mentioned references.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/306), but a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>21</sup> Wāqidi mentioned the number of some of these parties: Quraysh and who followed her from the *Ahabish* = 4000, Banu Sulaym = 700, Banu Fazārah = 1000, Ashja' = 400, Banu Murrah = 400—*Maghāzi* (2/443).

The above sum up to six thousand and five hundred fighters. The rest of the ten thousand could have been from the Asad and Ghatafān tribes.

Once the desired numbers had been recruited for the cause, the massive army began to march towards Madinah. Reaching the place, they encamped at where the flood waters of Rumah met between Juruf and Zaghābah. The Ghatafān,<sup>22</sup> accompanied by Banu Asad,<sup>23</sup> encamped at the end of Naqama beside Uhud.

When the news of their intended joint raid on Madinah reached the Prophet ﷺ, he consulted his Companions. Salmān Fārisi advised that they dig trenches (*Khandaq*)<sup>24</sup> at places that were open for enemy attack. The other three sides were either difficult lava terrain or were covered with trees and orchards that made them impassable for a large army, especially those on mounts.<sup>25</sup>

Faced with such a large army as was advancing, almost everyone agreed to the suggestion about the trench, and they began to dig. The trench extended from the Shaykhayn mountains near the Banu Hārithah territory in the east to Midhādh in the west. It was about five thousand feet long, nine feet wide and between seven and ten feet deep. Ten men were required to dig every ten feet length.<sup>26</sup> The *Muhājir* began to dig from the Ratij fort in the east until the Dhubāb fort and *Ansār* from the Dhubāb fort until the Mount 'Ubayd in the west.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Ishāq through a *Mu'allaq* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/306) and in *Thulāthiyyāt Musnad Ahmad* by Safārini (1/199-200), where it should be Ghābah instead of Zaghābah, although there is no contradiction since Ghābah is nothing but the north of Zaghābah and lie side by side.

<sup>23</sup> A narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398), and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar.

<sup>24</sup> Being a report of Abu Ma'shar Sindi in his *Maghāzi*, as Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Fath* (15/275), in a *Mu'allaq* report; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/445) through his chains leading up to his teachers, one of whom is Abu Ma'shar, identified as Najih who was weak, although among them are reliable narrators as well as weak, and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/66).

<sup>25</sup> A narrative of Musa bin 'Uqbah through his chain leading up to Zuhri, as in *Al-Fath* (15/275) and Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398).

<sup>26</sup> By *Hadith* standards, several weak reports have reached us about this through the route of Kathir bin 'Abdullah Muzani who was weak. See them in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/130); the *Tafsir* of Tabari (21/33); *Fathul-Bāri* (15/280) and others.

<sup>27</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/445-450); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/66-67) *Mu'allaq*, *Sharh Thulāthiyyāt Musnad Ahmad* (1/199-200).

The work went on at a goodly pace. It had to be completed before the enemy arrived.<sup>28</sup> The whole operation took between six to twenty-four days. Ibn 'Uqbah said that they did it in twenty days; Wāqidi: twenty-four days; Nawawi<sup>29</sup> in his *Rawdah*: fifteen days; and Ibn Sa'd: six days.<sup>30</sup>

They were fed with a meager diet consisting of barley cooked with a little butter. It wasn't very tasty, nor of good smell, but extreme hunger made it palatable.<sup>31</sup> At times they didn't have even that and had to contend themselves with a few dates.<sup>32</sup> In fact, there was a time when for three consecutive days they didn't get either, leading to such pangs of hunger that they had to tie rocks to their stomachs, the Prophet ﷺ not being an exception.<sup>33</sup>

Of course, everyone participated in the digging, without exception: whether rich or poor, slave or free men. They had a good example in the Prophet ﷺ whose body was covered with dust as he dug. In fact, whenever they encountered a hard rock, his help was sought in breaking it down and he would strike a few blows with his shovel.<sup>34</sup> He also joined them in the chorus to encourage them when they sang poetry together. They sang:

*O Allāh, if not for You we wouldn't be guided  
Neither expended nor prayed.  
Therefore, send down tranquility on us,  
And affirm our feet when we meet*

<sup>28</sup> A narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398), and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar.

<sup>29</sup> From his narration in *Al-Fath* (15/276).

<sup>30</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/67), a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report. Dr. 'Umari mentioned this opinion, but not others. Perhaps unto him it is reliable. See *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 114. However we are inclined to accept Musa bin 'Uqbah's narrative for he is accepted by the authors of the six canonical works (*Sihah Sittah*), and a biographical scholar.

<sup>31</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/278/H. 4100).

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (303-304), see *Al-Bidāyah* (4/112).

<sup>33</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/279/H. 4101).

<sup>34</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/276-279/H. 4098-4101); *Muslim* (3/1430/H. 1803).

*The tribes have rebelled against us  
And sought mischief although we avoided.*

The Prophet ﷺ raised his voice at these words.<sup>35</sup>

While working they sang:

*We are those who gave our word to Muhammad  
On Islam, so long as we are alive.*

The Prophet ﷺ would reply to them with, "O Allāh, surely there is no good but that of the Hereafter, so bless the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār*." Sometimes he spoke out these words loudly and they replied with poetical pieces.<sup>36</sup>

### Evidences of the Prophet's Messengership during the digging

Allāh (ﷻ) revealed at the hands of the Prophet ﷺ several miracles during the digging of the trench. A few are as follows:

1. When Jābir ؓ observed the hardship the Prophet ﷺ was undergoing because of hunger, he left by his leave and describing his hunger to his wife asked her to prepare something for him. They slaughtered a little goat and cooked some pudding to go with it from a little barley that they had. Then he went back to the Prophet ﷺ and invited him to the dinner. He observed secrecy while inviting him because the food would have been just enough for a couple of men. However, accepting his invitation, the Prophet ﷺ announced to everyone present to join in. They were at least a thousand. That put Jābir and his wife in an embarrassing situation. But the Prophet ﷺ supplicated over the food and everyone ate to his fill leaving behind enough for Jābir and his wife.<sup>37</sup> They were even able to gift some to the neighbors.

<sup>35</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/285/H. 4104) whose words have been taken here; and *Muslim* (3/1430-1432/H. 1803-1805).

<sup>36</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/276-278/H. 4098), *Muslim* (3/1431/H. 1805).

<sup>37</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/280-283/H. 1401, 1402). The two reports follow different routes both reaching Jābir; *Muslim* (3/1610, 1611/H. 2039); and reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/403-405).

2. The Prophet ﷺ informed 'Ammār bin Yāsir that he would be killed by a rebellious party. That happened and he was killed in the Siffin battle in which he had participated on 'Alī's side.<sup>38</sup>

3. When his Companions encountered a huge hard rock, and sought his help, he struck it three times. With the first strike he said, "Allāh is Great. I have been given the keys to Shām. By Allāh, I can see its red palaces now." Then he struck a second time and said, "Allāh is Great. I have been given the keys to Persia and I can at this moment see the white Madā'in palaces." Then he struck a third time and said, "Allāh is Great. I have been given the keys to Yemen. By Allāh, I can see the gates of San'ā' from this place."<sup>39</sup>

These words predicted that the places mentioned would fall to Muslims in the future. The Qur'ān recorded the reaction of the believers then with him. It said,

﴿هَذَا مَا وَعَدَنَا اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَصَدَقَ اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَمَا زَادَهُمْ إِلَّا إِيمَانًا وَتَسْلِيمًا﴾

"(They said), 'This is what Allāh and His Messenger promised us, and Allāh and His Messenger spoke the truth.' And, it only increased them in their faith and submission."<sup>40</sup>

As for the hypocrites, they remarked when they heard the prediction, once again in the words of the Qur'ān,

﴿وَإِذْ يَقُولُ الْمُنَافِقُونَ وَالَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِم مَّرَضٌ مَا وَعَدَنَا اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ إِلَّا غُرُورًا﴾

"When the hypocrites and those whose hearts were infected with

<sup>38</sup> Muslim (4/2235/H. 2915).

<sup>39</sup> A narration of Ahmad and Nasa'i through a *Hasan* chain, as Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/280), and Tabarāni in *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir* (11/376). Haythami said in his *Al-Majma'* (6/131): "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih* except for 'Abdullah bin Ahmad and Nu'aym 'Anbari. 'Abdullah bin Imam Ja'far was trustworthy. As for Nu'aym, we did not happen to see his biography."

<sup>40</sup> Surat Al-Ahzāb: 22.

disease were saying, 'Allāh and His Messenger did not promise us but a deception.'"<sup>41</sup>

Verse 13 to 20 of *Surat Al-Ahzāb* have drawn an accurate picture of the hypocrites, mentioning their fears and their shirking away of the works connected with the digging and fighting the enemy.

However, despite the derision by the hypocrites, severity of the cold weather topped with hunger, the trench was ready to serve as an insurmountable barrier between the Muslims and the enemy. Thereafter, women, children and old men were gathered together in a fort called Fāri'.<sup>42</sup> It belonged to Banu Hārithah and was one of the strongest forts that the Muslims then had in their possession.<sup>43</sup>

The strategy adopted was that the Muslims should have their backs to Mount Sala' inside Madinah<sup>44</sup> facing the trench, while the pagans were in Rumah between Juruf, Ghābah, and Naqama.<sup>45</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ saw the strength of the pagans and the weakness of the believers, he sent for Sa'd bin Mu'ādh and Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, two *Ansāri* leaders. He spoke to them about a proposed peace treaty to which Ghatafān seemed to be agreeing to. He also mentioned the conditions therein. It was to hand over to them a third of the Madinan dates of the current year. If they agreed to that, the Ghatafān promised to break away and leave. Everything had been more or less agreed to except for the final signature on the document. But the two disagreed. They said, "By Allāh, we never

<sup>41</sup> Surat Al-Ahzāb: 12.

<sup>42</sup> Muslim (4/1879/H. 2416) and the name of the fortress was Utum or Hisn or Hisān. However, Ibn Ishāq mentioned that the fortress of Fāri' was of Hassān bin Thābit—*Ibn Hishām* (3/317). This name was clearly mentioned by Bazzār and Abu Ya'la, through a weak chain, as in *Al-Majma'* (6/133-134); *Kashful-Astār* of Haythami (1/333); and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/462).

<sup>43</sup> Tabarāni documented it as in *Al-Majma'* (6/133) where Haythami said, "Its narrators are reliable." However Dr. 'Umari declared it weak in *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*/p. 117) for he could not find the biography of Tabarāni's Shaykh and the Shaykh of his Shaykh. See *Al-Wāqidi* (2/469), and Ibn Ishāq with a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/315).

<sup>44</sup> A *Mu'allaq* report from Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/306).

<sup>45</sup> A *Mursal* report of 'Urwah that Tabari mentioned in his *Tafsir* (21/129-130).



bent ourselves for worthless things in the days before Islam. How can we do that after Islam?" According to Tabarāni, they said, "O Messenger of Allāh, is this Allāh's commandment to which we submit, or your own opinion? We have a feeling that it is your personal opinion. If you wish to be doing it for our sake, then, by Allāh, we don't see ourselves any worse than them. We shall not give them a single date except by purchase or as offered to guests." Following their opposition, the Prophet ﷺ terminated his peace discussions with Hārith Ghatafāni who was the leader of Banu Murrah.<sup>46</sup>

On the other side, the Jews of Banu Nadir tried to break off the Jews of Qurayzah from the Prophet ﷺ. They invited them to break the compact and join forces with the pagans. Huyaiy bin Akhtab was chosen for this mission. He went and met Ka'b bin Asad of the Banu Qurayzah. After a long discussion he was able to win him over on hopes that the Muslims were sure to be destroyed by the Confederate tribes. He also invited him to enter into his fort after the tribes had left completing their mission.<sup>47</sup>

That was a difficult day for the Muslims: the day Banu Qurayzah decided to break the alliance and join with the tribal forces against the Muslims. The danger was all the more great because they were right behind the Muslims and could strike them from the rear. Their dwellings were in 'Awāli, south-eastern part of Madinah in the valleys of Mahzur.<sup>48</sup>

Zubayr ؓ brought the worrisome news of their treachery to the Prophet ﷺ. It was on that day that the Prophet ﷺ said, "May my

<sup>46</sup> Reported by Bazzār and Tabarāni: both with a chain *Hasan*. See: *Kashful-Astār* (1/331-332) and *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/132). It is supported by other reports, but all weak, for e.g., Ibn Ishāq's narrative which is *Mu'allaq*; *Ibn Hishām* (3/310-311); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/73), *Mursal* and in brief; and Ibn Abu Shaybah in his *Al-Musannaf* (14/420) through his own chain up to Abu Ma'shar. Ibn Ishāq's narration says that Sa'd bin Mu'ādh received the letter and erased off its writing and said, "Let them fight us."

<sup>47</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (3/307-308), Musa bin 'Uqbah, quoted by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/400-401) which stops at his Shaykh Zuhri.

<sup>48</sup> See Hamawi's *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (5/234-235).

parents be sacrificed for you. Every Prophet has a *Hawāri* (Disciple), and my *Hawāri* is Zubayr."<sup>49</sup> However, in order to get the news confirmed, he sent Sa'd bin Mu'ādh, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah and Khawāt bin Jubayr to the Jews. They went up to the Banu Qurayzah and talked the issue with them. They found that they had decided to call off their treaty with the Prophet ﷺ. Only one of their families, Bani Sa'yah,<sup>50</sup> disagreed with them and decided to stand by the pact. The Prophet's messengers returned to confirm the news of treachery.

When the news spread, the Muslims felt concerned about their women and children.<sup>51</sup> But, with another enemy in front there was little they could do. The Qur'ān depicted their situation,

﴿إِذْ جَاءُوكُم مِّن فَوْقِكُمْ وَمِنْ أَسْفَلَ مِنكُمْ وَإِذْ زَاغَتِ الْأَبْصَارُ وَبَلَغَتِ الْقُلُوبُ الْحَنَاجِرَ وَتَظُنُّونَ بِاللَّهِ الظُّنُونًا ١٠﴾ هُنَالِكَ ابْتُلِيَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَزُلْزِلُوا زِلْزَالًا شَدِيدًا ﴿

"When they came on you from above you and from below you. When the eyes shifted (in fear) and hearts reached the throats, and you assumed about Allāh various assumptions. It was there that the believers were tried and shaken with a severe shaking."<sup>52</sup>

Those who had appeared from 'above them' were the

<sup>49</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/291/H. 4113), *Muslim* (4/1879/H. 2415) and others. Wāqidi has the details (1/457) where he mentioned that Zubayr saw them fixing up their fortresses, repairing roads and had gathered their cattle. This means Zubayr was able to convey the actual situation.

<sup>50</sup> The report concerning Banu Sa'yah is by Ibn Ishāq through a *Mu'allaq* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/329-330).

<sup>51</sup> A narration of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (3/308-309) as also Ibn 'Uqbah, *Munqati'* as in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/400-401). See also *Al-Wāqidi* (2/458-459) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/67).

<sup>52</sup> *Surat Al-Ahzab*: 10-11. Reported by Ibn Ishāq as a *Mu'allaq* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/339-340) and Tabari in his *Tafsir* (21/128-155) as *Disconnected (Mursal)* reports coming from some Followers. They are quite a few reports and therefore, in sum strengthen each other to rise to the level of *Hasan li Ghayrihi*.

Confederate tribes, those from 'below them' were the Banu Qurayzah, and those who 'assumed about Allāh various assumptions' were the hypocrites. As for the believers, they came out true from this trial doing everything within the range of possibility. Accordingly, they posted troops to scout the Madinan outskirts. Salamah bin Aslam of Aws led a party of two hundred men on horses, while Zayd bin Hārithah was commanding another three hundred. They went about in rounds, raising their voices with *Allāhu Akbar* to warn the Banu Qurayzah against any attempt at their women and children.<sup>53</sup>

To go back a little, when the Confederate tribes had arrived at Madinan borders, they were surprised to find a gaping trench before them. So they laid siege and encamped in the valleys. They made several attempts to cross but the Muslims showered them with arrows and held them back. The siege lasted some twenty-four days.<sup>54</sup>

According to Ibn Ishāq<sup>55</sup> and Ibn Sa'd,<sup>56</sup> some of them did manage to cross the trench. Ibn Ishāq gives us their names: 'Amr bin 'Abd Wadd, 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl, Hubayrah bin Abu Wahb, and

<sup>53</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/67) *Suspended (Mu'allaq)*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/460).

<sup>54</sup> A report of *Ibn Sa'd* (2/73) whose narrators are reliable but is a *Disconnected (Mursal)* report coming from Ibn Musaiyab whose *Mursal* reports are strong. This happens to be the strongest report so far as the period of besiege is concerned. Ibn Ishāq said: "Twenty and some nights nearly a month" — *Ibn Hishām* (3/310) through a *Mu'allaq* chain. Tabari reported in his *Tafsir* (21/128) through a *Mursal* report of Qatādah with a *Hasan* chain that the besiege continued for one month, while Musa bin 'Uqbah coming from Ibn Shihāb, as in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/401) says that the besiege lasted a little less than twenty nights. *Ibn Sa'd* (2/70) said that it was fifteen nights.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/311-313), a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>56</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/68) *Mu'allaq*. Tabari chronicled in his *Tārīkh* the duel between 'Ali and Ibn 'Abd Wadd as a *Mursal* report coming from Zuhri. And his *Mursal* reports are considered weak. He also reported through a *Mursal* report coming from 'Ikrimah, whose narrators are reliable. See the details of pagan efforts to cross the ditch and 'Ali's duel with Ibn 'Abd Wadd in *Al-Wāqidi* (2/464-473). It is a heroic story that strengthens the faith, a source of lessons for the young.

the poet Dirār bin Khattāb bin Mirdās. Ibn Sa'd added another name to the list, Nawfal bin 'Abdullah. It is reported that 'Ali fought a duel with 'Amr bin 'Abd Wudd and killed him, although 'Amr was a famous fighter. Zubayr killed Nawfal Makhzumi while the others fled back.

The pagans however kept the pressure on the Muslims shooting arrows at them to push them away from the trench. At one time, the shooting and attempts at crossing were so severe that the Muslims could not do their afternoon prayer in congregation. They did it after sunset.<sup>57</sup> This happened before the commandments concerning shortened prayers were revealed, which came down during the Riqā'<sup>58</sup> expedition. (That is, following the opinion of those who believe the Riqā' expedition was after Khandaq).

As a result of the various skirmishes, three pagans were killed while six Muslims<sup>59</sup> were martyred. One of them was Sa'd bin Mu'ādh. He was struck by an arrow in his forearm vein. It was shot by Hibbān bin 'Ariqah. After the armies had moved off, a tent was pitched in the yard of the mosque for Sa'd so that the Prophet ﷺ could visit him whenever he wished. He died after the affair of the Banu Qurayzah.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/291/ H. 4111-4112), see Ibn Hajar's commentary on the *Hadith*.

<sup>58</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/306/H. 4125).

<sup>59</sup> Being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi, both *Mu'allaq* and both mentioned the number and names of the tribes that took part — *Ibn Hishām* (3/349-350), and the *Maghāzi* of Wāqidi (2/495-496). *Ibn Sa'd* (2/70) named four of those mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi.

<sup>60</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/299/H. 4122). Bukhāri has recorded that Sa'd had prayed to Allāh that he be kept alive until a fight with the Quraysh, if there was any fight left in them, so that he could participate in it, and open up his wound if there were to be no more fights between them and Muslims meaning this battle and so his wound opened up and became the cause of his death. See also *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/301/H. 4122). Ibn Ishāq added that he prayed in words: "Do not deal me death until my eyes are cooled from Banu Qurayzah" — *Ibn Hishām* (3/316), a *Mu'allaq* report. See his virtues in *Al-Bukhāri*, *Muslim* and others. See also the *Hadith* as reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/82) whose chain was regarded *Hasan* by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/139).

He was nursed by Rufaydah of the Aslam tribe.<sup>61</sup>

During this and the Banu Qurayzah battle that followed, the password for the Muslims was: "Ha. Mim. They will not be helped."<sup>62</sup>

Finally, Allāh's help arrived in two forms: One, in the person of Nu'aym bin Mas'ud who played an important role in helping to disperse the pagans and second, a severe storm.

## 1 - Nu'aym bin Mas'ud's Role

Ibn Ishāq,<sup>63</sup> Wāqidi,<sup>64</sup> 'Abdur-Razzāq,<sup>65</sup> and Musa bin 'Uqbah<sup>66</sup> have reported that Nu'aym bin Mas'ud Ghatafāni came up to the Prophet ﷺ to declare his faith in Islam. He also offered any service that he required of him. The Prophet ﷺ replied, "You are one of us. But, for the moment, pretend to be an outsider. War is (the other name of) deceit."<sup>67</sup>

So, Mas'ud concealed his Islam and went up to Banu Qurayzah. He was able to convince them that they could not depend on the Quraysh without the latter offering them some men as ransom, otherwise it was feared that they will walk away without completing the mission, leaving them alone to face the

<sup>61</sup> A report of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (3/331).

<sup>62</sup> Ibn Ishāq reported it through a *Mu'allaq* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/314); Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/74/The Book of *Jihād*); Tirmidhi in his *Sunan* (3/115/The Book of *Jihād*) both of them through the same chain; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/289); and Hākim through different chains which he declared reliable but over which Dhahabi maintained his silence. The report becomes reliable because of the surrounding evidences as stated by the two verifiers of *Ibn Hishām* (3/315).

<sup>63</sup> Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (3/319-320).

<sup>64</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/480-483).

<sup>65</sup> *Al-Musannaf* (5/368-369) *Mursal* through Ibn Musaiyab whose reports of this nature are strong.

<sup>66</sup> One of his *Mursal* reports coming from Zuhri in Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il* (3/404-405) and Ibn Kathir in his *Tārikh* (4/127).

<sup>67</sup> "War is deceit," is a *Hadith* of the Messenger ﷺ, recorded in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/126/H. 3029-3030); *Muslim* (3/1361/H. 1739) and others.

situation. Then he went up to the Quraysh and told them that Banu Qurayzah were regretting over their role and that they have secretly planned with Muhammad ﷺ to deceitfully spirit away some of their and Ghatafān men. They would then slaughter them to prove their loyalty to Muhammad. "So, if the Jews send you the word that they need some men as ransom, don't send a single man," he said in conclusion. Then he went up to Ghatafān and told them the same thing. This way he was able to plant distrust in their hearts so that each began to look at the other as someone about to outsmart them.

## 2 - The Miracle of the Storm

One of those nights the winds picked up speed to assume the form of a typhoon. The night was dark and cold. It overturned the cooking pots of the pagans, blew off their fires and ripped apart their tents. Finally, Abu Sufyān had to call it a day.<sup>68</sup> This was certainly one of Allāh's forces that He let loose on the pagans. He said in the Qur'an,

﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَاءَتْكُمْ جُنُودٌ فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِيحًا وَجُنُودًا لَمْ تَرَوْهَا وَكَانَ اللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرًا﴾

"Believers, remember Allāh's favor to you when the confederate forces came to you, so We let loose upon them Our winds, and other forces that you didn't see. And, surely, Allāh is Aware of what you do."<sup>69</sup>

Muslim<sup>70</sup> has a report in the words of Hudhayfah bin Yamān who described one of the scenes: "I was with the Prophet ﷺ the night of the Confederates when the winds began to blow hard. The Prophet ﷺ said, 'Will someone bring me the news of the tribes and

<sup>68</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/71) as a *Mursal* report of Sa'eed bin Jubayr; *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqī (3/406) being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah, *Mursal*, with Zuhri at the end, whose *Mursal* reports are treated weak.

<sup>69</sup> *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 9.

<sup>70</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1414-1415/H. 1788).

be in my company on the Day of Judgement?' No one responded. He repeated it three times. Then he said, 'Hudhayfah, rise, and bring me their news.' So, there was no escape for me but to get up as he had named me. He said, 'Go to them and bring me their news and don't provoke them against me.' So, I started off. And, in a moment I felt as if I was in a hot bathroom. I went in among them. I found Abu Sufyān warming up his back with the fire. I placed an arrow in my bow and was about to shoot when I remembered his words, "and don't provoke them against me." Had I shot at him, surely, I could have killed him. So, I (gathered news and) returned. And, it was as if I was walking in a hot bathroom. I gave him the news about the people. When I was finished he gave me a cloak upon which he used to offer his prayers. I slept until the morning when I heard him saying, 'Rise, O sleeper.'"

Ibn Ishāq<sup>71</sup> has the following addition: "...I entered into the camp while the winds, Allāh's forces, were battering them. There was nothing that it didn't carry away in its run. Abu Sufyān stood up and said, 'People. Let everyone look carefully at the man next to him.' So I caught the man next to me and asked him, 'Who are you?' He replied, 'So-and-so, son of so-and-so.' Then Abu Sufyān began to speak. He said, 'People. By God, you aren't in a good situation. The provisions are lost and Banu Qurayzah have deceived us. We have received some news from them that doesn't please us. And now we are struck by these hard winds. Therefore, let us decamp and go. I am leaving.'"

Hākim<sup>72</sup> and Bazzār<sup>73</sup> have added to the above, "...I went into them and found Abu Sufyān with a group of people around him.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/322) with a *Mursal* chain that stops at Muhammad bin Ka'b Qurazi.

<sup>72</sup> *Al-Mustadrak* (3/31) which he declared trustworthy with Dhahabi's approval. The narrative of Hākim, Bazzār, Muslim, Abu Nu'aym and Bayhaqi support Ibn Ishāq's narrative. See Abu Nu'aym's *Dalā'il* (2/500-501) and Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/449-454) who quote through several sources.

<sup>73</sup> This is in Haythami's *Kashful-Astār* (2/335-336), who remarked in *Al-Majma'* (6/136): "Bazzār preserved it and its narrators are reliable."

The other tribes had broken off from him. It was as if Abu Sufyān felt suspicious when I entered into the company. So he said, 'Let each of you question the man next to him.' So I caught the neighbors on my right and left by their hands. Then I stayed for a while and returned to the Prophet ﷺ. I told him, 'O Messenger of Allāh. Several tribes have abandoned Abu Sufyān. He is left with a group of people warming themselves with the fire. Allāh sent upon them the cold that He sent upon us. But we hope for rewards that they do not hope.'"

Thus the tribulation of the Muslims ended and they were spared the evil consequences of a battle. Allāh (ﷻ) said, commenting upon the events,

﴿وَرَدَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِغَيْظِهِمْ لَمْ يَنَالُوا خَيْرًا وَكَفَى اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْفِتَالَ  
وَكَانَ اللَّهُ قَوِيًّا عَزِيمًا﴾

"And Allāh repelled the disbelievers in their rage, not having achieved anything worthwhile. And Allāh proved enough for the believers in (their) battle, and Allāh is Powerful, Mighty."<sup>74</sup>

The peaceful end was also in response to the Prophet's supplications during the siege. He used to say, "O Allāh, the Sender of the Book, Quick in reckoning, hand over defeat to the Confederates. O Allāh, give them defeat, and shake them."<sup>75</sup>

The raid was the best that the confederate tribes could do against the Muslims. But Allāh (ﷻ) returned them unsuccessful. This meant they wouldn't be able to do anything better in future. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Here onward, we shall strike at them, they will not strike at us."<sup>76</sup> We shall march upon them, they will not march upon us." The words proved his prophecy, and later events proved their veracity.

<sup>74</sup> *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 25.

<sup>75</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1363/H. 1742).

<sup>76</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/290/H. 4109, 4110), see Ibn Hajar for his commentary. Also reported by Ibn Ishāq, with a complete chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/352). Others have also recorded it. And, if we cite reports from Ibn Ishāq and others of the biographers alongside those of the trusted reports (in

**Lessons and Rules**

1. The digging of the trench was an expression of Muslims' obedience of the command: "And prepare yourselves so far as possible with power ..." It is incumbent upon the Muslims to use every means available and accept ideas that come from any source. For, the word of wisdom is the lost property of a Muslim. He picks it up wherever he finds it.
2. The Prophet ﷺ gave a good example of the equality of the rulers and the ruled, by participating in the digging of the trench and not opting out to rest. It also proved his absolute humbleness.
3. The Prophet ﷺ gave another example of his kindness upon the believers when he was called to dinner during the digging, when, instead of going away by himself, he took along a great number of people with him. The Qur'an said,

﴿لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنْفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُمْ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ﴾

"Surely, a Messenger has come to you from among yourself. Hard upon him is what pains you. He is concerned about you, and unto the believers he is kind and merciful."<sup>77</sup>

4. The series of miracles that Allāh bestowed on the Prophet ﷺ, whether they were during the digging, the increase in food at Jābir's place, or the storm that struck, destroying the pagan resolution, belonged to a chain of miracles with which Allāh (ﷻ) helped His Messenger ﷺ. They were to defeat the arguments and cure the skepticism of those who opposed him, whether they were hypocrites or pagans.

*Hadith works*) it is in order to impress that they are masters of the field, and what they narrate, with complete chains, or *Mursal*, or *Munqati'*, or *Mu'allaq*, or any other kind of the weak in *Hadith*, has its basis in an acceptable source.

<sup>77</sup> *At-Taubah*: 128.

5. The wisdom behind the Prophet's consultation of his Companions over the peace-treaty offered by the Ghatafān tribe was that he wished to ascertain his Companions' strength of faith and trust in Allāh (ﷻ). That was despite the fact that the Confederates had arrived on a sudden from all over the Arab world, while the Muslims had an untrustworthy ally in Banu Qurayzah prowling behind their lines.
6. The Prophet's consultation proves it that the Muslims are bound to consult with each other affairs that have not been covered by the governing laws of the Qur'an or *Hadith*. However, the peace offer of the Ghatafān and the Prophet's response does not prove the validity of the Muslim dealings of this kind, or to the validity of what they give away by agreement, to ward off their enemies, by relinquishing a piece of land, or goods or whatever. For, it is agreed that the *Sunnah* is either the Prophet's words or the deeds he accomplished, so long as Allāh (ﷻ) did not object to what he said or did.

In the consultations under discussion, there is no evidence to the fact that the Muslims are allowed to offer tribute to their enemies. If ever they are forced by the circumstance to give away a part of their wealth, they are required to wait for a chance to recover it.<sup>78</sup>

7. In the afternoon prayers that the Prophet ﷺ did after the sunset, because the pagans kept him and his Companions occupied, is the proof that missed prayers should be offered when time is available.

<sup>78</sup> See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 233-234, for juridical discussions.

## The Banu Qurayzah Affair

This expedition took place directly after the Ahzāb (Confederates) battle at the end of Dhul-Qa'dah and beginning of Dhul-Hijjah in the fifth year after *Hijrah*.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear from the preceding events that the prime reason for this expedition was the treachery of Banu Qurayzah, which was instigated by Huyaiy bin Akhtab<sup>2</sup> of the Banu Nadir. We have mentioned earlier that the Prophet ﷺ had sent Zubayr bin 'Awwām to investigate if the reports of their intentions were true. Not satisfied, he sent across the two Sa'ds and then Ibn Rawāhah to ascertain the facts.

Now, this treachery had come at a time when the Muslims were in a crucial situation. Accordingly, Allāh (ﷻ) ordered that they be fought against immediately after the Confederates had left.<sup>3</sup> Following that commandment, the Prophet ﷺ conveyed to his Companions that they were to march immediately towards the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/74) *Mu'allaq*. He mentioned that his departure was on Wednesday on the twenty-third of Dhul-Qa'dah. This is originally a narration of his Shaykh Wāqidi in the *Maghāzi* (2/496). As for Ibn Ishāq, he thought it was the fifth year not committing himself beyond this—*Ibn Hishām* (3/324) *Mu'allaq*.

<sup>2</sup> Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/368-373) being a *Mursal* report of Sa'eed bin Musaiyab. The narrative is worthy of serious considerations because of the supportive facts. Also reported by Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* by the same route (2/504-505).

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/293/H. 4117).

Banu Qurayzah forts. And, in order to expedite the issue he said, "Let not anyone offer his afternoon prayers but at (the forts of) Banu Qurayzah." This is in *Al-Bukhāri*.<sup>4</sup> According to *Muslim* it was noon prayers.

As the Companions were on their way to Banu Qurayzah fort, the time for afternoon prayer arrived. Some of them suggested that they offer their prayers then and there, while others maintained that since the Prophet ﷺ had told them to do it at Banu Qurayzah, they should do it there alone.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, some offered their prayers on the way, while others did not. When it was brought to the Prophet's notice, he reproached none of the two groups.<sup>6</sup>

Ibn Hajar<sup>7</sup> said, "...Some scholars have tried to reconcile the two reports: that of *Al-Bukhāri* and that of *Muslim*. It is possible that before the orders were received to march out, some had offered their noon prayers, while others had not. So, those who had not offered their noon prayers were told not to do their noon prayers. As for those who had offered their noon prayers, they were told not to offer their afternoon prayers. Other scholars have said that the possibility is that they went in batches. So, the batch that went early was told not to offer their noon prayers, while the batch that followed was told not to offer their afternoon prayers. Both the explanations are tenable."

