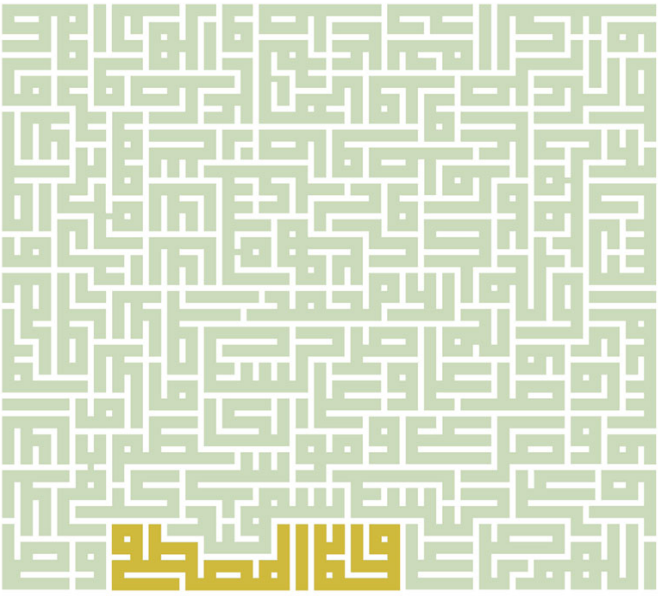
Muhammad

Rereading Historical Sources



Edited by
Mohammadreza al-Khaghani

ICSS Press

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ICSS Press, 2023


بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

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Foreword

This work is the first in a series of books under publication by the Shiʿi Studies Department at the ICSS with the aim of making international readers more familiar with the biography and teachings of the Fourteen Infallibles. The high status of the Prophet (s) and the Ahl al-Bayt (a) as well as the ever-increasing requirements and necessities of scholarship require continuously studying different aspects of their lives and personalities and producing updated works about them in different levels. In the compilation of this series, we have tried as much as possible to provide brief, readable accounts of the Infallibles' lives based on reliable sources and scholarly standards.

We express our gratitude to all the colleagues who contributed to the preparation and completion of this work, especially Muhammad Reza al-Khaghani who composed and compiled the content of the book. We are grateful to Ali Tabatabai Yazdi, Muhammad Baqer Malekian, and Muhammad Reza Farahmand, who had a significant part in initiating and advancing this project in its earlier stages, and to Hamed Fayazi for his revision of the entire work.

Sayyid Mohsen Mousawi
Director of ICSS, Qom Branch
September 2022

Introduction

A Glance at the Historical Background of the Prophet's Biography

The historical path of Islam originated with the first revelation (*biʿtha*) of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh (s) on Rajab 27, 610 AH (December 12, 1213) and then developed into an influential movement in its subsequent history. With the pivotal role of a Prophet connected to divine revelation, the religion of Islam began to spread from the cities of Mecca and Medina to major parts of the world at the time. The Prophet's centrality is evident in all aspects of Islam. It was to him that the Quran as the holy scripture of Islam was revealed from God, which he was charged with the task of conveying, teaching, and explicating. Furthermore, his practice, conducts, commands and prohibitions, as well as the individual and social rulings he communicated to his followers constituted the foundation of an ethical practical guideline for Muslims throughout the history.

The Prophet's centrality was also reflected in Islamic historiography. The pre-Islamic Arabian community, whose historiography was confined to anecdotes of its triumphs and heydays, now had a leader in whom it could take pride. The Prophet's life thus turned into a subject worthy of being recorded and documented, a practice that came to be known as *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya* (the prophetical course of life). In all likelihood, the first works written about the Prophet's life go back to the first century AH

(seventh century).[1] Thereafter, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 151/768) wrote his *al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī* on the history of the Prophet's life, which counts as the oldest biography of the Prophet.[2]

The Prophet's biographies were written throughout the fifteen centuries after the initiation of the Islamic call in a variety of styles and with all sorts of motivations.[3] Given the Prophet's pivotal role in Islam, it does not seem surprising that the history of his life attracted so much attention. What sticks out in those historical works is a political portrait of the Prophet's life as a political leader, which is but part of the prophetical mission, brushing aside the divine, ethical, and mystical dimensions of his character. On top of that, political and theological (*kalāmī*) tendencies played a part in eliminating, adding to, abridging, and elaborating upon narratives of the Prophet's life, leaving an impact on how it was portrayed. Since most of those works were written by Sunni scholars, they show obvious traces of their predilections about the issue of caliphate and other pertinent matters. Al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956) hints at some of the theological (or denominational) biases that led to concealments or distortions of historical truths,[4] which might be illustrated by the following examples. Abān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (d. 105/723) dedicated a prophetic biography he had collected to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 99/717) when he was the caliph's heir apparent. After consultation with his father ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 65-86/685-705), Sulaymān ordered that the book be burned down because it addressed the virtues of al-Anṣār (the Helpers).[5] In later periods, parts of prophetic biographies continued to be censored at different

[1] A glimpse of Fuat Sezgin's precious work reveals that people such as Saʿīd b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda (d.?) and Sahl b. Abī Ḥathama (or Khaythama or Khathama) (d. during the reign of Muʿāwiya: 41-60/661-680) were the first to compile collections on the history of the Prophet's life (see Sezgin, *Geschichte Des Arabischen Schrifttums*, 1:275-76).

[2] See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 9:13. It should be noted, however, that this account does not describe Ibn Isḥāq's book as the first book on the Prophet's biography, but as an independent work that is structured into parts and sections. The account points out that, prior to this work, there were unstructured or unordered (*ghayr murattaba*) books (*ṣuḥuf*) on Islamic jurisprudence, hadiths, and history.

[3] For more about the sources of the Prophet's biography, see the paper, "Sources of Prophetic Biography," in the second part of the present volume.

[4] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 198.

[5] Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār al-muwaffaqiyyāt*, 331-33.

levels. In the introduction of his book, Ibn Hishām (d. 213/833) makes it explicit that he eliminated part of history that "is too shameful to talk about" (*yushnaʿ al-ḥadīth bih*) or "offend some people."[1] In other cases, censorships were conducted by transcribers. Marsden Jones, the editor of *al-Maghāzī* by al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) says in a foreword to the book that certain manuscripts of the book censor the names of those who had fled the Battle of Uḥud by replacing them with the word *fulān* (a placeholder name for a person), while other sources, including *Ansāb al-ashrāf*[2] and *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*[3], cite those names as quoted from al-Wāqidī's work. He then concludes that the original manuscript of the work contained those names, which later transcribers replaced with the word *fulān*.[4] Another example is al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) who, in his *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, refuses to cite the story of al-Ghadīr, which is cited in many reliable sources of hadith and history.[5]

Contemporary Sunni works on prophetic biography tend to exhibit the same approach. For instance, a major contemporary Arabic work, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, by Mohamed Hassanein Heikal (d. 2016), makes no mention of the Event of al-Ghadīr.[6]

In contrast, Shīʿī scholars have tried to produce prophetic biographies free from such political-theological biases and partialities. Early Shīʿī examples of this sort include *Iʿlām al-warā bi aʿlām al-hudā* by Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1154) and *Kashf al-ghumma fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma* by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbilī (d. 692/1293).[7] Contemporary Shīʿī scholars and researchers have also produced works in Arabic and Persian, which try to portray the parts of the Prophet's history that tended to be neglected or utterly omitted in

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:4.
[2] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:326.
[3] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 15:24.
[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Introduction: 18.
[5] The story of al-Ghadīr appears in historical sources before al-Ṭabarī. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī has listed the transmitters of Hadith al-Ghadīr, including the Prophet's companions (*ṣaḥāba*), his companions' companions (*tābiʿūn*), and Sunni scholars in different periods. Moreover, he studies written works on al-Ghadīr (Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:108-12; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:112; Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 1:325-41).
[6] Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*, 483-93.
[7] For a brief account of these two books, see the article "Sources of the Sīra of Prophet Muḥammad (s)" in the second part of the present volume.

Sunni sources due to denominational-political leanings. Although these works have effectively offered a fair picture of the Prophet's life, they still suffer from certain shortcomings. These include failure to comply with high-standard research methods, such as proper references to first-hand sources, as well as excessive elaborations of several alternative historical accounts, which makes it onerous for the reader to obtain the outlines of Prophet Muḥammad's life. In addition, there are other works in which the Prophet's biography is overshadowed and marginalized by extravagant historical analyses. Some other works seek to apply issues of the day to prophetic life and practice, which *nolens volens* imposes their authors' personal opinions on the history of the Prophet's life.

Perhaps the most extensive effort to rediscover the historical portrait of the Prophet (s) in keeping with the Shīʿī intellectual and doctrinal context is the book *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sīrat al-nabī al-aʿẓam* by Jaʿfar Murtaḍā al-ʿĀmilī (d. 2019). Drawing on both Sunni and Shīʿī sources of history and hadith, the work made a rare or even unparalleled endeavor to deliver the most accurate account of the Prophet's life. Nevertheless, the work is not apt for a primary introduction to the prophetic life because of its huge length (over thirty volumes) and its predominantly analytic orientation that overshadows the core narrative of the Prophet's life.

Things are not much better in Western works on the Prophet's life. Western scholars went through different stages of prophetic biography as far as their approaches, sources, and writing styles are concerned. In the early stage, they viewed Muslims as threats to their territory and religion, which led them to portray the Prophet as an odious ungodly figure. This escalated to the utmost during the Crusades, and remained prevalent in Western works until about the nineteenth century. As Orientalists began to develop more acquaintance with Islam, and the West expanded its commercial ties with the East, the approach was progressively rectified. Of course, there remain traces of the pessimistic view of the Prophet (s), his practice, and Islam in the contemporary English works.[1] Overall,

[1] For more information about the history of Sīra study in the West, see Buhl et al., "Muḥammad," *EI*[2] 7:377-88; Rubin, *The life of Muhammad*, xiii-xlvi; Hoyland, "Writing the

prophetic biography has center stage in the Western research on Islam to the point that some people believe Orientalist studies of Islamic jurisprudence and hadith were indeed intended as means of an enhanced understanding of the Prophet's life.[1]

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, marked a new era of Western, particularly English, writings on Prophet Muḥammad's life. Academicians, journalists, and intellectuals embarked on writing works on Islam in general, and the Prophet in particular. To a large extent, the works evinced a positive view of the Prophet's life.[2] As successful as they might have been in providing a balanced picture of Islam and the Prophet's character, they nevertheless were not without drawbacks. These include failure to comply with high research standards, lack of expertise in history on the part of some authors, preponderance of fictional elements over historical authenticity, and finally failure to refer to first-hand sources.

Features of the Book

The present volume aims to overcome the above drawbacks, and to those interested in the life and practice of the Prophet, it offers a text with the following features:

A Shīʿī perspective on the prophetic life: This book presents a biography of the Prophet from a Shīʿī perspective, but this is not to say that it deviates from the standards of historical research as it tries to consider the reliable accounts cited in Sunni sources of history and hadith as well. Besides, it eschews unreliable, weak, or contradictory historical accounts. What is more, it seeks to take into account what is neglected in historical sources due to political or sectarian motivations. In this way, the book comes up with a more comprehensive and accurate picture of the Prophet's life and character.

A text of moderate length for introduction to the Prophet's life: Some of the works on the prophetic life provide different accounts of

Biography of the Prophet Muhammad: Problems and Solutions," 581-602; Karimi-Nia, *Sīra pajūhī dar gharb*, 11-20.

[1] Motzki, *Hadith*, xviii-xxxiii.

[2] Ali, *The Lives of Muhammad*, 222.

historical events, which might impede the goal of obtaining a general picture of the Prophet's life and character. The present volume recapitulates various historical accounts and then yields a unified text concerning major events of the Prophet's life, without engaging in unnecessary irrelevant details. Given its structure and size, the Prophet's biography in this work fits academic courses on introduction to the Prophet's life based on primary sources.

First-hand sources and proper citations in the text: There are two kinds of deficiencies in references of many of the Prophet's biographies: failure to cite relevant sources when a citation is required, and reference to secondary sources. In the present volume, all historical accounts draw on reliable, and to the extent possible, first-hand or primary sources. It is noteworthy that, when it comes to key issues, outstanding research as well as encyclopedias and other reference books are also taken into account.

Avoidance of in-detail quotations and analyses of historical accounts: In some works on the Prophet's life, analyses are so prevalent that they sometimes overshadow the biography. The present volume rests content with reliable historical accounts, and only when necessary, it presents brief analyses of events. In some cases, cursory analyses appear in footnotes that refer the reader to further readings. As for the dates of events, widely accepted reliable dates are mentioned, without addressing controversies over the dates.

This book is intended for a wide range of readers: Shīʿī and Sunni Muslims as well as non-Muslims who are interested in the Prophet's life. Accordingly, the text avoids technical terminologies and uses a simple prose to enable non-experts to learn more about the history of Islam and the Prophet's life.

The book is structured into three parts: "The Life and Practice of the Noble Prophet," "Articles," and "A Selection of Prophetic Hadiths." The first is devoted to the history of the Prophet's life, and the second paves the path for a better understanding of certain dimensions of the Prophet's life history. The second part begins with an article titled "Sources of the Sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s)," in which chief sources of the Prophet's biography are thematically

classified and then briefly introduced. The article introduces over eighty major sources of history, hadith, and literature, which are helpful for research on the prophetic life. This is followed by a selection of "Glimpses of Characteristics and Demeanor of the Prophet of Islam (s)" (*Sunan al-Nabī*) by the late ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī. This section addresses the Prophet's personal and social practice as mirrored in Shīʿī sources of hadith. The next article is "The Prophet's Role in the Formation of Islamic Theology," which considers the Prophet's role in expounding theological or doctrinal teachings under the five pillars or principles of the religion (monotheism, divine justice, resurrection, prophethood, and imamate). The article titled "The Companions of the Prophet (s) and Their Integrity" studies and criticizes the origins of the theory of justice or righteousness of the Prophet's companions, offering a sketchy account of the social context of the Prophet's era. The article "A History of the Prophet's Mosque" depicts the history of a key place in the Islamic era, i.e. al-Masjid al-Nabawi or the Prophetic Mosque, from its origin to the present. It also addresses various parts of the mosque, which witnessed significant historical events. On the whole, the articles in this part aim to enable the readers to obtain a better understanding of the Prophet's time. The third part is devoted to a selection of prophetic hadiths, where the Prophet's hadiths are selected from Shīʿī sources.

In the end, I would like to express my gratitude to all my colleagues and friends who have contributed to the fruition of this work. In particular, I thank Hujjat al-Islām Dr. Sayyid Mohsen Mousavi and Dr. Hamed Fayazi for their valuable comments, and I am grateful to Hujjat al-Islam Sayyed Hashem al-Milani, the president of the center, for his kind, unwavering support.

I hope this work pleases God and the Seal of Prophets Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā (s).

Mohammadreza al-Khaghani
May 2022

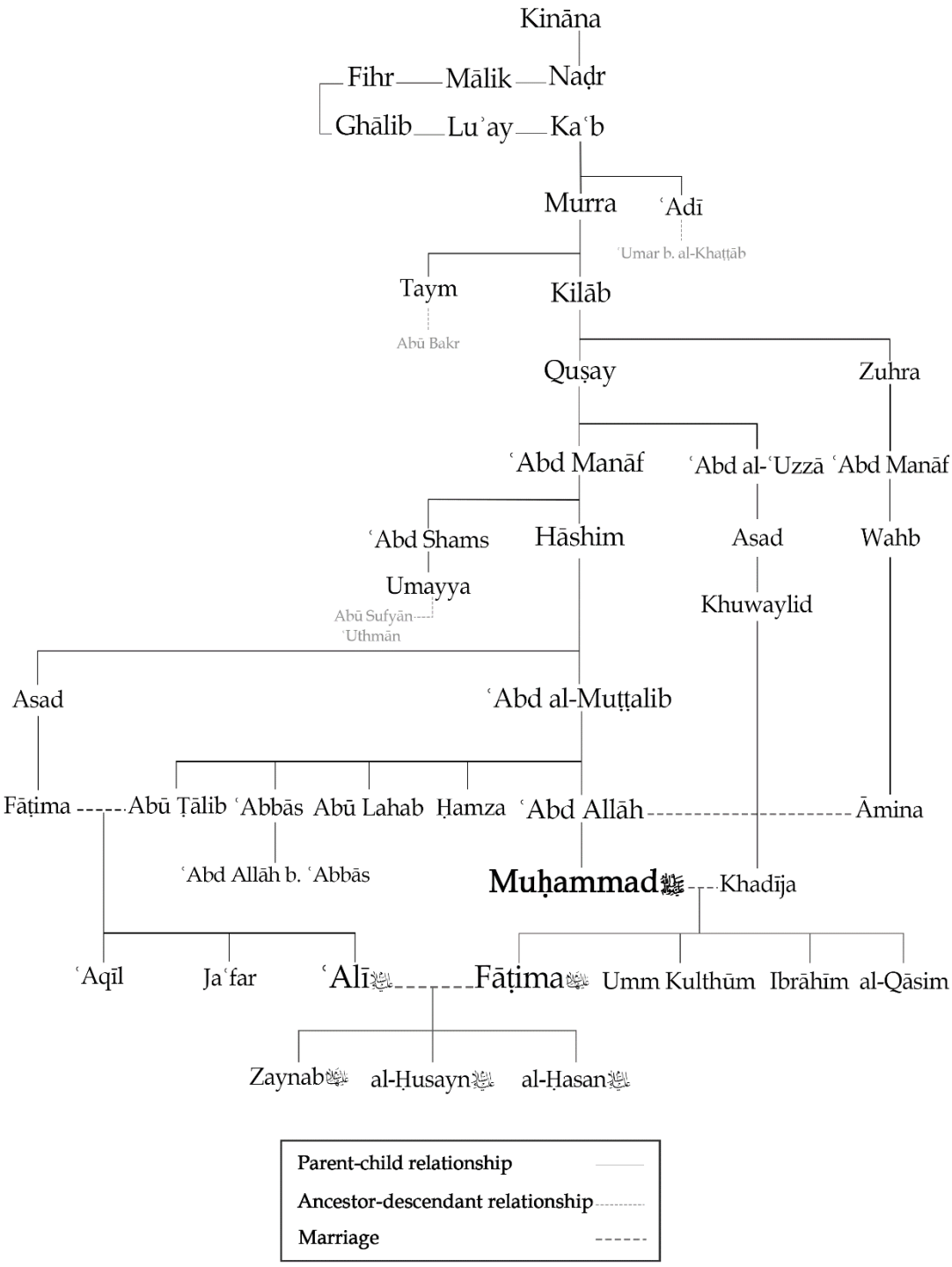


Figure 1. Genealogy of the Prophet (s)

I. Biography of the Prophet (s)

Mohammadreza al-Khaghani

The Arabian Peninsula before the Prophet (s)

The Geography of the Peninsula

The Arabian Peninsula is located in a region between Asia and Africa. Its special shape and its being surrounded on three sides by the high seas has brought it the title "peninsula," though it deserves the designation "subcontinent" due to its large area.[1]

The region is limited on the east to the Persian Gulf, on the west to the Red Sea, and on the south to the Gulf of Aden. The northern limit of this area is a hypothetical line stretched from the Gulf of Aqaba on the west to the river mouth of the Arvand (Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab) river on the north-east of Kuwait Bay.[2] This area includes ancient geographical regions, such as Hijaz, Yemen, Bahrain, and Oman, including two vast desert areas, that is, al-Nafūd in the north-east and Rubʿ al-Khālī in the south-west regions.[3] The following modern countries are all included in the historical Arabian Peninsula: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Oman, Yemen, parts of Jordan, and Iraq.

In addition to the two vast sandy desert areas mentioned above, the Arabian Peninsula includes certain mountain ranges that are stretched from the north to the south along the Red Sea. They are

---

1. Rentz, "Djazīrat al-ʿArab" *EI²* 1:534.
2. ʿAlī. *Al-Mufaṣṣal*, 1:140-44.
3. Sluglett and Currie, *Atlas of Islamic History*,13; Ruthven and Nanji, *Historical Atlas of the Islamic World*, 25.

stretched from the Gulf of Aqaba to the south of Yemen and the Bab al-Mandab Strait.[1]

The naming of the various regions of the Arabian Peninsula goes back to their geographical conditions and situations. Tihāma includes the coastline areas of the Red Sea—hence the name, for the coastline lands are called the *tihāmah* of the earth (Arabic: *al-tihā'im min al-arḍ*).[2] The Arabian Peninsula's coastline lowlands (*Tihāma*s) that are stretched from the north to the south are as follows: the *tihāma* of Hijaz, the *tihāma* of ʿAsīr, and the *tihāma* of Yemen.[3] The name Tihāma is also another name of Mecca.[4]

Another region is Hijaz, which contains the mountain ranges of Western Arabia. It has been said that since the mountain ranges of this region separate (Arabic: *ḥ-j-z*) Tihāma from the central regions of the Arabian Peninsula, the region was called Hijaz. It has also been said that the region was named so because it is located between the Levant and Yemen.[5]

The next region is Najd. Lexically, the Arabic word "Najd" means "a high and firm piece of the ground."[6] This region covers the mountainous highlands of east Arabia, surrounded on the north, east, and south by the deserts al-Nafūd and Rubʿ al-Khālī.[7] The region al-ʿArūḍ includes the desert between Najd and Bahrain and is sometimes referred to as al-Yamāma.[8]

There are no perennial rivers like the Nile, Euphrates, or Tigris.[9] This is due to the scarce rainfall in this region.[10] Occasional rainfalls in the region often turn into floods and seasonal rivers. The amount of water collected in the desert ponds cannot be used, because the

---

[1] Rentz, "Djazīrat al-ʿArab" *EI*[2] 1:535.
[2] Ismaʿīl b. ʿAbbād. *Al-Muḥīṭ fī al-lugha*, 3:461; Bakrī, *Muʿjam ma ustuʿjim*, 1:322.
[3] ʿAlī. *Al-Mufaṣṣal*, 1:170; Sharrāb, *al-Maʿālim al-athira*, 73; Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 26; See also Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ʿarab*, 94-99, 231-32.
[4] Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, 4:36.
[5] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:218-19; Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 26-27.
[6] Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, 6:83-84.
[7] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:262; Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 27-28.
[8] Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 28.
[9] ʿAlī. *Al-Mufaṣṣal*, 1:157.
[10] Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 30.

desert lands are salty and because water turns into vapor due to the intense heat of the region. Some of this water soak into the ground and reach the underground layers of water, later on accessible through digging wells. In other regions of Arabia where the ground is rather stony, water may remain for a much longer time. Highland rainfalls are oftentimes led via the valleys and riverbeds towards the southern parts of Arabia, that is, the Yemen regions. It follows that this latter region has often been in a better situation for having access to water by means of such old dams as that of Maʾrib. In general, the inhabitants of the central and eastern regions of the Arabian Peninsula have long been benefiting from underground water resources; the existence of thousands of wells across its various regions, even across its desert regions, prove this point. As a matter of fact, these water wells made it possible for people to live in the Arabian deserts. Notwithstanding, the western and southern mountainous regions have been in a much better situation with regard to having access to water and enjoying finer climate.[1]

It follows that as the vegetation of any region is a function of its environment and climate, there are two totally different types of vegetation in the Arabian Peninsula: barren, uncultivable deserts in contrast to verdant regions. Greener vegetation can be found in the regions that have milder and finer climates. Of these plants, the date palm is the most compatible one, hence widely found in Arabia, all due to its warm climate. The fruit of this plant, that is, date, has since been a type of food for those who living in Arabia, and its wood has been used for construction purposes. Of the main cereals cultivated in Arabia, wheat, barley, and millet must be mentioned; alfalfa has been a plant cultivated in the shades of date palms.[2]

Although most of the Arabian Peninsula is desert land, there are other fruit-bearing trees cultivated in highlands. The Ṭaif region, situated to the east of Mecca, has been famous for its flowers and pomegranates. Watermelon has been cultivated in al-Kharj in the Najd region.[3] Other agricultural produce cultivated in this region

[1] See Rentz, "Djazīrat al-ʿArab" *EI*[2] 1:537-39.
[2] Ibid., 539.
[3] Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 11:30-31.

include frankincense and other aromatic plants that have long made its special place in the commercial transactions of the Arabian people with others. The jujube tree in this region has been used for its fruit by the inhabitants.[1]

Of the animals in the Arabian Peninsula, camel must be mentioned as the most compatible creature to the Arabian heat and scarcity of water. For the inhabitants of Arabia, camel is a valuable asset. Where the regional environment and weather is less compromising and favorable, camel is of high value, hence more vital in the life of desert dwellers. This is because in addition to riding, its milk is a great asset where water is not that easily accessible. In addition, its meat, skin, and wool are also used.

In the regions with more favorable climate, hence more pastures available, sheep and goats are raised, often in the northern and southern regions of the Arabian Peninsula. Another domestic animal raised is the Arabian horse that is of special value to the inhabitants. Of wild animals, mountain goats in the mountainous regions, various types of deer, and desert wolves are found in the Arabian Peninsula.[2]

The Geography of Hijaz

It is not easy to talk with confidence about the precise geographical borders of the Hijaz region. A great majority of Islamic geography sources agree upon the southern and western borders of the Arabian Peninsula. Nevertheless, they disagree upon the northern and eastern regions of this peninsula. To the south, Hijaz is limited to the ʿAsīr highlands, north of the city of Abhāʾ. In the west, the Red Sea is the border of Hijaz. Nevertheless, some authorities do not include Tihāma within the Hijaz region, whereas others include it within the Hijaz region, as Mecca which is also called Tihāma makes part of the Hijaz region. To the east, some authorities regard al-Najd as the border of Hijaz, while others include it within Hijaz, hence regarding Yamāma as the eastern border of this region. There are more disagreements regarding the northern borders. While some authorities regard Palestine to be the northern border of the Arabian

[1] Rentz, "Djazīrat al-ʿArab" *EI*[2] 1:540.
[2] Ibid., 541-42.

Peninsula, a great majority of sources regard the region of Shaghab, north of Taymāʾ in the north of Hijaz.[1]

Hijaz has diverse climates. As noted earlier, the highlands, such as al-Ṭāʾif, has a mild climate, hence suitable for cultivating fruit-bearing trees. In the northern Hijaz regions such as Yathrib, Khaybar, and Wādī al-Qurā, cultivation of date palms is widely practiced due to the water wells, although their climate is not as fine as those of the highlands. In some regions, such as Mecca, owing to its rather inhospitable climate, scarcity of water, and uncultivable lands, there is little agriculture; instead, animal husbandry is widely practiced.[2]

The Cities of Hijaz

As pointed earlier to the climatic diversity of various regions of Hijaz, population density is higher where favorable climate is available, hence more cities therein. Al-Muqaddasī (d. 380/991) refers to thirteen major cities of Hijaz in his book.[3] Of the major cities, mention must be made of Mecca, Yathrib (Medina), al-Ṭāʾif, and Khaybar.

Mecca

Reportedly, Ptolemy in his geography book refers to Mecca as Macoraba.[4] This fact shows that the region of Mecca must have been quite a renowned city among the Arab tribes of the day at least since the second century.[5]

The city of Mecca, with the Kaaba as its center, has since had a special sanctity among the Arabs. Mecca is surrounded among very high mountains. It has a warm climate in summertime but has mild nights.[6] There are no rivers in this region, hence drinking water is available from rain water or from the water wells. The most

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[1] For more details on these disagreements, see Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 5:356; Ḥarbī, *Kitāb al-Manāsik*, 533-34; Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2:219-20, 3:352; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 4:1182-83; Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 147-48; See also Rentz, "al-Ḥidjāz," *EI*[2] 3:362.

[2] Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 148; Rentz, "al-Ḥidjāz," *EI*[2] 3:363.

[3] Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 69.

[4] Watt et al., "Makka," *EI*[2] 6:144.

[5] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:10.

[6] Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 71-72.

important and oldest water well in this region is the Zamzam well, located at al-Masjid al-Ḥarām, twenty-one meters east of the Kaaba. According to traditions, this well was originally a spring that flowed for Ismāʿīl (a) by God's grace. In an authentic hadith from Imam al-Ṣādiq (a), it is stated that when Ibrahim (a) brought Hagar and her son Ismāʿīl to Mecca by the order of God, after a short time the water with Hagar ran out. In search of water, Hagar ran the distance between Mount Safa and Marwa seven times. When she returned to her child, Gabriel appeared to her and hit the ground, which caused water to gush out of the ground. Hagar said to the water: "*Zam-zam*!" which means "Stop and come together." She also poured some dirt and sand around it so that it does not sink to the ground before pouring the water into the waterskin.[1]

There were no fruit-bearing trees in this region.[2] The region has often witnessed abrupt, torrential rains and floods.[3] The inhabitants of Mecca used to live in neighborhoods or habitations (*ribāʿ*, pl. of *rabʿ*) such that each clan was settled in a certain neighborhood.[4]

In the history of Mecca there is no reference to any defensive wall or protective shelters or strongholds. It appears that the city of Mecca was barely in need of such protective constructions, all due to the very high mountains that surround it[5] and also due to its sanctity.

Located on the trade route from Yemen to the Levant, Mecca has served as a commercial hub in the region as well.[6] The city has been a place for performing pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) by certain southern and northern Arab tribes.[7] It is certain that after the episode of Abraha's trying to devastate the Kaaba in 670, Mecca acquired special security.[8] It seems that the city of Mecca became a renowned commercial city around the middle of the sixth century, probably because the wars between Persian and the Byzantine empires made the trade route

[1] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 1:60-61; see also Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 2:39-41: Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 12:98, 96:36-37; Baḥrānī, *al-burhān*, 1:331.
[2] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:187.
[3] See Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 2:166-71.
[4] See ibid., 2:233-65.
[5] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:8.
[6] Ibid., 4:6.
[7] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:183.
[8] See Beeston, "Abraha," *EI*² 1:102-3.

from Yemen to Aleppo through Hijaz safer and better than that across the Persian Gulf. In consequence, the Arab trades of the time dominated trade transactions in this route.[1]

Despite the paucity of agricultural lands in the Arabian Peninsula, there are abundant mines of silver and gold in this region.[2] These precious mines provided the main trade capitals for the Arab, and particularly Meccan, tradesmen and merchants. The sanctity-based security of the Meccan region plus the treaty to support the oppressed (Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl)[3] that was agreed upon at Mecca made it the most suitable place for commercial transactions. Permanent and seasonal markets around the city indicates prosperity of trade.[4]

The Kaaba has been the most important part of Mecca since it was constructed by the Prophet Abraham (Arabic: Ibrāhīm) at the command of God. In its construction, Abraham's son, Ishmael (Arabic: Ismāʿīl), also helped him.[5] It is also recorded in some sources that the Kaaba was first built by the Prophet Adam, and its precise location had been concealed after the Deluge until it was re-discovered by the Prophet Abraham.[6]

The Kaaba was venerated by some of the Arabs living in Hijaz and other regions such as the Levant and Yemen.[7] According to some reports, the Persians also flocked to Mecca for performing pilgrimage to the Kaaba.[8] The same place later became a location for placing the polytheists' idols. Hubal was the first idol that ʿAmr b. Luḥayy place it beside the Kaaba.[9]

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[1] Watt et al., "Makka" *EI*[2] 6:145.

[2] Heck, "Gold Mining in Arabia and the Rise of the Islamic State."

[3] There was a treaty concluded and agreed upon among five clans, including the Hāshimids, of Quraysh that when someone is wronged at Mecca, they would go to his help irrespective of his clan, tribe, or race, and would force the oppressor to compensate the loss he inflicted (see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:133-34; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:270-71).

[4] See Khiḍrī and Fallāḥzāda, "Niẓām-i ḥākim bar bāzār-hāyi shibh-i jazīra dar du zamāna-yi jāhilī waʿaṣr-i nabawī."

[5] See Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 59-62.

[6] Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 1:117.

[7] See Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:183.

[8] Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 4:82-83; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tarīkh*, 1:437

[9] Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 1:117.

Amongst the most important events that happened to the Kaaba was Abraha's attempt to devastate and ruin it. Through a divine miracle, Abraha's army was utterly defeated.[1] This event led to the Kaaba's receiving additional respect and veneration by people, which resulted in increasing security for Mecca. There is a reference to this event in the Holy Quran (105:1-5). This event was so striking and important that it was then regarded as a basis for counting dates by the Arabs.[2]

Amongst other wonder events that took place in the Kaaba was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's birth. He was born inside the Kaaba on Friday, 13 Rajab, 600 CE (thirty years after the Year of the Elephant). Some Sunni scholars have stated that the reports about this event has been massively transmitted (*mutawātir*).[3]

Yathrib (Medina)

Unlike Mecca, Yathrib was the residential area of many people due to its fine agricultural lands. Like Mecca, it was a heterogeneous city, comprised of scattered residential areas around agricultural fields. There were castles built for the protection of its inhabitants, locally called *uṭum*.[4]

The Jews had long settled in this area;[5] likewise, the Aws and Khazraj clans of the Azd tribe that were originally of Yemenite origin were among the inhabitants of the region.[6] Yathrib used to be under the domination of the Sassanian empire for a while,[7] a fact indicative of its economic importance.

The economic structure and order of Yathrib was very much different from that of Mecca. Due to the scarcity of agricultural lands in Mecca and the domination of trade, the economic system was mainly capitalistic; nevertheless, the dominant economic structure of

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:45-54.
[2] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 150.
[3] Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:550.
[4] Winder, "al-Madina," *EI*² 5:994.
[5] For more details on the history of the Jews in Arabia, see the section "Faiths in Hijaz" below.
[6] See Ibn Ḥazm, *Jumhurat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 332.
[7] Lecker, "The Levying of Taxes for the Sassanians in Pre-Islamic Medina."

Medina was feudalistic due to the abundance of agricultural lands and wells.