When the Prophet ﷺ arrived at Banu Qurayzah, he had three thousand fighters with him and thirty-six horsemen.<sup>8</sup> He laid siege to their forts sealing them in for fifteen days.<sup>9</sup> As the siege began to bite, they began to weaken. Finally, they gave up and agreed to surrender to the Prophet's judgement. When they consulted their

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/294/H. 4119).

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Bukhāri* and *Sahih Muslim* (3/1391/H. 1770).

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/326).

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Fath* (15/294/The Book of *Maghāzi*).

<sup>8</sup> See *Ibn Sa'd* (3/74) *Mu'allaq*, and as is known, a *Suspended* report (*Mu'allaq*) is of the weak class.

<sup>9</sup> A narrative of Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/81-83) with transmitters worth depending upon. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* that the chain of this *Hadith* is Perfect (*Jaiyid*). Tabari also mentioned it in his *Tārikh*

ally Abu Lubābah bin 'Abdul-Mundhir about the treatment they might get, he pointed to his necks meaning death for them. However, he regretted having done that and, in repentance, tied himself to a pillar in the Prophet's mosque until his repentance was accepted.<sup>10</sup>

When they came down surrendering to the Prophet's judgement, he decided that he would rather let one of the chiefs of Aws judge them, since Banu Qurayzah had been allies of the Aws. He chose Sa'd bin Mu'adh for this purpose. When he arrived, the Prophet ﷺ said to his Companions, "Rise up for your chief." Then he said, "These people are willing to come down surrendering themselves to your judgement." Sa'd judged that their men capable of fight be killed and their wives and children be enslaved. The Prophet ﷺ said, "You have judged by the judgement of Allāh."<sup>11</sup>

The judgement was implemented to the word. They were, according to the majority opinion, four hundred in number.<sup>12</sup> None

(2/583) with some of its parts in authentic works with a *Hasan* chain, stating that the period was between one month and twenty-five days—with uncertainty. Ibn Ishāq has it as twenty-five days—*Ibn Hishām* (2/74), *Mu'allaq*. This is what the biographers have accepted. Ibn Sa'd, *Mu'allaq*, has it that it was fifteen days. Ibn 'Uqbah said ten and a few days as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/30/The Book of *Maghāzi*).

<sup>10</sup> Being a narration of Ahmad in his *Musnad* through a *Hasan* chain: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/81-83).

<sup>11</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/298/H. 4101) and *Sahih Muslim* (3/1389/H. 1768).

<sup>12</sup> A narration of Ahmad in his *Musnad* through a *Hasan* chain (3/350); as also as a narrative of Jābir in *At-Tirmidhi*, *An-Nasa'i* and *Ibn Hibbān*, all reporting through a reliable chain. Ibn Hajar mentioned this in *Al-Fath* (15/301). However, they differed in their number. Ibn Ishāq said they were six or seven hundred. The largest quoted numbers were between eight and nine hundred—*Ibn Hishām* (3/333) in a *Mu'allaq* report. Ibn 'Ā'idh has it, on the authority of a *Mursal* report of Qatādah that they were seven hundred. Ibn Hajar stated this in *Al-Fath* (15/301). But according to *Ibn Sa'd* (2/75) they were between six and seven hundred. Wāqidi has three reports: (a) six hundred, (b) between six and seven hundred, and (c) seven hundred and fifty—*Maghāzi* (2/517-518). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/301), "By way of reconciliation it might be said that (over a certain minimum) the rest were followers."

escaped but three,<sup>13</sup> for they embraced Islam. They also got back their property.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that two others also escaped by the intercession of some of the Companions. It could be that they had disagreed with their people and wished to remain true to the treaty.<sup>15</sup> One or two others also escaped. Ibn Ishāq<sup>16</sup> and others<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/202/H. 4028); *Muslim* (3/1388/H. 1766); Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/140-141) and Abu 'Awānah in his *Musnad* (4/163).

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Ishāq through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/333). In the first report there is the unknowableness of the Shaykh of Banu Qurayzah. Its chain is strong but *Mursal*. In the second report *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (1/272 & 329), and it appears that its chain strengthens by other evidences. It has its support in the narratives of Bukhārī, Muslim, Abu Dāwud and Abu 'Awānah, which say that none of them escaped except for a few. This few is explained by this report of Ibn Ishāq. They were: Tha'labah bin Sa'yah, Usayd bin Sa'yah and Asad bin 'Ubayd as mentioned by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/329). Ibn Hajar mentioned them in *Al-Isābah* (1/33), as did Ibn 'Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (1/79).

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Ishāq mentioned this *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/330): of them was 'Amr bin Sa'di who passed by the guards of the Prophet ﷺ with Muhammad bin Maslamah as in charge. But he let him go unhurt because he did not rebel against the Prophet ﷺ. Abu 'Ubayd also mentioned him in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 146, through a weak chain, for it is of the *Mursal* reports of Zuhri. Ibn Ishāq mentioned through a chain that appears to be of the *Hasan* status—*Ibn Hishām* ((3/337-338), as traced by Sindi, p. 379. He mentioned that Salma bint Qays an aunt of the Prophet ﷺ requested him to gift her Rifā'ah bin Samwāl Qurazi, and he obliged her. Wāqidi mentioned this (2/514-515). Rifā'ah enjoyed the Prophet's companionship and narrated *Ahādith* as in *Al-Isābah* (1/518); *Al-Isti'āb* (1/504) and *Durar*, p. 193.

<sup>16</sup> Through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/335-336) in which Ibn Ishāq did not mention whom he heard from; *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Bayhaqi (4/22) being a report of Ibn Ishāq coming from Zuhri, *Mursal*. He named him as one he heard from (4/20-21) being a report of Musa bin 'Uqbah from Zuhri, *Mursal*; Tabarani in *Al-Awsat* with a weak chain for in it falls Musa bin 'Ubaydah—*Al-Majma'* (6/142); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/518-520). Ibn 'Abdul-Barr was very sure of it. He also mentioned that 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Zubayr enjoyed the Prophet's companionship. See: *Al-Isti'āb* (2/419); *Durar*, p. 193. These weak reports prove that the story of Thābit bin Qays with Zubayr bin Bāta has an origin. At least it can be deduced that Thābit bin Qays did a good turn to Zubayr, for Zubayr had an obligation on Thābit from the pre-Islamic days.

<sup>17</sup> For example Abu 'Ubayd: *Al-Amwāl*, p. 146, through a weak chain for it is

give us to understand that the Prophet ﷺ gifted Zubayr bin Bāta of the Banu Qurayzah to Thābit bin Qays bin Shammās. Another was 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Zubayr, who embraced Islam.

The families were gathered in the quarters of the daughter of Hārith Najjāriyah<sup>18</sup> and Usāmah bin Zayd.<sup>19</sup> As for men, pits were dug and they were taken there, group after group, to be beheaded.<sup>20</sup> A single woman was also killed.<sup>21</sup> It was in retaliation of the death of Khallād bin Suwayd over whom she had dropped a millstone killing him.<sup>22</sup> As for those who hadn't reached maturity, they were spared.<sup>23</sup> Thereafter, their women and

one of the *Mursal* reports of Zuhri.

<sup>18</sup> A narration of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/333) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/512).

<sup>19</sup> A narration of 'Urwah in the *Maghāzi*, p. 187, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/512-518). Wāqidi elaborates that the prisoners were taken to the house of Usāmah bin Zayd, while the women and children were taken to Ramlah bint Hārith. As for 'Urwah, he states that the Prophet ﷺ ordered that their arms be placed in a house. Maybe it was the house of Hārith's daughter. Ibn 'Ā'idh's report states that the arms were placed in two houses—*Ibn Hajar: Al-Fath* (16/30). This clarifies the reports of Wāqidi and Ibn 'Ā'idh that they were held in two houses and, therefore, there is no meaning in Ibn Hajar's efforts in *Al-Fath* (16/30) trying to reconcile the reports for some have come explaining the others.

<sup>20</sup> A narration of Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/310); Albāni: *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (3/118/H. 3544) where he said, "*Sahih*," and others also. The report is no less than of status *Hasan li Dhātihi* as mentioned by Sindi, pp. 288-289.

<sup>21</sup> Being a report of Ahmad in his *Musnad* (6/277), and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/123/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2671) with a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain. He mentions that the reason was she doing something. The commentator said that it was because she insulted the Prophet ﷺ; Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/334) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/516). Her name was Nabātah while in Ibn Ishāq it is Bathāthah.

<sup>22</sup> A narrative of Ahmad in his *Musnad* (6/277); and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/50/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2671); Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/35-36) which he declared reliable and over which Dhahabi was silent; *Ibn Hishām, Mu'allaq*, (3/335). The report is no less than *Hasan li Dhātihi* as asserted by Sindi p. 289. Khallād was the only one who fell martyr in the battle of the Banu Qurayzah as the report makes clear.

<sup>23</sup> Reported by Ibn Dāwud in his *Sunan* (4/561); Tirmidhi as in *Sahih Sunan*



children were divided among the Muslims.<sup>24</sup>

Ibn Ishāq and others<sup>25</sup> have mentioned that the Prophet ﷺ sent Sa'd bin Zayd Ansāri to Najd along with a few of these new slaves to sell them there and buy horses and arms.

Wāqidi has stated two other opinions in his *Al-Maghāzi*<sup>26</sup> about the slaves: 1) The Prophet ﷺ sent Sa'd bin 'Ubādah to Shām to sell the prisoners there and purchase in return, arms and horses; and 2) 'Uthmān bin 'Affān and 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf purchased all of the prisoners. Now, as it can be seen, it is possible to reconcile these three reports since all of them could have happened.

The Prophet ﷺ retained Rayhānah, the daughter of 'Amr bin Khunāfah, for himself. She became a Muslim. But she remained a slave by choice until the Prophet ﷺ died.<sup>27</sup>

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*At-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (2/114/H. 1649) who termed it reliable; *Ibn Mājah* (H. 541) as mentioned by Albāni in his work on *Tirmidhi*; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/3101) and (5/311-312); Ibn Ishāq with a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/337), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/76-77) through an authentic line, which happens to be the same route as that of Ibn Ishāq, while others have also recorded it. The report then is no less than *Hasan li Dhātihi*. See Sindi, p. 287 and 289.

<sup>24</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/202/H. 4028), and *Muslim* (3/1388/H. 1766). It is in this regard that Allāh Glorified is He, said: "And He caused you to inherit their lands, their houses, and a land which you had not trodden. And Allāh is able to do all things." *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 27.

<sup>25</sup> Shāmi mentioned this in his *Sirat* (5/29); Ibn 'Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (2/47), as a *Mu'allaq* report; Wāqidi also mentioned this *Hadith* (2/523).

<sup>26</sup> (2/523) and see: *As-Siratush-Shāmiyyah* (5/290) and *As-Siratul-Halabiyyah* (2/674-75).

<sup>27</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq as a *Mursal* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/339) but gains strength from others on the same line, for *Ibn Sa'd* (8/131) recorded it through a chain good enough except for Wāqidi. He considered her one of the wives of the Prophet ﷺ; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/520-521); Tabari in his *Tārīkh* (2/592); 'Abdul-Barr also counted her as one of the wives of the Prophet ﷺ in *Al-Isti'āb* (4/309) footnote; as did Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (4/309).

### Lessons and Rules

1. The permissibility of killing someone who breaks a treaty treacherously. In fact, every nation has been doing that with those who act treacherously towards it, until our own times.
2. The legality of arbitration among the Muslims, following Sa'd bin Mu'adh's choice as the arbitrator.
3. Legality of working out the by-laws in the light of textual commandments and avoiding criticism when a disagreement occurs. The Companions differed among themselves in their understanding of the Prophetic words, "Let not anyone offer his afternoon (or noon) prayers, but in Banu Qurayzah." However, the Prophet ﷺ did not blame either of them as having done something wrong.
4. Nawawi<sup>28</sup> has stated that the great majority of scholars are of the opinion that it is allowed to rise up to receive an important person. This is derived from the Prophet's words, "Rise up for your chief." Others have maintained that it is only desirable and that this is not that prohibition which was for someone who sat while others stood around him so long as he was sitting. Nawawi is with the opinion of the majority of scholars. He adds, "To rise up for a man of honor is not prohibited. There are trustworthy reports about this, and none of the prohibitory reports are trustworthy.
5. Dr. Buti<sup>29</sup> wrote: "You might know that the above does not contradict the Prophet's words, 'Whoever wished that people should rise up when he enters, may seek his abode in the Fire.' For, the desirability of honoring respectable personalities does not allow them to covet such a thing for themselves, or that they should approve of it. Rather, it is the sign of the pious that they should be humble towards their brothers...

<sup>28</sup> See his commentary on *Sahih Muslim* (12/93).

<sup>29</sup> See *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 240-241.

"The important thing to remember is that honoring people has its own limits that, when crossed, become unlawful; it causes a sin upon everyone who perpetrates or remains silent. You will see for instance, that some of the so-called Sufis have their followers standing around them in humbleness while they are seated. Or, you might see some people bowing themselves over the Shaykh's knee or hand, when he arrives before them. Or the deference they show to the Shaykh as they enter into his assembly, ... Islam has explained in detail the manners in which the Muslims should greet and treat each other and has warned against crossing the limits. And, there aren't any other manners better than those taught by the Prophet ﷺ."

## Events between Banu Qurayzah and Hudaybiyah Expeditions

### 'Abdullah bin 'Atik's Expedition

We have noted earlier that Abu Rāfi' was one of those who coaxed the tribes to raid Madinah.<sup>1</sup> He also helped the Prophet's enemies,<sup>2</sup> such as to Banu Ghatafān, with huge sums of money.<sup>3</sup>

On the other hand, Banu Khazraj wanted to kill Abu Rāfi' in order to be quits with Aws who had killed Ka'b bin Ashraf. The two tribes had always vied with each other in their efforts to offer a service and please the Prophet ﷺ. So, the Khazraj people sought the Prophet's permission after the Qurayzah expedition to do away with Abu Rāfi'. The Prophet ﷺ allowed them but ordered them not to harm women and children.<sup>4</sup>

So, five of the Khazraj *Ansār* went out to the fort of Abu Rāfi' in Hijāz. The Prophet ﷺ had placed 'Abdullah bin 'Atik their head. By the time they arrived at the fort, the sun had gone down and the people had begun to withdraw along with their cattle. 'Abdullah

<sup>1</sup> See it in its place in this book.

<sup>2</sup> See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/214/H. 4039).

<sup>3</sup> Narrated by Ibn 'Ā'idh through Abul-Aswad and 'Urwah as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/216).

<sup>4</sup> This part is from the narration of Ibn Ishāq via a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain stopping at 'Abdullah bin Ka'b—*Ibn Hishām* (3/380).

told his men to wait in the fields while he tried to secretly enter through the gate. He went up to the gate when the last man was just entering. However, upon reaching the gate he moved aside and began to lift his clothes as if he wished to urinate. The guard cried out, "Man. If you wish to come in, do it now. I'm gonna lock it up." So, he entered and concealed himself inside. The guard locked the door and hung the keys on a peg. At an opportune time 'Abdullah went back and unlocked the gate. Then he began to open the doors of the inner quarters that led to Abu Rāfi'. Everytime he entered through a door, he locked it behind him until he reached Abu Rāfi's quarters. He was seated among his family folks in a dark house. He couldn't make out who was who. So he called out, "O Abu Rāfi!" Abu Rāfi' answered, "Who's that?" 'Abdullah slashed his sword in the direction of the voice. But it didn't strike at anything. So he changed his voice and called out again. Finally, he was able to locate him properly and managed to kill him without hurting his wife or children.

Then he began to retreat. But he was weak of eyesight and so fell from a staircase and broke his leg. He tied it up with his headcloth and managed to reach the others waiting outside. When they returned to the Prophet ﷺ and he saw them, he remarked, "These faces have succeeded." They told him the whole story. He asked 'Abdullah to stretch his leg and passed his hand over it. It became whole again as if he was never hurt.<sup>5</sup>

Biographers have differed between themselves over the date of this expedition. Wāqidi<sup>6</sup> has said that they left on a Monday, when four days were left of Dhul-Hijjah, forty-six months after *Hijrah*. Their expedition took ten days. Ibn Sa'd<sup>7</sup> has it however that it took place in Ramadān of the sixth year after *Hijrah*. Tabari writes that it was in the middle of Jumāda Ath-Thānīyah, the third year of *Hijrah*. Other opinions are that it took place in the fifth year; that it took place in the fourth year; that it took place in Rajab of the third year.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> A report of *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/215-219/H. 4039).

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (1/391).

<sup>7</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/91), Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/214), and the report of this expedition was

However, the most likely date is after the Banu Qurayzah expedition, for Abu Rāfi' had played a significant role in the attack on Madinah by the confederate tribes. And the Prophet ﷺ was through with the affairs of Banu Qurayzah by the middle of Dhul-Qa'dah. In any case, so far as my knowledge goes, no trustworthy *Hadith* collection mentions the date.

### Muhammad bin Maslamah's Expedition to Qurta'

The Prophet ﷺ sent Muhammad bin Maslamah along with thirty riders to attack the Qurta' clan which belonged to the Banu Bakr bin Kilāb tribe. This was on the tenth of Muharram in the sixth year after *Hijrah*, fifty-nine months after *Hijrah*.<sup>9</sup> They traveled towards them in secrecy, concealing themselves during the day and traveling at night. Arriving on a sudden, and surprising them, they were able to kill ten of them while the rest fled leaving their cattle behind as booty.

While on their return journey, they met with Thumāmah bin Uthāl Hanafi, the chief of the Hanifah tribe. They captured him without knowing who he was and when they arrived at Madinah, bound him by one of the posts of the mosque. When the Prophet ﷺ came in he asked, "What have you?" He replied, "If you kill me, you will kill a man who killed others, but if you spare me, you will find me a grateful man. However, if you are looking for wealth, ask, and you will be given." The Prophet ﷺ left him there. The next day he asked him the same question and he replied in the same manner.

mentioned by Ibn Ishāq taking it from a narrative of Zuhri, coming through 'Abdullah bin Ka'b—*Ibn Hishām* (3/380); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/91-92); Bayhaqi in his *Sunan* (9/80-81); Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/407-410), and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/391-395). See their additional points over the report of Bukhāri.

<sup>9</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/534) who believes that it took place fifty-five months after *Hijrah*; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/78) *Mu'allaq*, who thought it was after fifty-nine months. For, Ibn Kathir saw in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/168), the story of Thumāmah in the report of Abu Hurayrah ﷺ as happening after Khayber. See Dhahabi's *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 351, where the additions lend the understanding that Abu Hurayrah was there at Khayber.

The Prophet ﷺ ordered that the man be released. Thumāmah went into an orchard, bathed himself and came back to the mosque to embrace Islam. He confessed that from that day the Prophet's face was the dearest to him in the world, that his religion was the dearest to him, and that his town was dearest to him than any other, although, earlier, all these things were the most hateful to him in the world. He also said that he was in fact heading for Makkah to perform 'Umrah when he was captured. The Prophet ﷺ allowed him to proceed. When he reached Makkah someone asked, "Have you adopted the new religion, Thumāmah?" He answered, "Rather, I have submitted." He also swore that not a single grain will come to them from Yamāmah without the Prophet's permission.<sup>10</sup> So they wrote to the Prophet ﷺ, adjuring him by kinship that he should write to Thumāmah to let the food articles get through. The Prophet ﷺ allowed it.<sup>11</sup>

#### Notes on Thumāmah's Story

Ibn Hajar<sup>12</sup> has said, "There are several things to be learned from Thumāmah's story:

- (1) A disbeliever can be tied up in a mosque.
- (2) To be good to a captured disbeliever.
- (3) The effect of forgiveness. Thumāmah swore that his hatred had

<sup>10</sup> A narration of *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/210-211/H. 4372); *Muslim* (3/1386/H. 1764); *Ahmad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/88-90); *Abu Dāwud* (3/129/The Book of *Jihād/H. 1764*); *Ibn Shabbah in Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/433-439) through the same transmission chain as in *Al-Bukhāri*, and in same words; *Ibn Ishāq* reaching the last narrator — *Ibn Hishām* (3/380-381). *Ibn Shabbah* added through his *Shaykh Fulayh bin Muhammad* and *Ibn Ishāq* that when he was in imprisonment, they gathered together what the households of the Prophet ﷺ could afford, but he did not eat much. They were surprised and the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "A disbeliever eats into seven intestines while a believer eats into one intestine."

<sup>11</sup> Being of the additions of *Ibn Hishām* on *Ibn Ishāq's Sirat* (2/381), a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>12</sup> *Al-Fath* (16/212/The Book of *Maghāzi/H. 4372*).

turned into love, moments after the Prophet ﷺ forgave him.

- (4) A bath before embracing Islam.
- (5) When a disbeliever starts on a good deed, but on the way to doing it he embraces Islam, he should proceed with it.
- (6) Kindness towards those of the captured whose Islam is hoped for, especially when it is expected that many people influenced by him will follow his precedence.
- (7) Legality of sending sorties into the enemy lands, capturing whomsoever possible and then either killing him or letting him off.

#### Banu Lihyān Expedition

Banu Lihyān was the tribe that had acted treacherously towards Khubayb and others. So far, if the Prophet ﷺ had spared them it was because their territory was close to Makkah. On the other side of their territory, they were protected by other tribes. But, after the failed Trench expedition, when the Prophet ﷺ felt weakness in his enemies, he came out with 200 of his followers. That was in Rabi'ul-Awwal, or Jumāda Al-Ula of the sixth year after *Hijrah*.<sup>13</sup> Initially he marched towards the north to mislead his enemies, as if he was going to Shām. Then he suddenly changed direction and quickly arrived at the Ghurān area, a valley between Amaja and 'Usfān, exactly where his Companions had been struck earlier. He supplicated for them there. Meanwhile, the Banu Lihyān heard of him and fled to the mountain tops. He couldn't capture a single

<sup>13</sup> This is in *Ibn Sa'd* (2/79) reporting his master 'Āsim bin 'Umar and 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr, he from 'Abdullah bin Ka'b, and is therefore weak because of failure to mention the name and because of cropping off the first narrator. *Ibn Sa'd's* report clearly mentions that he came out in Jumāda Al-Ula, six months after the Banu Qurayzah campaign — *Ibn Hishām* (3/387). *Al-Wāqidi* (2/535) maintained that the Prophet ﷺ left Madinah at the beginning of Rabi'ul-Awwal in the sixth year after *Hijrah*. This has a Suspended chain.

soul. So he moved on to 'Usfān and sent two horsemen<sup>14</sup> to the Kura' Al-Ghamim<sup>15</sup> so that the Quraysh may hear about his movements and be in fear.<sup>16</sup>

At 'Usfān a group of pagans met him. They were led by Khālid bin Walid. When he did his noon prayer there,<sup>17</sup> the pagans said to themselves that they could have as well attacked them when they were in prayer. Somebody told them that they are likely to pray again soon. It is dearer to them than their wives and children. But Jibril came down with these Verses,

﴿وَإِذَا كُنْتَ فِيهِمْ فَأَقَمْتَ لَهُمُ الصَّلَاةَ فَلَنْتُمْ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْهُمْ مَعَكَ  
وَلْيَأْخُذُوا أَسْلِحَتَهُمْ فَإِذَا سَجَدُوا فَلْيَكُونُوا مِنْ وَرَائِكُمْ وَلْتَأْتِ طَائِفَةٌ  
أُخْرَى لَمْ يُصَلُّوا فَلْيُصَلُّوا مَعَكَ وَلْيَأْخُذُوا حِذْرَهُمْ وَأَسْلِحَتَهُمْ وَذَ الَّذِينَ  
كَفَرُوا لَوْ تَغْفُلُونَ عَنْ أَسْلِحَتِكُمْ وَأَمْتِعَتِكُمْ فَيَمِيلُونَ عَلَيْكُمْ مَيْلَةً وَاحِدَةً وَلَا  
جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِنْ كَانَ بِكُمْ أَذًى مِنْ مَطَرٍ أَوْ كُنْتُمْ مَرْضَى أَنْ تَضَعُوا  
أَسْلِحَتَكُمْ وَخُذُوا حِذْرَكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَعَدَّ لِلْكَافِرِينَ عَذَابًا مُهِينًا﴾

"And if you are with them and stand up for prayers, and if you (O Prophet) happen to be among them and conduct the prayer, then, let a group of them join up with you, wearing their weapons on them. When they have completed a cycle (Raka'ah), let them withdraw to your rear while the other group that hasn't prayed join up and pray with you, observing every precaution and wearing their weapons on them. The disbelievers wish that if you neglect your weapons and equipment, they launch upon you a single massive attack. However, there is no sin upon you if you are inconvenienced by rains, or because you are sick, that you lay aside your weapons (while praying). Nevertheless, take your precautions. Allāh has

<sup>14</sup> A narration of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/388), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/79), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/536) that they were ten.

<sup>15</sup> A place eight miles south of 'Usfān near Makkah.

<sup>16</sup> A narration of Wāqidi. From here onward the details about this campaign has been reported by Ibn Ishāq through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/387-389), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/78-80) and in brief and through another chain, *Al-Wāqidi* (2/535-537).

<sup>17</sup> It was 'Asr prayer.

prepared for the disbelievers a humiliating chastisement."<sup>18, 19</sup>

It is said that this was the first prayer in the situation of fear (*Salātul-Khawf*) that the Prophet ﷺ offered.<sup>20</sup> The scholars have explained in detail how this prayer is to be offered and when.<sup>21</sup>

#### Notes:

1. Legality of shortening the prayers in situations of fear.
2. Legality of retaliation and killing those who act treacherously.
3. Legality of concealing intentions from the enemy.
4. Legality of driving fear into the enemy by raiding his territory.<sup>22</sup>

#### 'Ukkāshah bin Mihsan's Expedition to Ghamr

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Ukkāshah bin Mihsan at the head of forty men to Ghamr<sup>23</sup> in Rabi'ul-Awwal or Rabi'uth-Thāni, of the sixth year AH. They marched at a very fast pace and were able to frighten off their enemies, who fled. 'Ukkāshah pitched his camp at their

<sup>18</sup> *Surat An-Nisa'*: 102.

<sup>19</sup> A report in Ahmad's *Musnad* (4/59-60) through two routes, meeting with the conditions of the *Shaykhayn* as said Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/93). Shaykh Shākir declared it reliable in his verification of *Tafsir* of Tabari (9/131-132). The *Hadith* has been traced by others by other routes. See his footnotes, pp. 132-133.

<sup>20</sup> *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/94).

<sup>21</sup> See this in the commentary on these two Verses (101, 102) in *At-Tabari* (9/127-162/Shākir) and in *Al-Bidāyah* of Ibn Kathir (4/93-94) and his *Tafsir* (2/350-356). Hukami prefers in *Marwiyyātul-Hudaybiyah*, pp. 115-132, that the first prayer in fear that the Prophet ﷺ offered was in 'Usfān in Hudaybiyah. The element of doubt is because of the similarity of the Banu Lihyān campaign and that of Hudaybiyah and that the report about the prayers in 'Usfān was not connected with Hudaybiyah. We shall more have to say on this later, Allāh willing.

<sup>22</sup> See: *Hadhal-Habib Muhammad* ﷺ *Ya Muhibb*, p. 326.

<sup>23</sup> One of the waters of Banu Asad.

waters but couldn't lay his hands on their cattle. He sent across scouts who found someone who knew where they had concealed some of their cattle. They drove them to Madinah.<sup>24</sup>

### Muhammad bin Maslamah's Expedition to Dhul-Qassah<sup>25</sup>

In the Rabi'uth-Thāni of the same year, the Prophet ﷺ sent Ibn Maslamah along with ten Companions towards Banu Tha'labah and 'Uwāl of the Tha'labah. Those people hid themselves until the Muslims went to sleep and then attacked them and killed everyone of them except Muahmmad bin Maslamah, for he fell injured, and they thought he was dead. Someone passed by the Muslims and uttered aloud, "To Allāh we belong and to Him we shall return." When Ibn Maslamah heard that he made some movement. The man was a Muslim. He fed and watered him and then carried him to Madinah. So the Prophet ﷺ sent Abu 'Ubaydah bin Jarrah at the head of forty men to the same place. But they did not find anyone except for some cattle which they captured and brought to Madinah.<sup>26</sup>

### Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Banu Sulaym in Jamum

The Prophet ﷺ sent Zayd bin Hārith in Rabi'uth-Thāni of the year 6 AH towards Jamum, a place somewhere on the left side of Batn Nakhl. They captured a woman called Halimah. She gave them information about their dwellings in the area inhabited by Banu Sulaym. They were able to capture some men as well as cattle from that area. One of the captured was the husband of Halimah of the Muzani tribe (who had guided them). When Zayd returned with his booty, the Prophet ﷺ gifted the woman to her husband and freed them both.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/85) without a chain—*Tārikh Khalifah bin Khayyāt*, p. 85.

<sup>25</sup> A place twenty-four miles away from Madinah on the way to Rabadhah.

<sup>26</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/551); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/85); *At-Tabari* (22/461) in his *Tārikh* taking it from *Al-Wāqidi* (2/461) who stated that it was in Rabi'ul-Awwal, but maybe Tabari committed an error in lifting the report from Wāqidi.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/86), without a chain.

### Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to 'Eis<sup>28</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Jumāda Al-Ula of the sixth year after *Hijrah* along with seventy riders to intercept a Quraysh caravan that was said to be returning from Shām. They were able to overpower them and capture their men and their belongings. A huge amount of silver belonging to Safwān bin Umayyah was seized. One of those who were captured was Abul-'Ās bin Rabi'. They were all brought to Madinah. Abul-'Ās sought the protection and guarantee of his wife Zaynab ؓ, the Prophet's daughter, which she granted. The Prophet ﷺ accepted her protection-promise and returned him his belongings.<sup>29</sup> Abul-'Ās went back to Makkah, returned to everyone the things he was entrusted with, pronounced the testimony and addressed the pagans in words, "Nothing prevented me from staying back in Madinah except that I feared you will say I embraced Islam to rob you of your money." Then he returned to Madinah and the Prophet ﷺ allowed his daughter Zaynab to remain in his marriage, without conducting a new one.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> A place at four days of journey from Madinah.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/87) *Mu'allaq*, and *Ibn Ishāq—Ibn Hishām* (2/365-368) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/553-554) added the news of Abul-'Ās embracing Islam and the Prophet ﷺ restoring him back his wife. The case of protection has been recorded by *Ibn Ishāq* without a chain. He reported the story of the return of his wealth through a *Munqati'* chain. Yet he reported the story of Zaynab being given to him on the basis of the pre-Islamic marriage through a *Muttasil* chain in which he mentioned whom he heard from. Nevertheless, in the chain falls Dāwud bin Husayn whose credentials have been questioned, as in *Tahdhib* (3/681). Of those who wrote about the marriage with the same transmission chain as *Ibn Ishāq*: *Tirmidhi* (2/305) who said, "This is a report of whose chain there is nothing wrong." The report was reported through chains different from that of *Ibn Ishāq* by Sa'eed bin Mansur in his *Sunan* (2/73) as a *Mursal* one from Sha'bi. Perhaps *Ibn Ishāq's* own report gets stronger because of this one for Sha'bi's *Mursal* reports were acceptable to some of the major *Hadith* scholars. See *Abu Dāwud's* book *Marāsil*, verified by 'Abdul-'Aziz Sirwān, p. 44. *Ibn Kathir* expressed his opinion in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/201) that the Islam of Abul-'Ās was in the eighth year after *Hijrah* that is, the year of the fall of Makkah and not as *Wāqidi* maintained in the sixth year

<sup>30</sup> *Ibn Ishāq* with a *Muttasil* chain in which falls *Ibn Husayn—Ibn Hishām* (3/368).

Suhayli has said in *Rawdul-Unf* (3/69), "Dāwud bin Husayn has reported through 'Ikrimah and he through Ibn 'Abbās ؓ that the Prophet ﷺ allowed Zaynab ؓ to live with Abul-'Ās without a fresh marriage after the lapse of six years. However, what 'Amr bin Shu'ayb reports contradicts this. He reports through his father and he through his father that the Prophet ﷺ conducted a new marriage. And, this *Hadith* is used as the guiding principle although Dāwud bin Husayn's report is stronger in the chain of narration. But, none of the scholars have, in my knowledge ruled in this way. For, Islam had enforced the dissolution of marriage. Allāh (ﷻ) said, 'Neither are those (pagan women) lawful for those (Muslim men), nor are those (pagan men) lawful for those (Muslim women).' Trying to reconcile the two reports, Ibn 'Abbās has said that the meaning is that the Prophet ﷺ gave her back to him on the same conditions of marriage as the older one, meaning, conducting a new marriage on old conditions of dower, etc., without any addition. Hafiz Mughalta'i bin Qalij has said in his book *A Few Events of the Prophet's Life and the History of his Successors*, (ed. Nizamuddin Futayyih, first print, Dar al-Qalam, Shām and Dar al-Shamiyyah, Beirut, 1416/1966, vol. 1, p. 96), 'The Prophet gave Zaynab back to him under the older marriage, after two years. Some say after six years. Another opinion says it was after the lapse of the waiting period, as said Ibn 'Uqbah.' The editor - Futayyih - said, 'The Tradition collectors have a variety of reports on this issue.'"