The domination of agriculture in Yathrib never meant that economy there was limited to agriculture; there were other occupations as well. For example, the Banū Qaynuqāʿ clan whose occupation was mainly concerned with goldsmithing and making jewelry had a special market in Yathrib.[1] Also, there were four important markets in Yathrib in the pre-Islamic times.[2]

Al-Ṭāʾif

Al-Ṭāʾif is located to the east of Mecca and in a mountainous region. Unlike Mecca, it has a cool climate, current water rivers, and abundant fruit-bearing trees.[3]

The discovered remains from the ancient times in this region that were written in Nabataean and Thamudian languages prove that al-Ṭāʾif was ever since a place of settlement.[4] Prior to being called al-Ṭāʾif, the region used to bear the name Wajj, a name adopted after Wajj b. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy who was one of the Amalekites (Arabic *ʿAmālīq*).[5] That a great majority of the inhabitants of the region were of the Amalekite origin is another proof in support of the ancientness of the city. There used to be a temple that was venerated by the Arabs, as well.[6]

"Al-Ṭāʾif" means surrounded, and the city came to be called so due to a tall protective wall that was stretched around it, which was an unusual phenomenon in the Hijaz region.[7] There are references to this protective wall during the city's conquest by Muslims.[8]

Khaybar

The Khaybar region, located to the north of Yathrib, consists of seven fortresses that included many agricultural fields and date palm

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[1] Winder, "al-Madina" *EI²* 5:994-95.
[2] Lecker, "On the Markets of Medina (Yathrib) In Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Times."
[3] Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 79; Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:9.
[4] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:143.
[5] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:9.
[6] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:145.
[7] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:9.
[8] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:483.

groves.[1] The earliest documents about it are inscriptions from the Lajj region that date back to 568.[2]

According to some reports, the first settlers of Khaybar were the descendants of the Prophet Noah.[3] It is also probable that the Jewish inhabitants of the Khaybar region had emigrated after the devastation of Bayt al-Maqdis (Jerusalem) in 70.[4] In addition to farming, the Jews of this region were famous for their products in animal husbandry, spinning, and making clothes and had commercial transactions with the Levant and Mesopotamia (Iraq). They were also skillful in producing warfare, tools, and jewelry for which they had most of their trade relations with the Hijaz peoples.[5] In some excavations in this region, a lot of cloth and clothes were found, which signify trades that were current there.[6]

The Socio-Cultural Context of Hijaz

For a better outlook of the socio-cultural conditions in Hijaz, it is essential to get to know about the lifestyle of its people. To do so, certain aspects of their lives must be considered, which include tribalism and its impacts on the individual life of the typical Hijazi person, the economic conditions and resources in various regions of Hijaz, the various branches of knowledge taught and learned there, and the religions that had followers there. The final section will deal with the social status of the Prophet Muḥammad's family in Mecca.

Tribal Life

A tribe is a group of people who trace their lineage back to a certain person.[7] The family relations shared among the members of the tribe make them have common interests and be and feel united in the time of war and peace.[8] What united and integrated the members of the same tribe was the spirit of *ʿaṣabiyya* (group solidarity), which

[1] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2:409.
[2] Vaglieri, "Khaybar," *EI²* 4:1138.
[3] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2:410.
[4] Vaglieri, "Khaybar," 4:1138.
[5] Braslavi (Braslavski) and Bornstein-Makovetsky, "KHAYBAR," 12:107.
[6] Vaglieri, "Khaybar," 4:1138.
[7] Chelhod, "Ḳabīla," *EI²* 4:334.
[8] Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 255.

entailed unconditional favoring of the members of one's own tribe in any condition. This is a prominent characteristic of Arab tribes.[1] The high significance of the phenomenon of family in typical Arab culture, hence the importance of the tribe, has always caused Arabs to remember their ancestors and know them by name up to several generations back. Knowing one's own genealogy (*nasab*) has always been a reason for the Arabs' taking pride over non-Arabs.[2]

Groups of people that share the same ancestor are divided into various categories, depending on the number of the tribe's members.[3] Al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333) mentions the following categories: *jadhm*, *jumhūr*, *shaʿb*, *qabīla*, *ʿimāra*, *baṭn*, *fakhdh*, *ʿashīrah*, *faṣīl*, and *rahṭ*;[4] notwithstanding, these designations are seldom used in historical writings, hence in many cases, the word *qabīla* is used as a synonym of *ʿashīra*.[5]

Every Arab tribe had its own chief. The tribe's chief, always a man, was supposed to be a nobleman of high and praiseworthy moral dispositions, so that the members would respect him.[6] Some of such dispositions include generosity, tolerance, humbleness, and eloquence.[7] The position of the tribe's chief was hereditary, but rarely the chief was elected by the members of the tribe.[8]

Called either "Shaykh" or "Sayyid", the chief of a tribe always assumed important roles and functions. His most significant function was to retain the integrity of the tribe. Yet, certain families of the tribe would prefer to get separated under a renowned figure of their own from the main body and claim their independence once they felt having adequate power.[9] Among the duties of the tribe's chief (Shaykh) was to conclude treaties with the chiefs of other tribes for

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[1] Zaryāb Khūyī, *Bazm Āvard*, 234.
[2] Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:276.
[3] Chelhod, "Ḳabīla" *EI*² 4:334.
[4] See Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:277-86; Jubrān and Āl Thānī. *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 257; Zaryāb Khūyī, *Bazm Āvard*, 234.
[5] Chelhod, "Ḳabīla" *EI*² 4:334.
[6] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:344-45.
[7] See Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 3:187; Jubrān and Āl Thānī, *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabīyya*, 255.
[8] Jubrān and Āl Thānī, *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 255-56.
[9] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:345-46.

the purpose of retaining the security of his own tribe members. Arbitration between the members of the tribe in their interpersonal conflicts was also among his duties; also receiving blood money from murderers was another task entrusted to the tribe's chief.[1] As having the same genealogical lineage was the basis of the formation of a tribe, joining an outsider to a tribe was feasible only if the chief of a tribe endorsed it.[2]

In Arab tribes, it has been a strict rule that everybody must obey the tribe's chief in all circumstances. Therefore, the members of a tribe always obey the words of the Shaykh. This applies to his decisions in matters of war and peace with another tribe. Being the head or Shaykh of a tribe does not bring him only other people's respect; rather, it has abundant financial benefits for him as well. In wars, one fourth of the booty is for him. He is also entitled to pick up for himself whatever he desires from the booty gained. Also, the surplus of the booty belongs to the shaykh.[3]

As it is the case in other Arab communities, not all the Arab tribes of the Arabian Peninsula were of the same level in terms of capabilities and power. Most often, the tribes that had more members and warriors and were wealthier enjoyed a relatively better position.[4] This difference in power, hence in their political and commercial transactions, triggered the less powerful tribes to conclude certain agreements with other larger and more powerful tribes for either their own protection or reaching a better social position.[5] As these treaties took place based on interests, they were easily breached when one side showed infidelity or proved short of fulfilling the required conditions to put into practice the very items concluded in the treaties. Such treaties were often concluded for either waging war against other tribes or self-defense against probable attacks and raids.[6]

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[1] Zaryāb Khūyī, *Bazm Āvard,* 234.
[2] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:357-58.
[3] Jubrān and Āl Thānī, *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 256; *Zaryāb Khūyī*, *Bazm Āvard,* 235.
[4] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 4:331.
[5] Ibid., 4:370.
[6] Ibid., 4:374.

Culture and Knowledge

Not much considerable information is available regarding the typical Arab's attitudes toward knowledge and scholarship before the advent of Islam. However, some reports are suggestive of their rough familiarity with some branches of knowledge. It is certain that desert-dwellers were mainly illiterate; they seldom felt any need for it. Notwithstanding, the urban life could not go without writing, particularly for those who were merchants and traders. There are a number of reports indicative of the practice of writing among the Arabs before Islam.[1] Al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/943) gives a list of the Prophet's amanuenses or scribes,[2] which is noteworthy, for they probably knew writing before the advent of Islam.

One cannot regard reading and writing as a common practice among the Arabs. Al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892) indicates in one of his reports that the members of the Shumayla tribe knew how to write, while the Mujāshiʿ tribesmen were not so.[3] On the advent of writing in Hijaz, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) asserts that "the people of the Quraysh tribe learned writing from the inhabitants of al-Ḥīra,"[4] which means that they started writing just a short while before the sixth century.[5] It is indicated in certain accounts that some Arab noblemen learned reading and writing from the Jews. It is also said in some other reports that some people would go to the Jewish communities at Wādī al-Qurā and Taymāʾ for learning to write.[6]

Among the branches of knowledge highly valued among the Arabs mention must be made of medicine, which had a special value among them, and a physician (*ṭabīb*) enjoyed a high status.[7] Other reports indicate that there were some physicians who used to practice medicine in those communities.[8]

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[1] Ibid., 8:107-8.
[2] Jahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa al-kuttāb*, 15-16.
[3] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 457; Ibn ʿAbd Rabba, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, 4:157.
[4] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 240.
[5] See Beeston and Shahid, "al-Ḥīra," *EI*[2] 3:462-63.
[6] See ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 8:291-93.
[7] See Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, 1:238; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *al-Tadhkira al-Ḥmadūniyya*, 6:36.
[8] See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 4:182; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:297; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 18:7-8. See also Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, 54.

The Arabs were very skillful in digging wells. Very deep wells that they dug are indicative of their skill.[1] Their desire for this type of knowledge came from their dire need for water in the Arabian deserts.

Poets had a high status in the Arabian socio-cultural context, hence very much praised by the tribes' noblemen. The ʿUkāẓ fair[2] was a place where Arab poets recited their poems for the public.[3] Al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292/904-905) writes: "Poem in the Arabian community was regarded as a sign of wisdom and abundance of knowledge. Upon the presence of a poet endowed with literary knowledge, rhetoric, and eloquence, his men would take him to such annual fairs [as ʿUkāẓ] to take pride in him. They had nothing else other than wisdom and poetry to take pride in, hence their making use of poetry for settling quarrels and conflicts."[4] Poetry was so highly praised that they would transcribe the best poems in gold color on white cotton pieces of cloth and hang them over the wall of the Kaaba.[5]

The ancient Arabs would utilize poems for taking pride in their lineages.[6] As remarked earlier, the tribal system was based on blood lineage and relations among the members of the tribe. As such, lineage and its proper recognition were of special significance. Therefore, another branch of knowledge that received much attention in the pre-Islamic Arab communities was the knowledge of people's genealogies, hence experts in this branch of knowledge, called *nassāba* (skillful genealogist), would enjoy a high social status.[7]

Another branch of knowledge that was popular in the Hijaz Arab community was the pre-Islamic Arab war days (*Ayyām al-ʿArab*). It was in fact a history of the pre-Islamic era that included accounts of the Arabs' challenges, wars, and acts of bravery.[8] Noteworthy is that this branch of knowledge has never been identified as history among

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[1] See ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 8:421-22.
[2] Ukāẓ was one of the fairs and markets that used to be held before the hajj season at a place between Mecca and Taif. For more information (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2:142).
[3] Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 1:267.
[4] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1:262.
[5] Suyūṭī, *al-Muzhir*, 2:406.
[6] Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 3:151.
[7] See Ḍayf, *al-ʿAṣr al-jāhilī*, 57.
[8] Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 2:68.

the Hijaz Arabs; they restricted history to the accounts of states, kings, and monarchs.[1] This branch of knowledge received attention even in the Islamic era. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 68/587), a famous companion of the Prophet Muḥammad, was knowledgeable in this field.[2] In later centuries, noteworthy works were produced in this field, such as the book of Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. 209/823).[3]

Economy in Hijaz

Earlier, it was indicated on the geographical and natural conditions of the Arabian Peninsula and Hijaz that agriculture was widely practiced in such regions as Khaybar, Yathrib, and al-Ṭāʾif due to enough water and fertile lands. Great differences in the geographical conditions in various parts of the Arabian Peninsula has since led people to be engaged in trades so as to get what they needed. In consequence, trading has got a centuries-long historical background in this region.[4]

Trading in Hijaz in particular and in the Arabian Peninsula was never limited to domestic commercial transactions; there were commercial relations with other territories, such as Yemen, the Levant, Abyssinia, Iraq, and Persia.[5] Among the most important goods exported from the Arabian Peninsula to other places, mention must be made of gold, silver, precious stones, perfumes, and aromatic materials. On the other hand, such goods as spices, certain aromatic materials, and weapons were imported into the Arabian Peninsula.[6]

In Hijaz, the inhabitants of Mecca, and particularly Quraysh, were famous for their trade relations. It can be said that the trade relations of Mecca were largely in the hands of Quraysh, who had the largest trade caravans of the Hijaz region. Quran 106:2 implies that they had two seasonal trade caravans that departed Mecca in two seasons, winter and summer. The Meccans' trade relations were mainly with Yemen and the Levant. However, Abyssinia and Persia were also

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[1] Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 18-24.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:281.
[3] See Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 3:449; Zirkilī, *al-Aʿlām*, 7:272.
[4] See ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 7:232.
[5] Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 3:385.
[6] See Ibid., 3:387-388; ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 7:232-40.

among their trade destinations. Various types of raisins, resin, perfumes, gold, Yemeni cloths, clothes, weaponry, and gold were among the main commercial goods of the Hijaz trader.[1]

Trade in Hijaz was not limited to Mecca; agricultural regions were active in trade too. Among such places, one must pay attention to Yathrib. Although the people of Yathrib were known mainly for farming, historical reports suggest that they also were involved in trace.[2]

Faiths in Hijaz

The Ḥanīf Religion

What we know about the Ḥanīf religion is confined to hints in the Quran and other Islamic sources.[3] The term *ḥanīf* occurs ten times in the Quran, with its plural form *ḥunafāʾ* appearing two times. The attribute of *ḥanīf* is used about Prophet Abraham in the sense that he was a *ḥanīf* Muslim, rather than a Jew or a Christian (Q 2:2; 3:67). Moreover, the term also describes Abraham as being a pure exemplary worshiper of God (Q 2:135; 3:67, 95; 4:125; 6:79, 161; 16:120, 132; 22:31). In some Quranic verses, God commands People of the Book (that is, Jews and Christians) (Q 98:5) as well as the Prophet and his companions to worship God as *ḥunafāʾ* did, not as polytheists did (Q 10:105; 30:30).[4]

There are different interpretations and explications of *ḥanīf*, the Ḥanīf religion, and *ḥunafāʾ*, in Islamic sources of Quranic exegesis. These include: people who practiced Abraham's traditions; Abrahamic Sabians who lived in Rome and described themselves as followers of Prophet Abraham to whom they attributed scriptures; an attribute of Abraham and the name of his religion; the name of Abraham's followers who converted to idolatry and were Abrahamic only in name. There are other interpretations as well, including conversion to Islam from other religions; purification from sins and coming to believe in prophets; avoidance of polytheism and return to

[1] ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 7:385-88.
[2] Ibid., 7:311-13.
[3] ʿAlī, *al-Mifaṣṣal*, 6:450-51.
[4] Rāmyār, *Tārīkh Qurʾān*, 38.

monotheism. These interpretations capture general descriptions or go back to the general perception of the word *ḥanīf* by Quranic exegetes, which might not necessarily be true.[1] Arthur Jeffery points out that the term *ḥanīf* found its way into poems in the early Islamic period and cites research by Horovitz and Margoliouth to draw the conclusion that *ḥanīf* was used to mean "Muslim," and in rare cases was it used to mean a polytheist.[2] In the Christian literature, the word was used to refer to Muslims,[3] as in certain hadiths.[4]

There have been speculations about the Hebrew, Syriac, or Abyssinian origins of the word *ḥanīf*,[5] but since it appears in the Quran and had an obvious meaning for Arabs of the time, its interpretation does not seem to depend on its etymology.[6] Some people believe that the word comes from a Hebrew word meaning blasphemous, impure, and impious. Others hold that it has a Syriac origin,[7] meaning a polytheist. Perhaps, in the pre-Islamic Arabian community, this was a common term to refer to those who were neither Jews nor Christians. The Syriac origin is thus compatible with how the word was used in the pre-Islamic period.[8]

A reflection on Quranic uses of the term reveals that *ḥanīf* means monotheism or worship of one God.[9] Some sources take *ḥanīf* to be someone who turns away from all religions, including Judaism and Christianity, in pursuit of the right religion.[10] In some hadiths, *ḥanīfiyya* is described as a divine nature on which God has created

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[1] Bārānī, "Ḥanīf."
[2] Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 114. Watt, however, explicitly states that, in sources independent of the Quran such as pre-Islamic and Christian uses, the words *ḥanīf* and *ḥanīfiyya* respectively meant polytheist and polytheism (Watt, "Ḥanīf," *EI*[2] 3:166).
[3] Ibid., 165-66.
[4] See Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:161. The hadith recounts a conversation between two persons, one of whom used to be a Christian but then converted to Islam, and the other is a Christian. The latter refers to Islam as *al-ḥanīfiyya*. The conversation occurred during the imamate of the sixth Shīʿī Imam al-Ṣādiq (114-148/732-765).
[5] Rubin, "Ḥanīf," *EQ* 2:403; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 115.
[6] Zaryāb Khūyī, *Sīra-yi Rasūl Allāh*, 80.
[7] Among the early Muslim historians, al-Masʿūdī believes that the term has a Syriac origin, which he records as *ḥanīfuwā* or *ḥanībuwā* (Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 79).
[8] Rubin, "Ḥanīf," *EQ* 2:403; Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 115.
[9] Ḥāj Manūchihrī, "Ḥanīf."
[10] Zamakhsharī, *Maqāmāt*, 22; see also Maḥmūdpūr, "Ḥanīf."

humans; namely, the monotheistic nature.[1] The Prophet characterizes the religion as *al-ḥanīfiyyat al-samḥa* (convenient *ḥanīfiyya*),[2] where the convenience is contrasted to Christian monasticism (or asceticism).[3]

Sources of Islamic history make mention of people who pursued the Ḥanīf religion in the Prophet's era, including Zayd b. ʿAmr b. Nufayl, Waraqa b. Nawfil, ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥarith, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaḥsh. There are anecdotes about how these people turned away from polytheism, which indicates that the Meccan society of the time was aware that Abraham's religion was Ḥanīf, and the polytheists' practices of idolatry and sacrifices for their idols were contrary to Abrahamic doctrines.[4]

People who were in quest of the Ḥanīf religion made inquiries from Jews, Christians, and believers in other religions in an attempt to learn about the nature of this creed. Some converted to Christianity, and some others just abjured idolatry and refrained from eating the sacrifices donated to the idols. They were persecuted by Meccan idolaters and were ostracized by the society, so to speak.[5] According to some sources, a person called Abū ʿĀmir went to the Prophet and claimed to be a follower of the Ḥanīf religion. However, the Prophet asserted that Islam was the true Ḥanīf religion, dismissing his beliefs as irrelevant to *ḥanīfiyya*.[6]

Not much is found in historical sources about the doctrines that constituted the Ḥanīf religion. There are hints at the beliefs held by *ḥunafāʾ*, which imply that they followed Abraham's religion and were committed to its rulings. They performed Hajj rituals, and shrouded and washed the bodies of the dead. Ḥanīf people in Mecca did not marry their daughters, sisters, and nephews or nieces, and believed

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[1] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:241; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:12.