#### A Rule

With the precedence of Zaynab ؓ and Ibn Rabi' before them, the scholars have judged that if a Muslim woman migrates in the way of Allāh (ﷻ) from the country of the disbelievers, to a Muslim country, while her husband stays back, being a disbeliever, then, she will be returned to the husband if he too embraces Islam and migrates to the Muslim land before the woman has passed through three of her periods. Emigration in the way of Allāh does not separate husband and wife. Further, the rule remains in force even if the husband remains a disbeliever for a long time, beyond the period of waiting. He can retain his wife after his Islam, even after a long period, if he so wishes, and, if she is not married off in the meantime.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See Sayyid Sābiq: *Fiqhus-Sunnah* (2/239-240). He has some important details.

#### Zayd bin Harithah's Expedition to Tarif<sup>32</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah, the sixth year AH, along with fifteen men towards Banu Tha'labah who lived in the Tarif area. While the tribesmen fled, because they thought the Prophet ﷺ was among them, Zayd was able to capture sheep and goat. They returned with the booty without a fight having taken place.<sup>33</sup>

#### Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Judhām in Hisma<sup>34</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah of the sixth year towards Dalī', being one of the Judhām. This was in response to their attack on Dihyah Kalbi. Dihyah Kalbi had been sent by the Prophet ﷺ to the Roman emperor to deliver the message of Islam. While he was on his return journey, he was attacked by Dalī' people who confiscated his goods. Dihyah had complained to the Prophet ﷺ before entering his house.<sup>35</sup>

Now, it is proven by trustworthy reports that Dihyah Kalbi was sent by the Prophet ﷺ to Heraclius (the Roman emperor) some time after the Hudaybiyah peace treaty. This we shall discuss in detail in the chapter on Prophetic delegations. We do not consider, therefore, the opinion of those historians as strong who said that the Prophet ﷺ sent him to Heraclius in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah, 6 AH.

#### Zayd's Expedition to the Qura Valley<sup>36</sup>

This took place in Rajab, 6 AH.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> A watering place close to Marqa, before Marād, beyond the palm grove, thirty-six miles away from Madinah—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (4/31), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/87).

<sup>33</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/87) *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/555).

<sup>34</sup> A semidesert area in Shām, it is at a distance of two-nights journey from Qura valley. People of Tabuk have the Husma Mount on their west, *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (2/258-59).

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*, it requires some details—*Ibn Hishām* (4/345), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/88) also *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/555).

<sup>36</sup> A valley between Shām and Madinah, between Tayma' and Khayber which has many villages, the reason why it was called Wādi Al-Qura (the valley of villages)—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (5/345)

<sup>37</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/89), very briefly.

### The Expedition of 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf to Dumatul-Jandal

In Sha'bān of the sixth year after *Hijrah*, the Prophet ﷺ sent for 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf ؓ. He made him sit before himself, tied the turban on his head by his own hand and said, "In the Name of Allāh, and in the path of Allāh. Fight those who deny Allāh. Do not deceive. Do not act treacherously. And do not kill children." He ordered him to head for Dumatul-Jandal. Later he told him, "If they respond well, marry one of the daughters of their ruler." So 'Abdur-Rahmān went up to them and stayed three days inviting them to Islam. Their chief Asbagh bin 'Amr Kalbi embraced Islam. He was earlier a Christian. A huge number of people followed him in embracing the new religion. Some tribes agreed to pay *Jizyah*. 'Abdur-Rahmān married Tumādir, a daughter of Asbagh and brought her to Madinah. She is known as the mother of Abu Salamah, 'Abdur-Rahmān's son.<sup>38</sup>

### 'Ali bin Abu Tālib's Expedition to Banu 'Abdullah bin Sa'd bin Bakr of Fadak

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Sha'bān of year 6 AH when he heard that a huge number of people were being recruited to help the Jews of Khayber. 'Ali ؓ went with a hundred men. He used to travel by night and conceal himself during the day. He happened to capture a spy on the way who admitted he was heading towards Khayber with the message that the Fadak people would help the Jews in return of a certain amount of Khayber dates. When the Muslims assured him that his life was spared, he led them to where they were. They attacked them. Banu Sa'd fled to Zu'n leaving behind them five hundred camels and two thousand goats.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/89) *Mu'allaq*, *Ibn Ishāq* through a *Munqati'* chain. He did not state the direction of the campaigners. *Ibn Hishām* (4/369-71) added as a *Mu'allaq* report, that it was the campaign of Dumatul-Jandal; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/560) through a *Muttasil* chain.

<sup>39</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/562-564), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/89-90), *Mu'allaq*, *Ibn Ishāq*, *Mu'allaq* and in brief—*Ibn Hishām* (4/344).

### Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Banu Fazārah

*Ibn Hishām*<sup>40</sup> has reported on the authority of *Ibn Ishāq* that Zayd met with some Banu Fazārah men in a fight that took place in the Qura valley. Some of his companions were martyred. Zayd himself was picked up from among the dead, hardly breathing. Zayd swore that he will not go near a woman until he had fought the Banu Fazārah again. (This seems to be the expedition to Qura valley in Rajab, 6 AH that *Ibn Sa'd*<sup>41</sup> speaks of.) When Allāh (ﷻ) cured him and he recovered from his wounds, the Prophet ﷺ sent him towards Banu Fazārah once again. He met them in a valley and killed a few of them. Qays bin Musahhar Ya'mari killed Mas'adah bin Hakamah bin Mālilk bin Hudhayfah bin Badr. And Umm Qirfah was taken prisoner. Her name was Fātimah. She was a daughter of Rabi'ah bin Badr. She was an old woman married to Mālīk bin Hudhayfah bin Badr. She was in the company of a daughter and a son called 'Abdullah bin Mas'adah. Zayd ordered Musahhar to kill Umm Qirfah, which he did. Thereafter they returned to the Prophet ﷺ carrying with them her daughter and Mas'adah's son.

*Dhahabi*<sup>42</sup> has reported a shortened version, which is in *Ibn Ishāq*. He mentions therein that the reason for Zayd's expedition was that Umm Qirfah of the Fazārah tribe had armed forty horsemen from among her sons and grandsons and sent them to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ. In response, the Prophet ﷺ sent Zayd bin Hārithah towards them. One report says it was Zayd ؓ who killed them along with Umm Qirfah and then sent her blouse to the Prophet ﷺ who hung it between two spears. When Zayd reached Madinah, the Prophet ﷺ got up to receive him and kissed his forehead in joy over the victory.

*Wāqidi*<sup>43</sup> gives us a third reason for the expedition, giving

<sup>40</sup> *As-Sirat* (4/351), *Mu'allaq*.

<sup>41</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/89), *Mu'allaq*.

<sup>42</sup> *Siyar A'lām An-Nubala'* (2/227-228) through a weak chain because of *Ibrāhim bin Yahya* and his father. And *Ibn Ishāq* did not name the first narrator.

<sup>43</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/564-65) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.



details different from those of Ibn Ishāq. He writes that Zayd went out for Shām carrying some people's goods. When he was around the Qura valley the Banu Fazārah of the Banu Badr attacked them, molested them and took away their goods. In response, the Prophet ﷺ sent him again. He was able to overcome them and captured Umm Qirfah, and her daughter by Mālik. Salamah bin Akwa' received the girl as his share. However, the Prophet ﷺ asked him to release her for his discretion. When he freed her, the Prophet ﷺ gave her to Hazn bin Abu Wahb. The expedition itself took place in Ramadān of the year 6 AH.

Ibn Ishāq<sup>44</sup> mentions in a third report, as also does Wāqidi, that Qays bin Musahhar killed Umm Qirfah in a merciless manner. He tied her legs to two camels and made the beasts run in opposite directions, although she was an old woman. He also killed 'Abdullah bin Mas'adah as also Qays bin Nu'mān bin Mas'adah bin Hakamah bin Mālik bin Badr. Wāqidi<sup>45</sup> also reported that when Zayd returned to the Prophet ﷺ while he was in 'Āishah's house, he rose up dragging his clothes, partly exposed, and embraced Zayd and kissed him. Then he asked him for the news.

It might be seen that some of the details as reported by Wāqidi agree with Ibn Ishāq's narration although they disagree over the reason of the expedition. We may also point out that Ibn Ishāq's report from whom Tabari reproduced, is in agreement with Wāqidi in how Umm Qirfah was killed. However, both the narrations are completely untrustworthy. Ibn Ishāq's chain of narration is weak because it does not have a Companion reporting it directly, and because Ibn Humayd, an untrustworthy narrator, is in the chain of narration. As for Wāqidi, he never mentioned any chain of narrators. Further, even if he had a chain of narrators, he himself

<sup>44</sup> Reported by Tabari in his *Tārīkh* (2/643) being a report coming from Ibn Humayd, and he through Salamah. It stops at 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr. Thus it is Disconnected (*Mursal*) and hence weak. Nevertheless, this narrative agrees with the previous one which Ibn Hishām presented and which has greater details about how Umm Qirfah was killed: the same details as Wāqidi has.

<sup>45</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/565), *Mu'allaq*, ascribed to 'Āishah ﷺ.

is an untrustworthy reporter. Further, the manner of killing disagrees with the Prophetic commandments in this regard. He had prohibited that women be killed, especially in the manner described. Further, none of the reports say that Umm Qirfah took part in the battle.

However, if it is proved that Umm Qirfah was in the battle ranks, then, she could have been killed, but not in the manner reported.

Further, Muslim,<sup>46</sup> Ahmad,<sup>47</sup> Bayhaqi<sup>48</sup> and Tabari<sup>49</sup> have reported through trustworthy chain of narrators about the slave girl and her mother that the historians have also reported. But they report that the expedition was led by Abu Bakr ﷺ, and that the girl was gifted by Salamah ﷺ to the Prophet ﷺ, and the Prophet ﷺ exchanged her with some of the Muslims that were in captivity with the pagans. They don't mention the name of the girl's mother, nor anything about her mother's killing. Now, if the two are not speaking of two different expeditions, then that of the Traditionists is acceptable since it agrees with the Prophetic instruction regarding treatment of women captives.

As for the reports of the historians, firstly, their reports are very confusing, and secondly, they disagree with the Prophetic instructions which prohibited women's killing or disfiguring them. In addition, from the point of view of the narrators involved, the reports are inauthentic.<sup>50</sup>

### 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah's Expedition towards Yusayr bin Rizām, the Jew

News reached the Prophet ﷺ that Yusayr bin Rizām, a Jew,

<sup>46</sup> *Muslim* (3/1375-1376/H. 1755).

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/264)

<sup>48</sup> *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (4/290).

<sup>49</sup> *Tārīkh* (2/643-644). It is the second report on this topic. The first one that he mentioned is that of Ibn Ishāq which gives the details of how Umm Qirfah was killed.

<sup>50</sup> See: Dr. Abdul-Aziz Hallābi, *Sariyyah Zayd bin Hārithah ila Bani Fazārah*,

who was elected chief of the Khayber Jews after Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, was once again gathering forces in league with the Ghatafān to attack Madinah. The Prophet ﷺ named thirty men headed by 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah. One of the thirty was 'Abdullah bin Unays. They went up to Yusayr and told him that the Prophet ﷺ would like to appoint him the chief of the Khayber Jews. They persisted until he came out with thirty of his men and started out in a manner that each of his men was accompanied by a Muslim sent from Madinah, a pair on one camel. Yusayr was on the same camel as 'Abdullah bin Unays. When they reached Qarqarata Thibār, some six miles off Khayber, Yusayr felt regretful that he should be going to the Prophet ﷺ. He tried to grab Ibn Unays' sword. Ibn Unays in turn attacked him and hitting with his sword severed one of his legs. Yusayr hit Ibn Unays with a scythe-like wooden weapon on the head and split it. With that, every Muslim went after the Jew that was with him. They killed everyone of them except one, who escaped on his feet. When Ibn Unays presented himself to the Prophet ﷺ on return, he spat on his wound. It did not fester and did not cause him pain.<sup>51</sup>

*Dirāsah Naqadiyyah li-Riwāyātīl-Tārikhiyyah, Majallatu Kulliyatil-Ādāb, King Sa'ud University, 1986, pp. 61-82. It is a valuable study worthy reading. He missed to note Ibn Ishāq's report in Tabari's Tārikh in reference to the killing of Umm Qirfah. This report agrees with that of Waqidi in this regard.*

<sup>51</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/352-353); Ibn Sa'd (2/92), *Mu'allaq*, who did not mention the Prophet ﷺ spitting on the wound of Ibn Unays; 'Urwah from whom Abul-Aswad in whose chain falls Ibn Lahiy'ah whose reliability was disputed and hence whose narratives are *Hasan* if not for *Mursal* (*Maghāzi*, 'Urwah, p. 196); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/293-294); Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* (2/516-517), Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/274); Musa bin 'Uqbah from Zuhri, *Mursal* what Bayhaqi mentioned in his *Dalā'il* (4/294); Ibn Kathir in (4/247). And Sa'eed bin Mansur reported it as a *Mursal* report of Buraydah bin Sufyān as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (8/383). It might be noted that the printed sources differ between themselves over the leader of this campaign and over the name of the Jew. Ibn Ishāq, Ibn 'Uqbah, Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd are in agreement that its leader was Ibn Rawāhah. However 'Urwah mentions it as Ibn 'Atik. So also, Ibn 'Uqbah, Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd in

This expedition took place in Shawwāl, 6 AH.<sup>52</sup>

### Kurz bin Jābir Fihri's Expedition to 'Uraynah

A group of people from 'Ukl<sup>53</sup> and 'Uraynah<sup>54</sup> presented themselves to the Prophet ﷺ in Shawwal, 6 AH,<sup>55</sup> and entered into Islam. They said, "O Prophet of Allāh. We are shepherds and not farmers," and said they felt ill in Madinah. So the Prophet ﷺ gave them some camels<sup>56</sup> along with a shepherd to look after them and ordered them to camp outside the town, drink their milk and rub themselves with the cattle's urine. They left. But when they were at Harrah, they apostatized, killed the shepherd and fled with the camels. The Prophet ﷺ sent his men behind them who managed to capture them.<sup>57</sup> He ordered that they be blinded with needles, their hands and feet be severed and left in the sun until they die. Qatādah,

agreement that the name of the Jew was Yusayr bin Rizām whereas 'Urwah mentions it as Bishr bin Rizām. Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd have it as Yusayr bin Rizām. Maybe 'Urwah has suffered some distortion in the names, while Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd in the second name. Wāqidi from a narration of 'Urwah (2/566-567) gave more details, viz., the Prophet ﷺ first sent Ibn Rawāhah to Khayber in Ramadān among three men to collect information. He came back with the news that Yusayr bin Rizām was trying to gather Ghatafān and invade Al-Madinah. Thereafter Khārijah bin Husayl Ashja'i was asked by the Prophet ﷺ to gather news what Yusayr was making preparations to attack Madinah along with a Jewish force. These details show how important it was for the Muslims to conquer Khayber which hadn't been achieved this far.

<sup>52</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/566).

<sup>53</sup> 'Ukl is a tribe from Taymur-Ribāb.

<sup>54</sup> 'Uraynah was a neighborhood in Bajilah.

<sup>55</sup> Being a narration of *Al-Wāqidi* (2/568) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/93), both *Mu'allaq* reports.

<sup>56</sup> The textual *Zaud* is for female camels when they are between three and ten. Some have said the number as between two and nine. They must all be she-camels and not male.

<sup>57</sup> According to the narration of the war chroniclers and biographers, he sent after them Kurz bin Jābir Fihri, among twenty horsemen, and that the name of the shepherd was Yasār: Ibn Ishāq, through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/383-384); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/93), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/569).

the narrator says, "We received reports that thereafter the Prophet ﷺ used to invoke people to charity and prohibit them from disfiguring."<sup>58</sup> According to another report, "This was before Allāh sent the commandments pertaining to capital punishments."<sup>59</sup> Abu Qilabāh said in his version of report, "These people had committed theft, murder, disbelieved after having believed, and waged war against Allāh and His Messenger."<sup>60</sup>

The majority of scholars say that the following Verse,

﴿ إِنَّمَا جَزَاءُ الَّذِينَ يُحَارِبُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَسَادًا أَنْ يُقَتَّلُوا أَوْ يُصَلَّبُوا أَوْ تُقَطَّعَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَرْجُلُهُمْ مِنْ خَلْفٍ أَوْ يُنْفَوْا مِنَ الْأَرْضِ ﴾

"Surely, the retribution of those who wage war against Allāh and His Messenger, and who strive to spread corruption in the land is that they should be crucified, or their hands and feet cut from the opposite sides, or expelled from the land."<sup>61</sup>

was revealed in connection with the 'Uraynah<sup>62</sup> affair.<sup>63</sup>

### 'Amr bin Umaiyah Damri's Expedition to finish off Abu Sufyān

Abu Sufyān expressed the desire to get the Prophet ﷺ assassinated. A Bedouin offered him his services. Abu Sufyān

<sup>58</sup> This Hadith was reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/34/H. 4192).

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*: (21/258-259/H. 5685, 5686).

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*: (25/253-254/H. 6805). The story was reported by *Muslim* (3/1296-1298/H. 1671) and the rest of the six canonical collectors: Abu Dāwud, Tirmidhi, Nasa'i and Ibn Mājah, as also by the war chroniclers. See Tabari: *Tafsir* (10/244-353).

<sup>61</sup> *Surat Al-Mā'idah*: 33.

<sup>62</sup> See Sayyid Sabiq: *Fiqhus-Sunnah* (2/471). For greater details and discussions of various narratives, see Shāmi: *Subulul-Huda war-Rashad* (6/181-190).

<sup>63</sup> See Tabari: *Tafsir* (10/242-244) who mentioned other reasons behind this revelation. As for Shāmi, he collected together all the reports from their various sources.

provided him with a camel and provision and told him to keep the matter top secret. The man showed up at Madinah after six days. He asked to speak to the Prophet ﷺ and was led to the Prophet ﷺ while he was in the mosque of the 'Abdul-Ashhal tribe. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him he said, "This man has treachery up his sleeve but Allāh is a shield between him and what he intends." When the Bedouin tried to get closer, Usayd bin Hudayr pulled him back. They found a dagger concealed in his clothes. It fell off the Bedouin's hand. The Prophet ﷺ told him that he would forgive him if he spoke the truth about his mission. So he told him about his mission and what Abu Sufyān had promised to give him if he succeeded. The Prophet ﷺ let him off and the man became a Muslim.

In retaliation, the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Amr bin Umaiyah and Salamah bin Aslam bin Harish to kill Abu Sufyān. They went to Makkah. But after they had circumambulated the House and had done their prayers, someone recognized 'Amr. They tried to kill them both but they escaped back to Madinah.<sup>64</sup>

### The Khabat<sup>65</sup> Expedition to Sifil-Bahr

The Prophet ﷺ sent a force of three hundred men, commanded by Abu 'Ubaydah bin Jarrah to intercept a Quraysh caravan. On their way they ran short of their provision. Abu 'Ubaydah got collected whatever was left of the provision, which was mostly dates, and fed them therefrom until that was also

<sup>64</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/93-94) and *Ibn Hishām* (4/372-375) *Mu'allaq*, which does not include the story of Abu Sufyān and the Bedouin; Ishāq bin Rāhwayh in his *Musnad* through a chain consisting of unknown narrators as stated in *Al-Matālibul-'Āliyah* (4/231-234); Bayhaqi in his *Sunan* (9/213), in brief and a chain in which falls Wāqidi; Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/542-545) through Ibn Ishaq in whose chain falls Ja'far bin Fadl, whose biography no one wrote; and Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/333-334), through a chain in which falls Wāqidi.

<sup>65</sup> *Khabt* of the original is for leaves of acacia and other similar trees. A stick is used to strike the leaves to make them fall to be given to cattle as fodder.

exhausted. So he fixed it as one date a day per person. Finally, that also got exhausted and they were forced to eat leaves of the trees. Hence it came to be known as the *Khabat* (leaves) expedition. In the next step they began to slaughter their camels. But, Abu 'Ubaydah feared that they would run out of them and so he prohibited their slaughter. In about fifteen days time they had reached the seashore. There, Allāh (ﷻ) sent them a huge whale. It had surfaced and died. They ate thereof for fifteen more days and recovered their strength. Abu 'Ubaydah got one of its ribs fixed on the ground and it was so large that a rider could pass through it. In any case, they didn't meet any enemy and so they returned without an encounter. When they mentioned the story of the whale, the Prophet ﷺ told them, "A provision provided by Allāh. Give us some of it if you have brought any." They sent him some of its meat and he ate thereof.<sup>66</sup>

This expedition seems to have taken place before Hudaybiyah treaty and not in Rajab the 8th year AH, as is the opinion of Ibn Sa'd.<sup>67</sup> This is for two reasons. One, the Prophet ﷺ normally did not go out in an expedition, nor sent a sortie in the consecrated months. Second, Rajab of the 8th year AH was after the Hudaybiyah treaty (when hostilities were disallowed by treaty).<sup>68</sup>

However, Ibn Sa'd and Wāqidi<sup>69</sup> have mentioned that the Prophet ﷺ sent them to the Juhaynah tribe. Ibn Hajar<sup>70</sup> added, "This does not contradict with what is reported in *Sahih* works. It is possible that they were expecting to meet with the caravan while on

<sup>66</sup> Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/198-203/H. 4360-4362); *Muslim* (3/1535-1537/H. 1935), both following a variety of chains; Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/371-372); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/141-142) and others.

<sup>67</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/132) a *Mu'allaq* report. But Dhahabi thought it was an assumption. See *Al-Maghāzi* by Dhahabi, p. 519. Ibn Qaiyim attributed error to Ibn Sayyidin-Nās for following Ibn Sa'd in agreeing to this date *Zād* (3/389).

<sup>68</sup> See Ibn Qaiyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/389-390), and Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 125.

<sup>69</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/774).

<sup>70</sup> *Al-Fath* (16/199).

their way to attack the Juhaynah. It is also possible that they were not sent to intercept the caravan, rather, to prevent them from the Juhaynah attack. This idea is strengthened by the report in *Muslim*<sup>71</sup> that says that they were in actual fact sent to Juhaynah."

A lesson that we can draw from this event is that the Prophet's own partaking of the whale meat proves that the dead of the sea is lawful.<sup>72</sup>

## Hudaybiyah Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions left for Makkah intending to perform the lesser pilgrimage on Monday, the first day of the 12th year after Hijrah.

It was apprehensive that either the Quraysh would not let him or, in the least, prevent his entry into the city. It was suggested to the Prophet ﷺ to also

take a well known Quraysh merchant of Makkah, Uthayb bin Riqbah, to Quraysh. It includes the terms of Hudaybiyah treaty.

The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions were in Makkah for ten days. The Quraysh did not let them perform the lesser pilgrimage. The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions returned to Madinah on Monday, the 12th day of the 12th year after Hijrah.

The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions were in Makkah for ten days. The Quraysh did not let them perform the lesser pilgrimage. The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions returned to Madinah on Monday, the 12th day of the 12th year after Hijrah.

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The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions were in Makkah for ten days. The Quraysh did not let them perform the lesser pilgrimage. The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions returned to Madinah on Monday, the 12th day of the 12th year after Hijrah.

<sup>71</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1537/H. 1935).

<sup>72</sup> See this in chapters dealing with foods, in the books of *Hadith* and *Fiqh*.

## The Hudaybiyah<sup>1</sup> Expedition

### Events of the Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions left for Makkah intending to perform 'Umrah<sup>2</sup> (the lesser pilgrimage), on Monday, the first day of Dhul-Qa'dah of the sixth year after *Hijrah*.<sup>3</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ was apprehensive that either the Quraysh would try to fight him or, in the least, prevent his entry into Makkah. So he suggested to the tribes around Madinah to also

<sup>1</sup> Hudaybiyah: name of a well twenty-two kilometers northwest of Makkah. It is now called as Shumaysi. It includes the groves of Hudaybiyah and the Ridwān mosque. See *Nasb Harb*, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> That is 'Umrah of the Hudaybiyah when the polytheists turned him back—*Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/86/H. 1778).

<sup>3</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/573) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/95) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). That it was Monday, the beginning of Dhul-Qa'dah, is in Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/426). Also reported by Musa bin 'Uqbah, Zuhri and Qatādah, as in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/91). Musa bin 'Uqbah however was alone in saying through his father that the Prophet's departure for Hudaybiyah was in Ramadān and he reached the place in Shawwāl—Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/92) and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/185). Bayhaqi also reported this in *Dalā'il* (3/90-91) through a *Hasan* chain but Disconnected (*Mursal*) coming from Nāfi'—the freed slave of Ibn 'Umar ؓ. It says that it was in Dhul-Qa'dah, the 6 AH. That it was in Dhul-Qa'dah, has been asserted by a report in *Al-Bukhari/Al-Fath* (8/86). Thus the great majority believes it was in Dhul-Qa'dah, the sixth year after *Hijrah*.

travel along. But they delayed their departure. So he collected whomsoever he could of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* and a few others of the Arab<sup>4</sup> allies and started off. The Qur'an said in reference to them,

﴿سَيَقُولُ لَكَ الْمُخَلَّفُونَ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ شَغَلَتْنَا أَمْوَالُنَا وَأَهْلُونَا فَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَنَا  
يَقُولُونَ بِالسِّنْتِهِمْ مَا لَيْسَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ قُلْ فَمَنْ يَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنْ اللَّهِ شَيْئًا إِنْ أَرَادَ  
بِكُمْ ضَرًّا أَوْ أَرَادَ بِكُمْ نَفْعًا بَلْ كَانَ اللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا ﴿١١﴾ بَلْ ظَنَنْتُمْ أَنْ لَنْ  
يَنْقَلِبَ الرَّسُولُ وَالْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِلَىٰ أَهْلِيهِمْ أَبَدًا وَزُيِّنَ ذَٰلِكَ فِي قُلُوبِكُمْ وَظَنَنْتُمْ  
ظَنَّ السَّوْءِ وَكُنْتُمْ قَوْمًا بُورًا﴾

“Those of the Bedouins who stayed behind will say to you, ‘Our trades and home folk kept us busy, so seek forgiveness for us.’ Say, ‘Who can prevent you from Allāh if He wished you a loss, or intended a gain?’ Rather, Allāh is Aware of what you do. In fact, you thought the Prophet and believers will never return to their home folk. That was made fair to you in your hearts, and you thought evil thoughts. In fact you are a destroyed people.”<sup>5</sup>

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Bukhārī's<sup>8</sup> report leads one to believe that the Muslims were carrying arms in fear that they could be attacked and would have to defend themselves.

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Five different narrators who accompanied the Prophet ﷺ in this journey agree between themselves that they were fourteen hundred during the expedition.<sup>9</sup>

When they reached Dhul-Hulayfah,<sup>10</sup> the Muslims put on their pilgrimage garbs. The Prophet ﷺ tied ropes around the necks of the cattle he was carrying, thus marking them as sacrificial animals. They were seventy camels.<sup>11</sup> He sent forward Busr bin Sufyān, of the Khuzā'ah tribe to measure Quraysh reaction.<sup>12</sup>

When they reached Rawha',<sup>13</sup> he received the news that the enemy had gathered in Ghayqah. So he sent forward a group of Companions one of whom was Abu Qatādah, the *Ansāri*. Abu Qatādah had not put on the pilgrim's garb. He encountered a wild ass and killed it. Others refused to help him in the hunt. However, although in the state of consecration, they ate thereof, when they were offered its meat. When they met the Prophet ﷺ at Suqya<sup>14</sup> (about 180 km from Madinah), they asked him about the legality of their act. He allowed them to eat the rest of it so long as they had not taken any part in its hunting.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/15/H. 4151) and (16/17/H. 4154) being two reports of Bara' and Jabir. *Muslim* (3/1433/H. 1807) and (3/1484-1485/H. 1856, 1858) as two reports of Jābir and Ma'qil bin Yasār. See Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/98), being a report of Musaiyab bin Hazn, Sa'eed bin Musaiyab's father.

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In sum we can say that reconciliation is not impossible. In fact, the differences are not serious. It is also with Dhahabi in *Al-Maghāzi*, pp. 364, 365, and Nawawi in his commentary on *Muslim* (2/13) who is close to what Ibn Hajar stated.

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (8/14/H. 1694, 1695).

<sup>11</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (4/333, 328) through a *Hasan* chain, Ibn Ishāq, also with a *Hasan* chain— *Ibn Hishām* (3/427).

<sup>12</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/29/H. 4178, 4179), Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/323) through a reliable chain. Thus, the report rises to *Hasan* status. It also names the waters to which he was sent.

<sup>13</sup> Rawha' lies seventy-three kilometers from Madinah.

<sup>14</sup> Suqya lies 180 kilometers from Madinah.

<sup>15</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (8/139-146/H. 1821)

travel along. But they delayed their departure. So he collected whomsoever he could of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* and a few others of the Arab<sup>4</sup> allies and started off. The Qur'ān said in reference to them,

﴿سَيَقُولُ لَكَ الْمُخَلَّفُونَ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ شَغَلَتْنَا أَمْوَالُنَا وَأَهْلُونَا فَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَنَا  
يَقُولُونَ بِالسِّنْتِهِمْ مَا لَيْسَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ قُلْ فَمَنْ يَمْلِكُ لَكُمْ مِنْ اللَّهِ شَيْئًا إِنْ أَرَادَ  
بِكُمْ ضَرًّا أَوْ أَرَادَ بِكُمْ نَفْعًا بَلْ كَانَ اللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا ۝﴾ ① بَلْ ظَنَنْتُمْ أَنْ لَنْ  
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<sup>15</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (8/139-146/H. 1821)

When they reached 'Usfān,<sup>16</sup> Busr bin Sufyān came up with news from the Quraysh. He said, "The Quraysh have put on leopard skins, have placed at stake their women and children, marched up to Dhi Tuwa and sworn to Allāh that you will not enter into the city. Khālid is also advancing with horsemen and is now in Kura' Al-Ghamim."<sup>17</sup> The Prophet ﷺ consulted<sup>18</sup> his Companions. He suggested that they first attack Quraysh allies in order to render the Quraysh fend for themselves completely without reliance upon others. Abu Bakr ؓ said, "O Messenger of Allāh. You have started off intending to visit the Holy House. You had never intended to attack or kill anyone. So, let us keep marching. If someone actually prevents us, then we will fight him." The Prophet ﷺ said, "March on, in the Name of Allāh."<sup>19</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ came to know of horsemen advancing towards them, he shortened his prayers at 'Usfān.<sup>20</sup> And, in order to avoid encountering pagans, the Prophet ﷺ changed his route

<sup>16</sup> 'Usfān lies 80 kilometers from Makkah.

<sup>17</sup> As mentioned earlier, it was a valley in front of 'Usfān some 64 kilometers from Makkah, *Al-Bilādi*, p. 264. *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/29/H. 4178, 4179) uses the words Ghadiril-Ashtāt instead of 'Usfān. Ghadiril-Ashtāt is quite close to 'Usfan as in the report of Ahmad.

<sup>18</sup> Zuhri noted that Abu Hurayrah ؓ used to say, "I have not seen anyone who consulted his Companions more than the Prophet ﷺ." A report of Ahmad through 'Abdur-Razzāq, which Ibn Hibbān reported through his own chain as in *Al-Fath* (11/160).

<sup>19</sup> Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* and *Ma'ālimis-Sunan* (2/28/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 1236). The verifier said: "Nasa'i also documented *Hadith* nos. 1550 and 1551 in the chapter *Salātul-Khawf*. Mundhiri said in his *Mukhtasar*: "Bayhaqi treated the chain as authentic." He meant Abu Dāwud's chain coming from Mujāhid, he from Abu 'Ayyāsh Zuraqi. Hākim also recorded it (3/338) declaring it authentic with Dhahabi agreeing with him. Bayhaqi also declared it *Sahih* in his *Sunan Al-Kubra* (3/257) as also Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (1/548). The *Hadith* does not specify the expedition; however Ibn Hajar is inclined to believe in *Al-Fath* (15/311) that it was Hudaybiyah. This is supported by the fact that Khālid bin Walid mentioned it as near 'Usfān which was during the Hudaybiyah campaign. See Hukami's *Marwiyāt Ghazwah Hudaybiyah*, pp. 77-86, and 'Umari, *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 130.

<sup>20</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (4/2144/H. 2780).

crossing over the Murār group of hills. When he reached its foot he said, "Whoever climbs these hills will have his sins removed as they were removed from the Israelites." The first to climb were the horsemen of Khazraj, others following them.

When Khālid learnt of the change in direction of the Muslims, he returned to Makkah. Quraysh too came out to meet them camping at Baldah<sup>21</sup> managing to occupy the wells there before the Muslims could arrive.

When the Prophet ﷺ reached Hudaybiyah, his camel Qaswā' knelt down. The Companions remarked, "Qaswa' has halted and refuses to budge." The Prophet ﷺ said, "It is not in Qaswa's nature to do that. Rather, she has been held back by what held back (Abrahah's) elephant." Then he added, "By Him in Whose Hand is my life, they will not ask me anything today, with the intention of maintaining the consecration of the House, but I'll grant them." After that he prodded the camel and she rose up. He changed his direction a little away from Makkan and moved on to the other side of Hudaybiyah arriving at the smaller wells that had very little water. It wasn't long before his Companions were complaining of thirst. He pulled out an arrow from his quiver and told them to pitch it into the well. Water began to gush forth from it and they watered themselves to their satisfaction.<sup>22</sup> According to another report he sat down at the edge of the well and began to supplicate to Allāh (ﷻ), seeking water, and the water began to gush forth.<sup>23</sup> Obviously, it is possible to reconcile the two to say that he got his arrow pitched as well as supplicated at the edge, as Ibn Hajar<sup>24</sup> has said. Wāqidi's<sup>25</sup> report also confirms this, which has 'Urwah<sup>26</sup> reporting that the Prophet ﷺ took some water into his mouth, then

<sup>21</sup> *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (4/112) as a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report coming from 'Urwah through a weak chain; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/582) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/59).

<sup>22</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/162-163/H. 2731, 2732).

<sup>23</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/75/H. 3577).

<sup>24</sup> *Al-Fath* (11/164/H. 2731, 2732).

<sup>25</sup> *Maghāzi* (2/588).

<sup>26</sup> A narration of Abul-Aswad as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (11/164).



spat into a pitcher and threw it into the well. Then he told them to pitch his arrow into it and began to supplicate until water sprung forth.

As for the Quraysh, he was sorry about them: what with their position among the Arabs and their special qualities, they would have done well to embrace Islam. But their tenacious opposition and wars against him weakened them to no profit. He remarked, "How unfortunate of the Quraysh. Wars destroyed them. Had they left me alone to work among the people, and, had the people embraced Islam, they would have stood to advantage. On the other hand, if the people rejected me, they could have then fought me from a position of strength. In any case, what do the Quraysh imagine? By Allāh, I shall keep struggling in the cause of what Allāh has sent me with until Allāh gives it victory, or I die in its cause."<sup>27</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ also tried to send the message across to the Quraysh that he wasn't wishing to fight them. He only wished to visit the House of Allāh which was the right of every Muslim as it was the right of others. When the message reached the Quraysh, they sent a team to assess the situation, open up talks, measure the strength of the Muslims, and judge their resolve if they were forced into the battlefield. On the other hand, they wished to peacefully prevent the Muslims' entry into the city.

Budayl bin Warqā' came along leading a team of Khuza'ah men. Khuza'ah were from Tihāmah, and friends<sup>28</sup> and well-wishers of the Prophet ﷺ. The delegation made it clear to the Prophet ﷺ that the Quraysh were bent upon preventing his entry into Makkah. The Prophet ﷺ stated his objective clearly and spoke of the harm Qurash belligerency had brought upon them. He suggested that they enter into a time-bound treaty of peace until the fog of uncertainty got cleared. However, he also made it plain to them that if they wished to fight, he too was ready to his last breath. The delegation conveyed his message<sup>29</sup> and said, "O Quraysh, you are hasty about

<sup>27</sup> Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/323) through a *Hasan* chain, and Ibn Ishāq also through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/428).

<sup>28</sup> That is, close friends who shared his secrets.

<sup>29</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath/H.* 2731, 2732).

Muhammad. He has not come here to fight. He only wishes to visit the House." But the Quraysh weren't prepared to hear those words. They chided them and said things they did not wish to hear. They said, "Even if he has come for of a peaceful visit, we shall not allow it to happen and let the Arabs laugh at us."<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, the Prophet ﷺ wished to emphasize his peaceful purposes and make his intention clear to the rest of the Arabs. So, he sent to Quraysh Khirāsh bin Umaiya of the Khuza'ah on one of his own camels called Tha'lab. But the Quraysh slaughtered his camel and, but for the tribesmen surrounding Makkah, who were related to him,<sup>31</sup> they would have killed Khirāsh too.<sup>32</sup>

Thereafter, the Prophet ﷺ decided to send 'Umar bin Khattāb across to Makkah to meet the Quraysh chieftains and explain his position. 'Umar ﷺ however, felt differently. He said, "O Messenger of Allāh. I don't feel myself in peace among the Quraysh. Moreover, there is none of the Banu 'Adi bin Ka'b in the city to defend me. Again, the Quraysh are well aware of my tough attitude with them. I suggest a man who has a good standing among them: 'Uthmān bin 'Affān." So, the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Uthmān ﷺ across to them. 'Uthmān sought and received the protection of Abān bin Sa'eed bin 'Ās of the Banu Umaiya branch, entered into Makkah and conveyed the message. They allowed him to circumambulate the House but he refused saying, "I shall not do that until the Messenger of Allāh has done it." So the Quraysh retained him with them and rumor spread that he had been murdered.<sup>33</sup> When the Prophet ﷺ received the news, he got his men assembled under a

<sup>30</sup> *Musnad Ahmad*: (4/324) through a *Hasan* chain, Ibn Ishāq, also through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/432).

<sup>31</sup> A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/435-436); *Ahmad's Musnad* (4/324); *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/101-104) through a *Hasan* chain, and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/96-97) *Mu'allaq* and in brief.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/97) in a *Mu'allaq* report. Its words are: "He was prevented by those of his people who were there."

<sup>33</sup> Ibn Ishaq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/426-437) and *Ahmad* in his *Musnad* (4/324).

Samurah tree. To the last man they all pledged to fight until death<sup>34</sup>—except for Jadd bin Qays. He was a hypocrite.<sup>35</sup> According to one report the pledge was that they will persevere, come what may.<sup>36</sup> Another report has it that it was on the promise that they will not flee.<sup>37</sup> To be sure, there is no contradiction between the three articles. Pledging to fight to death includes perseverance and not fleeing away.<sup>38</sup>

The first to rush in and pledge his hand was Abu Sinān ‘Abdullah bin Wahb Asadi.<sup>39</sup> He was followed by the multitudes. The Prophet ﷺ appreciated their readiness saying, “You are the best of people on the face of the earth.”<sup>40</sup> He also added, “Allāh willing, no one who pledged his hand under this tree will enter the Fire.”<sup>41</sup>

Then he pointed to his right hand and said, “This is ‘Uthmān’s hand”<sup>42</sup> and struck it on the left hand, saying, “This is ‘Uthmān’s pledge.” Thus, ‘Uthmān got the credit of the pledge. ‘Uthmān of course, later returned safely.

The pledge came to be known as the Ridwan Pledge (from the root ‘to be pleased’) because Allāh announced that He was pleased with those that had pledged their hands there. He said,

﴿لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ﴾

<sup>34</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/24/H. 4169).

<sup>35</sup> *Muslim* (3/1483/H. 1856). However, a second look is required in connection with the hypocrisy of Jadd bin Qays as shown by ‘Addāb Mahmud Hamash in his book *Tha’labah bin Hātib*, pp. 95-102, which happens to be a good quality study.

<sup>36</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/79/H. 4169).

<sup>37</sup> *Muslim* (3/1483/H. 1856).

<sup>38</sup> See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (12/79).

<sup>39</sup> Reported by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isabāh* (4/95-96) as a *Hadith* of Sha’bi remarking: “Ibn Mandah also recorded it through Zirr bin Hubaysh.” Ibn Hajar also mentioned in *Al-Isabāh* (4/264) that the routes of Zirr bin Hubaysh as well as Sha’bi, are both authentic. This *Hadith* was also reported by *Ibn Hishām* with an attribution to Sha’bi—*As-Sirat* (3/438-439).

<sup>40</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/17/H. 4154).

<sup>41</sup> *Muslim* (4/1942/H. 2496).

<sup>42</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/202/H. 3699).

Indeed, Allāh was pleased with the believers when they gave the Bai’ah (pledge) to you (O Muhammad ﷺ) under the tree.”<sup>43,44</sup>

Following Budayl’s delegation the Quraysh sent several others to discuss the issue. One of the men they chose was ‘Urwah bin Mas’ūd of Thaqif. However, he had seen how they had behaved towards his predecessor. So, he made plain to them his own position. They admitted that they couldn’t think of him siding with Muhammad. When he returned, he told them that the Prophet’s proposal was reasonable and hence acceptable. They agreed with him.

When he went up to the Prophet ﷺ, he repeated what he had said to Budayl. ‘Urwah replied, “O Muhammad, you have uprooted your own people. Have you heard of anyone of the Arabs destroying his own people? And, even if there was another example, by God I don’t see trustworthy faces around you. I see a hodgepodge of men of whom it is natural that they should abandon you and flee.” Abu Bakr ؓ couldn’t hold his peace. He said, “Suck Lāt’s clitoris. Shall we abandon him and flee?” ‘Urwah was also passing his hand through the Prophet’s beard. Mughirah bin Shu’bah ؓ couldn’t tolerate for long. He struck his hand with the butt of his sword saying, “Off with your hand from the Prophet’s beard...” Thus ‘Urwah was able to experience the Companions’ love for the Prophet ﷺ, their veneration and readiness to lay their lives for him. So, when he returned to the Quraysh he said, “My people. By God, I have been sent to kings, to the Roman and Persian emperors, but I haven’t seen a king who was venerated the way Muhammad is venerated by his companions.”

After ‘Urwah, the Quraysh sent across Hulays bin ‘Alqamah the Kināni, who was the leader of the tribes on the outskirts of Makkah.

<sup>43</sup> *Surat Al-Fath*: 18.

<sup>44</sup> Tabari reported this in his *Tafsir* (26/86) with a weak chain because of the weakness in Musa bin ‘Ubaydah. However it is supported by the narrative of Jābir ؓ which is in *Tirmidhi’s Sunan Al-Kubra/The Book of Siyar/H.* 1591). It mentions the Verse also. Yahya bin Abu Kathir’s *Tadlis* does no harm for the report is originally in *Muslim* coming through Jābir and others (3/1483/H. 1856).

When the Prophet ﷺ saw him advancing he said, "He belongs to a people who respect sacrificial animals. So, let your sacrificial animals be in sight." When Hulays saw the sacrificial animals, with the sacrifice marks on their necks, passing before him, he returned to the Quraysh without even meeting the Prophet ﷺ. So impressed was he by the display of the sacrificial animals, he told the Quraysh, "I have seen sacrificial animals, with markings hanging by their necks. I don't see how you can prevent their entry." They were upset, they said, "Sit down man, you are after all a Bedouin. You understand nothing." He was incensed to hear those words and said, "O Quraysh. By God, it is not on this that I allied myself with you. Are we going to prevent someone's entry who has come with holy purposes? By Him in Whose Hand is the life of Hulays, either you will let Muhammad do what he has come for, or I shall withdraw my men supportive of you, to the last man." They said, "Stay quiet man until we have extracted from Muhammad what will please us."

Next they sent Mikraz bin Hafs. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him, he remarked, "This is Mikraz, a corrupt man." While he was speaking to the Prophet ﷺ, Suhayl bin 'Amr followed up from the Quraysh as another messenger from the Quraysh. The Prophet ﷺ drew a good omen and said, "Here comes ease."<sup>45</sup> (The word *Suhayl* has its root in *Sahl* meaning, ease). Then he added, "The people who sent him meant peace." The Quraysh had authorized Suhayl to work out an armistice. However, they had said, "One of the clauses should be that he returns this year (without performing his pilgrimage), for, by God, we shall not hear from the Arabs that he entered despite our resistance." Suhayl sat long to thrash out the terms of the treaty. He went back and forth several times, and finally, the treaty terms came to be finalized.<sup>46</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ began to dictate the peace proposal to 'Ali bin Abu Tālib starting with<sup>47</sup> "In the Name of Allāh, the Rahmān,

<sup>45</sup> See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/167-171/H. 2731, 2732), and Ahmad's *Musnad* (4/324) through a *Hasan* chain being a narration of Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>46</sup> Being a *Hadith* of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/439).

<sup>47</sup> The name of the writer of the treaty was mentioned by *Al-Bukhāri: Al-Fath*

the Rahim," Suhayl objected. He said it should simply say, "In the name of Allāh..." for that is how it was in pre-Islamic days. The Muslims wouldn't agree to that but the Prophet ﷺ gave his approval for the change. Then, as 'Ali named the Prophet ﷺ as the Messenger of Allāh as one of the two parties, Suhayl once again protested. He would only agree to, "Muhammad bin 'Abdullah." The Prophet ﷺ agreed to that also.

When the clause about immediate entry into Makkah for pilgrimage came to be discussed, Suhayl once again objected. He said, "Let not the Arabs say that we were coerced into agreeing over this. However, you might come back the next year. In that event we shall leave the city to allow you to come in. But that will be only for three days and you will carry only simple arms that a rider carries. The swords shall remain in the sheaths."<sup>48</sup> The Prophet ﷺ agreed to this condition also. Then Suhayl added, "None of our men, even if he be a follower of your religion, will join up with you, but you will return him to us." The Muslims reacted, "Glory to Allāh. How can a Muslim be returned to pagans?" And, as they were discussing the issue, Abu Jandal bin Suhayl bin 'Amr came up bound in chains. He had managed to escape from Makkah and threw himself at the mercy of the Muslims. Suhayl said, "This is the first occasion of the application of the treaty. Return the man to us." The Prophet ﷺ said, "If that's the case, we cannot continue." Suhayl said, "By God, we shall not sign any treaty with you."

The Prophet ﷺ pleaded that Abu Jandal be an exception. But Suhayl refused despite the fact that Mikraz was agreeable. The Prophet ﷺ had to finally give in.<sup>49</sup>

(11/129/H. 2698, 2699); *Muslim* (3/1410/H. 1783); 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/343) through a reliable chain as a report of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ, and another being a *Mursal* report of Zuhri; and a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/440).

<sup>48</sup> This sentence was part of the narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/441). According to another narration by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/130/H. 2699), "He will not enter Makkah but the swords in the sheaths."

<sup>49</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/173-176/H. 2731, 27320).

Thus the agreement was signed with the following clauses: "There will be no war for ten years. During this period, people will be free to move about. They will be in security from each other. Good intentions will prevail between them<sup>50</sup> but without allowing for theft or treachery; and, that whichever of the other Arab tribes wished to enter into a treaty with Muhammad was free to do so.

At that the Khuzā'ah said they would like to remain allied with the Prophet ﷺ, while Banu Bakr said they'd remain with the Quraysh.<sup>51</sup>

To be sure, the Companions were terribly displeased with the terms of the treaty. 'Ali ﷺ refused to strike off the words, "Messenger of Allāh" from the document. The Prophet ﷺ asked him to show the words and then erased them with his own hands and asked 'Ali to write down in their place, "bin 'Abdullah."<sup>52</sup> The Companions were very displeased with the condition that Muslims escaping from Makkah should be returned to them. They protested,

<sup>50</sup> That is, with a clear heart free from evil designs, filled with good intentions—Ibn Athir: *An-Nihāyah* (3/327).

<sup>51</sup> A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/440-441), and Ahmad's *Musnad* (4/325) also through Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>52</sup> *Muslim* (3/1410-1411/H. 1783), and, according to a narration in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/130/H. 2699): "...So the Prophet ﷺ took the writing and wrote: 'This is from what Muhammad bin 'Abdullah agreed to: No one shall enter Makkah except with the arms in the sheaths...'" According to a second narration from him (11/129/H. 2698): "The Prophet ﷺ erased it and agreed to the statement that he and his Companions will enter Makkah for three days only." According to a third version (16/88/H. 4251): "The Prophet took the writing, and he did not do well as writing, but wrote: 'This is what Muhammad bin 'Abdullah agreed to: No arms shall enter into Makkah but in their sheaths.'" These reports which are in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim* led one of the scholars to conclude he is Abu Walid Bāji that the Prophet ﷺ wrote with his hand although until then he couldn't do it well. The scholars of Andalus (Spain) criticized him in his times. The truth is, the textual "he wrote" has a few words deleted which are "he erased it and asked 'Ali to write." This is how Ibn Thin interpreted the word "he wrote" to "he got written." This kind of usage is not uncommon, e.g. "He wrote to the Caesar," or "He wrote to Kisra," and so on. The summary of what Ibn Hajar wrote in *Al-Fath* (16/89/H.

"O Messenger of Allāh, do we have to agree to this?" He replied, "Yes. If anyone of us joins them, then, good riddance. But if one of them comes to us, (and we have to return him), then Allāh will find a way for him."<sup>53</sup>

'Umar bin Khattāb ﷺ himself reports of his angry words to the Prophet ﷺ at the time the treaty was being finalized. He says, "I went up to the Prophet and said, 'Aren't you Allāh's Messenger in truth?' He said, 'Yes, I am.' I asked, 'Are we not on the truth and the pagans on falsehood?' He replied, 'That's true.' I asked, 'Why should we give in to them in matters of our faith?' He replied, 'I am Allāh's Messenger. And I am not going to disobey Him. He is my Helper.' I said, 'Didn't you tell us that we shall perform the pilgrimage?' He replied, 'So I did. But, did I say it will be this year?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'You will surely come back one day and circumambulate the House.'"

But 'Umar was not satisfied. He went up to Abu Bakr ﷺ and reported the conversation with the Prophet ﷺ. He pacified him by saying, "He is Allāh's Messenger. He will not disobey his Lord. He is his Helper. So, control yourself. By Allāh, he is on the right."<sup>54</sup>

'Umar said later, "I went on fasting, expending in charity, and freeing slaves in expiation of my objections to the Prophet that day, until I felt relieved."<sup>55</sup> However, at that time 'Umar remained feeling unhappy until the *Surat Al-Fath* was revealed giving glad tidings of ultimate victory.<sup>56</sup>

Meanwhile, Abu Jandal pleaded for help. He asked, "O Muslims. Are you going to hand me over back to the pagans to torture me for my religion?" The Prophet ﷺ answered, "O Abu

4251) is that the word "He wrote" should be understood in the sense of "He ordered 'Ali to write."

<sup>53</sup> *Muslim* (3/1411/H. 1784).

<sup>54</sup> See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/176-178/H. 2731, 2732) and (12/271/H. 3182); and *Muslim* (3/142/H. 1785); *Ahmad* (4/325); and Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/439-440).

<sup>55</sup> A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/440).

<sup>56</sup> *Muslim* (3/1412/H. 1785).

Jandal. Be patient and be sure of rewards. Allāh will surely find a way out for you and for others of your kind." At that point 'Umar went up close to Abu Jandal, encouraging him to grab his ('Umar's) sword and kill his father (who had chained him). But Abu Jandal preferred not to do that, so he was returned to the pagans.<sup>57</sup> The Prophet ﷺ did that following a wise plan which became apparent to the people only on the day when the Makkan pagans came up to the Prophet ﷺ seeking the cancellation of the clause which had forced the Muslims to send Abu Jandal back to them. And, in Suhayl's Islam and, in his tough attitude at that time, was also something good hidden for the Muslims for, when the Prophet ﷺ died and the Makkans were about to abandon Islam, it was he who addressed them in a highly eloquent manner and retained them in Islam.<sup>58</sup>

And, Sahl bin Hunayf said on the day of the Siffin battle, "You might re-look into your opinion (about the peace prospects). I can recall the day when I saw Abu Jandal in chains. If I could, I would have refused to obey the Prophet that day."<sup>59</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ told the Companions to slaughter their sacrificial animals and shave their heads, not one of them moved. When he told them three times but they wouldn't move, he entered into Umm Salamah's tent and complained to her of their behavior. She suggested that he himself go ahead and do what he was asking his Companions to do. When he did that, they also rose up and did as he did. Nevertheless, they were so unhappy that when some of them were shaving others, they injured each other in the head.<sup>60</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ supplicated three times for those who shaved their heads and once for those who cut their hair short.<sup>61</sup>

The total number of camels<sup>62</sup> that they slaughtered was seventy: one for every seven persons.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>57</sup> *Musnad* of Ahmad (4/325) through a *Hasan* chain, as also by the same chain Ibn Ishāq – *Ibn Hishām* (3/442).

<sup>58</sup> See this in his biography in *Al-Isābah* and other books.

<sup>59</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/271/H. 3181) and (16/33/H. 4189).

<sup>60</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/178-180/H. 2731, 2732).

<sup>61</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (2/34, 151) through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>62</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (4/324) through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>63</sup> *Muslim* (2/955/H. 1318).

The camel that the Prophet ﷺ slaughtered had once belonged to Abu Jahl. He had received it as his share of the war booty after the battle of Badr. He slaughtered it there to anger the pagans.<sup>64</sup> In any case, some of the camels were slaughtered in the area known as Hill<sup>65</sup> (an area within the *Miqāt*), while others were sent to inner sanctuary known as Haram from the Jundub side.<sup>66</sup>

Obviously, 'Umar's behavior on that day, as also of other believers, was out of good intentions.<sup>67</sup>

The pagans on the other hand did not give up provoking the Muslims before, during, or after the signing of the armistice. The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions applied great restraint upon themselves in the face of the provocation. So that, when eighty of a pagan party tried to attack them in surprise, the Muslims were able to thwart their attempt and, rather, captured them all. However, the Messenger ﷺ pardoned every one of them.<sup>68</sup> Another attack was organized by a group of thirty pagans, right at the time of the signing of the treaty. They too were captured but set free by the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>69</sup>

Another attempt was made after the conclusion of the treaty. Seventy of the pagans tried to provoke the Muslims. But the attempt was thwarted and they were captured. Salamah bin Akwa' also captured four pagans who misbehaved with the Prophet ﷺ. But he forgave them. It was in reference to these incidents that the Qur'ānic Verse came down saying,

﴿وَهُوَ الَّذِي كَفَّ أَيْدِيَهُمْ عَنْكُمْ وَأَيْدِيَكُمْ عَنْهُمْ بِبَطْنِ مَكَّةَ مِنْ بَعْدِ أَنْ أَظْفَرَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ﴾

<sup>64</sup> *Sunan Abu Dāwud* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan*, p. 1749; *Sahih Ibn Khuzaymah* (4/286-287); *Al-Mustadrak* (1/467) which Hākim declared reliable, and *Ahmad* (1/234) through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>65</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/131/H. 2701).

<sup>66</sup> *Tahāwī: Sharh Ma'ānil-Athār* (2/242) through a reliable chain.

<sup>67</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (4/325) through a *Hasan* chain of transmitters.

<sup>68</sup> *Muslim* (3/1442/H. 1808), and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/122, 124, 125, 290).

<sup>69</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (4/86) through narrators who are of the *Sahih* compilations as said Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/145). Hākim said (2/460): "Trustworthy, on the conditions of the *Shaykhayn*."

"It is He Who restrained their hands from reaching you and your hands reaching them in the heart of Makkah, after He had given you an upper hand over them."<sup>70, 71</sup>

Thereafter, the Muslims returned. They were away for a month and a half.<sup>72</sup> Of these they had spent ten at Hudaibiyah, but according to another report, twenty days.<sup>73</sup>

During the return journey, miracles once again appeared at the hands of the Prophet ﷺ in matters of food and drink, as it had happened at the time of the battle of the Ditch in the house of Jābir and as water had sprouted in the wells of Hudaibiyah. It is reported by Salamah bin Akwa' that once when they suffered great hunger, the Prophet ﷺ ordered that the entire provision of the army be collected together. It amounted to a very small quantity. However, everyone ate out of it and even saved some in their bags. Then he was brought a small pitcher that had a little water in it. He emptied it into a larger pitcher and the whole army made ablution from it.<sup>74</sup>

The chapter entitled *Al-Fath* (The Victory) came down during the return journey. It said,

﴿إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا﴾

"Indeed we have granted you a clear victory..."<sup>75</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ told his Companions, "Today a *Surat* is revealed to me that is dearer to me than anything on which the sun rises."<sup>76</sup>

'Umar ؓ asked in surprise, "Is this a victory?" When the Prophet ﷺ replied in the affirmative, he felt comforted and returned happy.<sup>77</sup>

According to another report he said, "Yes. By Him in Whose Hand

<sup>70</sup> *Surat Al-Fath*: 24.

<sup>71</sup> *Muslim* (3/1434/H. 1807).

<sup>72</sup> Ibn Sayyidin-Nās: *Uyunul-Athar* (2/123), originally a narration of Ibn 'Ā'idh.

<sup>73</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/616) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/98) a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>74</sup> *Muslim* (3/1354/H. 1729), and *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/16/H. 4152).

<sup>75</sup> *Surat Al-Fath*: 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/28/H. 4177).

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is my life, this is a victory."<sup>78</sup> The Muslims were also generally pleased to hear that, and the cloud of grief slipped by. They soon realized their inability to understand the ends achieved by the means that were employed, and that it was better for them to submit to Allāh (ﷻ) and His Messenger.

However, later when Umm Kulthum, the daughter of 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt came to Madinah as a *Muhājir*, the Prophet ﷺ did not send her back to Makkah when they demanded her return. That was following Allāh's instruction,

﴿إِذَا جَاءَكُمْ الْمُؤْمِنَاتُ مُهَاجِرَاتٍ فَامْتَحِنُوهُنَّ إِنَّ اللَّهَ أَعْلَمُ بِإِيمَانِهِنَّ... وَلَا هُمْ يَحِلُّونَ لَهُنَّ﴾

"When believing women come to you as *Muhājir*, examine them, (although) Allāh knows their faith" ... until .. "for they (the pagans) are not lawful for them."<sup>79,80</sup>

Accordingly, the Prophet ﷺ used to examine them for their faith. If there was evidence that they had emigrated because of their faith, he allowed them to remain, paying back their dowries to their former pagan husbands, although he had never paid such dowries before the Hudaibiyah treaty.<sup>81</sup>

The Verse quoted above declared that Muslim migrating women were excluded from the treaty and could not be returned to the pagans since they were unlawful unto the pagans. The actual words were,

<sup>78</sup> Hākim in his *Mustadrak* (2/459) where he treated this report as important and trustworthy which the *Shaykhayn* did not document. Dhahabi agreed with him; *Sunan Abu Dāwud* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan* (3/174-175/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2736), and *Musnad Ahmad* (3/420) where Anas ؓ interpreted the victory as that of Hudaibiyah. See also *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/26/H. 4172) and (18/211/H. 4834).

<sup>79</sup> *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 10.

<sup>80</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/140/H. 2711, 2712).

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<sup>76</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/28/H. 4177).

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<sup>79</sup> *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 10.

<sup>80</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/140/H. 2711, 2712).

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﴿وَلَا تُمْسِكُوا بِعِصَمِ الْكَوَافِرِ﴾

"Do not hold the disbelieving women as wives."<sup>82, 83</sup>

Several of the slaves of the Quraysh had sought refuge with the Muslims before the armistice could be signed. The pagans demanded them back saying, "They haven't come to you attracted by your religion, rather, they seek freedom." A few Muslims remarked, "They spoke the truth, O Messenger of Allāh. So, let them go back." The Prophet ﷺ said angrily, "They have been freed by Allāh."

The following report is in *Abu Dāwud* (The Book of *Jihād*, no. 2700), as well as in Bayhaqi in his *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/229), Tirmidhi's *Sunan*, (The Book of *Manāqib*, no. 3715). It has also been reported through 'Ali bin Abu Tālib ؓ although in a truncated form. The report says, "Several men of the pagans came up on the day of Hdaybiyah. One of them was Suhayl bin 'Amr. They said, 'Some of our sons, brothers and slaves have come to you. They understand nothing of religion. They have only sought to escape from the care of our properties seeking freedom. So, return them to us.' The Prophet ﷺ replied, 'If they do not have any understanding of this religion, we shall teach them...'" Tirmidhi said about this report, "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* report that has not come to us by any other route, except that of Ruba'i, through 'Ali, while Ahmad also reported it (1/155). Hakami – who attempted research of all narratives concerning the Hdaybiyyah affair (p. 183) – said, "Yes, the *Hadith* is trustworthy, but only collectively."

for Wāqidi, he was abandoned. Thus the chain remains weak, not worthy of scholarly consideration, not meeting with the criteria of the acceptable type of *Mursal* reports whose conditions are as follows: (a) All the *Mursal* versions should be from the important Followers (*Taba'iyyun*), (b) Every one of them should have taken the report from a Shaykh different from the Shaykh of the others, and, (c) that the chain of transmission of everyone of the two should be trustworthy until the person who truncated it.

<sup>82</sup> Surat Al-Mumtahanah: 10.

<sup>83</sup> See Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath (11/140/H. 2711, 2712); *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/228) and *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (4/351).

### Lessons and Rules

1. Whenever something prevents the Muslims from performing their 'Umrah, after they have donned the pilgrimage garb, it is allowed for them to remove their garb at the place they are stopped. A repeat attempt is not a must.<sup>84</sup>
2. The Prophet ﷺ allowed Ka'b bin 'Ujrah to shave his head, although he was in a state of consecration, because of an ailment in the scalp. He asked him to either slaughter a goat in expiation or fast three days or feed six poor people. The Verse that came in this connection was,
 

﴿فَمَنْ كَانَ مِنْكُمْ مَّرِيضًا أَوْ بِهِمْ أَذًى مِنْ رَأْسِهِ فَفِدْيَةٌ مِنْ صِيَامٍ أَوْ صَدَقَةٍ أَوْ نُسُكٍ﴾

"Then whosoever of you is sick or has an ailment in his scalp may offer as expiation fasts, charity or sacrifice."<sup>85, 86</sup>
3. When it rained, the Prophet ﷺ ordered his men to pray within their tents.<sup>87</sup>
4. The actual application of the principle of consultation between the Muslims, was realized when the Prophet ﷺ consulted them whether to retaliate against those who had taken part in support of the pagans or not. He also consulted Umm Salamah ؓ when his Companions delayed in removing their pilgrim garbs. In both cases he followed the advice given.
5. The period fixed for the treaty of Hdaybiyah tells us that a peace treaty can be at most for a period of ten years. The main guiding principle in dealings with the disbelievers is war and not peace.

<sup>84</sup> For further details see books of *Fiqh*.

<sup>85</sup> Surat Al-Baqarah: 196.

<sup>86</sup> See Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath (8/132/H. 1816-1818), *Muslim* (2/859-862/H. 1201).

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Mājah: *Sunan* (The Book of *Salāt*, p. 936) through a reliable chain.



6. It is allowable to return Muslims to the disbelievers.
7. It is allowed to draw a good omen as the Prophet ﷺ did when he said, "Your affair has become easy" when Suhayl bin 'Amr showed up to discuss the peace treaty.
8. Whoever said, "We received rains because of such and such a star" disbelieved in Islam. One may say, instead, "We have been sent rains by the leave of Allāh and His mercy." This is what the Prophet ﷺ said when he did his morning prayer after the rains of the previous night.<sup>88</sup>
9. It is allowed to seek blessings from the relics of the Prophet ﷺ, such as from his ablution water.<sup>89</sup> That was special with him and does not apply to other righteous Muslims.<sup>90</sup>
10. The *Sunnah* for one who slept over his prayer is that he should pray as soon as he wakes up, even if its time has elapsed. This is because when the Muslims were in the return journey, and one morning no one woke up until the sun shined on their faces, while the night watchman Bilāl ؓ also slept off, they all prayed after the time had elapsed.<sup>91</sup>
11. The Hudaibiyah armistice implied recognition by the Quraysh of Muslims as their equals.
12. The loss of Quraysh prestige, evidenced by the fact that the Khuzā'ah tribe sided with the Prophet ﷺ without fear of the Quraysh. That wasn't possible in the past.
13. The Hudaibiyah peace treaty gave the Muslims the chance and freedom to deal with the Khayber Jews and then others of them in Tayma' and Fadak.

<sup>88</sup> See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (4/263/H. 846).

<sup>89</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/170/H. 2731, 2732).

<sup>90</sup> Shātibī: *Al-I'tisām* (2/8).

<sup>91</sup> *Sunan Abu Dāwūd* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan*: (1/309-310/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 447). Nasa'i: *Sunan Al-Kubra*/119 which Haythami declared trustworthy as in *Al-Majma'* (1/319).