[2] See, e.g., Maʿmar b. Rāshid, *Jāmiʿ*, 11:194, 292; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnsd*, 4:16; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:16.

[3] See, e.g., Shaybānī, *al-Kasb*, 121; Ibn saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:302; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnsd*, 36:623. This aspect can also be seen in some Shīʿī traditions (Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:287; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:17).

[4] Ibn Isḥāq, *al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*, 115-16. On some accounts, Salmān al-Fārsī was among those who pursued the Ḥanīf religion (ibid., 92). Some people have identified more than twenty people who believed in the Ḥanīf religion (ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 6:463).

[5] Ibn Isḥāq, *al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*, 116-20.

[6] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:585-86.

that divorce marked the end of a marriage.[1] Some maintain that the juxtaposition of *ḥanīf* and *Muslim* in Q 3:67[2] indicates that "Ḥanīf" is not a proper name for a particular religion. This is further confirmed, they add, by the phrase *ḥunafāʾ lillāh* (*ḥunafāʾ* for Allah) in Q 22:31.[3]

As for the geographical scope of believers in the Ḥanīf religion in the Hijaz, since there were people in Mecca who pursued or believed in *ḥanīfiyya*, it is safe to say that the city was home to the followers of the creed. In addition, on some accounts, people of the Hijaz followed Abraham's religion since the ancient past, and even after the popularity of idolatry in the region, a group of people still practiced the doctrines of the Ḥanīf religion.[4] Some believe that the religion was the common creed among northern and southern Arabian tribes of the Hijaz.[5]

Idolatry (Polytheism)

Monotheism is a core doctrine of Islam. The word *shirk* (polytheism or ascribing partners to God) and its cognates frequently appear in Quranic verses.[6] Moreover, there are other words in the Quran, such as *āliha* (gods or deities), *aṣnām* (idols), *awthān* (idols), and *nuṣub* (stone altars), which hint at polytheism and idolatry in the pre-Islamic Arabian community.[7]

When he addresses pre-Islamic Arabian religions, al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956) talks about a group of Arabs who believed in God the creator, and yet they denied prophets and worshiped idols. In Quranic terms, they said, "We only worship them so that they may bring us near to Allah" (Q 39:3). They visited the idols, performed Hajj rituals, and sacrificed or donated for the idols. Some people worshiped the angels as God's daughters. They carved and

[1] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:184; see also Ṣanʿānī, *Tafsīr*, 1:294.
[2] "Abraham was neither a Jew nor a Christian. Rather, he was a Hanif, a Muslim, and he was not one of the polytheists."
[3] "As persons having pure faith in Allah, not ascribing partners to Him." (Rāmyār, *Tārīkh Qurʾān*, 38).
[4] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:77; Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, 6; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 2:188.
[5] See Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 2:194; ʿAlī, *al-Mufaṣṣal*, 6:34.
[6] See ʿAbd al-Bāqī, *al-Muʿjam al-mufahras*, 379-81.
[7] Khurāsānī, "Shirk."; see also Zāriʿ-Shīrīn-Kandī, "Shirk." 16-17.

worshiped female idols, which included al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and Manāt, as pointed out in the Quran (Q 16:76-77; 53:49).[1] Moreover, the Quran mentions another group of people who believed in atheism (Q 45:24). They claimed that the nomos of nature governs the world, and it is nature that brings people into existence and then takes them to nothingness.[2]

In general, according to Quranic verses, there are three forms of *shirk* or ascribing partners to God:

- Idolatry: This includes worship and veneration of angels (Q 43:19; 45:19-23), heavenly bodies (Q 6:76-78; 45:49), and righteous figures or saints (Q 71:23).3 It should be noted, however, that worship of angels, as pointed out before, as well as worship of heavenly bodies and righteous people led to idol-making.4 There are anecdotes to the effect that Wadd, Sawāʿ, Yaghūth, Yaʿūq, and Nasr were righteous figures of their tribes. When they all died within a month, people were stricken with a tremendous sadness. They therefore carved statues for them, which they venerated and later began to worship.[5]
- Polytheism: This is pointed out in several Quranic verses. Polytheists are sometimes reproached for taking jinn as God's partners (Q 6:100), and sometimes for making a relation between God and jinn (Q 37:158). There is also a Quranic verse, in which people are prohibited from the belief in two gods or deities (Q 16:51).[6] Ditheists believed that the world has two creators: light as the creator of the good, and darkness as the creator of evil. Both deities are deemed sempiternal, who are distinct in their forms, and conflict in their acts and management.[7]

[1] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:102-3.
[2] For more information, see Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 2:220-23.
[3] Khurāsānī, "Shirk."
[4] Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 2:215-16.
[5] Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, 51-52.
[6] Khurāsānī, "Shirk."
[7] Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 2:229-30.

Although idolatry was a main characteristic of the Arabian Peninsula in the pre-Islamic period, the pertinent historical accounts are obscure. It is beyond question that idolatry was prevalent in the Arabian Peninsula, including the Hijaz. Nevertheless, historical accounts are restricted to certain worshiping ceremonies conducted by idolaters in cities such as Mecca, Medina, and Taif. These accounts show the places where people of those cities installed their idols and ways in which they worshiped them.[1]

There are anecdotes on which idolatry became rampant in the Hijaz after Adam's demise, but there is no compelling evidence of when and how the creed emerged in the land. The accounts available to us are chiefly mingled with myths and fictions. For instance, there are accounts to the effect that the first people who converted to idolatry were descendants of Ishmael (or Ismāʿīl). Due to unfavorable living conditions, they had to leave Mecca in search of a better abode. Since they venerated the Kaaba, they took with them a piece of its stones, which they later began to worship, but they retained certain Ḥanīf beliefs and practices such as Hajj rituals, ʿUmra rituals, and sojourn in ʿArafāt.[2] Afterwards, each Arabian tribe carved its own idol and began to worship it. Some people made homes and sacrificed for their idols.[3] The Quraysh also had idols inside and around the Kaaba.[4] Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819) reported a list of idols worshiped by different Arabian tribes.[5] A glance at those idols and the tribes they belonged to reveals that the most followed creed in the Hijaz was idolatry.

Judaism

Of Abrahamic religions in the Hijaz, Judaism had the greatest number of followers. One alleged date for the emigration of the Jews from the Levant was during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar (reign: 606-

[1] For more information, see Lecker, "Arab Deities," *EI*[3].

[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:77-78; Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 2:197; see also Zaryāb Khūyī, *Bazm āvard*, 243.

[3] Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, 10.

[4] Ibid., 27-28; Maʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:227; Ḥamawī, *Miʿjam al-buldān*, 5:391. For other reports about the reason for the Hijaz Arab's tendency to idolatry, see Ālūsī, *Bulūgh al-arab*, 2:200-15.

[5] See Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, 9-63.

562 BC). After the demolition of Solomon's Temple (in Jerusalem) and the persecutions they went through, the Jews fled from the Levant to the Hijaz.[1] Recently, it has been discovered that the earliest Jewish residences in the Hijaz dated back to the reign of Nabonidus (reign: 556-539 BC), Nebuchadnezzar's son, in Babylon.[2] Others believe that the Jews fled the Hijaz after they killed the Levant's sovereign.[3] On another account, they migrated after Jewish riots against the Roman government in Palestine. Such riots, including the Bar Kokhba revolt, occurred between 70 and 135.[4]

In 384, Judaism was designated as the official religion in Yemen. This remained the case until about 525-530 when Yemen was occupied by Abyssinians, and Christianity was designated as the official religion there.[5] The Jewish presence in the Hijaz might also be attested by the Jewish Himyarite Kingdom and the widespread Jewish population in Yemen.

The Jewish population was scattered in different areas of the Hijaz, in some of which the population was larger. The Jews in the Hijaz often lived in Wadi al-Qura, Tayma, Yathrib (Medina), and Khaybar. Jewish residences included other farmlands in the Hijaz, including Fadak, Tabuk, and Ayla. Levantine Jewish tribes in those regions were economically superior to other tribes, and Arabian tribes who often converted to Judaism worked on their fields.

Although Jewish tribes in the Hijaz spoke Arabic, they always counted as separate from the Arabic community of the land, as Jewish manners and practices are independently outlined in some poems from the pre-Islamic period.[6]

Christianity

There is a long history to the Christian presence around the Arabian Peninsula. There are Christian traces in northwestern areas of Arabia,

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[1] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh umam wa al-mulūk*, 1:539; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 3:349; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafa*, 1:160.
[2] Tobi, "Hejaz," 8:775.
[3] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:84; Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 2:343; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafa*, 1:160.
[4] Stillman, "Yahūd," *EI*[2] 11:239; Winder, "Al-Madina," *EI*[2] 5:994.
[5] Spector, "Yemen," 21:302.
[6] Stillman, "Yahūd," *EI*[2] 11:239.

including areas of the Levant. Although it is not known how Christianity emerged in those areas, there were Christian Arabs such as Ḥārith b. Jabala (528-569 CE), who was a Ghassanid follower of Eastern Christianity. Moreover, there were Christians in northeastern areas and the present-day Iraq. Lakhmids and Ghassanids were followers of Eastern Nestorian Christianity and were politically influential in the region. Nuʿmān b. Mundhir (d. 602 CE) was the last descendent of al-Hirah rulers, who converted to Christianity. There were Christian communities in Eastern Arabian Peninsula and the present-day Oman.

Until late fourth century CE, Southern Arabian Peninsula and Yemen were ruled by Yemeni monarchs, who were idolaters. Although there was a conflict over region on the part of two great empires of the time; that is, Eastern Roman Empire and the Sassanid Empire, Christianity spread directly from Rome, particularly from Alexandria in Yemen. During the reign of Anastasius (491-518 CE), Christian bishops were sent to Yemen and churches were built there, and then Eastern Christianity was recognized as the official religion. For instance, churches were constructed in cities of Yemen, including Tafar, Aden, and Najran. After this period, in 523 CE, the official religion changed from Christianity to Judaism. Having defeated Christian Abyssinians who served as military mercenaries of Eastern Rome in Yemen, the Jewish Dhu Nuwas announced Judaism as the official religion. He slaughtered three-hundred Christians in Najran when they refused to convert to Judaism. The Quran refers to those slain Christians of Najran as "People of the Ditch" (*aṣḥāb al-ukhdūd*) (Q 85:4). Later, Abyssinians regained Yemen under the leadership of Abraha, Christianity was once again recognized as the official religion. It was in this period, in 570 CE, that Abraha invaded Mecca because of a rivalry between the Church of Sanaa and the Kaaba.[1]

It might be gleaned from various sources that, in the fifth century, the union of Arabian tribes of Kinda, whose heads were from Southern Arabian Peninsula (Yemen), had an eminent political

[1] About the dispersion of Christians in the peninsula and its surroundings, see Fiey, "Naṣārā," *EI²* 7:971; Brice et al., "al-Yaman," *EI²* 11:271; Kritzeck et al., "ARABIA," 1:619-20.

presence in central and northern regions of Arabia. They managed to start communications with Romans and Persians, as well as their Arabian allies such as Lakhmids and Ghassanids. Presumably, Christianity spread through northern and central areas of the Hijaz when the head of the Kinda tribe, al-Ḥārith b. ʿAmr, converted to Christianity in the early sixth century.[1]

Christians of the Hijaz, unlike the Jews, did not live in specific areas. There were Christians in northern areas of the Hijaz, including –Dumat al-Jandal and Taymaʾ.[2] On some accounts, there were people in Mecca who had converted from idolatry to Christianity.[3] Some people believe that the early introduction of Meccans to Christianity came from their commercial travels to the Levant.[4] Although the New Testament says that St. Paul traveled to Arabia,[5] and in the fourth century, there were five Arabian representatives in the Christian Council of Nicaea,[6] not much is known about the population distribution of Christians in the Hijaz.

The Quran refers to Christians as "Nazarenes" (*Naṣārā*) (Q 2:62, 111, 113, 120, 135, 140; 3:52; 5:14, 18, 51). Sources of the prophetic life allude to meetings between Christians such as Bahira (or Buhayra) in Buṣra and Waraqa b. Nawfil in Mecca and Muḥammad before his prophethood, in which they prognosticated his prophethood.[7] After the Prophet's emigration to Medina and the establishment of the Islamic government, the only event in which Christians are mentioned is when Christians from Najran visited the Prophet in Medina and debated about Jesus, which finally led to the story of Mubāhala.[8] The Christians of Najran and their Jacobite Church attracted the attention of Arabian people in the sixth century.[9] It goes without saying that the remarkable number of Quranic verses about

[1] Griffith, "Christians and Christianity," *EQ* 1:309.
[2] Zaryāb Khūyī, *Bazm āvard*, 248.
[3] See Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 1:251; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 1:378; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:81-82.
[4] Jubrān and Āl Thānī, *Dirāsāt fī tārīkh al-Jazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, 298.
[5] Galatians 1:17.
[6] Griffith, "Christians and Christianity," *EQ* 1:307-8.
[7] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:180, 238.
[8] See the part on Prophetic Biography, the Story of Mubāhala.
[9] Griffith, "Christians and Christianity," *EQ* 1:309.

Christians and their doctrines is indicative of a widespread presence of Christians and the Christian thought in the Arabian Peninsula, particularly the Hijaz.

The Social Status of the Family of the Prophet Muḥammad at Mecca

Earlier it was remarked that Mecca was one of the main cities of Hijaz, and it enjoyed a special status due to its geographical location and commercial importance. This city was first under the rule of the Khuzāʿa tribe until later on Quṣay b. Kilāb, the fifth ancestor of the Prophet Muḥammad got hold of the affairs of the Kaaba.[1] It is also indicated in a mythical account that Alexander the Great entrusted running the affairs of Mecca to Naḍr b. Kināna, the thirteenth ancestor of the Prophet Muḥammad.[2]

Hāshim b. ʿAbd Manāf, the third ancestor of the Prophet Muḥammad, was an influential figure at Mecca. He was in charge of receiving the pilgrims of the Kaaba. His fame and influence go back to the famine year in Hijaz when he imported from the Levant large quantities of bread, sacrificed his own camels, and received the pilgrims and the famine-stricken people with bread and meat. He came to be known as Hāshim (smasher, one who breaks something into pieces) because he used to break loaves of bread into pieces for the pilgrims.[3] This was not the only reason for his fame; he was also in charge of providing water and food for the pilgrims, and he spent much of his wealth for this purpose.[4]

Hāshim accomplished other major tasks too. He concluded several trade treaties and made Mecca a major commercial hub. According to historians, he was the first to dispatch winter commercial caravans to Yemen and Abyssinia and the summer ones to the Levant.[5] Having first concluded trade relations with the merchants in Yemen and the Levant, Hāshim decided to organize the trade relations of Quraysh,

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[1] See Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:184-87.
[2] Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭuwāl*, 33-34.
[3] See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:75; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:59.
[4] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:135-36.
[5] Ibid., 1:136.

encouraging his tribesmen to make two business trips a year.[1] He also sent a letter to the then governor of Abyssinia, requesting him to permit members of Quraysh to frequent there for commercial purposes.[2] It was for the security of the trade caravans that he also signed treaties with the chiefs and great people of the tribes from Mecca to the Levant. In these treaties, the Quraysh trade caravans carried the goods of those tribes to the Levant for free, and in return, those tribes escorted the caravans.[3]

Prior to this, Quṣay b. Kilāb, Hāshim's grandfather, was the most influential figure of Mecca. He divided Mecca into four quarters or neighborhoods so that it could be managed more conveniently. He also founded Dār al-Nadwa, where such events as wedlock and concluding contracts took place. He also assigned the affairs of the Kaaba to his children.[4] Notwithstanding, it is believed that the dignity and high status of Quraysh in Hijaz goes back to Hāshim, for so long as he was alive, Quraysh never feared being attacked by other tribes.[5] Considering all these historical facts, the family of the Prophet Muḥammad enjoyed a special status and high dignity not only in Mecca but also in the whole Hijaz region.

[1] See Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 32:100; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 15:202.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:78.
[3] Ibid., 1:78; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1:243.
[4] Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:186-87.
[5] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1:244.

From Birth to Prophethood

The Birth and Childhood of the Prophet Muḥammad (s)

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) was born in Shiʿb Abī Ṭālib at Mecca.[1] His date of birth was Friday, 17th Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the year known as the Year of the Elephant, that is, 570 CE. His father was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) and his mother was Āmina (a).[2]

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) lost his father prior to his birth. After that his mother, Āmina (a), breastfed him for a short while and, as it was a custom among the Meccan noblemen, she decided to entrust him to a wet nurse from the desert regions. Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya, a lady of the Banū Saʿd clan, who had come to Mecca together with other women of the same clan for finding an infant or a child to nurse, was reluctant to accept him, for it was difficult to raise an orphan baby. However, she accepted it and became the wet nurse of Muḥammad (s) for five years.[3]

Shortly after his return to Mecca, his mother passed away, and his paternal grandfather ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) became his custodian. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) was the chief of Quraysh and enjoyed a very high

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[1] The Prophet's birthplace was turned into a mosque during the reign of the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and remained a place of pilgrimage and veneration for Muslims for several centuries until recently when the Wahhabis destroyed it.