14. The treaty gave the Muslims the opportunity to spread the message of Islam. Zuhri has said, "No victory in Islam has been greater than the Hudaibiyah treaty. Earlier to that, fighting started off at any place men encountered each other. But, with the peace treaty, arms were laid down, people met each other in complete peace, discuss and debate. So that, no intelligent man ever opened the subject but ultimately became a Muslim. During the following two years the same number of people entered into Islam as had done from the beginning of the affair." Ibn Hishām added, "Zuhri's statement is evidenced by the fact that when the Prophet ﷺ started off for Hudaibiyah, he had, according to Jābir ؓ, 1400 men in his company. But by the eighth year, when he entered Makkah victorious, he had 10,000 men with him."<sup>92</sup>
15. One of the consequences of the treaty terms was that when Abu Basir fled from the pagans and came to the Prophet ﷺ, he rejected him on pagan demand. As they were taking him back, he overcame them, killing one, while the other fled. Abu Basir returned to Madinah. He said to the Prophet ﷺ, "You observed the treaty clause, and returned me to them, but Allāh freed me." But the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Woe unto Abu Mis'ar's mother, only if he had someone with him." Abu Basir understood the Prophet's signal and so when he felt that he would be returned, he went away and sought refuge in the mountains near the sea shore. Other Muslims in Makkah also understood what the Prophet ﷺ had meant. They too began to free themselves and join up with Abu Basir. One of them was Abu Jandal. Soon they became a sizable party and began to harass the passing Quraysh caravans. Finally, the Quraysh sent word to the Prophet ﷺ requesting him to accept those who fled from them.<sup>93</sup> So he sent word to them while they were in the 'Eis area. They all came down to live in Madinah. By then, their number had grown to sixty or seventy.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/447-448).

<sup>93</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/180-183/H. 2731, 2732).

<sup>94</sup> Ibn Ishāq with a *Hasan* chain, if we consider it as part of his reports

16. In the story of Abu Basir, Abu Jandal and others in 'Eis, is an example for the Muslims that they have to stay firm on their faith, and work to find ways to defend themselves against oppressors.

narrating the events of Hdaybiyah—*Ibn Hishām* (3/449), who mentioned that they were close to seventy. This *Hadith* was also reported by Bayhaqi in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/227) through a chain in which falls Ibn Bukayr who was sound but committed errors. However the report is *Hasan* because of several supportive reports. It comes through Ibn Ishāq as we mentioned which Bayhaqi brought it in his *Dalā'il* (4/174-175) it being a *Mursal* report of Zuhri. It says that they went forward to 'Eis in numbers three hundred; and that the Prophet's letter arrived when Abu Basir was near his death. He died with the letter in his hand. Abu Jandal buried him and the rest returned. It has been narrated as a *Mursal* version of 'Urwah (4/175-176).

## Chapter 14

# Expeditions between Hdaybiyah and Khayber

### Dhu Qarad Expedition<sup>1</sup>

'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Uyaynah bin Hisn Fazāri and a group of men from Ghatafān raided on the milk camels of the Prophet ﷺ that were being grazed in Dhu Qarad. When Salamah bin Akwa' came to know, he shouted for help and then gave them a chase. He began to shoot arrows at them. By the time the Prophet ﷺ and his men could catch up, they found that he had already succeeded in releasing the cattle. So they returned. The Prophet ﷺ allowed Salamah to ride his own camel behind him, on the way back to Madinah.<sup>2</sup>

This incident took place three days before Khayber expedition.<sup>3</sup>

### Abān bin Sa'eed's Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ sent him towards Najd. In his return journey he

<sup>1</sup> A watering place that was around two days distance away from Madinah. See Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (2/83-84).

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/36-40/H. 4194) and *Muslim* (3/1432-1441/H. 1806).

<sup>3</sup> This is what Bukhāri asserts with in the chapter-caption dealing with the Qarad campaign as in *Al-Fath*. This is because of the authentic reports in his possession. Ibn Kathir preferred in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/173) as did Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/37) in the manner of Bukhāri. Both have detailed discussions over the issue of this campaign, and its date.

joined the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions at Khayber, after it had fallen.<sup>4</sup>

The sources do not tell us the exact destination in Najd, nor do they say anything about what took place there, or the number of men that went along with Abān bin Sa'eed.

## The Khayber Expedition

The Jews of Khayber did nothing to expose their enmity of Islam until the leaders from the exiled Banu Nadir tribe had taken refuge with them. As we have mentioned earlier, men like Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq and Huyaiy bin Akhtab had chosen to live at Khayber.<sup>1</sup>

These leaders were filled with hatred for the Muslims and used every opportunity to harm them. They found that they could use the Quraysh and other tribes as horses to ride on into Madinah. They invoked them to violence and managed to bring them against the Muslims resulting in what is known as the Ditch encounter.<sup>2</sup> They managed to break away Banu Qurayzah who broke the treaty and sided with the enemies.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, when the tribes had scattered away from the Madinan borders, the Prophet ﷺ organized an expedition under the leadership of 'Abdullah bin 'Atik to finish off their leaders. One of them to be so taken care of, was Sallām bin Abu Huqayq.

At this point, the Hudyabiyah armistice offered an opportunity to the Muslims to solve this problem once and for all, and allow peace to prevail. Allāh (ﷻ) had already promised them abundant spoils if they attacked Khayber. This was hinted at in the *Surat Al-Fath*, which was revealed on the way back from Hudyabiyah. It said,

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Ishāq, a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/269).

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/298-299).

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through a *Mu'allaq* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/307-309).

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/74-75/H. 4238).

﴿لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ فَعَلِمَ مَا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ فَأَنْزَلَ السَّكِينَةَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَثَبَهُمْ فَتْحًا قَرِيبًا ﴿١٨﴾ وَمَعَانِدَ كَثِيرَةً يَأْخُذُونَهَا وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَزِيزًا حَكِيمًا ﴿١٩﴾ وَعَدَّكُمْ اللَّهُ مَغَانِمَ كَثِيرَةً تَأْخُذُونَهَا فَعَجَلَ لَكُمْ هَذِهِ وَكَفَّ أَيْدِيَ النَّاسِ عَنْكُمْ وَلِتَكُونَ آيَةً لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَيَهْدِيَكُمْ صِرَاطًا مُسْتَقِيمًا ﴿٢٠﴾ وَأُخْرَى لَمْ تَقْدِرُوا عَلَيْهَا قَدْ أَحَاطَ اللَّهُ بِهَا وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرًا﴾

"Allāh was pleased with the believers when they were swearing allegiance to you under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts. Therefore, He sent down on them Sakinah, allowed a victory near at hand and abundant spoils that they will be taking. Allāh is Mighty, Wise. He has promised you abundant spoils that you will take and made this one (immediately available) for you. Also, He restrained people's hands from you so that it might be a sign for the believers and so that He might guide you to a Straight Path. (And He promises) another (victory) over which (presently) you have no power, but Allāh has circumscribed it and, surely, Allāh has power over everything."<sup>4, 5</sup>

### Date of the Expedition

Ibn Ishāq<sup>6</sup> thought that it took place in the Muharram of the

<sup>4</sup> Surat Al-Fath: (18-21).

<sup>5</sup> Mujāhid said in the explanation of, "and made this one (immediately available) for you," refers to the fall of Khayber. See *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (7/322). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/40-41), as reported Yunus bin Bukayr in *Al-Maghāzi* of Ibn Ishāq discussing the report of Miswar and Marwān, that: "The Prophet ﷺ departed from Hudaybiyah and was between Makkah and Madinah that the *Surat Al-Fath* started coming down." Thus, Allāh gave him Khayber to which He had referred when He said, "He has promised you abundant spoils that you will take and made this me (immediately available)." The commentators have differed over the meaning of the spoils of this reference. 'Awfi reported Ibn 'Abbās as of belief that it was Khayber—an opinion maintained by others also.

<sup>6</sup> Ibn Hishām (3/455), *Mu'allaq*.

seventh year after *Hijrah*. However, Wāqidi<sup>7</sup> puts it as in the Safar or Rabi'ul-Awwal, of the seventh year after the return from Hydaybiyah. On the other hand, Ibn Sa'd<sup>8</sup> states that it took place in Jumāda Al-Ula of the sixth year. Zuhri and Mālik have however thought that it took place in the Muharram of the sixth year.<sup>9</sup> The difference between Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi is minor: two months. So also, the difference between these historians on one side and Zuhri and Mālik on the other is because of their differences over when to start dating the Hijri calendar. This we have spoken of earlier. Ibn Hajar<sup>10</sup> has preferred Ibn Ishāq's opinion over that of Wāqidi.

The believers started off for Khayber in full confidence, despite their knowledge of the strength of those forts and of the fighting experience of those who held them. They were uttering Allāh's Name and chanting His glory in a raised voice. The Prophet ﷺ told them to spare their souls by saying, "You are addressing Someone who is the Hearer, and is near. He is with you."<sup>11</sup> They took the road that lay between Ghatafān and Khayber in order to disperse the Ghatafān, another of their enemies, and prevent them from helping the Khayber Jews.<sup>12</sup>

They ascended into the valleys in front of the forts just before dawn, having done their dawn prayers a little away. They attacked them immediately after sunrise when their men began to emerge from the fort to attend to works. Surprised, they cried out, "Muhammad and his army." The Prophet ﷺ said, "Allāh is Great. Khayber is destroyed. When we ascend into a people's fields, then, that is an evil day for those who had been warned."<sup>13</sup>

The Jews withdrew into their forts and the Muslims laid siege around them. When Ghatafān came to know of it, they started out hoping to strengthen the Jews. But, on their way they heard that they might be attacked by the Muslims from the rear and so they

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/634).

<sup>8</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/106).

<sup>9</sup> Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq* (1/33).

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Fath* (16/41).

<sup>11</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/50/H. 4205).

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (2/458).

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (3/288/H. 610), *Muslim* (3/1426-1427/H. 1365).

returned leaving the Jews to face the Prophet ﷺ all by themselves,<sup>14</sup> and the Muslims began to capture the forts one after another. The first to fall were the Nā'im and Sa'b forts in the Natāh region, and Ubaiy and Nizār in the Shiqq region. These two regions lay in the north-east of Khayber. Then Qamus fort of the Kutaybah region fell to them. That was Ibn Abu Huqayq's fort. Finally, the forts of the Watih and Sulālim regions were subdued.<sup>15</sup>

Muslims faced some very strong resistance at some of the forts. Nā'im fort was one of them where Mahmud bin Maslamah Ansāri was martyred when Marhab dropped a millstone on him under the fort wall.<sup>16</sup> The fort took ten days to be captured.<sup>17</sup> At first the forces were commanded by Abu Bakr ﷺ. But he didn't succeed. When the people had tried their best and didn't succeed, the Prophet ﷺ announced that he would give the command to someone the next day who loves Allāh and His Messenger and whom Allāh and His Messenger love. He will not return but victorious. The next day, after the dawn prayers he gave the command to 'Ali ﷺ and Allāh (ﷻ) granted him victory.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Ibn Ishāq with a complete chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/458), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/650).

<sup>15</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/639) and Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/461-462) with differences between them over which fort fell earlier than another.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/464) which mentions his martyrdom without detailing the manner; Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/459) who mentioned the killing with a millstone, not mentioning who threw it; and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/654) who named the one who threw the stone as Marhab, the Jew.

<sup>17</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/657).

<sup>18</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (5/353), and *Al-Mustadrak* of Hākim (3/37) who said the report was authentic and Dhahabi agreed to it; *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/150) which Haythami declared trustworthy. The original story is in *Sahih Muslim* (4/1872/H. 2405-2407) which does not mention that Abu Bakr ﷺ was carrying the banner.

In other reports, though weak, it has been mentioned that the one who carried the banner before 'Ali ﷺ was 'Umar ﷺ and not Abu Bakr. Other reports say that Abu Bakr and 'Umar alternated in carrying the banner during the first two days. These reports are in *Musnad Ahmad* (5/358), and in *Kashful-Astār* (2/338). They depend on Maymun Basri who was weak.

'Ali suffered an eyesore. The Prophet ﷺ spat in his eyes, supplicated for him and they became all right.<sup>19</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ instructed 'Ali ﷺ to first invite the Jews to Islam before attacking them. He said, "By Allāh, that a single man should embrace Islam because of you is better for you than red camels."<sup>20</sup> When 'Ali asked him, "What is it over which I fight the people?" he answered, "Fight them until they testify, 'there is no deity except Allāh and Muhammad is His Messenger.' When they do that, their blood and wealth are unlawful unto you except by their right. And thereafter, their reckoning is upon Allāh."<sup>21</sup>

While the fort was under siege, its chief Marhab, who was a fearful fighter, came up to the fort wall. He was the one who was responsible for 'Āmir bin Akwa's martyrdom. He asked for a duel. 'Ali fought him and killed him.<sup>22</sup> That drove fear into the hearts of the Jews and finally led to their defeat.

'Ali showed a lot of strength and courage in his fight.<sup>23</sup> Abu Rāfi' reports that when he neared the fort some soldiers came out to fight him. As he fought he was hit by an opponent and his shield fell off his hand. 'Ali pulled out a door-wing off the fort wall<sup>24</sup> and used it as a shield until victory was his. After the fighting was over, he threw away the door-wing. Rāfi' reports, "I was one of the seven who tried to lift the door-wing but we could not even turn it around."

Another is with Ibn Ishāq and *Ibn Hishām* (3/465-466). These chains have in them Buraydah bin Sufyān who was also weak. Thus the weak reports lend support to each other.

<sup>19</sup> *Muslim* (4/1872/H. 2406), and reported by Ibn Ishāq with a weak chain which gathers strength from supporting narratives—*Ibn Hishām* (3/466). See *Kashful-Astār* (2/338-39) and *Hākim* (3/38-39).

<sup>20</sup> *Muslim* (4/1871/H. 2404, 2405).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, (p. 1872/H. 1405).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, (3/1440/H. 1807).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/467) with a weak chain for it has a narrator that Ibn Ishāq did not name.

<sup>24</sup> Bayhaqi quoted it in his *Dalā'il* (4/212), being a narration of Ibn Ishāq. It looks like some errors crept in during copying so that it says that 'Ali took a fort-door and used it as a shield.

Bayhaqi<sup>25</sup> reported the incident twice, both originating with Jābir. The first version says that 'Ali lifted the door-wing and men climbed over it onto the fort wall. Afterwards forty men could not lift it.<sup>26</sup> The second version says that seventy men lifted it with great effort to put it back to its place.<sup>27</sup>

Next, the Muslims turned to the Sa'b bin Mu'adh fort. Hubāb bin Mundhir was in command. They forced open its doors in three days. Inside, they discovered tons of provisions which came in handy at a time they were suffering from hunger. Next they attacked the Zubayr fort. Those who had fled from the Nā'im, Sa'b and other forts, had taken refuge in this fort. As they laid siege to it, the Muslims cut off water supply, forcing them to come down and fight. In three days they overcame them. This helped the Muslims to take the other more strongly defended forts in the Natāh area more easily.

The forts in the Shiqq area became the targets next, beginning with the Ubaiy fort, which was easily taken over. Some of the Jewish fighters escaped from this one and took refuge in the Nizār fort. So the Muslims turned next to that fort and eventually it fell. The rest of the fighters of the Shiqq forts had gathered themselves in the Qamus, Watih and Sulālim forts. Muslims laid siege to these forts. The siege lasted for some fourteen days until the Jews sought peace.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (4/212).

<sup>26</sup> This route has all trustworthy narrators except for Layth bin Abu Sulaym who was alright except that he confused (words and narrators). His narratives could not be analyzed and so he was abandoned. Bayhaqi said in *Dalā'il* (4/212) that he was followed by Fudayl bin 'Abdul-Wahhāb and he from Muttalib bin Ziyad.

<sup>27</sup> This is also a weak route as said Shāmi in *Sirat* (5/201) where he remarked: "Hākim recorded it."

I would like to add that these weak reports strengthen each other pointing to the fact that they have an origin. I prefer to accept the text of Ibn Ishāq for it happens to be the most rational. As for other reports, there is no reason not to accept them in the light of the assumption that they can be explained as one of the thaumaturgies of 'Ali عليه السلام.

<sup>28</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/658-671).

Thus, Khayber<sup>29</sup> was brought to control with the help of some good fighting. Some scholars have said that it was taken over through peace-treaties. But Bukhāri,<sup>30</sup> Muslim<sup>31</sup> and Abu Dāwud<sup>32</sup> are of the opinion that it was conquered by force.

By the time the Prophet ﷺ could wrap up his affairs at Khayber, Allāh ﷻ sent down fear into the hearts of the Fadak population. They were in the north of Khayber. They sent peace proposals on condition that half of the Fadak produce would be sent to the Muslims every year. The Prophet ﷺ accepted the proposal and the Fadak income was marked for him because no fighting had taken place over it.<sup>33</sup>

Altogether the Jews lost some ninety-three men<sup>34</sup> in the battles. Some women and children were also taken slaves. One of them was Safiyyah, the daughter of Huyaiy bin Akhtab. She fell in Dihyah's lot. But, since she was the daughter of a chieftain, the Prophet ﷺ purchased her and freed her. Later he married her,<sup>35</sup> going into her during his return journey to Madinah. That night Abu Ayyub Ansāri guarded his tent.<sup>36</sup>

From among the Muslims, some twenty men attained martyrdom. That is Ibn Ishāq's report.<sup>37</sup> Wāqidi, however, said

<sup>29</sup> See the discussion regarding Khayber that it was partly captured through force, while a part was captured through armistice. Ibn Qayyim stated in *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/352-4) and Ibn Abdul-Barr in *Ad-Durar*, p. 214, that it was all taken by force. So said 'Iwad Shahri in his thesis, *Marwiyyāt Khayber* pp. 197-199.

<sup>30</sup> *Al-Fath* (3/32/H. 371).

<sup>31</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1427/H. 1365).

<sup>32</sup> *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/408-410/H. 3009) through an authentic chain.

<sup>33</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/490-491); *Abu Dāwud* (3/414/H. 3016). Mundhiri said in *Mukhtasar Sunan Abu Dāwud* (4/239): "This is a *Mursal* report." Abu Yusuf said in *Al-Khirāj*, p. 50, that it has Kalbi in it who had been abandoned.

<sup>34</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/700), and Wāqidi's reports are generally weak for he was abandoned in *Hadith* matters.

<sup>35</sup> *Muslim* (2/1045-1046/H. 1365), *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/59-60/H. 4211) who states that he chose her for himself.

<sup>36</sup> Reported by Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (4/28) treating it as authentic with the approval of Dhahabi.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/478), *Mu'allaq*.

they were fifteen.<sup>38</sup>

One of those martyred was a dark-faced shepherd of a Khayber Jew. He went up to the Prophet ﷺ, along with his sheep, while he lay siege to the forts. He wished to know about Islam. The Prophet ﷺ explained to him and he became a Muslim. He asked the Prophet ﷺ about his sheep. He instructed him to turn them in the direction of the forts and give them a push. So, he took them to the fort walls and gave them a push. They went away in the direction of the forts. However, as he joined the ranks of the *Mujāhidin*, he was hit by a stone missile and died. He hadn't prayed even once. When his body was brought to the Prophet ﷺ, he covered it with his own turban cloth. Then, as he was looking at his body, the Prophet ﷺ suddenly turned away. He was asked the reason. He said, "Two of his *Hur* wives are with him just now."<sup>39</sup>

We are reminded of another story of another martyr who set an example of a high level of sincerity. He went to the Prophet ﷺ, embraced Islam, and was ordered to emigrate. When the Khayber expedition took place, some say the Hunayn expedition, the Prophet ﷺ received booty and marked his share apart. He wasn't present because he was guarding the forces from the rear. When he arrived and was given his share he took it to the Prophet ﷺ and asked, "Muhammad! What's this?" He told him that it was his share of the booty. He said, "I didn't follow you for this. I have followed you so that I may be shot at here," and pointing to his throat with his arrow, he added, "and enter Paradise." The Prophet ﷺ said, "If you have spoken the truth, Allāh will testify to your truth." And, it wasn't long before he was hit in his throat. He was brought to the Prophet ﷺ. He remarked, "He was truthful to

<sup>38</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/700).

<sup>39</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq up to the final authority — *Ibn Hishām* (3/479-480); Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/136) through a chain different from that of Ibn Ishāq, but which he declared trustworthy although Dhahabi did not agree since its chain has Shurahbil bin Sa'd who had been accused; Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (4/219-220) tracing it through Musa bin 'Uqbah, *Mursal*, and a narrative of 'Urwah, also *Mursal* which all indicate that the story has an origin.

Allāh and so Allāh proved him true." Then he wrapped him in his own shirt and got him buried.<sup>40</sup>

After the battles were over, the Jews made an attempt at the Prophet's life. One of their women sent him a roasted sheep that was poisoned. She had applied poison more generously to its shoulders since she had learnt that he preferred shoulder meat. When he began to eat, the shoulder told him that it was poisoned. He threw out what was in his mouth. He cross-examined the woman and she admitted to poisoning the meat. He let her go without any punishment.<sup>41</sup> However, later Bishr bin Bara' bin Ma'rur died of the poison. He had taken a bite or two of the meat. So the Prophet ﷺ ordered the woman to be killed in retaliation.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, a peace treaty was worked out between the Jews and the Muslims on the following terms:

- Immovable property, including the cattle, were to remain in Jewish possession on the condition that they will work on the lands and pay fifty percent of the produce yearly to the Muslims.
- All investments on the lands would be made by the Jews themselves.<sup>43</sup>
- They were to remain in the lands so long as the Muslims wished, leaving when ordered to leave.

<sup>40</sup> Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/276) through reliable sources.

<sup>41</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/261/H. 3169), and *Muslim* (4/1721/H. 2190).

<sup>42</sup> Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/220), and 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* through his own chain reaching Ubaiy bin Ka'b as Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Fath* (16/18); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/679); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/256-264), who gathered together all the reports on this topic. See the redactor's notes on this subject especially what Dr. Munir 'Ajlāni, chief editor, *Al-Majallatul-'Arabiyyah*, has brought to light to the effect that the poisoning was done by the concurrence of the Jews. This supported by an ancient Armenian document which 'Ajlāni discussed during presentation of his article in the said magazine, third edition, second year. However, the document is questionable. Had the case been as what it presents, then the action against them would have been different, since they would all have participated in the assassination attempt.

<sup>43</sup> A report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/80-81/H. 4248) and *Muslim* (3/1186-1187/H. 1551).

It was 'Umar bin Khattāb ؓ who exiled them to Tayma' and Jericho<sup>44</sup> following the Prophet's behest at the time of his death, "Exile the pagans from the Arabian Peninsula."<sup>45</sup> Also, these people never stayed quiet. First they killed 'Abdullah bin Sahl. But they refused to own up, so the Prophet ﷺ let them go and paid himself the blood money.<sup>46</sup> Later, at the time of 'Umar ؓ, they attacked 'Abdullah bin 'Umar ؓ twisting and fracturing his hands.<sup>47</sup>

They also agreed to the clause that the Prophet ﷺ would send a delegation every year to estimate the produce and receive the Muslim share.<sup>48</sup>

As for movable property, it was agreed that gold, silver, arms and shields would be for the Prophet ﷺ, while they would retain what their mounts could carry; but they would not conceal any wealth. If they did that, they would not escape from the punishment by any treaty. Yet they concealed a treasure casket that belonged to Huyaiy bin Akhtab. He had carried it along with him the day he had left Madinah along with the rest of the Banu Nadir. When the Prophet ﷺ inquired his uncle Sa'yah about it, he replied, "It was

<sup>44</sup> Muslim (3/1188/H. 1551), Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath (12/239/H. 3152).

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Sa'd (2/242) through an authentic chain. It was also reported by Ibn Ishāq but the report stops at Zuhri—Ibn Hishām (3/495). Its words are, "Let not two religions coexist in the Arabian Peninsula." Ibn Hishām recorded it in a *Mursal* format, through 'Ubaydullah bin 'Abdullah bin 'Utbah as a narrative of Zuhri (3/490). Ahmad also reported in his *Musnad* (6/27) through a reliable chain, and 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (6/257) through two chains: first through a well connected chain ending with 'Āishah ؓ, while the other stops at Ibn Jurayj.

<sup>46</sup> Reported by Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath (22/340/H. 6142, 6143) and Muslim (3/1291-1295/H. 1669). We have contended ourselves with these two for reasons of brevity.

<sup>47</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (1/90/H. 90/Shākir) through an authentic chain, and Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/495).

<sup>48</sup> Being a tradition with Ahmad in *Musnad* (7/7/Shākir) via a reliable chain. Also a tradition of Ibn 'Umar in *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/125) through a trustworthy report; Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* (3/697) through a *Hasan* chain; Bayhaqi in the *Sunan* (9/137-138); Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih* as in *Mawāriduz-Zamān* (412-413) both through a single trustworthy chain, and Ibn Ishāq with a *Munqati'* chain—Ibn Hishām (3/491-492).

eaten up by expenditures and consumed by wars." The Prophet ﷺ said, "The treaty is still fresh and the amount involved is enormous." He entrusted him to Zubayr who tortured him. He admitted to seeing Huyaiy foraging around in the ruins. When searched, the treasure was found there. So Ibn Abu Huqayq was killed in retaliation and his women and children were taken slaves. And Muhammad bin Maslamah was allowed to kill Kinanāh, the one who had led them to the treasure, in retaliation of the man having killed his brother Mahmud bin Maslamah.<sup>49</sup>

As for daily ration of food, every Muslim drew from the store, filled with the provision obtained as booty, according to his need. It was not divided among the Muslims. Nor the one-fifth was separated from it.<sup>50</sup> The rest of the booty was marked for those alone who had participated in Hudaybiyah. This was following Allāh's Words,

﴿سَيَقُولُ الْمُخَلَّفُونَ إِذَا انْطَلَقْتُمْ إِلَى مَغَائِمٍ لِتَأْخُذُوهَا ذُرُونَا نَتَّبِعْكُمْ يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُبَدِّلُوا كَلِمَ اللَّهِ قُلْ لَنْ تَتَّبِعُونَا كَذَلِكَ قَالَ اللَّهُ مِنْ قَبْلُ فَسَيَقُولُونَ بَلْ نَحْسَدُونَا بَلْ كَانُوا لَا يَفْقَهُونَ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا﴾

"Those who had stayed behind will say, as you go forth towards taking possession of the booty, 'Allow us to follow you.' They wish to alter Allāh's Words. Say, 'You shall never accompany us, this is what Allāh said earlier.' They will say, 'Rather, you envy us.' Rather, they do not understand but a little."<sup>51,52</sup>

None of those who had participated at Hunayn had stayed away except for Jābir bin 'Abdullah ؓ. However, despite that, he was given a share in the spoils of Khayber, just like other participants.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Reported by Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/408/H. 3006) through a reliable chain.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath (12/241/H. 3153); Muslim (3/1393/H. 1772); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/125); Abu Dāwud (13/151/The Book of *Jihād*); Al-Hākim (2/134); Al-Wāqidi (2/664) and others.

<sup>51</sup> Surat Al-Fath: 15.

<sup>52</sup> See its explanation At-Tabari (26/50).

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Ishāq, *Suspended (Mu'allaq)*—Ibn Hishām (3/486). Al-Bukhāri mentioned *Mu'allaq*—that the Prophet ﷺ gave Jabir bin 'Abdullah ؓ some of



The Abyssinian *Muhājir*, known as the 'people of the ship,' were also given share in Khayber booty. They had arrived from Abyssinia just after the Khayber expedition. They were 53 men and women, led by Ja'far bin Abu Tālib. Reports say that none other than the Abyssinian *Muhājir* received a share in the Khayber spoils.<sup>54</sup> The Prophet ﷺ was very pleased with their arrival. He kissed Ja'far between his two eyes and hugged him. He said, "I don't know which of the two events makes me happier: Ja'far's return or the fall of Khayber."<sup>55</sup>

Perhaps one of the reasons that they were made the sole exception in matters of the spoils of Khayber was that they had a good reason for not participating in the Hudaibiyah battle. It is also possible that he obtained the permission of the participants of Hudaibiyah expedition to give these Abyssinian returnees a share. Another possibility is that he felt their commitment to Islam and the suffering in its path. They were known as the 'Twice Immigrants.'<sup>56</sup>

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Khayber dates. See *Al-Fath* (12/217-218). Ibn Hajar said on p. 219 about this *Mu'allaq* report: "...It is a tradition that has been recorded by Abu Dāwud. And it appears that the tradition of Jābir that the author reported is a part of it." See Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* (3/411-412/H. 3011, 3012).

<sup>54</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/222-223/H. 3136), and *Muslim* (4/1946/H. 2502). These words can be construed to mean that he gave them without the consent of those deserving booty, for, it is reported that he gave others apart from them, but by the consent of those deserting booty. For, he gave Abu Hurayrah ﷺ and some of the Daws who arrived at Khayber and did not participate in the battle. See Ibn Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (1/187), and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/71).

<sup>55</sup> *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (5/392/The Book of *Sunnah*/H. 5220) being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report coming from Sha'bi. This has also been reported as a well-attributed report through Jābir, as in Hākim's *Al-Mustadrak* (3/211). Hākim called it trustworthy while Dhahabi said it is *Mursal*, and through other than a chain of Jābir ﷺ as in *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir* of Tabarāni (2/107), but none of them free of defects. Albāni examined everyone of these chains and was inclined to believe that this tradition and its supporting evidences lead us to believe that it is *Hasan*. See *Fiqhus-Sirah* of Ghazāli, p. 367.

<sup>56</sup> See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 174; 'Iwad Shahri: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Khayber*, an unpublished Master's thesis, Jāmi'ah Islamiyyah, Madinah, p. 181. Also see *Muslim* (4/1964/H. 1690).

The Prophet ﷺ also gave Abu Hurayrah ﷺ and some others of the Daws tribe shares in the Khayber spoils by the consent of the others. They too had arrived just after Khayber.<sup>57</sup>

Some women had also accompanied the Khayber expedition. The Prophet ﷺ gave them shares from *Fay'* (booty gained without fighting) but not from the spoils.<sup>58</sup> He also treated the slaves in the same manner. For example, he gave 'Umayr, Abu Lahm's slave, some movable property.<sup>59</sup> He also gave some gifts to a few of the Dari tribesmen. Ibn Ishāq named them.<sup>60</sup>

The Quraysh were following the Khayber events closely, inquiring every traveler for news. They celebrated the news when a man called Hajjāj bin 'Ilāt, the Sulami, deceived them. He told them that the Jews had delivered a severe defeat to the Muslims and that Muhammad had been captured. He also told them that they had decided to bring him to Makkah and kill him before them in retaliation of the men he had killed. It was not long before they learnt that Hajjāj's news was all lies. He had sought to collect his goods and property and clear out of Makkah before himself becoming a Muslim. Their grief knew no bounds when they learnt that the truth was exactly the opposite.<sup>61</sup>

After completing his affairs at Khayber, the Prophet ﷺ turned his attention to the Jews of Wādi Al-Qura, laying siege to their

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<sup>57</sup> 'Abdur-Razzāq: *Al-Musannaf* (5/276).

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Ishāq reported it as a *Mu'allaq* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/4876). Awzā'i reported it as in *Sahih Sunan Tirmidhi* (2/106). Albāni said: "Trustworthy of chain but *Munqati'*." As for *Muslim* (3/1444-1445/H. 812) and others, they reported that the Prophet ﷺ used to give those of the women a share in war booty who accompanied him in a campaign. He did not limit it to the Khayber campaign.

<sup>59</sup> One of the reports of Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/75/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2730). The *Hadith* was also reported by *At-Tirmidhi*, see Albāni: *Sahihuth-Tirmidhi* (2/106/H. 1616), and indicated that it is also in *Abu Dāwud* of his verification (H. 244). See also Ibn Kathir in his *Tārikh* (4/228); Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/223); *Ibn Mājah* (The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2855) and Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/131) who declared it trustworthy.

<sup>60</sup> See *Ibn Hishām* (3/491) without a chain.

<sup>61</sup> Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/466-469) through a reliable chain; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/138); Ibn Hibbān in *Mawāriduz-Zamān*, p. 413; Bazzār in *Kashful-Astār* (2/341) and others.

dwellings. He invited them to Islam promising them that if they became Muslims, their life and property would be spared, with their reckoning left to Allāh. But they rejected. Instead, one of their fighters came out for a duel. Zubayr ؓ answered the challenge and killed him. Then another fighter came out. Abu Dujānah ؓ answered his challenge and also killed him. The duels cost the pagans some eleven men and evening fell. By morning they applied for peace. The Prophet ﷺ stayed there for three days and distributed the freshly obtained spoils among the Muslims. The lands, orchards, etc., were left in Jewish hands on the same terms as those of Khayber.

When the Jews of Tayma' learnt of what had happened to those of Fadak and the Wādi Al-Qura, they settled on a peace treaty with the Prophet ﷺ agreeing to pay him a certain sum yearly, remaining in possession of their property. When 'Umar exiled the Khayber and Fadak Jews, he left alone the Tayma' and Wādi Al-Qura Jews, for they fell into the Syrian territory. His opinion was that down from the Qura valley up to Madinah was Hijāz and beyond that point Shām.<sup>62</sup>

Trustworthy reports say that one of the Prophet's freed slaves, Mid'am was killed by a stray arrow as he was preparing the Prophet's mounts in the Qura valley. The people thought and spoke well of him, hoping Paradise for him. But the Prophet ﷺ said, "Rather not. The headgear that he took off from the booty, before its distribution, has become Fire for him." When a man heard those words he brought in a string or two saying, "This is something I had kept back." The Prophet ﷺ said, "A string or two of fire."<sup>63</sup>

### Lessons and Legal Points

1. The Prophet ﷺ prohibited any dishonesty in matters of the spoils of war. He said that whoever deceived and died will be in the Fire. It is reported that his Companions said about a man

<sup>62</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/709-711) through his chain leading up to Abu Hurayrah ؓ.

<sup>63</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/71-72/H. 4234) and *Muslim* (1/108/H. 115).

that he was a martyr. He said, "Never. I saw him in the Fire because of a cloak that he had kept back from the spoils."<sup>64</sup>

The story of Mid'am is another instance involving a headgear. Scholars specializing in the rules of law have other details to offer.

2. The Prophet ﷺ prohibited the meat of domestic donkey.<sup>65</sup>
3. He prohibited meat of the mules.<sup>66</sup>
4. He prohibited the meat of every wild beast that preyed on other animal's flesh as well as every bird that held its prey by its talons.<sup>67</sup>
5. He prohibited intercourse with any pregnant woman prisoner until she had given birth.<sup>68</sup>
6. He declared the back, meat and milk of such beasts (*Jallālah*)<sup>69</sup> unlawful, which had eaten dung or faeces.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>64</sup> *Muslim* (1/107-108/H. 114, 115).

<sup>65</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (21/68/H. 5523-5529) and *Muslim* (2/1027-1028/H. 1407).

<sup>66</sup> See Ahmad, his *Musnad* (3/365) through a chain whose narrators are reliable except that it carries words 'so-and-so' beyond Abu Zubayr who often dropped his Shaykh's name. But it is supported by a report of Tirmidhi in his *Sunan* (5/53/The Book of Prey) whose words on the authority of Jābir ؓ are: "The Prophet ﷺ prohibited (on the day of Khayber) domesticated donkeys, meat of mules, every beast of prey and birds that have claws."

<sup>67</sup> *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (4/160/The Book of Food/H. 3802, 3803, 3805, 3806) being a tradition from Ibn 'Abbās ؓ; *Sunan Ibn Mājah* (2/1077/The Book of Prey) and *Muslim* (3/1534, 1932, 1933, 1934) being a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās but without restricting it to a place.

<sup>68</sup> Reported by Ibn Jārud in his *Al-Muntaqa*, The Book of *Nikah*, p. 244, through a trusted chain.

<sup>69</sup> *Jallālah* of the text is for an animal that feeds on excreta until its own smell undergoes a change.

<sup>70</sup> Reported by Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (4/161/The Book of Food/H. 3806) through an acceptable chain. Except for Ibn Mājah all the rest of the Six documented it. Sayyid Sābiq wrote in *Fiqhus-Sunah* (3/285): "If it is kept away from excreta for a sufficient length of time and fed on clean stuff, then it is no longer described as *Jallālah*, and it can be treated as a normal

14. It is also allowed to make a peace deal conditional, as did the Prophet ﷺ on condition that the Jews would not conceal anything. The case involving the treasure of Huyaiy bin Akhtab represents a precedence.
15. It is allowed to pursue cases of doubt such as the Prophet's words to Kinanah, "The treaty is still fresh and the amount involved is enormous." He meant to say that the man was lying when he said, "It was eaten up by expenditures and consumed by the wars."
16. The legality of exiling the non-Muslims from an Islamic country when one can do without them, as did 'Umar ؓ after the death of the Prophet ﷺ.
17. If head tax (*Jizyah*) was not accepted from the Jews of Khayber, it was not because they were not non-Muslims. Rather, it was because the commandments about head tax had not been revealed until then.
18. The clause and consequences of breaking of a covenant is extendable to women and offspring. Someone who remains silent is counted as one who speaks out a lie. That is what happened with Kinanah and the two sons of Ibn Huqayq. This is applicable when those who break the covenant are a group. However, if the one who breaks the covenant is a single individual, then the responsibility is not extendable to women and offspring.<sup>74</sup>
19. Legality of a man freeing his slave girl, declaring the price as her dowry, and marrying her without her consent, without witnesses, without a custodian's permission and without the customary marriage ceremony—as did the Prophet ﷺ involving Safiyyah ؓ.
20. It is allowed to lie to oneself or to others if such lying does not harm anyone and if it leads someone to obtaining his rights, as

<sup>74</sup> *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/348-349).

7. He prohibited loot of the spoils before they are distributed.<sup>71</sup>
8. A few miracles came to be shown through him for people to draw lessons. In addition to his spitting in 'Ali's eyes, that removed his ailment, and the sheep's shoulder speaking to him, it is also reported that he blew three times on Salamah bin Akwa's knee which had received a blow, and thereafter Salamah never reported any pain.<sup>72</sup>
9. With reference to the allotment of the share to the freshly arriving forces, if they arrive after the end of the battle, the rule we get is that they have no share in the spoils without the consent of the army.
10. The Prophet's agreement with the Jews of Khayber over the sharing of the land produce tells us that it is legal to enter into such a deal. This is known as *Mudārabah* (sleeping partnership), and whoever disallows it, but allows partnership, runs into a contradiction.<sup>73</sup>
11. It is not necessary for the landowner to enter into a separate deal over the seeds. For the Prophet ﷺ let the land remain in their hands on condition that they will meet with all the expenses.
12. It is allowed to estimate the fruit on the trees, and make a division between two parties. This is not the trading which is disallowed on such conditions. It is enough that the one who estimates the produce and then distributes it, is the same person.
13. It is allowed for the Commander of the Faithful to enter into a temporary treaty and then declare it null and void when he so wishes.

animal. For, the reason for prohibition was for the alteration. When that is gone, gone is the prohibition."

<sup>71</sup> *Musnad Ahmad* (4/348) through a reliable chain that others also documented.

<sup>72</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/50/H. 4206).

<sup>73</sup> See: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/342, 345).

did Hajjāj bin 'Ilāt to take out his property from Makkah without doing harm to the Muslims.

21. If someone kills another by poison, his or her life will be taken away in retaliation as the Jewish woman was killed for causing the death of Bishr bin Bara'.
22. Legality of accepting slaughtered animal's food from the People of the Book, legality of its consumption, and legality of accepting gifts from them—as was the incident involving the Jewish woman.
23. The Commander of the Faithful is free to divide the spoils of a conquered land, or give it away in endowment, or divide some and give away in endowment a part of it. The Prophet ﷺ did all the three. He divided the spoils of Banu Qurayzah and Banu Nadir. He didn't consider Makkan property as booty while he divided some of the Khayber property while some he did not.<sup>75</sup>

## Letters to Kings, Rulers and Chieftains

### Introduction

The Hudaibiyah treaty allowed the Prophet ﷺ the opportunity to expand his missionary activities, both within the Arab world as well as outside; for Islam is a religion that knows no boundaries. A few Qur'ānic Verses can be quoted in evidence. One of them says,

﴿وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا كَافَّةً لِّلنَّاسِ﴾

"And We haven't sent you (O Muhammad) but to all mankind."<sup>1</sup>

Another says,

﴿قُلْ يَتَّيْنَهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا﴾

"Say, 'O people! I am indeed Allāh's Messenger unto you all.'"<sup>2</sup>

A third says,

﴿وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ﴾

<sup>1</sup> Surat Saba': 28.

<sup>2</sup> Surat Al-A'rāf: 158.

<sup>75</sup> See Shahri: *Marwiyāt Ghazwah Khayber*, p. 198, Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/329).

"We haven't sent you (O Muhammad) but a mercy unto the worlds."<sup>3</sup>

Therefore, it was expected that the Prophet ﷺ would send letters of invitation to kings and rulers.

Nonetheless, there are differences in opinion among the historians over when the delegates were sent carrying his letters. Ibn Sa'd<sup>4</sup> says that when the Prophet ﷺ returned from Hudaibiyah in the month Dhul-Hijjah of the sixth year, he sent letters to the kings inviting them to Islam. Six men started out on the same day (in six directions) in Muharram of the seventh year AH.

Tabari<sup>5</sup> however says that the six were sent in Dhul-Hijjah. This is also Wāqidi's opinion. It is clear from Wāqidi's report mentioned by Ibn Sa'd that the Prophet ﷺ returned from Hudaibiyah in Dhul-Hijjah but the men were dispatched in Muharram of the seventh year. So, Dhul-Hijjah report could be Tabari's error. As for Ibn Ishāq,<sup>6</sup> he doesn't state any date of dispatch. He merely states that they were sent in the years between Hudaibiyah and his own death. According to one version, "The Prophet ﷺ chose a few of his Companions to carry his letter to rulers of the Arab and non-Arab lands. That was between Hudaibiyah and his own death." Ibn Hishām<sup>7</sup> however believes that the sending of the delegates was after he was prevented from the 'Umrah in the year of the Hudaibiyah.

Ibn Sa'd<sup>8</sup> dates the letter to Kisra, the Persian emperor, as the night of 23rd of the Jumāda Al-Ula of the seventh year – the month in which Kisra was assassinated. Bukhāri<sup>9</sup> however mentioned the

<sup>3</sup> Surat Al-Anbiya': 107.

<sup>4</sup> At-Tabaqāt (1/258) through a chain involving his Shaykh Wāqidi and through his chains of transmission.

<sup>5</sup> Tārikh (2/644) being a narration of Wāqidi.

<sup>6</sup> Tabari quoted it in Tārikh (2/645) through a weak chain.

<sup>7</sup> Sirat (3/338), which is part of a report he mentioned with a complete chain. Also reported by Ibn 'Asākir and Daylami in his Musnad, as in Kanzul-'Ummāl (10/634-635); Tabarāni as in Al-Majma' (5/305-306) which has Muhammad bin Ismā'il bin 'Ayyāsh in it who was weak.

<sup>8</sup> At-Tabaqāt (1/260).

<sup>9</sup> Al-Fath (16/257/H. 4424).

letter to Kisra along with the events that followed after the Tabuk expedition in the ninth year after Hijrah. Nevertheless, it is obvious that Bukhāri did not mention events in his Sahih in chronological order. He intended to merely collect reports that met with his conditions of acceptance. Ibn Hajar has pointed to the possibility of change in placement (*taqdim wa tā'khir*). For example, he mentions the Farewell pilgrimage before Tabuk expedition.<sup>10</sup>

In conclusion, a detailed study leads one to incline towards the opinion of Ibn Ishāq in this regard.<sup>11</sup>

### The Prophet's Letter to Najāshi

It is proved through trustworthy narrations that the Prophet ﷺ wrote to Najāshi:<sup>12</sup> "Come to a word common between you and us: 'that We shall not worship but Allāh and that some of us will not take others as lords besides Allāh.' But if they turn away, then say, 'Bear witness that we have submitted ourselves.'" In response, he, and those around him, turned Muslims. He sent a cloak as a gift to the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Let him alone so long as he leaves you alone."<sup>13</sup>

It was 'Amr bin Umaiya Damri who had carried the letter to him.<sup>14</sup>

Zayla'i<sup>15</sup> and others report from Wāqidi that the letter the

<sup>10</sup> See Al-Fath (16/237) and (16/204-205/H. 4363).

<sup>11</sup> See 'Awn Sharif Qāsim: *Diplomāsiyyatu Muhammad* ﷺ, p. 59-60.

<sup>12</sup> Muslim (3/1397/H. 1774).

<sup>13</sup> Abu Dāwud preserved it in the Sunan (4/490/H. 4309) in words: "Leave the Abyssinians as long as they leave you..." - Al-Hākim (4/453), being a report of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar; Ahmad in Musnad in the same words but a narrative of Abu Umāmah bin Sahl bin Hunayf, he from a Companion. Abu Dāwud also reported it (4/485/H. 4302); An-Nasa'i (6/44/The Book of Jihād) a report of Abu Sakinah from a Companion of the Prophet ﷺ in words, "Leave alone the Abyssinians so long as they leave you, and stay away from the Turks so long as they stay away from you." It is a Hasan report. See Jāmi'ul-Usul by Ibn Athir (9/223) and (11/296).

<sup>14</sup> See Usdul-Ghābah (4/193-194); Ibn Hishām (4/338) completing the chain, and Ibn Sa'd (2/258) as a narration by Wāqidi.

<sup>15</sup> See Nasbur-Rāyah li Ahādithil-Hidāyah (4/421), see also I'lāmus-Sā'ilin by Ibn

### The Prophet's Letter to Kisra

Bukhāri<sup>18</sup> reports through Ibn 'Abbās ؓ: The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Abdullah bin Hudhāfah Sahmi, along with a letter to Kisra instructing him to hand it over to the governor of Bahrain,<sup>19</sup> who would forward it to Kisra. After reading it, Kisra tore it up." The narrator Zuhri reported Ibn Musaiyab as saying, "The Prophet ﷺ prayed against them that Allāh tear them to pieces."

Kisra wrote to his governor Bāzān in Yemen instructing him to send two strong men to 'this man in Hijāz' and gather news concerning him. Bāzān sent a commander along with another man.<sup>20</sup> They carried a letter from him. They came down to Madinah and handed over the letter to the Prophet ﷺ. He smiled and offered them Islam while they stood there trembling before him. He ended by saying, "Come back to me tomorrow and I shall have some news for you." When they presented themselves the next morning he told them, "Go back and tell Bāzān, 'My Lord killed his lord Kisra last night.'" That was seven hours after the event. The date was the thirteenth night of Jumāda Al-Ula of the seventh year AH. Allāh (ﷻ) had let lose Kisra's own son Sherweh over him who assassinated his own father. The two returned to Bāzān with the news and he, along with those of his children who were in Yemen,<sup>21</sup> became Muslims.

It is also stated that the Kisra in question was Ibriwaiz bin Hurmuz.<sup>22</sup> Butler<sup>23</sup> says that Ibriwaiz's murder took place in March

<sup>18</sup> *Al-Fath* (16/256-257/H. 4424).

<sup>19</sup> His name was Mundhir bin Sāwa, as Zurqāni mentioned in *Sharhul-Mawāhibil-Ladunniyyah* (3/341) and Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/257).

<sup>20</sup> His name is Babuwayh, He was the secretary and accountant. His other name was Khar Khasrah as mentioned by Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/655).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (1/260) from a narration by his teacher Wāqidi. It was reported in complete by Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/655-657) tracing it through Ibn Ishāq, he through his teacher Zayd bin Abu Habib Misri, *Mursal*. It has some additions, viz., the name of the two delegates of Bāzān, their description and their talk with the Prophet ﷺ. As for the date of Kisra's murder at the hands of his son Sherweh, Tabari attributed it to Wāqidi.

<sup>22</sup> *Az-Zurqāni*: (3/341).

<sup>23</sup> *Fath Misr*, pp. 138-153.

Prophet ﷺ wrote to Najāshi through 'Amr bin Umaiya Damri said:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

I convey to you the Exaltedness of Allāh besides Whom there is no other deity: the Sovereign, the Holy, the Peace-giver, the Guardian. And I bear witness that 'Isā the son of Maryam, was a spirit from Allāh and His Word that He blew into Maryam the virgin, the virtuous. He created Him by His spirit and blew into him (life) just as He created Adam with His Hand.

And I invite you to Allāh, the only God, who has no partners whose guardianship is obtained through His obedience. And that you should follow me and believe in that which has come to me, for I am Allāh's Messenger. I invite you and your forces to Allāh, the Most High. I have thus delivered the message to you and have admonished you. So, accept my good advice. And peace be upon him who followed the true guidance."

Abu Musa Madini says at the end of the book on the Companions by Ibn Mandah, (although with a *Mu'allaq* chain of narrators), that Najāshi sent a reply to the Prophet's letter through his son. He also mentioned the text which declares that Najāshi had embraced Islam and, if the Prophet ﷺ so wished, he could come down to Madinah. The text names his son as Arha bin Asham and adds that his son started off from Abyssinia with sixty men but their boat ran into troubled waters and sank with them.<sup>16</sup>

It is also confirmed by reports that the Prophet ﷺ offered the funeral prayers in absentia for Najāshi when he died in the ninth year after Hijrah.<sup>17</sup>

Tulun, pp. 50-51.

<sup>16</sup> This was said by Ibn Tulun, p. 50. See the paper for details. See also Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/653) whose textual materials were copied by Zayla'i in *Nasbur-Rāyah* (4/421), and Ibn Sayyidin-Nās in *Al-'Uyun* (2/264-265).

<sup>17</sup> See the relevant part that deals with Najāshi's Islam.

the year 628 AD. This places the receipt of the Prophet's letter a month or two earlier which agrees with Wāqidi's report.

Tabari<sup>24</sup> has preserved the text of the letter. Ibn Tulun<sup>25</sup> and others have also the same text. It says:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

From Muhammad, Allāh's Messenger to the emperor of Persia.

Peace be upon him who followed the guidance, believed in Allāh, His Messenger, attested that there is no deity save one God who has no partners, and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

I invite you by Allāh's leave. For, indeed, I am Allāh's Messenger sent to all the peoples in order that I might warn him who is alive and so that the word comes true on the disbelievers. Therefore, believe, you will enter into peace. But if you refused, then the sin of the Magi (Persians) will be upon you."

### The Prophet's Letter to the Roman Emperor

The *Sahihayn*<sup>26</sup> inform us that the Prophet ﷺ sent Dihyah Kalbi with a letter to the Roman Emperor inviting him to Islam. That was in the post-Hudaybiyah period. It is the second of the two texts that enjoys authenticity following the conditions set by the Traditionists. It said:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

<sup>24</sup> *Tārīkh* (2/654-655) being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain; Abu 'Ubayd in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 253, *Mursal*. Thus the report acquires the status of *Hasan* as mentioned by Albāni in his footnotes on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazālī, p. 388.

<sup>25</sup> *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin 'an Kutub Sayyidil-Mursalīn*, pp. 61-62.

<sup>26</sup> *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/69-72/H. 2940, 2941), and *Muslim* (3/1393-1397/H. 1773) both quoting a long tradition from Abu Sufyān describing the Prophet ﷺ.

From Muhammad, Allāh's slave and His Messenger, to Heraclius the emperor of Rome.

Peace upon him who followed the guidance. I invite you to Islam. Become a Muslim and you will enter into peace. Become a Muslim and Allāh will grant you twice the reward. But if you turn away, then the sin of the common folk will be upon you.

﴿قُلْ يَتَاهَلْ أَلِكْتَبِ تَعَالَوْا إِلَى كَلِمَةٍ سَوَاءٍ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ أَلَّا نَعْبُدَ إِلَّا اللَّهَ وَلَا نُشْرِكَ بِهِ شَيْئًا وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ بَعْضُنَا بَعْضًا أَرْبَابًا مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ فَإِنْ تَوَلَّوْا فَقُولُوا اشْهَدُوا بِأَنَّا مُسْلِمُونَ﴾

Say, 'O people of the Book. Come to a word common between us and you that we shall not worship anyone except Allāh and shall associate not aught with Him, and that some of us shall not take others as our lords, besides Allāh.' But, if they turn away, then say, 'Bear witness that we have become Muslims.'"<sup>27</sup>

Bukhāri and Muslim perhaps chose to preserve the text of the letter to the Roman emperor, in order to show their preference to the opinion that the Verse quoted above was revealed previous to the sending of the letter, and not in the ninth year after *Hijrah* as reported through some weak narratives.<sup>28</sup>

When the Roman emperor received the letter, he sent across scouts to search for someone who knew the Prophet ﷺ, preferably someone who was from his tribe and family. He came to know of a group of Arab merchants among whom was Abu Sufyān. He ordered him to be brought in along with a translator. He asked, "Which of you is the closest to this man who claims to be a Prophet?" Abu Sufyān said, "I am the closest to him by lineage." He made him come forward and asked his companions to sit behind him so that he might feel shy of being called a liar if he lied. Then he began to question him seeking information about the Prophet ﷺ, the

<sup>27</sup> *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 64.

<sup>28</sup> See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, pp. 152-153, and *Diplomāsiyyatu Muhammad ﷺ* by Dr. 'Awn Sharif Qāsim, pp. 61-62.

details of which have been preserved in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*. He concluded from the talk with Abu Sufyān that Muhammad ﷺ must be a Prophet. He said at the end of his conversation, "If he be what you claim, then one day he will own the land under my feet. I knew that he was about to appear. But I didn't think he would be one of you. If I could manage to extricate myself (of the responsibilities), I would bear any hardship to reach him. If I was with him, I would wash his feet."

Then he turned to Dihyah Kalbi who had carried the letter and said, "I understand that your man is the Commissioned One, the very Prophet we were waiting for, as prophesied in our Books. But I fear my life from the Romans. If not for that, I would have followed him." Then he sent Dihyah to Daghātir, a scholar and bishop among them on the pretext that he was the most learned of the Romans in affairs of this sort.

Ibn Hibbān<sup>29</sup> reports that when Dihyah went, he encountered the emperor in Jerusalem. He cast the letter on his throne and turned aside. When the emperor had read the letter, he promised peace to the bearer. It was then that Dihyah appeared before him. He asked Dihyah to present himself in his capital city. When he went there, he ordered that the doors be shut behind him. Then he ordered a caller to cry out, "The emperor has abandoned Christianity and believes in Muhammad." At that his soldiers rushed upon him with their arms and laid siege to his palace. The emperor said to the Prophet's messenger, "You can see why I fear my subjects." Then he ordered his caller to cry out, "The emperor is satisfied with you. He wished to test you to see how strong you are in your religion. Now return." So they went away and he wrote to the Prophet that he believes in him. He also sent him some dinars. The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Allāh's enemy has lied. He is on his Christian religion." Then he ordered the dinars divided among the people.

<sup>29</sup> *Sahih Ibn Hibbān - Mawāriduz-Zamān* (H. 1628) through a reliable chain, as said the researcher of *Zād* (1/121). Abu 'Ubayd also reported it in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 255, through a trustworthy chain, although *Mursal*. Al Zurqāni quoted it in *Al-Mawāhib* (3/240) by *Al-Fath* route saying that it is in *Musnad* too, without mentioning the Companions. See Albāni's commentary in *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 386.

It can be deduced from the emperor's non-acceptance of Islam that he could not get over the love of his kingdom, preferring it over Islam. If Allāh (ﷻ) had wished to guide him, he would have helped and supported him, as He helped Najāshi, who, despite embracing Islam, retained his kingdom.<sup>30</sup>

### The Prophet's Letter to Hārith bin Abu Shimr, the Ghassāni

Wāqidi<sup>31</sup> reports that the Prophet ﷺ wrote a letter to Hārith bin Abu Shimr, the Ghassāni.<sup>32</sup> He sent it through Shujā' bin Wahb. Wāqidi gives the text. Hārith was annoyed by the letter and refused to embrace Islam. Instead, he began to prepare his forces to attack Madinah. But Heraclius interfered and called him to Iliyā', that is, Jerusalem.

The Prophet ﷺ had sent Shujā' during his return journey from Hodaybiyah. Shujā''s narration leads us to believe that the Prophet ﷺ sent him to Hārith at the same time as he sent Dihyah to Heraclius for, when Shujā' reached Hārith, he discovered that Dihyah was with Heraclius in Iliyā'.<sup>33</sup>

Shujā''s narration also tells us that Hārith's gatekeeper, a Roman named Muri, embraced Islam when Shujā' informed him about the Prophet ﷺ and introduced Islam to him.

<sup>30</sup> Nawawi: *Sharh Muslim* (12/107/The Book of *Jihād*).

<sup>31</sup> Tabari quoted it in his *Tārikh* (2/652), The story was mentioned by the biographers through weak chains.

<sup>32</sup> One of the rulers of Ghassan at the boundaries of Shām.

<sup>33</sup> *At-Tabaqāt Al-Kubra* by Ibn Sa'd (2/261); *'Uyunul-Athar fi Fununil-Maghāzi was-Siyar* by Ibn Sayyidin-Nās (2/270-271), and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin 'an Kutub Sayyidil-Mursalīn* by Ibn Tulun, pp. 103-104, and *Al-Mawāhib* by Zurqāni (3/356).

I might point out that the main part of the letter is in Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/652) as a report of Wāqidi. We could not locate it in the *Maghāzi* of Wāqidi. The rest of the story, without the mention of the letter is in *Ibn Sa'd* (1/261). Ibn Hishām mentioned that the Prophet ﷺ sent Shujā' bin Wahb to Hārith bin Abu Shimr-*Ibn Hishām* (4/339). However, it has a weak chain, nor anyone else has a chain worthy of scholarly consideration.



## The Prophet's Letter to Hawdhah bin 'Ali Hanafi, the Ruler of Yamamah

It was Salit bin 'Amr 'Āmiri who carried the letter to him, being one of the six men who had started off together while the Prophet ﷺ was returning from Hudaibiyah. When Hawdhah read the letter, he placed the condition that if he embraced Islam, the Prophet ﷺ would give him a share in the sovereignty. The Prophet ﷺ refused him that and he died while the Prophet ﷺ was returning to Madinah after the fall of Makkah.<sup>34</sup>

## The Prophet's Letter to Muqawqis

The Prophet ﷺ sent a letter to the Muqawqis. His name was Jurayj bin Mina. He was the ruler of the Copts based in Alexandria. The letter was carried by Hātib bin Abu Balta'ah. He said some good words, showed interest but did not embrace Islam. He sent the Prophet ﷺ Māriyah, her sister Sirin and Qaysara. The Prophet ﷺ retained Māriyah as a slave for himself. She gave birth to Ibrāhim. As for Sirin, he gifted her to Hassān bin Thābit through whom she gave birth to 'Abdur-Rahmān. The Muqawqis also sent him a thousand pieces of gold, a mule named Duldul, another black slave-girl whose name was Barirah, a eunuch slave named Ma'bur, a gray donkey called Ya'fur, a horse called Lazāz, some honey and a few other things.

When the Prophet ﷺ received Muqawqis's letter he remarked, "The evil man rejected (Islam) because of his dominion. But his dominion will not last."<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> See the report with *Ibn Sa'd* (1/262) who has the text of Hawdhah's reply but not the text of the Prophet's letter. See *'Uyunul-Athar* (2/269-270); *Nasbur-Rāyah* by Zayla'i (4/425), and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 105-107.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (1/260-261) as a narration by Wāqidi which has the Prophet's words, "the evil men lied because of his dominion..."; *Ibn Hishām* (1/247) through his own chain leading up to Ibn Lahiy'ah very brief, especially the Muqawqis gifting of the Coptian Māriyah to the Prophet ﷺ. This is strengthened by the report in *Al-Bazzār* which follows. See also Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (1/300) Hātib's biography where Ibn Hajar said, "Ibn Shāhin has traced this report through Yahya bin 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Hātib, his

father, and his grandfather;" (about which I would like to point out that the chain of Ibn Shāhin has Sulaymān bin Arqam who had been given up).

See also Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (3/335), Ma'bur's biography. Ibn Hajar presented several traditions that gain strength from each other and lend belief that the Prophet ﷺ fell in some doubt about Māriyah and her relationship with Ma'bur. But Allāh proved his wife's innocence, removed the doubt and gave him the good news of a son from her.

Of the evidences that Ibn Hajar presented, one is the tradition in *Muslim* (4/2139/H. 2771) being a *Hadith* of Anas ؓ which says that a man used to be accused of involving the Prophet's *Umm Walad* (mother of a son). The Prophet ﷺ told 'Ali: "Go and behead the man." 'Ali ؓ went up to him and found him cooling himself off in a well. 'Ali told him, "Come out" and gave him a helping hand. As he pulled him out he found the man was castrated without a genital organ. He spared him. When he was back he told the Prophet ﷺ, "O Messenger of Allāh, he is castrated and has no genital organ."

The *Hadith* does not name the person. Ibn Abu Khaythamah however named him, as in *Al-Isābah* (3/335). Ibn 'Abdul-Hakam also recorded the incidence in the same words as of *Muslim* as in *Al-Isābah* (3/355) which also says that the one who intended to kill Māriyah's relative was 'Umar bin Khattāb. Ibn Hajar has reconciled the two narratives.

Ibn Hajar noted in *Al-Isābah* (4/405) in the biography of Māriyah: "Bazzār has documented through an acceptable source through 'Abdullah bin Buraydah and his father that, "The leader of the Copts gifted two girls and a mule to the Prophet ﷺ. He used to use the mule within Madinah and took one of the girls for himself." Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* about this report: "Bazzār's narrators are those of the *Sahih* (reports)." Ibn Kathir traced in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/340) a report of Abu Bakr bin Khuzaymah through a chain in which falls Muhammad bin Ziyād who was reliable but committed errors and Bashir bin Muhājir who too was reliable but weak in narration while the rest of the transmitters are trustworthy, and is strengthened by the report in Bazzār, whose words are: "The ruler of the Copts gifted two sister girls and a mule. He used to ride upon the mule in Madinah, and took one of the girls for himself. She gave birth to Ibrāhim through him. The second he gifted away (to someone else)."

Bazzār found fault in his master Muhammad bin Ziyād in this report. He said, after narrating this tradition, "Ibn Ziyād was in illusion of some kind in this affair. For, he narrated through Ibn 'Uyaynah; and Ibn 'Uyaynah has no Bashir bin Muhājir in his chain. But rather he narrated through Bashir bin Hātim bin Ismā'il and Dalham bin Dahsham."

I might point out that if his narration through Bashir and Dalham is proved, then the report is reliable, Allāh knows best.

## The Prophet's Letter to Jayfar and 'Abd, the Two Sons of Julundi

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Amr bin 'Ās in Dhul-Qa'dah of the eighth year after *Hijrah* carrying his letter to Jayfar and 'Abd, the two sons of Julundi of the Azd in 'Oman. The two embraced Islam in sincerity and allowed 'Amr bin 'Ās to collect *Zakāt*. The governance however remained in their hands.<sup>38</sup>

### Other Letters

- The Prophet ﷺ sent a letter to the people of Dama, being a town in 'Oman. The Persian emperor had appointed one of his family members as the governor of the region. He was known as Bistijān. Ibn Tulun<sup>39</sup> has recorded the letter, with Abu Shaddād as the narrator. He was one of the Dama people. The text says:

"From Muhammad, Allāh's Messenger, to the people of 'Oman.

Peace. Attest to the testimony that there is no deity except Allāh and that I am His Messenger, pay the *Zakāt*, build mosques ... or I shall attack you."

- The Prophet ﷺ wrote to Ra'iyah Suhaymi. He took the letter and used it for patching his leather bucket. The Prophet ﷺ sent a contingent against him that captured his kin and seized his wealth. He came to Madinah repentant, embraced Islam and obtained the release of his family.<sup>40</sup>

the Prophet's message to Mundhir and which Abu 'Ubayd documented in his *Al-Amwāl*, The Book of *Fay'*, p. 28.

<sup>38</sup> *Uyunul-Athar* (2/267); *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* (3/352); *Nasbur-Rāyah* (4/423-424) and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 92-96.

<sup>39</sup> *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 97-98, and *Ibn Athir* (5/225). It is said that Dama was a city which was co-mentioned with Daba which was one of the famous Arab markets—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (2/461) that also referred to this letter.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Hajar reported this in *Al-Isābah* (1/516), and Ibn Tulun in *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 99-101, both through a tradition of Sha'bi. This report is also in *Musnad* of Ahmad (5/585). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (1516): "Ibn Abu Shaybah also recorded his report where he said, "Ibn Sakan said that the

## The Prophet's Letter to Mundhir bin Sāwā 'Abdi

Ibn Sayyidin-Nās<sup>36</sup> recorded that the Prophet ﷺ wrote to Mundhir bin Sāwā 'Abdi, the ruler of Bahrain, dispatching the letter through Abu 'Alā Hadrami, after his return from Hudaybiyah. Then he added, "Wāqidi has mentioned it through a report coming from 'Ikrimah who said, 'I found this letter in the library of Ibn 'Abbās after his death. It said...'"

The summary of what Ibn Sayyidin-Nās writes about the Prophet's letter to Mundhir bin Sāwā leads us to conclude that it was a reply to Mundhir's earlier letter ascertaining that Mundhir embraced Islam along with a few others in Bahrain. However, the text of the first letter to Mundhir was not reported.

There are other reports confirming the Prophet's first letter to Mundhir. However, they are dated as Rajab of the ninth year, during the Prophet's return journey from Tabuk.<sup>37</sup>

See *Nasbur-Rāyah* (4/424) and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin* of Ibn Tulun, pp. 77-81, which records the letters exchanged between the Prophet ﷺ and Muqawqis.

See also the study of Dr. 'Awn Sharif Qāsim of these letters in his book *Diplomāsiyyatu Muhammad* ﷺ, pp. 80-86 (for the analysis of the texts) and pp. 256-258 (for the contents of the letters and their sources). He has referred to the discussions (pp. 81-85) that took place around the discovery in 1850 AC by the French Orientalist Bartelmi of the manuscript of the letter sent by the Prophet ﷺ. Bartelmi demonstrated that the manuscript is authentic.

See also in this connection *Fath Misr* by 'Abdul-Hakam, p. 46, which contains the first of the letters of the Prophet ﷺ to Muqawqis, as also *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* of Qāstalāni (1/292-293), which has the whole text.