[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:439; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, 114; Mufīd, *al-Muqniʿa*, 456; Ṭūsī, *tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 6:2; Tabrisī, *iʿlām al-warā*, 1:42.

[3] Bakrī, *al-Anwār*, 193-204.

reputation at Mecca. He loved his grandson deeply and cared for Muḥammad (s) with utmost respect.[1]

Before long, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) lost his grandfather. Prior to his demise, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) entrusted the custodianship of Muḥammad (s) to his son Abū Ṭālib (a), who enjoyed a lofty position in the eyes of his father, particularly after the demise of his brother ʿAbd Allāh (a). Following his father's strong emphasis and with the assistance of his wife, Abū Ṭālib (a) spared no effort in supporting the Prophet Muḥammad (s) until he became a young man.[2]

Fāṭima bt. Asad (a), Abū Ṭālib's wife, looked after Muḥammad (s) like one of her own children. She was so kind to him and cared for him constantly. In return, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) always referred to her as his "mother."[3] After his childhood, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) would visit her.[4] the Prophet Muḥammad (s) had so much respect for Fāṭima bt. Asad (a) that when she passed away, he wept and said to her son ʿAlī (a), "She was not only your mother, but she was my mother too."[5] The Prophet Muḥammad (s) himself performed the funeral salat for her, and recited the *takbīr* formula (*Allāhu akbar*) forty times. He then lied in her grave and recited the Holy Quran for some time. Then he recited *talqīn* formulas for her. At that moment, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir enquired asked him thus: "May my parents be your ransom, o Prophet of Allah! You never did the same for anybody else!" the Prophet Muḥammad replied, "Fāṭima certainly deserves it. She was my mother after my mother Āmina. Although she had several other children, she would give priority to me over her own children … O ʿAmmār! When I looked at my right side, I noticed forty rows of angels (that attended her funeral), so I recited the takbīr formula once for each row of them. In the grave, I asked God to resurrect Fāṭima well covered on the Resurrection Day. O ʿAmmār! By Allah, I witnessed two sources of light at her feet in the grave and

[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:372.
[2] Bakrī, *al-Anwār*, 176.
[3] Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, 136-37.
[4] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Tadhkirat al-khawāṣ*, 20.
[5] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 314; see also Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:453.

two appointed angels that will constantly pray for her forgiveness until the Resurrection Day."[1]

The Army of the Elephant

Abraha was a Christian ruler of Yemen. When he heard of the sanctity of Mecca and its being a locus of attention, and learned that people from everywhere rush to there for making pilgrimage to the Kaaba, hence the economic growth of Mecca, he built a church in Sanaa and wrote to the king of Abyssinia (*al-Ḥabasha*), "I am constructing a church, the like of which has never been seen; after I finish, I will attract the pilgrims of Mecca to it."[2]

Abraha's church barely received public attention, and was even defiled.[3] Consequently, Abraha, who was looking for an occasion to attack and ruin the Kaaba, collected a massive army that included an elephant and set out toward Mecca to ruin the Kaaba.[4] Two great men of Yemen named Dhū Nafar and Nufayl b. Ḥabīb al-Khathʿamī attempted to resist, but they were defeated and enslaved by the forces of Abraha.[5]

As Abraha's army reached the vicinity of Mecca, he sent a message to the chief of Quraysh, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a): "I have not come to massacre people, but merely to destroy the Kaaba."[6] ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) replied that the Kaaba was the house of God, constructed by His Prophet Abraham, and God had the power to protect it.[7]

In plundering Mecca, Abraha's army looted many goods and the Quraysh properties, including their camels. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) went to Abraha and asked for the camels to be returned. Quite arrogantly, Abraha said, "I thought you have come here to talk with me about Mecca and the House you venerate, but you only ask me to return the camels." ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) retorted, "I am the owner of the camels; the Kaaba has its Owner Who preserves it."[8] Thereupon, Abraha

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[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 314-15.
[2] Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, 46-47.
[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:45.
[4] Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭuwāl*, 92.
[5] Maqrīzī, *imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 4:74.
[6] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:48.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 3:187.

answered arrogantly that no one could prevent him from achieving his goals. Then he ordered the camels to be returned to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a). At Mecca, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) instructed the inhabitants of Mecca to take their valuables and to take shelter in the surrounding mountains.[1] When there remained nobody within Mecca, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) went to the Kaaba and started supplicating to God to preserve the Sacred House from the harms.[2]

As the Abraha army set out toward the Kaaba, a massive flock of swallows appeared in the sky. Each of them had a small stone of shale in its beak, pelting it at the invaders, who were killed when the stones hit them. Soon, Abraha's army was defeated, almost all killed, with a few survivors fleeing back to Yemen.[3] There is a reference to this event in Sura al-Fīl (chapter 105) in the Holy Quran. The same year was named after the event, hence the Year of the Elephant (ʿĀm al-Fīl). After that, Quraysh received a much higher status among the Arab tribes.

The Youth Years of the Prophet Muḥammad (s): Activities, Commerce, and Travels

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) went on a couple of trade trips in company with his paternal uncle Abū Ṭālib (a). For the first time, he traveled with him to the Levant. On the way, they encountered a Christian monk named Buḥayrā who gave the good tidings to Abū Ṭālib (a) that his nephew would soon be the prophet of his people. The monk insisted that they should quickly return to Mecca, for he had just noticed in him the signs of prophethood that he had read in Jewish sources and feared that the Jews might harm him. Abū Ṭālib (a) did the same and left the monk's monastery for Mecca.[4]

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) traveled to the Levant for a second time at the age of 25.[5] At that time when the Meccans were experiencing a very hard time, Khadīja (a), who was an affluent lady at Mecca, gave an enormous amount of capital to trustworthy people

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:50.
[2] Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 3:187.
[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:53.
[4] Ibid., 1:180-83.
[5] Irbilī, *kashf al-ghumma*, 2:135.

to go to the Levant for trade purposes. For this reason, Abū Ṭālib (a) encouraged his nephew, Muḥammad (s), to work for Khadīja, but he did not accept it. Afterwards, Khadīja (a) herself approached Muḥammad (s), and entrusted to him an amount of capital much more than she used to give to others, for she had known him for his sincerity, trustworthiness, and praiseworthy conduct.[1]

Marriage with Khadīja (a)

Khadīja (a) was a virtuous and rich lady and one of the prominent women of Quraysh. Her noble characteristics made the Quraysh noblemen to seek getting married to her.[2] Among her famous suitors who desired to get married to her were ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayṭ, Ṣalt b. Abī Yahāb, Abū Jahl, and Abū Sufyān.[3] She rejected her famous suitors and chose Muḥammad (s), who was a paragon of virtue. She adored Muḥammad (s) so much that she decided to express her interest in marrying him. The Prophet (s) was twenty-five at the time, and she was at the age of twenty-eight.[4] As she had lost her father many years ago, Abū Ṭālib (a), in company with his relatives, went to her paternal uncle ʿAmr b. Saʿd for betrothal.[5] Thereat, Abū Ṭālib (a) first praised God, and then introduced the Prophet Muḥammad (s) as a personality for whom there is no equal in the whole Quraysh tribe.[6] Khadīja's bridal gift (*mahr*) was 500 dirhams,[7] which Abū Ṭālib (a) accepted to pay on behalf of Muḥammad (s). However, Khadīja (a) paid it out of her own properties. This seemed strange to some people, so they said sarcastically, "How would it be that a lady pays the *mahr* that her husband is supposed to pay?" In response, Abū Ṭālib (a) said, "Never compare yourselves to Muḥammad, for if a

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:187-88.

[2] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:189; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 2:294; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:263.

[3] Bakrī, *al-Anwār*, 244.

[4] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 1:14; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 2:111; Ibn Manẓūr, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq*, 2:257; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 16:12. Historical sources differ on the age of Khadīja at the time of her marriage such that some indicate it to be at the age of 40. (See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 8:174.).

[5] Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 2:139; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 16:14, 16.

[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:374-75; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 16:14, 16.

[7] Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 1:138-39.

lady yearns to give her hand to my nephew, it is appropriate for her to do the same."[1]

The wealth of Khadīja (a) was the main source of paying the expenses needed for the initial stage of disseminating Islam. It was in this connection that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) oftentimes asserted, "No property was so beneficial for me as the wealth of Khadīja was."[2] With this wealth, he liberated many slaves, paid back the debts of many people, gave food to his poor companions, and gave financial support to those who intended to emigrate from Mecca.[3]

The Event of *Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl*

ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a) had a son named al-Zubayr[4] who took a humane and praiseworthy initiative after the battle of al-Fijār. It was called the Treaty of the Meritorious (*Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl*). This treaty was a reaction against the oppression committed against a man from the Zabīd region of Yemen who had travelled to Mecca in 590 with his property. There al-ʿĀṣ b. Wā'il al-Sahmī, the father of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, purchased his property but delayed in paying the price. The Yemeni man went to the Quraysh people and complained, but, nobody helped him. To vociferate, he climbed the mount Abū Qubays in the vicinity of the Kaaba, and cried out a poem expressing his misfortune.[5]

Al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, a paternal uncle of the Prophet (s), and one of the renowned people of Quraysh, was the first man who laid the foundation of the Treaty of the Meritorious and invited others to join it.[6] Following this event, some clan members of Quraysh[7] got together at Dār al-Nadwa, the place for local

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:375.
[2] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 468; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:63.
[3] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:63.
[4] He should not be mistaken with al-Zubayr b. ʿAwwām who fought Imam ʿAlī and was killed in the Battle of the Camel.
[5] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:23; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:17.
[6] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:103; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 14:130.
[7] The Quraysh clans who were present there were he following: Banū Hāshim, Banū Muṭṭalib, Banū ʿAbd Manāf, Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb, Banū Taym b. Murra, and Banū Asad b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. Quṣay (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:141; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:23; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muaḥbbar*, 167).

conferences and managing the affairs of Mecca.[1] They got together there and put their hands in a large bowl containing the water of the Zamzam well and collectively vowed to help anybody wronged at Mecca and help them to get their rights back from the offenders, to withstand tyranny and to support the poor.[2]

Before the advent of Islam, this treaty was so significant that it came to be reckoned as the basis of a new epoch.[3] It is also regarded as the most praiseworthy treaty concluded up to that time amongst the Arabs.[4]

Reconstruction of the Kaaba

It was five years before the prophethood of the Prophet Muḥammad (s),[5] that is 605, that a devastating flood damaged the walls of the Kaaba. It is reported that before that flood, the curtains of the Kaaba caught fire, in effect of which its walls were weakened.[6] It was therefore far from resistant to flood. Upon its devastation, Quraysh decided to reconstruct it anew. As the Kaaba was of utmost sanctity to Quraysh, all of its members were resolute to fund its reconstruction out of religiously pure money, not that earned out of gambling or looting.[7] All clans of Quraysh as well as others did their utmost, and the great men of Quraysh assigned certain tasks to each tribe and clan to carry out. It was natural for every clan to try to gain more honor for themselves.

When the reconstruction of the Kaaba reached its pinnacle and it was time for fixing the Black Stone (al-Ḥajar al-Aswad) in its special place, there appeared a great disagreement among the tribe members involved over who to place this sacred stone in its proper place. It seemed that a bloodshed was going to take place. Members of some clans and tribes drenched their hands in a bowl of blood and vowed

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[1] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 3:9.
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:133-34; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:128; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:23-24; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq*, 53.
[3] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 209.
[4] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 15:203.
[5] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:192, 5:318; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 2:300.
[6] Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:100; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 2:300.
[7] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:194; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 2:301; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 1:141.

either to gain this honor or to be killed in its way.[1] At that time, an influential member of Quraysh named Abū Umayya b. al-Mughayra (whose daughter, Umm Salama, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) married several years later) came up with a suggestion to settle the quarrel. It was such that anybody who would enter the Kaaba-centered sanctuary through the Bāb al-Salām gate would be the arbiter. The Prophet Muḥammad (s) was the first person who stepped in through the same gate. As soon as the people noticed him at the gate, they cried, "He is Muḥammad the Trustworthy (al-Amīn)! We all accept his verdict."

When the Prophet Muḥammad (s) received a report of what was going to take place there, he asked for a large piece of cloth. Then he placed the Black Stone on it and told the chiefs of the tribes and clans to get hold of the corners of the cloth to carry the Black Stone near its appropriate place by the Kaaba. In this way, all tribes and clans participated in carrying it to the Kaaba. When the Black Stone was brought there, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) raised the Black Stone and fixed it in its appropriate place.[2] In this way, a quarrel that might lead to bloodshed and lengthy tribal clashes was so easily solved all due to his wisdom.

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:194; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 2:301.
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:197.

From *Biʿtha* to Emigration

Biʿtha

God selected the Prophet Muḥammad (s) as the final prophet when he was at the age of forty. His prophethood began on 27 Rajab of the year 610 CE.[1] Before that and for several years, he used to retreat to and within the cave Ḥirāʾ in the vicinity of Mecca to spend his time on reflection and worshipping God so that he would not be influenced by the polytheistic situation of Mecca and to preserve his divinely-granted purity. The first portion of the divine revelation came to him when he was in his place of worship. He had already heard the voice of the angel of revelation,[2] but with the revelation of the first Quranic verses he felt a great burden upon himself.[3]

In this regard, Imam ʿAlī's (a) remark in his al-Qāṣiʿa sermon is noteworthy:

> The Prophet used to worship Allah on the mount Ḥirāʾ every year, while there was nobody else except me. When the revelation came down upon him, I heard the sigh of Satan. I said, "O Prophet of Allah, what is this sigh?" and he replied, "This is Satan who has lost all hope of being worshiped. O Ali, you see that which I see and you

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:149; Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 2:90; Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 3:185; Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 2:813.

[2] See Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:22.

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:236-37.

> hear that which I hear, except that you are not a prophet, but you are a vicegerent and you are surely on [the path of] virtue.[1]

ʿAlī (a) was the first person who embraced Islam, following the Prophet Muḥammad (s).[2] This point has oftentimes been highlighted in the speeches of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Addressing ʿAlī (a), he remarked, inter alia, "You have been the first person who has accepted my call of invitation to Islam and you shall be the first person who comes to me on the Day of Resurrection."[3] The second Muslim and the first lady who accepted Islam was Khadīja (a), the wife of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).[4]

A Limited-Scale Invitation (*Indhār al-ʿAshīra*)

In 613 CE, around three years after the beginning of the prophethood of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), his prophetic mission reached another phase. In this phase, he had to invite others to accept Islam: "Warn the nearest of your kinsfolk" (Q 26:214).[5] As the Prophet (s) received this verse, he asked ʿAlī (a) to prepare a simple meal and invite the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (a). ʿAlī (a) prepared some bread and milk and invited the nearest kinsfolk of the Prophet who were around 40 men. In effect of a miracle of the Prophet, all the guests were satisfied with that small and simple meal. Just when the Prophet

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[1] Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-balāgha*, Sermon 192.

[2] See Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 3:95-96, 99, 224-36; 9:115, 122; 10:156, 158, 164, 168, 290, 322. It is indicated in certain sources that the first Muslim (after the Prophet Muḥammad) was Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha or Abū Bakr. References to this point trace back to Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) or Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. 96/714) (For example, see Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:321; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:32; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:371; 7:12, 249, 263, 363). However, in view of the highly-related (*mutawātir*) quotation that ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) was the first Muslim, other claims in favor of Abū Bakr or Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha have not been accepted by a great majority of Sunni historians and hadith narrators.

[3] Ibn Abī Khaythama, *Akhbār al-makkiyyīn*, 179; Ibn Abī Khaythama, *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, 1:165; Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 9:342; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 46:391; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, 23:79; Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 4:1744; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 42:41-43; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 5:270; ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, 7:294; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:228.

[4] Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*, 139; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:240; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:15; 8:13-14; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣahāba*, 1:589; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 5:475; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 10, 408.

[5] See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:156; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:118-20; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:319, 322.

intended to say something to his guests, Abū Lahab hurried and commented, "This friend of yours has already bewitched you." With such a comment, they got dispersed, and the Prophet (s) did not say anything to them.

After some time, the Prophet (s) asked ʿAlī (a) to invite them again. This time, the Prophet (s) remarked, "O descendants of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! By God, I do not know any other Arab youth that has brought his tribe anything worthier than what I have brought. I have brought you the good of this world and the hereafter. God has commanded me to invite you to Him. Which one of you will assist me in this affair so that he shall be my brother, executor (*waṣī*), and successor (*khalīfa*)?" Nobody answered him save ʿAlī (a) who remarked, "O Prophet of Allah! I shall be your assistant." Then the Prophet Muḥammad (s) put his hand on ʿAlī's (a) shoulder and announced thus: "He is my brother, executor, and successor; hence, listen to him, and obey him." The Prophet's kinsmen mocked it, and rose up to leave the session. Some of them mockingly addressed Abū Ṭālib (a), "He has just ordered you to listen to your son and obey him!"[1]

The Quraysh tribesmen did not show a harsh reaction to the overt invitation of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). However, they could no longer tolerate it when he started rebuking their idols. They got united with other idol-worshippers of Mecca to oppose him. In contrast, Abū Ṭālib (a), the Prophet's paternal uncle, was his staunch supporter. In such a circumstance, the Quraysh tribesmen approached Abū Ṭālib (a) for negotiations. These negotiations took place in three rounds, all of which turned futile.