<sup>36</sup> *Uyunul-Athar* (2/266-267). See the texts of the letters with him; with Ibn Tulun, pp. 56-57; *Zayla'i: Nasbur-Rāyah* (14/20); *Subhul-A'sha* (6/368) and *Al-Kāmil* by Ibn Athir (2/215). Ibn Sa'd has a part of it in *At-Tabaqāt* (1/263), but whose narrative contradicts the narrative of Ibn Sayyidin-Nās in matters of dates. For, Ibn Sa'd stated that it was in the eighth year after *Hijrah*, when he was leaving Jī'rānah.

<sup>37</sup> It was reported by Ibn Tulun, p. 58, originating from Wāqidi that Zayla'i mentioned at the end of his work, *Takhrij Ahādithul-Hidāyah* (4/419-420). Therein is what Wāqidi attributed to 'Ikrimah, being the same as what Ibn Sayyidin-Nās has presented. *Qalaqashandi* (6/376) mentioned the text of

- The Prophet ﷺ wrote a letter to Musaylimah the liar, the ruler of Yamāmah inviting him to Islam. It was 'Amr bin Umaiya<sup>41</sup> who had carried the letter. Musaylimah wrote back, "From Musaylimah, Allāh's Messenger to Muhammad the Messenger of Allāh. Peace unto you. I beg to share with you this affair (of Messengership), on condition that I get one half, and for the Quraysh the other half of the land. But, Quraysh are an aggressive people."<sup>42</sup>

He sent two of his messengers carrying his letter. When they had read his letter to the Prophet ﷺ, he asked them, "What do the two of you have to say?" They replied, "Our opinion is the same as his." The Prophet ﷺ said, "By Allāh, if ambassadors were not immune, I would have ordered you two be killed."<sup>43</sup>

Then the Prophet ﷺ wrote back to Musaylimah:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

From Muhammad Allāh's Messenger, to Musaylimah the liar.

Peace upon him who followed the guidance. The earth belongs to Allāh. He gives it to whomsoever He wills. But the ultimate success is for the God-fearing."<sup>44</sup>

Thereafter no action was taken against him until the time of Abu Bakr ؓ who fought him resulting in the huge loss of lives on both sides.

chain of his narration is alright."

<sup>41</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (1/273) being a narration of his master Wāqidi. The narrative is weak because Wāqidi had been abandoned.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (4/329) *Mu'allaq*, and *Mu'allaq* chains are weak.

<sup>43</sup> Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/487), and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan*, (H. 2761) through a reliable chain as stated in the footnotes of *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/611); and Ibn Ishāq through a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/329) and a *Munqati'* report is weak.

<sup>44</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq with a *Munqati'* chain for he did not name his Shaykh the Ashja'i who narrated to him—*Ibn Hishām* (4/329) as for the Verse, it is 128 of *Surat Al-A'rāf*.

- The Prophet ﷺ wrote a letter to the ruler of Busra sending it through Hārith bin 'Umayr of Azd. Shurahbil bin 'Amr the Ghassāni interrupted him in Mu'tah, got him tied up and then beheaded him. He was the only messenger of the Prophet to lose his life.<sup>45</sup>
- The Prophet ﷺ wrote to Bakr bin Wā'il.<sup>46</sup>
- He wrote to Banu 'Amr bin Himyar inviting him to Islam.
- He wrote to Jabalah bin Ayham, the Ghassānian ruler, inviting him to Islam.
- The Prophet ﷺ also sent Jarir bin 'Abdullah Bajali with a letter to Dhul-Kula' bin Nākur and Dhu 'Amr, inviting them to Islam. The two of them embraced Islam as did the wife of Dhul-Kula'.
- He also wrote to Ma'di Karib bin Abrahah that he shall have the lands of Khawlān if he embraced Islam.
- He wrote to the chief priest of the Banu Hārith and the priests of Najrān and those of the ascetics who followed them.
- He also wrote to Yuhannah bin Rubah the ruler of Aylah.
- He wrote to Abu Zibyān Azdi of Ghāmid. He responded by coming to Makkah along with a few of his men.
- He also wrote to Harith, Masruh and Nu'aym bin 'Abd Kulāl of the Himyar, sending the letter through 'Ayyāsh bin Abu Rabi'ah the Makhzumi.
- Another letter was written to Nufāthah bin Farwah Dī'li, the ruler of Samāwah.<sup>47</sup>

Apart from the above, the Prophet ﷺ also wrote to several other rulers and chieftains. The details are found in history books such as, for example, that of Ibn Sa'd.

<sup>45</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/755-756).

<sup>46</sup> Reported by Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih*, *Al-Mawārid* (H. 1626). See also *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin* by Ibn Tulun, p.132, and *Nasbur-Rayāh* of Zayla'i (4/419).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (1/265-284) – originally in *Al-Wāqidi*.

**Notes, Wisdom and Lessons**

1. The above letters confirm a well-known rule, viz., Islam is a universal religion. Therefore, it was incumbent upon the Prophet ﷺ to invite to Islam everyone alive, using every means possible in those days to reach them.
2. The rejection by most of the rulers and kings was not because they didn't agree with Islam. It was because of their love of power and dominion.
3. The Prophet's act of stamping his letters with the help of a silver seal gives us to believe that using rings is allowable in Islam. It also proves that the owner of a ring might engrave his name on the ring, if he so wishes. Many scholars have used these reports to declare the legality of wearing a ring in the finger in which the Prophet ﷺ put on the ring, viz., the little finger.
4. The Prophet's method of getting the engraving done, with Allāh's Name at the top, and his own at the bottom, speaks of his humbleness before Allāh.
5. His declaration in the letters that if they embraced Islam, they would remain in power holding the same positions, speaks of the Prophet's statesmanship.

## Expeditions between Khayber Campaign and 'Umrah

### 'Umar bin Khattāb's Expedition to Turabah

The Prophet ﷺ sent thirty men headed by 'Umar ؓ towards Banu Nadr bin Mu'āwiyah bin Bakr bin Hawāzin and Banu Jashm bin Bakr bin Hawāzin of Turabah, a place close to Makkah. When they came to know of the Muslim battalion approaching them, they fled. 'Umar and his men returned without an encounter. Banu Nadr and Banu Jashm belonged to Hawāzin.

That was in Sha'bān of the seventh year after *Hijrah*.<sup>1</sup>

### Abu Bakr's Expedition to Najd

The Prophet ﷺ sent him to Banu Fazārah of Najd. He attacked them and killed a few. Salamah bin Akwa' was with him. He managed to capture a few children. The Prophet ﷺ asked Abu Bakr that a girl-prisoner called Jamilah be sent to him as part of his one-fifth share. Then he used her to release some of the Muslims that had been held captives in Makkah.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/722), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/117) a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>2</sup> Reported by *Muslim* in full (3/1375-1376/H. 1755) which *Wāqidi* recorded in brief as did *Ibn Sa'd* (2/117-118) but as in *Muslim*.

This expedition also took place in the Sha'bān of the seventh year after Hijrah.<sup>3</sup>

### Bashir bin Sa'd's Expedition towards Fadak

The Prophet ﷺ sent Bashir along with thirty men towards the Banu Murrah of Fadak. He managed to capture and drive back their cattle while they were away in their valleys. When they came to know, they gathered forces and attacked them. Some Muslims were killed, some fled. Bashir fought until he fell. They left him presumed dead and returned with their cattle. By evening Bashir managed to reach Fadak and took shelter with a Jew until his wounds were healed. Then he returned to Madinah. However, it was 'Ulbah bin Zayd Hārithi who brought their news to Madinah.

This expedition also took place in Sha'bān of the seventh year AH.<sup>4</sup>

### Ghālib bin 'Abdullah's Expedition to Mayfa'ah<sup>5</sup>

The preferred opinion is that this expedition is the one that Bukhāri,<sup>6</sup> Muslim<sup>7</sup> and Ibn Ishāq<sup>8</sup> have mentioned, narrating through Usāmah bin Zayd ؓ. He said, "The Prophet ﷺ sent us to the Huraqah of the Juhaynah tribe. We attacked them early in the morning. Myself

and another man were able to overcome one of their men. When we overpowered him he said, 'I bear witness that there is no deity save Allāh.' My *Ansāri* companion withheld himself. But I gored my spear through him until he died. When we reached back Madinah and the Prophet ﷺ received the report he asked me, 'Did you kill him after he bore the testimony?' I said, 'O Messenger of Allāh. It was only an escape manoeuvre.' But he repeated, 'Did you kill him after he bore the testimony?' He kept asking that until I began to wish that I had embraced Islam only that day."

Ibn Ishāq gives the name of the person as Mirdās bin Nahik. He was of the Huraqah of the Juhaynah tribe, being allies of Banu Murrah. Wāqidi however gives the name as Nahik bin Mirdās. But the expedition he is talking about is that of Ghālib bin 'Abdullah towards those who had attacked Bashir and his companions. Ibn Abu 'Āsim gives the name as Mirdās Fadaki and that he died during the battle.<sup>9</sup> But most likely his name was Mirdās bin Nahik as mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and the one who killed him was Usāma bin Zayd.

As for Wāqidi<sup>10</sup> and Ibn Sa'd,<sup>11</sup> they state that the expedition of Ghālib bin Abdullah in which Usāmah's incident took place was towards Mayfa'ah and that they were one hundred and thirty riders. The Prophet ﷺ had sent them to Banu 'Abd bin Tha'labah and Banu 'Uwāl. The Prophet's freed slave Yāsar was in their company. It was he who led them to the enemy positions. They overpowered the enemy and seized their cattle killing those who resisted. It took place in Ramadān of the seventh year AH.

Ibn Sa'd reports that the Prophet ﷺ told Usāmah when he came to know that he killed the man after he had said the testimony, "Why didn't you open his heart to ascertain if he was lying or speaking the truth?" Usāmah replied, "I shall never strike at anybody after this who said the testimony."

Obviously, in this is a lesson for everyone that whoever believes in the Oneness of Allāh cannot be killed. Further, a man is to be judged by what his tongue says and what deeds he performs, and not by what

In the report of the girl, which states that the Prophet ﷺ released by using her as ransom a few of the Muslim prisoners in Makkah, is evidence that it is allowable to use pagan prisoners as ransom for releasing Muslim prisoners.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/117).

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/723) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/118-119) – Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

<sup>5</sup> Mayfa'ah was behind the groves in the direction of Naqrah towards Najd, between which and Madinah was a distance of around 96 miles. It was the watering place of Banu Tha'labah and Banu 'Uwāl. See *At-Tabaqāt* (2/86).

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Fath* (26/12/13/H. 6872) and the words are Bukhāri's.

<sup>7</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (1/96-97/H. 158-159) and see other reports with him through sources other than Usāmah ؓ (1/97/H. 160).

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Kathir quoted it from him in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/248) through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>9</sup> Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (26/12-13).

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/724-727).

<sup>11</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/199) – Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

his heart conceals, which is beyond the reach of others. It is also an evidence of the fact that a man is to be taken by his face value and not by what lies concealed in his inner most chambers.<sup>12</sup>

### Bashir bin Sa'd's Expedition towards Jināb

The Prophet ﷺ learnt that the tribe of 'Uyaynah bin Hisn had teamed up with a group of Ghatafān men to organize a raid on Madinah. He chose Bashir bin Sa'd to lead an expedition against them. He had three hundred men under his flag. They went as far as Yumn and Jabār, somewhere around Jināb. Jināb faces Salāh, Khayber and Qura valley. So, they encamped at Salāh. From there they descended on the enemy capturing plenty of their cattle. The shepherds fled and informed their masters. They in turn fled to their own regions. When Bashir and his men actually descended on their dwellings, they did not find anyone except two men. They imprisoned them and brought them to the Prophet ﷺ. They became Muslims and were freed. This took place in Shawwāl of the seventh year AH. According to a variant report when they descended just below Khayber they attacked the enemy in its unaware and killed one of the 'Uyaynah spies. Thereafter they met with the 'Uyaynah themselves who fled leaving behind two men whom they captured.<sup>13</sup>

This expedition led the 'Uyaynah chief to think seriously about Islam and resulted in talks between 'Uyaynah and his ally Hulayfah bin 'Awf Mari and Farwah bin Hubayrah Qushayri. The result of the discussions was that they'd put forward one foot but delay another.<sup>14</sup> Finally, they became of those whose hearts needed further softening with material help, which was done and they participated with the Prophet ﷺ in the Hunayn battle, as reported by Ibn Ishāq.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (26/13).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/120) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/727-728) both the chains are unreliable.

<sup>14</sup> See their story in *Al-Wāqidi* (2/729-731).

<sup>15</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (4/364-366) through an acceptable chain.

## The Missed 'Umrah

The Prophet ﷺ left Madinah along with his Companions heading for Makkah in Dhul-Qa'dah of the seventh year AH to perform their missed 'Umrah, following the terms of the Hudaibiyah treaty.<sup>1</sup>

Bayhaqi<sup>2</sup> and Ibn Sa'd<sup>3</sup> reported that the Muslims carried their weapons with them but left them in Yā'jaj<sup>4</sup> outside the Haram precincts, carrying only their sheathed swords.

They were two thousand in number, women and children not counted. All those who had participated in the Hudaibiyah expedition were also present.<sup>5</sup>

As the Prophet ﷺ entered, 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah sang:

<sup>1</sup> A narrative of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/18-19); Musa bin 'Uqbah through Zuhri; Muhammad bin 'Abdul-A'la San'āni through Mu'tamar bin Sulaymān Taymi, he through his father; Ibn Lahiy'ah through Aswad, through 'Urwah as in *Dalā'il* by Bayhaqi (4/313-314); Ya'qub bin Sufyān through a *Hasan* chain, relaying through Ibn 'Umar as in *Al-Fath* (16/84/ The Book of *Maghāzi*). See the conditions in the chapter dealing with the Hudaibiyah campaign.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad-Dāla'il* (4/314) whose narrative is *Mursal* being originally a tradition of Musa bin 'Uqbah coming through Zuhri.

<sup>3</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/121) *Mu'allaq*.

<sup>4</sup> A valley near Makkah, or a place 8 miles away from Makkah—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (5/424).

<sup>5</sup> Hākim said in *Al-Iklil* that reports about it were aplenty—Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/84).

"Get out of the way, O disbelievers  
Today we shall strike you as we descend  
A strike that will surprise the camel as it dozes  
When a friend will abandon his friend."<sup>6</sup>

The pagans had learnt that the Muslims had been physically weakened by the Madinan fever. So the Prophet ﷺ ordered his men to throw their chests out during the circumambulation of the Ka'bah, walk fast during the first three rounds, and rush through Safa and Marwah hills, so as to impress the pagans. Witnessing from their position on Mount Qu'ayqi'ān, the Quraysh felt surprised by their strength.<sup>7</sup> They said to themselves, "Are these the men you said have been weakened by fever? They seem to be healthier than ordinary men."<sup>8</sup>

When the Prophet ﷺ had finished performing the 'Umrah, he ordered some of his men to go back to those who were guarding the arms at Yā'jaj and release them so that they could in turn perform the 'Umrah. Then the Prophet ﷺ entered the Ka'bah and remained there until noon. Then he ordered Bilāl ؓ to climb the roof of the Ka'bah and call out the *Adhān* from there.<sup>9</sup>

When three days had elapsed, the Quraysh appeared, met 'Ali and told him to relay the message to the Prophet that the time was up for him. So the Prophet ﷺ left Makkah<sup>10</sup> and encamped at Sarif. He stayed there so that his Companions could take rest and refresh themselves. Then he left for Madinah. That was in Dhul-Hijjah.<sup>11</sup>

During his stay in Makkah the Prophet ﷺ married Maymunah the daughter of Hārith the 'Āmiri, a sister of Umm Fadl, the wife of his uncle 'Abbās, entering into her in Sarif.<sup>12</sup> The preferred opinion

<sup>6</sup> Reported by Tirmidhi who said the *Hadith* is *Hasan/Gharib* as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/86). See other reports where some Verses have been attributed to Ibn Rawāhah. See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/85-86).

<sup>7</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/96/H. 4256, 4257), and Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/239/Shākir) through a reliable chain.

<sup>8</sup> *Muslim* (2/923/H. 1266).

<sup>9</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/122) a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/89-90/H. 4251).

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/22-23), Ibn Sa'd (2/122) *Mu'allaq*.

<sup>12</sup> A report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/97/H. 4259).

is that he married her after coming out of his consecrated state.<sup>13</sup>

Earlier, Maymunah was married to Abu Ruhm bin 'Abdul-'Uzza. Some say she was previously married to his brother Huwaytib. A third opinion names Sakhburah bin Ruhm.<sup>14</sup>

While he was leaving Makkah, Hamzah's daughter 'Umārah, still a child, began to call him from behind. He took her and gave her into the care of Fātimah, her aunt. 'Ali, Zayd and Ja'far contended for her. 'Ali said, "She is my uncle's child." Ja'far said, "She is my uncle's child too, and, further, her aunt is my wife." Zayd said, "My uncle's daughter". The Prophet ﷺ handed her over to her aunt saying, "An aunt enjoys the same status as a mother." At that time he told 'Ali, "You are of me and I am of you." To Ja'far he said, "My and your persons resemble closely." To Zayd he said, "You are our brother and our freed slave."<sup>15</sup> This decision was following the fact that Ja'far was the girl's *Mahram*, someone she could never marry, since a person can never bring together in his marriage a woman and her aunt.<sup>16</sup>

A rule of law that we learn is that an aunt is to be given preference over others after the parents. There is also evidence that a

<sup>13</sup> This was mentioned by Ibn Qayyim in *Zād* (3/372-374). He depends on a statement of Ibn Musaiyab which is in *Abu Dāwud* (*Sunan*/2/425/The Book of *Manāsik*); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/332, 336); *Muslim* (2/1032/H. 1411) as a report from Maymunah; Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/422/The Book of *Manāsik*); Ibn Mājah in his *Sunan* (1/632/The Book of *Nikāh*); *Ahmad* (335-336); *Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/173); Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (3/191-192/The Book of *Hajj*) where he said, "This is a *Hasan* report." Abu Rāfi' is one of those who worked on this marriage bringing Maymunah to the Prophet ﷺ while he was at Sarif. As for the statement of Ibn 'Abbās in the *Sahihayn* and others, "The Prophet ﷺ took Maymunah into marriage while he was in a state of consecration, entering into her when he came out of the consecration." Ibn Qayyim counted it as an illusion (*Wahm*). See the report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/97/H. 4258) and *Muslim* (2/1031-1033/H. 1410). Dr. Qala'ji has presented various opinions of the scholars on this topic in his footnote on *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Bayhaqi (4/332-335).

<sup>14</sup> This was mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/97).

<sup>15</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/90-93/H. 4251) and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/709-710/The Book of *Talāq*/H. 2278).

<sup>16</sup> See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/92) and what follows.

maternal aunt has preference over a paternal aunt and that relationship through the mother is closer than relationship through the father. For, when the Prophet ﷺ handed the child over to her maternal aunt, her paternal aunt Safiyyah was present. This is the opinion of Shāfi'i, Mālik, Abu Hanifah, and, following one of the two opinions coming from him, that of Ahmad also. A second report says that the paternal aunt is preferable over the maternal aunt. This was the opinion of Ibn Qayyim.<sup>17</sup>

This 'Umrah is known by several names, each of it related to an event or the other. It is known as 'Umratul-Qada' because of the agreements that were signed between the Muslims and the pagans. The name 'Umratul-Qada' also refers to the 'Umrah that was performed after the earlier, missed attempt when the Muslims were prevented at Hudaibiyah. It is also known as 'Umratul-Qisās.' See Mughaltā'i's *Life*, ed., Muhammad Futayyih, p. 290.

<sup>17</sup> *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/375-376).

## Expeditions and Events between the Missed 'Umrah and Mu'tah Expedition

### Ibn Abu 'Awja's Expedition

After his return from Makkah, the Prophet ﷺ sent out Ibn Abu 'Awja' Sulami in Dhul-Hijjah of 7 AH along with fifty riders. They were accompanied by a spy belonging to Banu Sulaym. When they left Madinah, the spy broke away and informed his people. They assembled themselves into a pretty large army waiting to strike the Muslims as they passed by. When the Muslims showed up, they first offered them peace. They refused. So Banu Sulaym laid siege around them and killed them all. Ibn Abu 'Awja' was left presumed dead. But, he later managed to reach Madinah on the first day of Safar, the eighth year after *Hijrah*.<sup>1</sup>

The sources do not tell us anything about the reason of this expedition. But the texts lead us to believe that Banu Sulaym were antagonistic to Islam. It was these people whose help 'Amir had sought to kill seventy of the Prophet's Companions at Bir Ma'unah. They used to send spies into Madinah. This is evident from the presence of the spy who started off with the Muslims when they headed for 'Awja'. They also adopted an antagonistic attitude

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/741) through his own chain reaching Zuhri; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/123) *Mu'allaq*, and Bayhaqi in his *Dāla'il* (4/341).



during the apostasy movement after the Prophet ﷺ, following Tulayhah bin Khuwaylid Asadi, appointing over themselves Fuj'ah bin 'Abd Yalil the Sulami as the new leader.

Obviously, it was necessary for the Muslims to keep their eyes open on those who were ever ready to play their role in any uprising against them.

### 'Amr bin 'Ās and Khālid bin Walid embrace Islam

Ahmad<sup>2</sup> and Ibn Ishāq<sup>3</sup> have reported that when 'Amr bin 'Ās saw the rising power of the Prophet ﷺ, he began to discuss the issue with a few of the Quraysh. He suggested that they should migrate to Najāshi, for, it was far more easily bearable to live under him rather than the Prophet ﷺ, if he overcame the resistance. But, if their people gained the upper hand, obviously, they could return. So they gathered some leather to offer as gift to Najāshi; leather being the most precious gift that Hijāz could offer. They agreed to go to Najāshi, and when they went up they found that 'Amr bin Umayyah Damri, the Prophet's emissary, had already reached him. When he had left, 'Amr bin 'Ās entered and sought that 'Amr Damri be handed over to him since he was his enemy and he would like to kill him. Najāshi got angry and punched him on his nose. 'Amr got scared and sought forgiveness. However, when he saw that even the non-Arabs respected the Prophet ﷺ, he began to think seriously about Islam. So, when Najāshi suggested to him that he become a Muslim, taking oath on his hand, 'Amr readily agreed. He concealed his Islam from his companions and returned to Makkah.

Just before the fall of Makkah,<sup>4</sup> 'Amr bin 'Ās headed to the Prophet ﷺ in Madinah intending to become a Muslim. He

<sup>2</sup> *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/133-136) being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (3/384-386) via a reliable chain, taking it from Ibn Ishāq that Ahmad reported. Wāqidi reported it with greater details (2/741-750) with reference to Khālid's Islam than those of Ibn Ishāq or Ahmad.

<sup>4</sup> Wāqidi specified the date as the first day of Safar on the eighth year after Hijrah (*Al-Maghāzi* 2/745).

happened to meet Khālid bin Walid who was also starting out with the same intention. So the two traveled to the Prophet ﷺ together and became Muslims.

What confirms that Khālid and 'Amr embraced Islam during the days as mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi is that Khālid's name appears in the Mu'tah expedition which took place in Jumāda Al-Ula, of the eighth year after Hijrah. And 'Amr's name appears among the combatants in the expedition known as Dhātus-Salāsīl that took place in Jumāda Ath-Thānīyah of the same year, as we shall be discussing in a later section.

Khālid's story of acceptance of Islam has been reported by Wāqidi.<sup>5</sup> It says in brief that when Allāh (ﷻ) wished good for Khālid and inspired him to embrace Islam, he began to think of his own attitude towards Islam, especially after every encounter in which he faced the Prophet ﷺ. He felt that his attitude was questionable and that the Prophet ﷺ was likely to overcome all resistance. In Hudaybiyah, he felt convinced that the Prophet ﷺ was being guarded from above. For example, when the Prophet ﷺ was in 'Ufān and Khālid was intending to attack him in surprise, Allāh inspired the Prophet ﷺ to shorten his prayers and split his Companions into two groups: one offering the prayers while the other stood on guard. That did not give Khālid a chance. After the Hudaybiyah peace treaty, he realized that all was lost. He began to consider if he should migrate either to Najāshi or to Heraclius, the Roman emperor. While he was considering these options, the Prophet ﷺ entered into Makkah to perform his missed 'Umrah. Khālid decided to stay away. But his brother Walid entered into Islam those very days. His brother started to look for him but could not find him. So he wrote a letter to him in which he expressed his surprise that an intelligent man of his sort should be hesitating over Islam. He also mentioned in the letter that the Prophet ﷺ was

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/745-748), and *Ibn Sa'd* (4/252) *Mu'allaq*. He started the story with Khālid meeting with 'Uthmān bin Talhah. The story of his meeting with 'Amr bin 'Ās on his way to Madinah in order to embrace Islam is in Ibn Ishāq. Ahmad reported it through him in connection with the story of 'Amr's Islam. See the judgment about the narratives there.

inquiring after him and that he had remarked, "A man of his kind cannot miss to know Islam. If he threw his weight with the Muslims against the pagans, it would be better for him and, in return, we will accord him preference over others." When Khālid received his brother's letter, he began to make preparations to migrate. What helped him further is that he saw in a dream that he was in a narrow, deserted place, and that he was walking over to a spacious, green field. He said to himself that the dream had a meaning. When he entered into Madinah and spoke of the dream to Abu Bakr, his host, Abu Bakr interpreted that it meant that he would give up polytheism and enter into belief in the Oneness of Allāh.

When he decided to migrate, he wished he could have the company of someone to Madinah. He spoke to Safwān bin Umaiya and 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl. But both of them refused. So he started off alone. As he started, he met his friend 'Uthmān bin Talhah and mentioned to him about his journey. 'Uthmān understood the true intention. The two agreed that they would meet at Yā'jaj. Starting off separately early in the morning from Makkah they met at Ya'jaj. From there they traveled together up to Hadah where they met with 'Amr bin Ās. When they knew what his intentions were, the three joined together in their journey to Madinah where they embraced Islam. That was in Safar of the eighth year after *Hijrah*.

### Ghālib bin 'Abdullah's Expedition to Kadid

The Prophet ﷺ ordered him to organize a raid on the Banu Mulawwah in Kadid.<sup>6</sup> On their way they met Hārith bin Mālik at Qudayd.<sup>7</sup> He was the son of Barsa' Laythi. They captured him. He told them that he was on his way to the Prophet ﷺ to embrace Islam. But they would not believe him, rather bound him up and said that a night spent in that state would not kill him. They left a young man in charge of him with the instruction that he could kill him if he played mischief. Then they proceeded to Kadid. There they

<sup>6</sup> An area between 'Usfān and Qudayd.

<sup>7</sup> A large village that lies between Makkah and Madinah, that has plenty of water. See *Wafa'ul-Wafa'* by Sumhudi (4/1287).

concealed themselves and sent Jundub bin Makith Juhani to get the news. He went up a hill to peep on them. One of the enemies saw him and shot an arrow at him. It struck him, but he did not move, afraid that his companions would be discovered. He merely pulled out the arrow and kept it by his side. By morning, his companions attacked the enemy and captured their cattle. During the return journey, they passed by Ibn Barsa' and his guard and took them both along with them. In the meantime, the shepherds appealed to their tribe and other tribes of the area for aid. A force was quickly organized too large for the Muslims to face. They followed the footsteps of the Muslims until no more than a valley separated them; that of Qudayd. Just then Allāh (ﷻ) sent a flood through the valley without rains and without clouds. The enemy couldn't cross the water barrier and so the Muslims escaped.<sup>8</sup>

This expedition took place in Safar of the eighth year after *Hijrah*. Only a few men participated in it.<sup>9</sup>

### Lessons

1. The flood water through the valley was sent by Allāh in honor of the Muslims.
2. In the fact that Jundub was struck with an arrow but did not move, is evidence that the Muslims of the first generation offered great sacrifices in the cause of Islam and bore many hardships for it.
3. The binding of Ibn Barsa' tells us that all security precautions must be observed in war.

<sup>8</sup> Ibn Ishāq recorded through a chain that the redactors of *Ibn Hishām* declared weak (4/341-43), for there falls in it Muslim bin 'Abdullah, who could not be identified. Ahmad reported through Ibn Ishāq in his *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/128) where Sā'āti said, "Its chain is strong"; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/124); *Abu Dāwud* (3/128-129/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2678). His report does not state emphatically the hearing from Ibn Ishāq. See also *Al-Wāqidi* (2/750-752).

<sup>9</sup> A report of Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd - see the same footnote. The report is weak.

4. The Companions' decision to send a spy into the enemy territory suggests that there is nothing wrong in sending spies for gathering information. In fact, it is desirable in view of the safety of life and property of Muslims. The expedition also tells us that it is allowed to conduct surprise attacks, if the call to Islam has already been made earlier.

### The Second Expedition of Ghālib bin 'Abdullah Laythi

The Prophet ﷺ readied a force of two hundred men to be led by Zubayr bin 'Awwām to go out to the same place where Bashir bin Sa'd's men were struck in Fadak. But when Ghālib came back from Kadid, the Prophet replaced Zubayr with Ghalib. It is said that Usāmah bin Zayd and 'Ulbah bin Zayd also accompanied the force. They attacked them, captured their cattle and killed a few of them.<sup>10</sup> That was also in Safar of the eighth year AH.<sup>11</sup>

Wāqidi<sup>12</sup> reports that in this expedition Usāmah bin Zayd killed Nahik bin Mirdās who pronounced the testimony of Allāh's Oneness when he was attacked. The Prophet ﷺ reproached Usāmah in very strong terms. He also reports through Miqdād bin 'Amr that Usāmah killed a man who had said the testimony and the Prophet ﷺ reproached him for that. But he does not mention that this took place during this expedition.

Controversy surrounds the issue of the murder of the man who had pronounced the testimony. It is said that it was Usāmah bin Zayd who killed him. It is also said that it was Miqdād bin 'Amr who killed him. Some reports say it happened during the Huraqah expedition, others that it happened during the Kadid expedition, while yet others that it happened during the Mayfa'ah raid. However, the truth is as we have stated: it was Usāmah who killed him in the Hirqah expedition, as stated in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*. Ibn Ishāq names the man killed as Mirdās bin Nahik through a

<sup>10</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/723-726), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/126) who quotes Wāqidi in the same words.

<sup>11</sup> This was said by Ibn Sa'd (2/126) *Mu'allaq*, which is a weak kind.

<sup>12</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/724-725) because of Wāqidi whose reports are weak.

trustworthy chain of narrators.<sup>13</sup>

### Ka'b bin 'Umayr's Expedition towards Qudā'ah in Dhāt Atlāh

The Prophet ﷺ sent him along with fifteen men. They went as far as Dhāt Atlāh in the Shām region, behind the Qura valley. That was in Rabi'ul-Awwal of the 8th year AH.<sup>14</sup> They used to march during the night and hide during the day. Nonetheless, as they neared, one of the enemies saw them and warned his people. When they found that they were few in numbers, the enemies launched an attack and killed all of them except one. He managed to escape and informed the Prophet ﷺ. He wished to send another force. But he learnt that the enemy had moved to another location, and so, he abandoned the idea.<sup>15</sup>

#### Lesson

This expedition tells us about what the Companions faced in the cause of Islam. From what we have been recording in this work, it will be seen that the above incident does not stand as an exception.

### Shujā' bin Wahb's Expedition towards Siyyi in the lands of Banu 'Āmir

In the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal, the 8th year AH, the Prophet ﷺ sent Shujā' bin Wahb along with twenty-four men towards a group of Hawāzin men in Siyyi. They were in the lands of the Banu 'Āmir, in the Rukbah region. They attacked them and obtained cattle as booty, returning after an absence of fifteen days. However, right behind them came those that had been attacked, and embraced Islam. So the Muslims returned a few of those they had captured. One of the slaves was a beautiful girl. She chose to remain with

<sup>13</sup> See above the chapter on the campaign to Mayfa'ah.

<sup>14</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/752-753), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/127-128) being a narration of Wāqidi.

<sup>15</sup> Ibn Ishāq, in brief and *Mu'allaq* form — *Ibn Hishām* (4/356-357).

Shujā' bin Wahb.<sup>16</sup>

In the story of the girl Wadi'ah we have a fine example of the exemplary conduct of the Muslims. Even their former enemies were impressed by them and chose to be with them rather than return to their people.

This expedition could be the one that Bukhāri<sup>17</sup> and Muslim<sup>18</sup> mention in passing, reporting through Ibn 'Umar رضي الله عنه. It says that the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم sent an expedition towards Najd with Ibn 'Umar as one of the participants. They were able to capture so many camels that each of them received eleven or twelve and every one of them gave the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم a camel as a gift.<sup>19</sup>

It is also possible that the expedition that Bukhāri and Muslim spoke of is the one that Abu Qatādah bin Rib'i Ansāri led to Khadirah. That area fell in the lands of the Ghatafān tribe in Najd. They were sent in Sha'bān of the 8th year after *Hijrah*. They were fifteen in number. They were attacked by a large force but they managed to kill their prominent men, take prisoners and capture cattle. Each of them received twelve camels as his share. Abu Qatādah received a beautiful girl. The Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم asked that the girl be given to him as a gift. When he did that, the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم gifted her to Mahmiyah bin Jaz'.