In the first round, some Quraysh men met Abū Ṭālib (a) and addressed him thus: "O Abū Ṭālib! Your nephew abuses our gods, rebukes our faith, and regards our fathers and ancestors as misguided. Either you talk with him, or you give him to us." Abū Ṭālib (a) answered them mildly, and they returned. In the second round, when the Quraysh men noticed that the Prophet was still

[1] For more details about this assembly, see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:159; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:13; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, 114-15; Ḥasakānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 1:244, 372; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:244.

zealous in accomplishing his mission insistently, they went to Abū Ṭālib (a) and threatened him that if he did not prevent his nephew from discrediting the idols, they would soon wage a war against him. When the polytheists left him, Abū Ṭālib (a) called on the Prophet (s) and reported what had taken place, requesting him to reconsider his mission and never endanger his own life and make the situation more complicated. In reply to this remark, the Prophet (s) asserted: "By Allah! If they put the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left hand to abandon my mission, I will never do so until God grants me triumph, or I sacrifice my life in this cause." Following this statement, Abū Ṭālib (a) assured the Prophet of his full-fledged support in any condition.

In the last round, the Quraysh men suggested that they would give Abū Ṭālib (a) ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd, a young man, and in return take the Prophet (s) and kill him. Abū Ṭālib's harsh reply gave them a set-back: "By Allah! It is a shameful suggestion! You intend to give me one of your youths to raise him, and expect me in return to give you my son to kill him!"[1]

With the breakdown of the negotiations, Abū Ṭālib (a) realized that it was going to be a critical situation, hence a war against the rest of Quraysh seemed inevitable. In consequence, he summoned the descendants of Hāshim and ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and requested them to support the Prophet Muḥammad (s) full-fledged. All the invitees accepted the offer save Abū Lahab.[2]

The Night Journey and Ascension

The event of the Prophet Muḥammad's Ascension (*al-Miʿrāj*) took place in the last years of his stay in Mecca.[3] There are two references to it in the Holy Quran, namely in the Sura al-Isrāʾ (Q 17:1), and Sura al-Najm (53:8-18). On the eve of the Ascension, the Archangel Gabriel came down to the Prophet Muḥammad (s), brought him a vehicle named al-Burāq with which the Prophet (s) traveled to Jerusalem.[4]

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[1] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 39-40.
[2] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:59.
[3] Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, 13:23, 30.
[4] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:199-200; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:15; ʿAyyāshī, *al-Tafsīr*, 2:276-77.

On the way, the Prophet (s) stopped at Medina, the Kufa mosque, Mount Sinai, and Bethlehem, the reputed birthplace of Jesus Christ, where he performed salat. Then he entered al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, the Jerusalem main temple, and performed salat there, too.[1]

After that, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) ascended to the heavens from Jerusalem. In the heaven of this world, he met Adam, then the angels rushed to him in groups, warmly welcomed and greeted him. There, he also met the Angel of Death with whom he talked.[2] From there, he then ascended to the second heaven where he met up with the prophets Jesus Christ and John the Baptist. After that, he met the prophet Joseph in the third heaven, Enoch (Idrīs) in the fourth heaven, Aaron (Hārūn) son of ʿImrān in the fifth heaven, and the prophet Moses in the sixth heaven.[3]

In the seventh heaven, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) reached a place where Gabriel had never visited.[4] An account of the dialogue between God and the Prophet Muḥammad (s) is recorded in the hadith widely known as Hadith al-Miʿrāj.

On the way back home, the Prophet (s) returned to Jerusalem, and from there he arrived back in Mecca before the dawn.[5] The Prophet's Ascension took only one night.[6] On that night, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) performed his ʿIshāʾ prayer before his departure and his morning prayer after getting back home in Mecca.[7] He described his Ascension experience for the inhabitants of Mecca on the ensuing evening.

The Ascension episode seemed infeasible to the Quraysh people. They asked the Prophet Muḥammad (s) to describe for them the construction of the Jerusalem temple. Upon the Prophet's accurate description, those who had visited it asserted that it was exactly in that way. Nonetheless, they were still reluctant believe. For further evidence, they asked the Prophet to report the actual case of the

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[1] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:199-200; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, 13:8.
[2] Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, 13:9-10.
[3] Ibid., 13:12-13.
[4] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 18:392; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, 13:18.
[5] Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, 217.
[6] Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 6:612; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 18:289.
[7] Ayyāshī, *al-Tafsīr*, 2:279.

Quraysh commercial caravan that was on the way back to Mecca. The Prophet (s) told them that he had noticed them at al-Tanʿīm, with a grey camel, with a camel-litter on its back, that was walking ahead of it. He also anticipated that the caravan would soon enter the city of Mecca. Before long, it entered Mecca, and Abū Sufyān and the rest of the passengers confirmed the Prophet's reports.[1]

The Birth of Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ (a)

Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ (a) was born in the fifth year after the prophethood of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in 615.[2] The Prophet Muḥammad (s) was profoundly attached to her. Once, in reply to his wife ʿĀʾisha who used to rebuke him for his profound attachment to her daughter Fāṭima (a), the Prophet (s) pointed to Fāṭima's heavenly origins, and that she reminded him of Paradise whenever he visited her."[3]

Open Invitation to Islam and the Persecution of Muslims in Mecca

The Prophet Muḥammad's open and public invitation to Islam started with the revelation of the following verse: "So proclaim what you have been commanded, and turn away from the polytheists" (Q 15:94).[4] The Prophet Muḥammad (s) announced his public invitation first at the ʿUkāẓ marketplace where people gathered for trade purposes and also to recite poems.[5] Abū Lahab and some of his men hurt the Prophet there, but Abū Ṭālib (a) punished them in support of the Prophet. In this event a few people accepted Islam.[6]

As the Quraysh people learned that they could not prevent the Prophet Muḥammad (s) from following his cause, they adopted another policy. The Quraysh polytheists started torturing helpless Muslims and the slaves who joined the nascent Muslim community.

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[1] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:13; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, 13:17; Subḥānī, *Furūgh abadiyyat*, 369.
[2] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:289; Dīyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:278; Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbā*, 52; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 43:101.
[3] Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 5:87; Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:165; Ṣadūq, *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*, 72.
[4] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:262-63; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:318; Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 4:146-48.
[5] See Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:169; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:24.
[6] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:17-18.

In this way, the polytheists of any clan and tribe started torturing their own Muslim members in most brutal and savage ways, for example, imprisoning, whipping, depriving them of food and water, and other ways of chastisement.

Abū Jahl and some Quraysh polytheists always chased Muslims. If the new Muslim was a respectable person with a powerful clan or tribe, they would start rebuking him by saying, "You abandoned the religion of your father while it was better than this religion. You are an insane, and we will belittle and denigrate you before people through disclosing your false and baseless beliefs." In case a Muslim tradesman joined the Muslim community, the Quraysh polytheists abandoned doing commercial transactions with him for driving him into bankruptcy. In case a poor person or a slave embraced Islam, they arrested him, denied them food and water to make him go hungry and thirsty until they were no longer able to stand up, and by force confessed that al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā were their gods.[1]

There were some people who resisted despite all tortures and never accepted the Meccan polytheists' say. One of such people was Bilāl al-Ḥabashī (Bilāl of Abyssinia). He was one of the first people who accepted Islam and declared his staunch belief in it, hence he was severely tortured.[2] Once he was kept thirsty for a whole day while he was being continuously tortured on the scorching ground of Mecca.[3] Umayya b. Khalaf curbed him with a tether and gave it to teenagers to drag him throughout the Meccan valleys.[4] By noon that it was extremely hot, Umayya took Bilāl to the rocky valleys in the vicinity of Mecca, put a heavy piece of stone on his chest and shouted at him, "Either you confess your disbelief in the God of Muḥammad, or you will die in this state." In defiance to all such tortures, Bilāl only repeated thus "I disbelieve in al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā." Hence Umayya tortured him more, such that he went unconscious several times.[5]

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:318.

[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:176; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:667; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 1:53.

[3] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:211.

[4] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:176; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:184.

[5] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:318; Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 5:101; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:74.

Abū Jahl also tortured him such that he made Bilāl lie with his face on the scorching rocks, with a large, heavy piece of stone laid on his back. Then Abū Jahl yelled at him, "Confess that you no longer believe in the God of Muḥammad!" However, Bilāl voiced his opposition by repeating, "The One God! The One God! (Aḥad, Aḥad)."[1]

Before he converted to Islam, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb also used to torture those who joined the Muslim community. In one of the instances, he whipped Labība, a female slave of Banū Muʾammal of the Banū ʿAdī clan. Tired of whipping, quite mockingly he used to say, "Please excuse me, for I cannot whip you anymore due to being exhausted."[2]

Some of the earlier Muslims were martyred in effect of being tortured. The first martyrs were the parents of ʿAmmār. His mother named Sumayya was tortured and martyred by Abū Jahl; after her, the Meccan polytheists tortured and martyred his father Yāsir.[3]

The Event of Abyssinia

The early Muslim community was unable to put up with all those backbreaking circumstances. That condition was going to make the situation very critical for the new religion and result in a decrease of the number of people who converted to Islam, as it would result in terror, chastisement, and agony. For this reason, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) ordered some Muslims to migrate to Abyssinia in the fifth year of his prophethood, that is, in 615.[4]

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) selected Abyssinia out of the places Muslims could go. The reason was clearly indicated in his remark, "The king there does not oppress anybody, and honors those who seek shelter with him. It is a region of uprightness, and its people respect their neighbors."[5]

A group of Muslims started emigrating to Abyssinia right after the Prophet Muḥammad's permissive remark. They went there in small

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[1] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ġhāba*, 1:243.
[2] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣahāba*, 1:120.
[3] Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 4:1588-89, 1863-65.
[4] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:321-23.
[5] Ibid., 1:321; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:67; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 1:324.

groups.[1] The first group of Muslim emigrants consisted of ten men and four women, all under the aegis of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn.[2] Little by little, more Muslims joined them, and their number reached one-hundred.[3]

Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was also one of those who emigrated to Abyssinia. His emigration was not due to any hazard that would threaten him, for the Quraysh polytheists were well-informed of his father's high status in Mecca, hence they were always cautious in dealing with Banū Hāshim in general and with Abū Ṭālib's family in particular. The reason the Prophet Muḥammad (s) dispatched him to Abyssinia was for him to act as the guide for the Muslim emigrants in Abyssinia.

The Meccan Polytheists' Reaction

When the Meccan polytheists found that the early Muslim community had escaped their oppression, they tried to find a way to return them to Mecca. To do so and for such negotiations, two Quraysh men were selected to take a trip to Abyssinia; they were ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and ʿUmāra b. al-Walīd. They went to Negus (al-Najāshī), the king of Abyssinia, with many gifts. Visiting the Abyssinian king, they claimed thus: "Our ignorant youths have abandoned their religion and fled to your territory. They do not believe in your religion and have converted to a new faith, which is unknown to you and to us. The nobles of our tribe and their fathers and relatives have dispatched us to you to return them."

To verify the truth of their claim, Negus asked for the Muslims to come to him. When Jaʿfar went to Negus, he explained thus: "O King! We were an ignorant people that committed many abominable deeds. We used to worship idols, kept eating the flesh of dead animals, were inattentive to our relatives and neighbors, and our rich people constantly looted the poor. We were in such a state until God sent a prophet to guide us. We knew his lineage, and his rectitude, trustworthiness, and chastity were known to us. He invited us to

[1] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:73; Dīyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:360.
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:323.
[3] Ibid., 1:357.

worship the One God and liberated us from worshipping stones and idols that our ancestors used to worship. He invited us to rectitude, trustworthiness, and attending to our relatives and neighbors, and prohibited us from transgressions, using an obscene language, confiscating orphans' shares, accusing chaste women, shedding blood, and committing morally unacceptable deeds. He instructed us to worship the only God, not to associate any partners with Him, and ordered us to perform religious deeds: salat, paying off zakat, and fasting." Afterwards, Jaʿfar recited some verses of Sura al-Kahf (Q 18) for Negus. Negus was so impressed by the Quranic verses that he burst into tears. The Christian monks and clerics who were present there also burst into tears. After that, Negus said: "What you just recited and what Jesus Christ has brought are just like two beams of light from the same headlamp." Following this remark, he turned to the Meccan idolators and asserted, "Go away and do not make any effort in vain. By God, I will never yield them to you."

ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ intended to organize a conspiracy against Muslims on the basis of dissimilar views of Muslims and Christians regarding Jesus Christ. Hence, on the ensuing day, he went to Negus again and told him: "They hold that Jesus was a servant of God, not the son of God." In this context, Jaʿfar made an insightful remark and stated thus: "We hold the same as what our Prophet says with respect to Jesus Christ who was a servant and prophet of God; he was of the Spirit of God and was granted unto Mary." Negus then said: "Such remarks are expected to come out from someone who is like Jesus Christ." He then emphatically addressed the Muslim emigrants, "You may go, as you are safe. Whoever annoys you will be punished." He rejected the Quraysh delegations' gifts, and addressed the emigrant Muslims: "I will never yield you to them even in exchange for a mount of gold."

Negus' support for Muslims was about to turn into a great threat for him. Upon his full-fledged support for Muslims, the local people accused him of abandoning his religion and caused a riot. The riot became so widespread that he became deeply worried of being toppled. Thereupon, he ordered a ship to be provided for Jaʿfar and the other Muslims, and told them to get aboard and wait. He said, "If

I was toppled in this conflict, rescue yourselves using this ship, and if I won, stay here." Negus started a series of negotiations with the rioters; they abandoned their claims, and the unrest situation terminated.[1]

A short while after the emigration to Abyssinia, the situation in Mecca got relatively stable. When the Muslim emigrants received this news, a group of them, consisting of around thirty people, returned to Mecca around two or three months after the riots against Negus.[2]

Ḥamza's Conversion to Islam

One day in the sixth year after the beginning of the Prophet's mission/616, a significant event changed the situation of Muslims in Mecca. Ḥamza (a), a paternal uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and a noble champion of Quraysh,[3] used to circumambulate around the Kaaba when he got back to Mecca from hunting. On that day, while performing the circumambulation, a woman reported to him that Abū Jahl had cursed and disrespected the Prophet (s).

This news infuriated Ḥamza (a). Upon entering the Grand Mosque (Masjid al-Ḥarām), he noticed Abū Jahl sitting together with some of his men. He went to him, and then hit his head with his bow. Abū Jahl's head was hurt and started bleeding. He shouted at Abū Jahl, "Have you cursed Muḥammad, while I believe in his faith and hold the same as he does? If you dare, rise up and answer my hit!" At that time, some men of the Banū Makhzūm clan stood up in support of Abū Jahl, but Abū Jahl confessed thus: "Leave Ḥamza! By God, I did curse his nephew the vilest curses."

The above event was indeed a new development in Mecca. It puzzled the Meccan polytheists and added to the glory and strength of Muslims.[4]

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[1] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:334-38; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:80; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 43-45.
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:364-70.
[3] See Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:72.
[4] Ibn Hishām. *Al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:292.

The Siege of Muslims at Shiʿb Abī Ṭālib

In 617, when the polytheists of Mecca found all their efforts to harm the new religion in vain, and realized that their attempts resulted in raising the status of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) among Muslims, with Islam being spread among more and more Arab clans and tribes, they devised a new way to suppress the growing Muslim community. It was exerting economic and social sanctions on Muslims, particularly on the descendants of Ḥāshim and Abū Ṭālib (a). A treaty was concluded in effect of which so long as the Prophet Muḥammad (s) was not surrendered to Quraysh to be slain, any transaction and contact whatsoever, including marriage and commerce, with the Banū Hāshim clan were strictly banned. The treaty was signed and endorsed by forty prominent members of Quraysh. It was then hung on the gate of the Kaaba.[1]

The situation became so critical and hard that the Banū Ḥāshim clan and the Prophet Muḥammad (s) gathered in Shiʿb Abī Ṭālib (Valley of Abū Ṭālib), which was the residential area of some of the Banū Hāshim members as well as the birthplace of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).[2] From the descendants of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, only Abū Lahab never joined the early Muslim community at the Shiʿb.

Abū Ṭālib (a) was very worried about the Prophet's life there. When the residents of the Shiʿb slept, he asked the Prophet to sleep near him. When everybody was asleep, he woke him up to change his place, and asked his own son ʿAlī (a) to go to bed where the Prophet (s) was sleeping.[3]

The early Muslim community experienced really hard times at Shiʿb Abī Ṭālib. Quraysh missioned some guards to make sure that no food could be taken for them, and deprived them of all communications. The Hāshimids were not allowed to get out of the Shiʿb save in the lunar months of Rajab for performing ʿumra and in the Hajj season in Dhū al-Ḥijja. Only in these two occasions, the Muslims had the chance to purchase what they needed, but they were not able to make the most of this opportunity either. Any newcomer

[1] Ibid., 1:350.
[2] See Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 2:198.
[3] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:256, 14:64; Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 7:357.

to Mecca who wanted to sell something received high prices by the Meccan polytheists for his goods, provided that he did not sell his goods to the Muslims.[1]

To exert more pressure on Muslims, the Quraysh polytheists looted the properties of whoever sold anything to Muslims. In this way, Quraysh intended to exert utmost pressure on Muslims so as to attain the goal of slaying the Prophet Muḥammad (s).[2] ʿAlī (a) was the only person who was able to provide the besieged Muslims with food. Taking serious risks for his own life,[3] he undertook this responsibility secretly.

All the properties of both Khadīja (a) and Abū Ṭālib (a) were spent for the Muslims at the Shiʿb. When their properties were finished, there was nothing to feed on. Their children screamed out of intense hunger, and the ruthless polytheists paid no attention to them. Most of the polytheists were happy about the harsh situation that the Muslims were experiencing; only some of them who had relatives among the Muslims showed some sympathy.[4]

The Breakdown of the Treaty

The Muslim community spent three difficult years at Shiʿb Abī Ṭālib until one day the Prophet Muḥammad (s) informed his paternal uncle Abū Ṭālib (a) that the polytheists' treaty, save the word Allah written on top of it, had been deteriorated and eaten up by termites.

Together with a number of the Hāshimids, Abū Ṭālib (a) left the Shiʿb to meet the Quraysh tribesmen. Some polytheists mockingly commented, "Look how intense hunger has driven them out of the Shiʿb!" and advised Abū Ṭālib (a), "It is time for you to come to a compromise with your own tribesmen." Abū Ṭālib (a) answered, "I have come for something good. Fetch the treaty so that we may come to a peace."

When the treaty was brought, Abū Ṭālib (a) told them, "My nephew [the Prophet Muḥammad (s)] who never tells a lie has informed me that at the instance of Allah termites have eaten it up

[1] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 50.
[2] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:84.
[3] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:256.
[4] Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb Al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*, 1:159-60.

and there has remained only the word Allah in it. If his news is true, you must abandon oppression; if his news is a lie, then I will surrender him to you for being slain."

The polytheists said, "This is a fair deal." They opened the envelop and found it exactly as reported by the Prophet. The Muslims present there shouted *Allāhu akbar* in amazement, and the polytheists got very furious. In effect of this event, many of the polytheists who were there converted to Islam.

Notwithstanding their agreement with Abū Ṭālib (a), some of the polytheists still insisted on the contents of the deteriorated treaty and continued making problems for Muslims. It did not last long: some of the polytheists whose relatives had converted to Islam and had family relations with the descendants of Banū Hāshim and Banū Muṭṭalib broke the contract. Abū Jahl started confronting them, but it was all in vain. Nobody paid any attention to him, and the treaty was no longer valid. In effect of this event, the Muslims got out of the Shiʿb and started transactions with non-Muslims.[1]

The Year of Grief

In 620, Abū Ṭālib (a) breathed his last. With his demise, the Prophet lost a great supporter and patron who constantly defended his mission and career.[2] Shortly after that came the demise of Khadīja (a), the Prophet's noble wife and his supporter during hard times. The Prophet (s) named that year "the Year of Grief (*ʿĀm al-Ḥuzn*)".[3] He also remarked: "Two calamities have befallen this umma, and I am puzzled which one to mourn more."[4]

Trip to al-Ṭāʾif

In Shawwāl, 620, the Prophet Muḥammad (s), ʿAlī (a),[5] and his adopted son Zayd b. al-Ḥāritha[6] took a trip to al-Ṭāʾif to invite its

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[1] Rāwandī, *al-Kharāʾij wa al-jarāʾiḥ*, 1:85-86; see also Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:377; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:31; Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 2:312.

[2] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 200; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:127; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 1:346.

[3] Qasṭallānī, *al-Mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, 1:56; Dīyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:301.

[4] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:35.

[5] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 14:97.

[6] Ibid., 4:127.

people to Islam. For this purpose, he stayed there for a couple of days. During his stay there, he met the prominent people of the city and invited them to convert to Islam. None of them accepted his invitation; they also told him to leave. They also missioned some people to pelt stones at him on his way back, in consequence of which the Prophet's companions, who tried to protect him, were injured.[1]

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:419-20; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:237-38; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:36.

From Emigration to the Conquest of Mecca

Inviting the Prophet (s) and the Pledges

The First Pledge of ʿAqaba

In 621, the Prophet (s) considered the hajj season as a good opportunity to invite people to Islam. He (s) left Mecca to invite the tribes who came to visit the House of God. In the region of ʿAqaba[1], he (s) met a group of people from Yathrib, who belonged to the tribe of Khazraj. This small group of nine people, after hearing the words of the Prophet (s), accepted his invitation and embraced Islam. On their return to Medina, each of these people went to their people and spoke about the Messenger of God (s) and his new religion and invited them to it. The efforts of this small group soon bore fruit, with all the people of Yathrib talking about the Messenger of God (s) in their houses.

One year after the people of Khazraj met the Prophet (s), twelve people from Yathrib went to Mecca during the hajj season in 622 to meet the Messenger of God (s). They met him in the region of ʿAqaba where they pledged their allegiance to him. This pledge became known as the First Pledge of ʿAqaba. In this pledge, they vowed not to associate partners with God, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to kill their children, to abstain from calumny and slander, and

[1] An area outside Mecca and one of the places where pilgrims stopped before entering Mecca (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-bildān*, 4:134).

not to fail to do good deeds. The Prophet (s) gave them the glad-tidings that if they kept their promise, their place would be Paradise. When they wanted to return to Yathrib, the Messenger of God (s) sent Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr with them to teach the people the Qurʾan and to acquaint them with Islam. Muṣʿab's presence played a decisive role in the spread of Islam in Yathrib, and he was able to lead Friday prayer there.

One of the fruits of Muṣʿab's efforts was the conversion of Saʿd b. Muʿādh to Islam. After converting to Islam, Saʿd, who was the chief of Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal[1] from the tribe of Aws, went to his people and said to them, "O children of ʿAbd al-Ashhal! What do you think about me?" They said, "You are our chief, and you have always had the best opinions and the best orders." After this confession, Saʿd said, "No one has the right to speak to me except after believing in God and His Messenger." Thus, all members of the tribe converted to Islam in one day.[2]

The Second Pledge of ʿAqaba

Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr returned to Mecca from Yathrib and presented a report of his activities and the progress of Islam to the Prophet (s), which made the Prophet (s) very happy,[3] because despite the difficulties he (s) faced in Mecca, he witnessed the flourishing and increasing progress of the divine religion in another region.

In 622, over five-hundred people from Yathrib came to Mecca to attend the hajj rituals. Among these people were Muslims who would not profess Islam out of fear of the polytheists, and some of these Muslims wanted to visit the Prophet (s). In order to protect this group from the polytheists, the Prophet (s) arranged a night meeting with them in ʿAqaba during the days of *Tashrīq* (11 to 13 Dhū al-Ḥijja). They pledged allegiance to the Prophet (s) in the dark of night and returned to their residences.[4]

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[1] Banū ʿAbd al-Ashhal were a clan of the Aws tribe (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jumhurat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 471).
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:435-37.
[3] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:12.
[4] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1;171-73.

Brotherhood Contract

Before migrating to Yathrib, the Prophet (s) established a brotherhood pact between the Muslims of Mecca. He (s) designated Abū Bakr as a brother for ʿUmar and Ḥamza (a) as a brother for Zayd b. Ḥāritha. He (s) also established a covenant of brotherhood between the following: ʿUthmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, al-Zubayr and Ibn Masʿūd, ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith and Bilāl, Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr and Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, Abī ʿUbayda al-Jarrāḥ and Sālim the slave of Abī Ḥudhayfa, and Ṭalḥa and Saʿīd b. Zayd. Then he (s) proclaimed ʿAlī (a) as his own brother and said to him, "You are my brother in this world and the hereafter."[1]

Emigration of Muslims to Medina

After the second pledge of ʿAqaba, the polytheists of Mecca persecuted the Muslims more than before in a way that was unbearable for them. Due to the dire situation in Mecca and the growing spread of Islam in Medina, the Prophet (s) allowed the Muslims to migrate to Medina. They began migrating in scattered groups, but the Prophet (s) remained in Mecca to be allowed to emigrate by God.[2]

Dār al-Nadwa (The Plan to Assassinate the Prophet (s))

All the nobles and elders of Quraysh gathered in Dār al-Nadwa to decide how to deal with the Prophet (s). As mentioned in the Qurʾan, various comments were made in this meeting: "When the faithless plotted against you to take you captive, or to kill or expel you—they plotted and Allah devised, and Allah is the best of devisers" (Q 8:30).

They did not consider it suitable to imprison the Prophet (s), because his companions could free him. They did not see exile as a suitable solution either, as he (s) could promote Islam and spread his ideas in any region. Abū Jahl made a proposal that was accepted by all. He suggested that an agile and strong young man be selected from each tribe, and that all these people attack the Prophet (s) at

[1] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1;270; see also Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:15, 16; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:353; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:20.

[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:468.

night, and each strike only one blow on his body. In this way, they could kill the Prophet (s) without his tribe being able to avenge his blood, since all the tribes were involved in this murder, and Banū Hāshim could not fight them all. Thus, they would have to accept the blood-money and the story would end without bloodshed.[1]

Laylat al-Mabīt [2] and the Emigration of the Prophet (s)

The selected youth of Quraysh gathered in front of the house of the Messenger of God (s). They were constantly watching him and waiting for him to fall asleep so that they could carry out their sinister plan.[3] Meanwhile, God informed the Prophet (s) of their plan. The Prophet (s) told ʿAlī (a) the story and asked him to sleep in his bed that night instead of him. ʿAlī (a) said, "Will you be safe by my sleeping there?" The Prophet (s) answered positively, so ʿAlī (a) bowed down to perform *sajdat al-shukr* (prostration of thankfulness) out of happiness. [4] ʿAlī (a) slept where the Prophet (s) used to sleep and pulled his blanket over himself. The Prophet (s) left the house secretly at night and sought refuge in God and recited the following verse in order to protect himself from the people who were walking around his house: "And We have put a barrier before them and a barrier behind them, then We have blind-folded them, so they do not see" (Q 36:9). Then he (s) sprinkled a handful of dirt at the polytheists and passed through them without them noticing and moved towards the cave of Thawr.[5] The polytheists, believing that the person sleeping in the house was the Prophet (s), stormed into the house in the morning. When ʿAlī (a) saw that he had been attacked with drawn swords, he jumped out of bed and with skill and agility, twisted the hand of Khālid b. al-Walīd, who was leading the attackers, and took the sword from his hand and attacked Quraysh with it. It was only then that the polytheists found out that they had

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:480-82; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:39; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:56-57.
[2] Lit. the night of sleeping.
[3] Rāwandī, *al-Kharāʾij wa l-jarāiʾḥ*, 1:143-44.
[4] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 465.
[5] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:482-83; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:176-77; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:39.

encountered ʿAlī (a). They asked in surprise, "Are you ʿAlī? We are not looking for you. Where is your friend?" ʿAlī (a) said, "I do not know about him." The attackers, realizing that their plan had been foiled, inevitably left ʿAlī (a) and rushed to their people to inform them of the incident.[1]

Quraysh in Search of the Prophet (s)

Upon hearing the news of the departure of the Prophet (s), a group of the Quraysh polytheists hurriedly mounted their camels and sought to find him. On the way, they learned that Abū Bakr had also accompanied the Prophet (s). The polytheists continued their search until they reached the cave. The Prophet (s) and Abū Bakr were inside the cave and were about to be caught by the polytheists. By the permission of God, a spider spun a web over the entrance of the cave and also a wild pigeon laid an egg there and slept on it. The polytheists, seeing this situation, were convinced that no one was inside the cave, because if someone wanted to enter the cave, he had to tear the spider's web, and also if someone had passed through the entrance, the wild pigeon would not have nested in the cave.[2] In this way, God saved the life of His Prophet (s) from the polytheists.

ʿAlī (a) waited until night in Mecca. Then he (a) moved to the cave with Hind b. Abī Hāla in the dark of night and reached the Prophet (s). The Prophet (s) ordered Hind to buy two camels for him and Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr said, "I have prepared two camels for you and myself to go to Yathrib". The Prophet (s) said, "I will not accept it unless I give you its price." Then he (s) ordered ʿAlī (a) to pay the price of the camel to Abū Bakr.[3]

Then the Prophet (s) said to ʿAlī (a), "During this period, the polytheists will not harm you until you join me in Medina. Return publicly the trusts entrusted to me to their owners. I entrust my daughter Fāṭima (a) to you and both of you to God to protect you." He (s) also ordered him to buy some camels and use them to take to Medina the Fawāṭim (Fāṭima bt. Muḥammad (a), Fāṭima bt. Asad (a),

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[1] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 467; Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 1:405.
[2] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:181-82; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:328; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:37.
[3] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 467.

and Fāṭima bt. Zubayr) and anyone from Banū Hāshim who intends to migrate. The Prophet (s) left for Medina after staying in the cave of Thawr for three days.[1]

ʿAlī's Emigration

The Prophet (s) continued his journey until near Medina. In the region of Qubāʾ,[2] he was met with a glorious and memorable welcome by the Muslims and stayed in the house of a person named Kulthūm b. al-Hidm from the tribe of Banū ʿAmr b. ʿAwf.[3] Abū Bakr, who was with the Prophet (s), insisted on entering the city of Medina. The Prophet (s) did not accept his request and said, "I will not go to Medina until my brother and daughter [i.e., ʿAlī (a) and Fāṭima (a)] come."[4] Abū Bakr, sad and depressed, left the Prophet (s) at night and went to Medina, but the Messenger of God (s) stayed in Qubāʾ until the middle of the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal,[5] when ʿAlī (a) with his mother Fāṭima bt. Asad (a), Fāṭima (a) the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭima the daughter of al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (the Prophet's cousin), and Umm Ayman[6] joined him and became the guests of Kulthūm b. al-Hidm.[7]

Qubāʾ Mosque

The first development that took place in Medina was the construction of a mosque. During his stay in Qubāʾ, the Prophet (s) established this mosque at the suggestion of ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, which became known as Qubāʾ Mosque. The following verse was revealed about this mosque: "Do not stand in it ever! A mosque founded on Godwariness from the [very] first day is worthier that you stand in it [for prayer]" (Q 9:108).

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[1] Ibid., 468.

[2] Qubā/Qubāʾ is a village in the south of Yathrib/Medina, were the ʿAmr b. ʿUwf clan resided (Ḥamawī, *Miʿjam al-buldān*, 4:301).

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:492-93.

[4] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 469; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 66; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:64, 106, 115, 116, 22:366.

[5] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 66; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:106.

[6] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 66; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 469; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:106, 115-16.

[7] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:197; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:122.

Qubāʾ Mosque is the first mosque built in Islam. Some Muslim women also actively participated in the construction of this mosque.[1]

Building the Prophet's Mosque

After staying in Qubāʾ for fifteen days, the Prophet (s) left for Medina on Friday. He (s) was riding a camel and ʿAlī (a) was constantly by his side. In every neighborhood through which the Prophet (s) passed, a group of the Helpers (Medinan Muslims) came and requested that he (s) go to their house, and the Messenger of God (s) said to them, "Let the camel proceed, as it has a divine mission to perform." Then he dismounted from the camel and let go of its bridle. The camel began to move until it stopped and knelt near the house of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the poorest man in Yathrib.[2] Abū Ayyūb took the Prophet's belongings to his house and the Prophet (s) stayed with ʿAlī (a) at the place where the camel knelt.[3] The Helpers eagerly took all Immigrants (Meccan Muslims who migrated to Medina) home, vying with each other for hosting more immigrants.[4]

The Prophet (s) bought the land of the mosque, which belonged to two orphans from the tribe of Khazraj, for ten dinars. The construction of this mosque began with the presence and participation of the Prophet (s). Stones were brought from al-Ḥarra[5] by the Prophet (s) and his companions, and gradually the construction of the mosque was completed. The presence of the Prophet (s) aroused great enthusiasm among the Muslims and made they work more eagerly.[6] The presence of the Prophet (s) and his efforts to build the Mosque increased the value of the work in the eyes of Muslims and showed his humble personality.

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[1] Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 8:291; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 10:91; Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 2:10.
[2] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:121.
[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:494-96.
[4] Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:88.
[5] Ḥarra (pl. Ḥirār) is a rocky land whose stones are sharp and black in color (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 2:245).
[6] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:496.

Pact of Brotherhood

In Medina, the Prophet (s) established a brotherhood pact between the Muslims in accordance with their personality and character. Thus, he (s) established a covenant of brotherhood between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, and ʿUthmān and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.[1] Therefore, the Prophet (s) made a covenant of brotherhood between all Muslims. The only one left was ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a). He (a) said to the Prophet (s), "O Messenger of Allah! You established a pact of brotherhood for all, except me." The Prophet (s) replied, "I have kept you for myself. You are my brother and I am your brother. If anyone mentions your name, say, "I am the servant of God and the brother of the Messenger of God." No one after you will make this claim but a liar. You are to me like Aaron was to Moses except that there will be no prophet after me. You are my brother and my heir."[2]

Change of Qibla Towards Kaaba

The qibla of the Muslims was Jerusalem since the beginning of Islam. After the arrival of the Prophet (s) in Medina, this was criticized by the Jews and they claimed that the Prophet (s) has followed them and prayed towards their qibla. The Prophet (s) was very saddened by this ridicule, and since God had promised him to change the qibla, he (s) was constantly waiting for the fulfilment of God's promise, repeatedly looking up at the sky in the middle of the nights. Finally, on one of the days of the month of Shaʿbān 2/February 624, while the Prophet (s) had performed two units of the noon prayer,[3] Gabriel descended and took him by the hand and turned him towards the Kaaba. The prayer rows also turned in the same *direction* and the Muslims performed the remaining two units towards the Kaaba. Regarding this incident, God revealed the following verse:

> "We certainly see you turning your face about in the sky. We will surely turn you to a qiblah of your liking: so turn your face towards the Holy Mosque, and wherever you may be, turn your faces towards it! Indeed those who were given the

[1] Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:14; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:20.
[2] See Aḥmad b, Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, 2:617, 638, 666; Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Thiqāt*, 1:142.
[3] Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil al-Shīʿa*, 3:220.