The expedition lasted fifteen days.<sup>20</sup>

### Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Madyan

The Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم sent Zayd along with the freed slave of 'Ali bin Abu Tālib, a man called Dumayrah, and his brother. They captured some people of the Mina', a place near the seacoast where various

<sup>16</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/753-754), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/127) re-narrating from Wāqidi and hence weak.

<sup>17</sup> *Al-Fath* (12/220-221/H. 3134) and (16/173/H. 4338).

<sup>18</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1368/H. 1749). Bukhāri mentioned it after the expedition of Tā'if. But according to the biographers and war chroniclers, it was before journey to Makkah.

<sup>19</sup> See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/267).

<sup>20</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/777); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/132) a *Mu'allaq* report and Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/34). See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/173/explanation of the *Hādith* no. 4338).

groups of disorganized people lived. When in Madinah, they were sold out during which women were separated from their children. When the Prophet صلى الله عليه وسلم passed by, he found them weeping. He inquired what the problem was and was told that mothers had been separated from their children and sold. He said, "Don't sell them but together."<sup>21</sup>

The sources do not tell us anything about the date of this expedition. But it looks like it took place before the Mu'tah expedition, for Zayd was martyred in that expedition.

<sup>21</sup> Reported in *Ibn Hishām* (4/375-376) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain. See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah*: (2/206) where he reported through a chain different from that of Ibn Ishāq; 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (8/307); Sa'eed bin Mansur in his *Sunan* (2/248). The chains of both of them are *Munqati'*, so the report is weak. As for the disapproval of separation of children from the mothers at the time of sale, it has been demonstrated through other reliable sources, for e.g., the Prophet's statement, "He who separated a mother from her children, will have Allāh separate him from his loved ones on the Day of Standing." See it in *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (2/24-25) which Albāni declared *Hasan*. Also see Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* (3/144-145/The Book of *Jihād*); Dārimī's, *Sunan* (227/The Book of *Sayr*); Bayhaqī's, *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/126/The Book of *Sayr*) who has several reports through as many chains.

## The Mu'tah Expedition

One of the reasons why the Mu'tah expedition was organized is that the Prophet ﷺ sent Hārith bin 'Umayr with a letter of invitation to the ruler of Busra. He met Shurahbil bin 'Amr the Ghassāni at Mu'tah<sup>1</sup> and handed over the letter to him. But he ordered him to be killed. Traditionally, envoys were never killed. The Prophet ﷺ was angered and sent a force to Mu'tah in Jumāda Al-Ula of the 8th year AH.<sup>2</sup>

The expedition force was 3000 in number.<sup>3</sup> The Prophet ﷺ appointed Zayd bin Hārithah as the commander and instructed that if he is killed, Ja'far bin Abu Tālib will replace him, and if he is killed

<sup>1</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (2/755-756), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/128), *Mu'allaq*, so the chains are weak.

<sup>2</sup> This was agreed upon by the biographers and war-chroniclers: Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain until 'Urwah who dropped the next name; *Ibn Hishām* (4/23); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/128) *Mu'allaq*; Musa bin 'Uqbah and Abul-Aswad through 'Urwah as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/97/The Book of *Maghāzi*), where Ibn Hajar also mentioned that Ibn Khayyāt disagreed and said that it was in the seventh year. However, when we referred to the dates in Ibn Khayyāt, we did not find it as he stated. Indeed Ibn Khayyat reported the *Mu'allaq* narrative of Ibn Ishāq that has been referred to here. It is possible that Ibn Hajar picked it up from another source.

<sup>3</sup> Being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain ending with 'Urwah—*Ibn Hishām* (4/24); Ibn Abu Shaybah in *Al-Musannaf* (14/512) through a *Munqati'* chain, for Hakam never heard from Miqsam except for five narratives and this is not one of them; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/756) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/128) in a *Mu'allaq* report.

When the Muslims received the news they withheld themselves at Ma'an for two days consulting each other over the next step. Some said they should write to the Prophet ﷺ sending him the details of the strength of the enemy, and then follow his instructions. But 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah encouraged them by saying, "People. The thing you are fearful of is the thing you came out for: martyrdom. We do not fight on the strength of our numbers nor on the strength of the arms. We fight not, but on the strength of this religion that Allāh has honored us with. Therefore, march forward with one of the two good ends as your objective: victory or martyrdom." The people said, "Ibn Rawāhah spoke the truth." So they marched up until they were at the boundaries of Balqa'. There they encountered the massive Roman and Arab army led by Heraclius near a village called Mashārif. When the enemies came closer, the Muslims retired to Mu'tah, another village. They appointed Qutbah bin Qatādah 'Udhri on the right wing and 'Ubādah bin Mālik Ansāri on the left wing. As the battle began, Zayd was martyred. Ja'far took over. He jumped down from his horse, hamstrung it and fought until he too was martyred while reciting the poetical piece:

*"Welcome to Paradise so near  
Sweet and cool to drink its cheer  
Romans will soon have much to fear  
Infidels, of descent unclear  
When we meet, their necks I'll shear."*<sup>9</sup>

(Translation by A. Guillaume)

Ibn Hishām<sup>10</sup> relates that Ja'far held the flag by his right hand until it was severed. Then he held it by his left hand until it was severed. Then he held it between his shoulders until he was killed. He was then thirty-three. Allāh (ﷻ) rewarded him with two wings

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, pp. 26-30. As for Ja'far's slaughter of his horse called Shaqra' or his poetry, this has been reported by him through an unbroken chain and Hasan, p. 30. Ibn Sa'd reported (2/128-129) a part of it, *Mu'allaq*, but Wāqidi (2/756-761) brought it full through his own channels. As regards the tribes Balqayn and Bahra', mentioned in this context, they were offshoots of Banu Qudā'ah. See also *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/139).

<sup>10</sup> See *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (4/31) through a *Munqati'* and therefore, weak chain.

then 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah<sup>4</sup> will take over. Wāqidi<sup>5</sup> and Ibn Sa'd<sup>6</sup> add that he said, "If 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah is also killed then let the Muslims choose their leader."

When the army was ready to leave, the Prophet ﷺ himself went some distance with them to say farewell to them. At that moment 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah began to weep. When the people asked him the reason he said, "By Allāh, it is not the love of this world nor the longing for your company. Rather, I have heard the Prophet ﷺ recite a Verse from the book which says,

﴿وَإِنْ مِنْكُمْ إِلَّا وَارِدُهَا كَانَ عَلَى رَبِّكَ حَتْمًا مَقْضِيًّا﴾

*"And there is not one of you but will pass over it (the Hellfire): a decree that is binding upon your Lord."*<sup>7</sup>

Now, I don't know how I'll deal with the situation when I arrive there. The believers said, 'Allāh be with you. May He repel evil from you and return you safe.' In reply Ibn Rawāhah recited some poetical lines. It said,

*"But I ask the Merciful pardon  
And a wide open wound discharging blood,  
Or a deadly lance-thrust from a zealous warrior  
That pierces the bowels and the liver;  
So that men will say when they pass by my grave,  
Allāh guide him, a fine fighter was he, he did well."*<sup>8</sup>

As they started off, they arrived at a place called Ma'an in Shām. They learnt that Heraclius, the Roman emperor, was visiting the Syrian region along with a force of 100,000 men. His forces were further strengthened by the fighters of Lakhm, Judhām, Balqayn, Bahra', Baliyi: altogether another 100,000. The latter were commanded by a man from the Baliyi tribe called Mālik bin Rāfilah.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/98/H. 4261).

<sup>5</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/756) through his own weak chain.

<sup>6</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/128) *Mu'allaq*, and so weak.

<sup>7</sup> *Surat Maryam*: 71.

<sup>8</sup> Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain reaching 'Urwah, but it is *Mursal* and so weak—*Ibn Hishām* (4/24).

in Paradise, allowing him to fly about as he wished.<sup>11</sup>

Ibn Hishām<sup>12</sup> also wrote: "It is said that after he fell, one of the Roman soldiers struck him hard at the waist and cut him in two." Wāqidi<sup>13</sup> and Ibn Sa'd<sup>14</sup> have recorded several reports detailing the state in which Ja'far was found after his martyrdom. It is said that in one half of his body they found thirty wounds, while in the other, a few more than thirty. According to another report they found sixty wounds on his body. *Sahih*<sup>15</sup> report says that they found more than ninety wounds on his body.

Ibn Ishāq<sup>16</sup> and others report that when Ja'far was killed, Ibn Rawāhah took over. He headed towards the enemy on his horse singing a poetical piece. It said,

*"I swear, my soul, you shall come to battle;  
You shall fight or be made to fight.  
Though men shout and scream aloud,  
Why should you spurn Paradise?"*

<sup>11</sup> The basis of this report is in Haythami's *Al-Majma'* (9/272-273) being a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās. He said there that it was recorded in Tabarāni's work through two chains. One of them is of *Hasan* status. It is in words that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Allāh has changed his hands into two wings with which he flies about in Paradise, wherever he wishes." And Ibn Hajar reported in *Al-Fath* (14/222 explanation of H. 3709) that Tabārani has recorded through 'Abdullah bin Ja'far through a *Hasan* chain that the Prophet ﷺ told him, "Be of good cheer. Your father is flying about along with the angels in the heaven." But what strengthens more is the report in *Al-Bukhāri* which says that whenever Ibn 'Umar greeted Ibn Ja'far, he would say, "Greetings of peace be on you, O son of *Dhul-Janāhayn* (of two wings)." *Al-Fath* (16/103/H. 4262).

Ibn Hajar has other reports of the same meaning of which some are authentic, some weak, but which gains strength from others. See *Ibn Hajar* (14/222).

<sup>12</sup> Ibn Ishāq, through a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/31).

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/761) through his own weak chains.

<sup>14</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/129) a *Mu'allaq* report.

<sup>15</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/99/H. 4261).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibn Hishām* (4/31-32) through a *Hasan* chain. Of those who also recorded: Sa'eed bin Mansur in his *Sunan* through a *Munqati'* chain, see Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/98/The Book of *Maghāzi*/commentary on H. 4261).

*Long have you been at ease,  
You are nothing but a drop in a worn out skin."*

He also said,

*"O my soul, if you are not killed, you will still die  
Here is the death's call, you are already trapped  
You did not wish but you were given  
If you did as the two did, you will be guided."*<sup>17</sup>

As he was about to enter into the battle, his cousin brought him a piece of bone with some flesh on it and told him to strengthen himself since he hadn't eaten anything that day. As he snapped a little of it he heard sounds of confusion originating from the forces. He said, "Are you still in the world!?" Then he threw away the bone, took his sword and fought until he was killed and obtained the martyrdom that he had desired.

His attitude towards *Jihād* was clear from the beginning: he encouraged the people to fight despite their small number and he sang out poetry expressing the desire to enter Paradise. We also have evidence from Zayd bin Arqam who was in the same tent as he was, and heard him sing poetry in praise of martyrdom. When Zayd cried, 'Abdullah hit him with his whip. He said, 'What's your problem, O lover of this world, that I should be martyred but you should return with the army?'"<sup>18</sup>

After him Thābit bin Aqram took over the flag. He asked the Muslims to choose a leader for themselves. They suggested his name. But he refused. So they agreed upon Khālid bin Walid. He took over and helped them withdraw from the battlefield.<sup>19</sup>

It is said that after Ibn Rawāhah was killed, Khālid spent the night considering the next move. In the morning he changed the positions: those that were in the front were sent to the rear, those

<sup>17</sup> He is referring to his two companions: Zayd and Ja'far.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Ishāq recorded through a *Munqati'* chain, for 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr did not name the person who narrated to him from Zayd bin Arqam—*Ibn Hishām* (4/28-29).

<sup>19</sup> Up to this point, it is a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

that were in the rear were brought forward, those at left he sent to the right and those at right he sent to the left. When the enemy saw different faces, and not those they were familiar with, they thought that the Muslims had received fresh forces. That drove fear into them and they were defeated. The Muslims killed as many as they had never done before.<sup>20</sup> It is said that no less than nine swords broke in the hands of Khālid bin Walid.<sup>21</sup> This leads us to conclude that some fighting surely took place before the Muslims withdrew.

What further confirms fighting under Khālid before the Muslims<sup>22</sup> withdrew is a report in *Muslim* and others which records 'Awf bin Mālik as saying that a man from Yemen accompanied him to the expedition. He killed a Roman soldier and took away his belongings for himself. But Khālid thought that the things were too valuable for him. So the Yemeni complained to the Prophet ﷺ.

A miracle that appeared was that the Prophet ﷺ announced the death of Zayd, Ja'far and Ibn Rawāhah with tears streaming from his eyes. He informed his Companions that Khālid had taken over and gave them the good news of victory at his hand. He named him 'Allāh's Sword'.<sup>23</sup> He said those things while the battle was still raging a thousand miles away. The Prophet ﷺ was truly aggrieved by their death.<sup>24</sup> Subsequently, Ya'la bin Umaiyyah appeared and confirmed the news as given by the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>25</sup> According to another report, it was 'Āmir Ash'ari who brought the news to Madinah.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the loss of a few dear ones in this expedition, and notwithstanding the number of the enemy, no more than twelve Muslims were martyred.<sup>27</sup> As regards the enemy, it is

<sup>20</sup> *Al-Wāqidi* (3/764), and very weak for he was abandoned.

<sup>21</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/104/H. 4265-4266).

<sup>22</sup> *Sahih Muslim* (3/1373-1374/H. 1753).

<sup>23</sup> *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/100/H. 4262) and (11/277/H. 2798), and Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/40-41) being a report of Abu Qatādah.

<sup>24</sup> A tradition that Bukhāri collected as in *Al-Fath* (16/101/H. 6263).

<sup>25</sup> A narrative of Musa bin 'Uqbah to be found in Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah* (4/275) as well as in Ibn Hajar's *Al-Fath* (16/101/in explanation of H. 4262).

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/101), being a narration of Tabarāni.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ishāq recorded, as a *Mu'allaq* report, the names of the ten of them with

not known how many were killed. But it was certainly a large number.

The Mu'tah martyrs occupied a high place before Allāh. The Prophet ﷺ said, "I wouldn't be happier - or he said, "they wouldn't be happier" - if they were with us now."<sup>28</sup>

As regards Ibn Ishāq's<sup>29</sup> report that the people taunted the participants at Mu'tah as those who had fled from Allāh's path, Ibn Kathir<sup>30</sup> explains: "I believe Ibn Ishāq was mistaken in his interpretation. It seems those who fled, did so during the first phase of the battle. The great majority did not flee; indeed, they were victorious as confirmed by the Prophet's statement in the pulpit: "... then a sword from the swords of Allāh took charge of the command and Allāh bestowed victory on his hand." Thereafter, the Muslims stopped referring to them as those who had fled. Rather, they honored and respected them. It was only a few that had fled, one of whom was 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, and it were they alone that were criticized."

Ibn Kathir follows up with several evidences to show that the great majority of the Muslims did not flee, rather, a few of them did so. One of them is contained in the *Hadith* recorded in *Ahmad*,<sup>31</sup> narrated by 'Abdullah bin 'Umar ﷺ, which speaks of those who fled and were fearful of their lives when they entered into Madinah. They wished to mount a boat and escape to another land. Finally, they decided to present themselves to the Prophet ﷺ and accept his decision about them. But when they went and admitted their error,

two of whom Ibn Hishām agreed—*Ibn Hishām* (4/44-45) *Mu'allaq*; while Wāqidi mentioned eight: *Al-Maghāzi* (2/769).

<sup>28</sup> See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/152/H. 3063).

<sup>29</sup> Through a *Mursal* chain reaching up to 'Urwah, but weak—*Ibn Hishām* (4/37). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/276): "This report is *Mursal* by this route and it carries some strangeness."

<sup>30</sup> *Al-Bidāyah* (4/276).

<sup>31</sup> *Al-Musnad* (7/H. 5384/Shākir), which Shākir treated as authentic. And Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/277): "Tirmidhi and Ibn Mājah documented it as a report coming from Yazid bin Abu Ziyād about which Tirmidhi said: "A *Hasan* narrative that we have not known through any other source except this."



he said, "Rather, you are of those who sought refuge. I am the main party, and I am the main party of the Muslims (in whom Muslims should take refuge)." According to another report he said, "Rather you are those who returned (and not fled)."

Ja'far's sons were brought to him. The Prophet ﷺ consoled them and ordered that their heads be shaved. He also supplicated for them and when their mother came to remind him of their orphanhood, he remarked, "Are you afraid of poverty? Well, I am their custodian in this world and the next."<sup>32</sup>

When news of Ja'far's death came, the Prophet ﷺ said, "Prepare food for Ja'far's family, for something has happened that will engage them," or, "some affair has appeared that will engage them."<sup>33</sup>

### Lessons, Rules

1. In the Prophet's act of appointing three commanders over the Mu'tah army is the proof that leaders can be provisionally and conditionally appointed and that several leaders may be named, to follow in succession.
2. The Prophet's announcement of the death of the three commanders, before the news actually came, shows that such announcement is not disallowed. In his case it was not of the prohibited type since it was in fact a proof of his prophethood.
3. The appointment of Khālid bin Walid after the martyrdom of the three commanders, is evidential that *iljtihād* (independent reasoning) was permissible during the time of the Prophet ﷺ himself.
4. The Prophet's grief over the death of the three commanders speaks loudly of his love of his Companions. It does not

<sup>32</sup> Ahmad's report in *Musnad* (3/192-194/H. 1750/Shākir) which Shākir treated authentic.

<sup>33</sup> *Al-Musnad* (3/194/H. 1751/Shākir) which Shākir gave the *Sahih* status and in *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* by Albāni (1/268) which Albāni declared *Hasan*.

contradict submission to Allāh's Will and gallant acceptance of His Decree. It also tells us that one's grief over what happens to him does not mean he lacks fortitude: so long as his heart is not a complaining one. Indeed, it is said that one who feels the pain of events, and then observes patience is better than one who does not feel the pain at all.<sup>34</sup>

5. The Muslims learnt a lot from this first encounter with the Romans. The experience helped them in future battles. They learnt for instance, the numbers the enemy was capable of raising; the type of armament they could be using, how they planned a battle, what were the geographical conditions of the area of their control and what were the weather conditions of their lands, etc.<sup>35</sup>
6. The stand taken by the three commanders speaks of the strength of faith of the Companions in general that led them into the battlefields without any fear.

<sup>34</sup> See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/100/commentary of H. 4262).

<sup>35</sup> See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni, Jihād*, p. 168.

## Expeditions between the Mu'tah Campaign and Fall of Makkah

### The Dhatus-Salāsīl Expedition

It was not many a days after the return of the forces from Mu'tah, in Jumāda Ath-Thānīyah of the eighth year after *Hijrah*<sup>1</sup> that the Prophet ﷺ heard that the Qudā'ah had begun to assemble forces to organize attack on Madinah. He sent for 'Amr bin 'Ās. When he came he told him, "...I would like you to head a squadron. May Allāh keep you safe and bestow on you booty. I wish you wholesome wealth." 'Amr replied, "O Messenger of Allāh. I didn't embrace Islam for money. I did so because I was attracted by Islam, and because I wished to be in the company of the Messenger of Allāh." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "'Amr, wealth is a good thing when in the hands of a pious man."<sup>2</sup> Then he sent him with 300 men of the *Muhājair* and the *Ansār* to destroy the tribe in its own territory. He also instructed him to seek the help of some of the Qudā'ah branches such as Baliyi, 'Udhrah and Balqayn against the enemy.

<sup>1</sup> *At-Tabaqāt* (2/131) without a chain and so very weak.

<sup>2</sup> Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/140-141) through a trustworthy line but *Mursal* by 'Āmir Sha'bi. One might look at who else documented it of those that Sā'āti mentioned. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/196/explanation of H. 4358) about this *Hadith*: "Ahmad and Bukhāri (in *Adabul-Mufrad*) reported it and Abu 'Awānah declared it trustworthy, as did Ibn Hibbān and Hākim, recounting it through 'Ali bin Rabāh and 'Amr bin 'Ās." Then he reported the *Hadith* in words above.

'Amr's mother in fact was from the Baliyi clan. It was hoped that they would act softly towards 'Amr. When he had reached the waters of Judhām, known as Salsal, from which the name of this expedition is derived, he got wind of the enormous strength of the enemy. So he sent Rāfi' bin Makith the Juhani back to the Prophet ﷺ. He sent him another 80 men of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* under the leadership of Abu 'Ubaydah 'Āmir bin Jarrah's leadership. Abu Bakr and 'Umar were among them. The Prophet ﷺ had asked 'Amr and Abu 'Ubaydah to yield to each other. Therefore, when 'Amr insisted on his own leadership in the prayers, Abu 'Ubaydah withdrew following the Prophet's behest.<sup>3</sup>

A report in Ahmad<sup>4</sup> says that the Prophet ﷺ gave Abu Ubaydah the leadership of the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār*, while 'Amr was to head the tribal Arabs. He had also ordered that Bakr be attacked. But 'Amr chose to attack Qudā'ah directly since the Bakr were related to him from his cousin's side. Abu 'Ubaydah once again obeyed him avoiding any dispute with him. However, this explanation by Sha'bi seems to be far-fetched.

'Amr kept moving until he entered into the Baliyi territory. Thereafter he crossed through the 'Udhrah and Balqayn territory to arrive at the farther end facing the enemy forces. The Muslims launched the attack on them and they fled. Thereafter they returned to Madinah.<sup>5</sup>

During the return journey 'Amr experienced a wet dream in a very cold night. He did not wash himself, rather wiped himself with dust drawing inspiration from the Verse,

The report about the dispatch of 'Amr bin 'Ās' at the head of Dhātus-Salāsil expedition is confirmed by the *Sahihayn* but without such details as found in the books of the war chroniclers and biographers. See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/158/The Book of *Fadā'il*).

<sup>3</sup> See *Al-Wāqidi* (2/769-771) who quoted his own chains; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/131) *Mu'allaq*; *Ibn Ishāq, Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/359-360) and *Maghāzi Rasūlullah* ﷺ by 'Urwah, p. 207. However, all through weak chains.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/139-140) being a *Mursal* report of Sha'bi, which is a weak chain, not worthy of consideration.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibn Sa'd* (2/131) *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/769-771).

﴿وَلَا تَقْتُلُوا أَنْفُسَكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ بِكُمْ رَحِيمًا﴾

"Do not kill yourselves. Surely, Allāh is very kind on you."<sup>6</sup>

Then he led the Muslims in the prayers. When the Prophet ﷺ heard of it, he did not say anything, granting it approval.<sup>7</sup>

Although it got very cold 'Amr ordered his men not to light the fire nor chase the enemy. Some Muslims didn't like it and complained to the Prophet ﷺ.<sup>8</sup> 'Amr explained to him that he had a small contingent under him and he did not wish to encourage the enemy by exposing their numbers by the lights of the fire. He added, "Also, I ordered them not to chase the enemy as I was afraid they would come out from their hiding positions and attack us from the rear." The Prophet ﷺ approved of his measures.

#### Note on This Expedition

1. In placing 'Amr ﷺ over a squadron that included figures like Abu Bakr and 'Umar ﷺ is evidence that superior persons might be placed under an inferior, if the inferior commands some advantage.<sup>9</sup> 'Amr, after all, had a good fighting experience.
2. In 'Amr's example of avoiding usage of water is proof that when one is in fear of harming himself with cold water, he may

<sup>6</sup> *Surat An-Nisa'*: 29.

<sup>7</sup> Reported by *Abu Dāwud* (334, 335/The Book of *Tahārah*) which Albāni declared *Sahih*, as in *Sahih Sunan Abu Dāwud* (No. 360-361); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/402-403), and in his *Sunan* (1/225-226) about which the two verifiers of *Zādul-Ma'ād* said (3/388): "Its chain is Strong (*Qawi*)," which Bukhārī used in his *Sahih* (1/385), and Hāfiz and Ibn Hibbān declared *Qawi—Al-Mawārid*, p. 202, and Hākim declared *Sahih* in his *Al-Mustadrak* (1/177), with Dhahabi agreeing with him, but Mundhiri thought it *Hasan*; and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/203) through a line in which falls Ibn Lahiy'ah. See also *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (2/235).

<sup>8</sup> Reported by Ibn 'Asākir in *Tārikh Dimashq* (13/254), and Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih*, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/195/explanation of H. 3663).

<sup>9</sup> See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/196/commentary on H. 4358).

resort to wiping in lieu of washing.

3. Someone who has wiped himself can lead in prayers those who have washed themselves.
4. It also proves the validity of working out legal opinions even during the time of the Prophet ﷺ as did 'Amr, replacing washing with wiping following his personal understanding.<sup>10</sup>

### Abu Hadrad's Expedition towards Ghābah

The Prophet ﷺ received news that a man called Qays bin Rifā'ah or Rifā'ah bin Qays was advancing with a substantial force in command, and had reached the Ghābah area. He was trying to recruit the Qays tribe to launch an attack on Madinah. He was a man of great influence among the Jusham tribe. The Prophet ﷺ asked 'Abdullah bin Hadrad along with two other men to go after him. Ibn Hadard managed to overpower and kill Rifā'ah bin Qays and his men fled. The Muslims managed to capture some women, children and a large number of camels and goats. He went to the Prophet ﷺ and presented the booty and Rifā'ah's head. He gave him thirteen camels out of the booty.<sup>11</sup>

Tabari<sup>12</sup> has said that this expedition took place in Sha'bān of

<sup>10</sup> See *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/388-389).

<sup>11</sup> Ibn Ishāq reported it as in Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah* (4/249-250) but through a weak chain, for there falls in it Ja'far bin 'Abdullah bin Aslam who did not emphatically say that he heard it from Abu Hadard. Nevertheless he is acceptable, as noted Ibn Hajar, i.e., when he has supporting evidences in his favor otherwise he is weak. At this point he has no supportive evidences, and hence considered weak of chain.

It was also reported by Ibn Hishām in the *Sirat* (4/367-369) as a narrative originating with Ibn Ishāq, wherein Ibn Ishāq did not name whom he heard it from. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ahmad (6/11-12) through a non-Ibn Ishāq chain; Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/207) who said, "One of the narrators has not been named, otherwise the chain is of the reliable ones;" *Al-Wāqidi* (2/777) and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/303-304) through Ibn Ishāq as pointed out by *Al-Bidāyah* of Ibn Kathir.

<sup>12</sup> Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/34) a *Mu'allaq* and therefore weak report.

the 8th year AH. However, he mentions that Abu Qatādah headed this expedition.

### Abu Qatādah's Expedition to the Valley of Idam<sup>13</sup>

The Prophet ﷺ sent some men to Idam. Abu Qatādah, Muhallim bin Jaththāmah bin Qays were the participants. As they were in the valley of the Idam, 'Āmir bin Adbat the Ashja'i passed by them and greeted them with the Islamic greeting. Others spared him but Muhallim attacked and killed him because of a dispute that had taken place between them. After killing him he seized his camel and belongings. It is said that it was in reference to this incident that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed the following Verse that said,

﴿يَتَأْتِيهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا إِذَا ضَرَبْتُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَتَبَيَّنُوا وَلَا تَقُولُوا لِمَنْ أَلْفَىٰ  
إِلَيْكُمْ السَّلَامَ لَسْتَ مُؤْمِنًا تَبْتَغُونَ عَرَضَ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا...﴾

"O Muslims, when you go out in an expedition, investigate and do not say unto him who salutes you with the Islamic salutation that you are not a believer, seeking the fortune of this world..."<sup>14,15</sup>

It is also said that the Prophet ﷺ refused to pray for Muhallam's forgiveness when he requested him at the time he was in Hunayn.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Idam was a valley wherein met other valleys of Madinah. Some said it was a watering place between Makkah and Yamāmah near Saminah (*Mu'jamul-Buldān*, 1/281). Yet others said it was is a valley that crossed Hijāz passing by Madinah and ending in the sea. It was an area for Ashja' and Juhaynah. Ibn Sa'd said in *At-Tabaqāt* (3/179) that it was a place that lay twenty-four miles away from Madinah between Dhu Khashab and Dhu Marwah.

<sup>14</sup> *Surat Al-Nisa'*: 94.

<sup>15</sup> One of Ibn Ishāq's reports through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/363-364) and which *Al-Wāqidi* (2/797) has with a complete chain; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/133) *Mu'allaq*—mentioned that the head of the expedition was Abu Qatādah bin Rib'i Ansāri. This is an implication in the narrative of Ibn Ishāq. Tabari reported a part of it in his *Tafsir* (9/72/Shākir), through a complete chain but with an '*an'anah* (so-and-so) of Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>16</sup> Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/365-366), and Tabari in

It is reported that when he died after seven days and they buried him, the earth refused to accept him and threw him out twice. Finally, his people placed his body between two hills and threw stones over him. When the Prophet ﷺ came to know he remarked, "By Allāh. The earth accepts those who are more evil. But Allāh wished to teach you a lesson about the sanctity of your men."<sup>17</sup>

On the other hand, the Traditionists have mentioned several other causes for the revelation of the Verse cited above. Bukhārī<sup>18</sup> has reported that it was revealed in connection with two Muslims by whom a man passed, saluting them with Islamic salutation but they killed him and took away his possessions. Ahmad,<sup>19</sup> Tirmidhi<sup>20</sup> and Hākim<sup>21</sup> have reported in similar words.

Bazzār<sup>22</sup> however reports the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ that it was revealed in reference to Miqdād bin Aswad. He was sent in an expedition. The enemy dispersed. One of them remained behind with a good amount of wealth on him. He uttered the testimony. But Miqdād killed him. The Prophet ﷺ told Miqdād, "He was a

his *Tafsir* (9/72/Shākir) through a complete chain of transmitters but which has an 'an'anah (so-and-so) of Ibn Ishāq.

<sup>17</sup> Reported by Tabari in his *Tafsir* (9/72/Shākir), through a complete chain of transmitters but which has an 'an'anah (so-and-so) of Ibn Ishāq. It was also reported by Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/366) through a *Mursal* report but weak because he did not name whom he heard from preferring to halt the chain at 'Ali Basri, through a source other than that of Ibn Ishāq. And, there has been some difference in opinion over the traditions reported by Ibn Ishāq.

The *Hadith* was also reported by Musa bin 'Uqbah who traced it through Zuhri and Shu'ayb through Zuhri, through a complete chain up to Qabisah bin Dhuwayb, one of the offspring of the Companions, who had seen the Prophet ﷺ except that he did not name either Muhallim nor 'Āmir—*Ibn Kathir* (4/252).

<sup>18</sup> *Al-Fath* (17/125/H. 4591).

<sup>19</sup> *Al-Musnad* (4/153/Shākir), through an authentic line.

<sup>20</sup> *Sunan* (*Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*, 8/386) through a *Hasan* chain. See it in *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (3/40/H. 2426), and which Albani declared authentic.

<sup>21</sup> *Al-Mustadrak* (2/235) and judged it *Sahih*.

<sup>22</sup> Quoted by Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (2/338).

believer among the disbelievers, concealing his faith. He announced it out to you but you killed him. That is how once you were, concealing your faith in Makkah."

Because of the numerousness of the reports, one can deduce that this kind of incident took place several times. The Verse in question was referring to all of them.<sup>23</sup>

This expedition took place in Ramadān of the 8th year AH.<sup>24</sup>

Wāqidi<sup>25</sup> mentions the following as the cause of this expedition. When the Prophet ﷺ decided to organize an attack on Makkah, he sent Abu Qatādah along with eight men to the valley of Idam to mislead the people that he (the Prophet ﷺ) was preparing to march in that direction rather than in the direction of Makkah.

### Lesson

In the Prophet's words to Miqdād, viz., "That is how once you were, concealing your faith in Makkah," is a good reminder that when a man gathers strength, he should not forget the past days of weakness. If he did that, it would lead him to pride and arrogance.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> See: *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (2/338) footnotes of the redactors.

<sup>24</sup> Originally a narration of *Ibn Sa'd* (2/133) without a chain, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/797) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain. Of those things that confirm this date is that Aqra' bin Hābis and 'Uyaynah bin Hisn disputed over 'Āmir bin Adbat before the Prophet ﷺ while he was in Hunayn. 'Uyaynah was demanding the life of 'Āmir. Those days he was the chief of the Ghatafān. Ibn Hābis on the other hand was arguing in favor of Muhallim because of his position among the Khandaf. Finally, 'Uyaynah accepted blood money on condition that he would pay one half then in that journey while the rest when they return. Ibn Ishāq recorded this through a *Hasan* report—*Ibn Hishām* (4/364-365). Also see *Al-Isābah* (2/292).

<sup>25</sup> *Al-Maghāzi* (2/796-97).

<sup>26</sup> See the foot notes of the two verifiers of *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (2/338).