> Book surely know that it is the truth from their Lord. And Allah is not oblivious of what they do." (Q 2:144)

The mosque where this happened was called Masjid al-Qiblatayn **(**Mosque of the Two Qiblas).[1]

Badr: The First Battle

In 2/624, Quraysh sent a trade caravan led by Abū Sufyān to the Levant. This caravan, consisting of thirty to seventy people, carried properties from the Quraysh, the value of which was over 50,000 dinars. By the permission of God, the Prophet (s) decided to leave Medina and seize the properties of the caravan so that the damages inflicted on the Muslims by the Quraysh polytheists be compensated to some extent.[2] He (s) called on the Muslims to prepare for the attack on the caravan. The plan was to capture the caravan in the area of Dhū al-ʿAshīra, but the polytheists became aware of the plan and fled toward the Levant.

The polytheists of Mecca became aware of this and set up an army to fight against the Muslims. All the elders of Quraysh paid a sum of money to prepare this army, and on the other hand, they declared that if anyone did not join the army to fight the Muslims, his house would be destroyed. Hence, the inhabitants of Mecca either joined the

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[1] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 203.

[2] In historical sources, Q 22:39, which refers to the divine permission to fight the polytheists, is mentioned as the reason for attacking this caravan (see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:467-8; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:286; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:44; Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 4:180; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:169, 242; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:70-71). The verse reads: "Those who are fought against are permitted [to fight] because they have been wronged, and Allah is indeed able to help them." This verse implies that the goal of this battle was to seek compensation for the damages inflicted on the Muslims by the polytheists of Mecca, and the Quranic commentaries confirm this point (see Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, 3:129; Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, 17:122-24; Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 23:228-29). Also, the reports about the confiscation of the properties of some Immigrants, such as Suhayb al-Rūmī (d. 38/658), confirm the above-mentioned point (see Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:477; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:171; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:173). Another confirmation of this point is Q 59:8, which describes the Immigrants as follows: "[They are also] for the poor Immigrants who have been expelled from their homes and [wrested of] their possessions." This verse also shows the confiscation of Muslim properties by the polytheists.

army or sent someone to fight in their place.[1] For example, Abū Lahab sent al-ʿĀṣ b. Hishām with 4,000 dirhams that he had earned through gambling.[2]

The Prophet (s) was waiting for the return of the caravan from the Levant. When the news of the return of the caravan reached the Muslims, they set out to capture the caravan, but they were informed of the arrival of the Quraysh army at the region of Badr. Muslims were terrified when they heard this news. When the Prophet (s) saw this distress in the Muslims, he (s) asked their opinion about war with the polytheists. Abū Bakr stood up and said, "O Messenger of God! Those who have come to fight us are the arrogant among the Quraysh. They have never come to faith from disbelief and have never tasted defeat." The Messenger of God (s) said to him, "Sit down!" Abū Bakr sat down. The Prophet (s) turned to his companions again and asked them for their opinion. ʿUmar stood up and repeated Abū Bakr's words. The Prophet (s) ordered him to sit down too. This time, Miqdād stood up and said to the Prophet (s), "O Messenger of God! Although these are the arrogant among the Quraysh, we are the believers who believe in you and God who sent you with the truth. By God, if you command us to go to the fire or to step on the thorns, we will obey you. We are not like the children of Israel who said to their Prophet when he ordered them to fight, 'O Moses! We will never enter it so long as they remain in it. Go ahead, you and your Lord, and fight! We will be sitting right here' (Q 5:24); rather, we say, 'Go ahead, you and your Lord and fight, and we will fight the enemies along with you.' By God, we will fight the enemies along with you. If you go to the sea, we will be with you, and if decide to go to the farthest reaches, we will not leave you alone." The Prophet (s) was happy to hear Miqdād's words and he (s) prayed for him while smiling.

Then the Prophet (s) addressed the Helpers, who had a larger population, and sought their opinion. Saʿd b. Muʿādh stood up and

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[1] Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, 3:129; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:261; Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, 17:122-24.

[2] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:292; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:145. See also, Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:33.

assured the Prophet (s) that they would support him unwaveringly in any decisions he made. The Messenger of God (s) was happy and informed the Muslims that God had promised him that he (s) would defeat one of the two groups, namely the Quraysh caravan or the army of Meccan polytheists. Then he (s) said, "By God! It is as if I see the bodies of the polytheists in the place where they will be killed."[1] After that, the Prophet (s) ordered the Muslims to move toward Badr though most of the companions preferred to pursue the caravan and not to fight:[2] "When Allah promised you [victory over] one of the two companies, [saying], 'It is for you,' you were eager that it should be the one that was unarmed. But Allah desires to confirm the truth with His words, and to root out the faithless" (Q 8:7).

The number of Muslims was small and only 313 people were present in the war.[3] Of these, there were over 270 Helpers, and the rest consisted of the Immigrants, and their equipment was meagre.[4] The Muslims had only seventy camels, which they shared along the way, and two or three people took turns riding one camel. There was only one horse in the army that belonged to Miqdād.[5] In contrast, the Meccan army numbered over a thousand. There were six hundred men in armor, four hundred horses and seven hundred camels in their army.[6] The polytheists left Mecca intoxicated by the large number of troops and abundant military equipment. On the way, they constantly drank wine and female singers entertained them.[7] Ten camels were slaughtered daily to feed the army. Twelve Quraysh chiefs, including ʿUtba, Shayba, and Abū Jahl, were in charge of feeding the troops, and one of them did so every day.[8] The polytheists reached Badr before the Muslims and settled on a higher

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:48-49.
[2] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:263; Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 3:163, 169.
[3] Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:149.
[4] To know the military equipment of Muslims and the number of Muhajirs and Ansar, see Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:290; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 2:214; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:187; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:269; Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 6:93; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 19:323.
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:27; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:187; ʿAyyāshī, *al-Tafsīr*, 2:25, 54.
[6] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 204; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 1:242.
[7] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:260.
[8] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:128.

slope on the side of the plain facing Mecca. This part of the plain had water and hard ground. The Muslims encamped on a lower slope on the side of the plain facing Medina. There was no water in this part of the plain, and the ground was so soft that it was difficult to stand on. In fact, the location of the Muslim camp was very bad from a military point of view. The night before the war, rain fell on the area, which hardened the ground where the Muslims had settled. It also provided the Muslims with the water they needed, and they created pools of water.[1] On the contrary, this rain loosened the ground of the place where the polytheists had settled.

Confrontation of the Two Armies

In the morning, the Prophet (s) organized his army. ʿAlī (a) had the honor of being the flag-bearer both in this war and in all subsequent wars.[2] At the beginning of the war, three Meccan heroes came to the battlefield and challenged Muslims to fight. These three people were ʿUtba, Shayba, and al-Walīd. Three Muslims from the Helpers responded to their demands and confronted them, but they said, "Go back, because you are not at out level; we will only fight heroes like ourselves." The Prophet (s) returned the three and sent his uncle Ḥamza (a), his brother and successor ʿAlī (a), and ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith to the battlefield. In this battle, ʿAlī (a) killed al-Walīd. Ḥamza (a) was engaged in a fierce fight with Shayba in such a way that their swords were damaged by the intensity of the struggle. Suddenly, ʿAlī (a) attacked Shayba. Ḥamza (a) lowered his head with a gesture of ʿAlī (a) and he (a) hit Shayba on the head with his sword and killed him. In another corner of the battlefield, ʿUtba had cut off ʿUbayda's leg and ʿUbayda had hit ʿUtba on the head. ʿAlī (a) attacked ʿUtba and killed him as well.[3]

ʿAlī (a) and Ḥamza (a) brought ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith, who was about to die, to the Messenger of God (s). Tears flowed from ʿUbayda's eyes and he said, "O Messenger of God! Will I be a martyr?" The Prophet (s) said, "Yes! You are the first martyr of my

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:667; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:144; Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 3:35.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:16.
[3] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 1:264-65.

family." ʿUbayda said, "Had your uncle been alive, he would see that I deserve more to say what he said, because I will be killed in your way." The Prophet (s) said, "Which uncle of mine are you talking about?" He said, "Abū Ṭālib who said, 'By God, you lie! We will never abandon Muḥammad … We will not surrender him unless we are killed before him, and for his sake, we will leave our children and wives.'" The Prophet (s) said, "Do you not see that his son [ʿAlī (a)] is present before God and His Messenger like a roaring lion, and his other son [Jaʿfar] has migrated to the land of Abyssinia in the way of God?"[1]

Angels in Badr

One of the divine aids in the Battle of Badr was the participation of angels in the battle to support the Muslims: "Then your Lord signaled to the angels: 'I am indeed with you; so steady the faithful. I will cast terror into the hearts of the faithless. So strike their necks, and strike their every limb joint!'" (Q 8:12).

In this battle, in which the number of Muslims was much less than that of the polytheists, the presence of the angels increased the population of the Muslims in the eyes of the polytheists. On that difficult day, ʿAlī (a) was constantly worried about the Prophet (s) and in the heat of the war, he (a) would go to him and ask about his condition. This happened three times during the battle until, with God's help, the Muslims won this unequal war.[2]

Seventy Quraysh polytheists were killed in the Battle of Badr, and the same number were taken captive by the Muslims. But the number of Muslim martyrs was only fourteen, six of whom were from the Immigrants and the other eight were from the Helpers.[3] The Immigrants had a greater role in killing the enemy's troops than the Helpers, and among the Immigrants, ʿAlī (a) and his uncle Ḥamza (a) played the most important role. This incident caused Quraysh to hate ʿAlī (a) even after their conversion to Islam, and to persecute him and

[1] Zubayrī, *Kitāb Nasab Quraysh*, 94; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 1:265; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 14:80.
[2] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:275-76.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:102-3; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:118; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:183.

his family, despite the orders of the Qurʾan and the Messenger of God (s).[1]

Dividing the Spoils of War

The spoils that the Muslim army gained in this war were one hundred and fifty camels, thirty horses, and a large amount of goods, clothes, weapons, tanned skins and leather.[2] These abundant spoils of war caused discord among the Muslims. The root of the dispute was whether all the spoils would go to the warriors on the battlefield, or to those who worked behind the scenes as well. To solve this problem, the Messenger of God (s) delayed the distribution of booty. He (s) made ʿAbd Allāh b. Kaʿb, a member of the Banū al-Najjār tribe, responsible for keeping the spoils. God the Almighty revealed the following verse regarding the division of the spoils: "They ask you concerning the anfāl. Say, 'The anfāl belong to Allah and the Apostle.' So be wary of Allah and settle your differences, and obey Allah and His Apostle, should you be faithful" (Q 8:1).

On the way, the Prophet (s), without taking any share, divided the spoils among the Muslims and tried to reduce the differences between them.[3]

Treatment of the Prisoners of War

The Muslims, who had seen the most bitter persecution by the polytheists of Mecca, took their torturers captive after defeating the Quraysh invaders. Although it was very natural for Muslims to seek revenge on them in response to their inhumane behavior, the Prophet (s) prohibited them from mistreating the captives. The Muslims, on his advice, were so attentive to their captives that they even put them ahead of themselves in eating and shared their property with them.[4]

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[1] See Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:188; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 2:68, 3:121; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 4:20-21.

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:102-3; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:118; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:183.

[3] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 4:62-65.

[4] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:119; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:299-300; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:159.

By the order of the Prophet (s), any captive who knew how to write would be released in exchange for teaching ten Muslims.[1]

Marriage of ʿAlī (a) and Fāṭima (a)

To be the Prophet's son-in-law was a great honor that many of his companions sought. Among those who came to propose to Fāṭima (a) were Abū Bakr, ʿUmar[2], and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf.[3] The Prophet (s) rejected all of them until ʿAlī (a) proposed to her.

The Messenger of God (s) accepted ʿAlī (a) as his son-in-law, and thus ʿAlī (a) married Fāṭima (a) in Ramadan 2/March 624, and Fāṭima (a) moved to ʿAlī's house in Dhu l-Ḥijja/May of the same year.[4]

People who had proposed to the daughter of the Messenger of God (s) and their proposals had been rejected were upset that the Prophet (s) wedded his daughter to ʿAlī (a) and reproached him for this decision. In response to this group, the Prophet (s) said, "By God! It was not me who rejected you [and chose ʿAlī as Fāṭima's spouse], but it was God who rejected you and wedded [Fāṭima] to him."[5] He (s) is also quoted as saying, "In the event that ʿAlī had not been created, there would have been no one worthy to be Fāṭima's spouse."[6]

The Battle of Banū Qanuqāʿ

After emigrating to Medina, the Prophet (s) made a treaty with the Jews and allowed them to stay in Medina as long as they did not help anyone against the Muslims.[7] Banū Qaynuqāʿ was the first tribe to break this treaty and incite the polytheists against the Prophet (s).[8] After this breach of covenant, the Prophet (s) marched towards them

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[1] See Kattānī, *Niẓām al-ḥukūma al-nabawiyya*, 1:108-9.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 8:11; Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 6:62; Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 2:167; Khʷārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, 247; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 5:502; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:228; Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 9:204; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 43:107-8.
[3] Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 1:368; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 43:108, 140.
[4] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:411.
[5] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 43:92.
[6] Ibid., 40:77.
[7] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:501-4.
[8] See Lecker, "Qaynuqāʿ, Banū," 16:760.

in Ramadan 2/March 624. Abū Lubāba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir al-ʿAmrī remained in Medina as the Prophet's deputy.[1] The Muslims besieged Banū Qaynuqāʿ, which included 400 men[2], and they surrendered after fifteen days. They were given three days to leave Medina, and ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit was ordered to expel them.[3] The property of the Jews of Banū Qaynuqāʿ fell into the hands of the Muslims.[4] However, they took with them a number of camels that they needed to carry their wives and children.[5]

The role of the Arab allies of Banū Qaynuqāʿ in this war is remarkable. ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit and ʿAbd Allāh b. ʾUbayy were two main leaders of the Khazraj. ʿUbāda, who was a sincere Muslim, withdrew his support from Banū Qaynuqāʿ when they broke the treaty, came to the Prophet (s) and declared that he was no longer their ally.[6] ʿAbd Allāh b. ʾUbayy, the leader of the hypocrites, had a dual role in this incident; on the one hand, he incited the Jews to rebellion and remaining in their castle, and on the other hand, he refused to join them.[7] After their captivity, he asked the Prophet (s) to forgive his allies, and he insisted on this request so much that the Prophet (s) cursed him and the Jews and ordered their exile.[8] The Prophet (s) divided the spoils among the companions and took one-fifth (*khums*) of them for the first time.[9]

The Battle of Uḥud

The polytheists, who had suffered a severe defeat at the Battle of Badr, sought to restore their lost prestige and avenge the blood of their elders. They initially banned crying over the dead in Badr because they considered it a shame to weep over the dead. But shortly afterwards, to provoke public sentiment, they abandoned the decision and allowed mourning, and women mourned their dead

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:177, 2:33, 3:130.
[2] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 206.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:179.
[4] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:22.
[5] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:180.
[6] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:49.
[7] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:129.
[8] Ibid., 1:177.
[9] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:481; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 8:347.

ones. The elders of Quraysh sought to arouse the feelings of the men and prepare them to confront the Muslims and eliminate the stigma of defeat.[1] Thus, in 3/625, Quraysh prepared for war with the Prophet (s) and began to gather forces and equip their troops. On the other hand, they encouraged the Jews of Medina to violate their pact with the Prophet (s), sometimes even threatening them so that they fight him.[2]

The Quraysh Army on the Way to Uḥud

The properties of the trade caravan of Quraysh for which the Battle of Badr took place, including a thousand camels, were kept at Dār al-Nadwa. The owners of the goods agreed to take their capital, which amounted to fifty thousand dinars, and to spend the profits from the sale of the goods to fight the Muslims. The profit they received was equal to their capital, and this huge sum greatly helped to equip Quraysh to fight the Muslims. The polytheists of Mecca sent representatives to the tribes around Mecca and were able to gain the support of the tribes of Kināna and Tihāma. After the leaders of Quraysh had provided all their forces and equipment, they left for Medina.[3] Five thousand warriors were present in this all-out attack. Quraysh had brought with them fifteen women, including Hind, the wife of Abū Sufyān. The presence of these women was to strengthen the morale of men by playing and singing and to encourage the polytheists to fight and prevent them from escaping from the Muslims by reminding them of the victims of Badr. The maids brought musical instruments, and the slaves carried wine jugs.[4]

The News of the Quraysh's Measures Reaches Medina

ʿAbbās, the Prophet's uncle, sent a letter to his nephew informing him of the status and number of the Quraysh army. A man from Banū Ghifār delivered this letter to Medina within three days. The

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:197, 199; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:311; Bayḥaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 3:201.

[2] Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:358-61.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:199-200; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:28.

[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:200-4, 206; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:61-62; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:312-13.

Prophet (s) was in Qubāʾ Mosque when his uncle's letter reached him. Ubayy b. Kaʿb read the letter to him and the Prophet (s) told him to keep the story hidden.[1]

The Polytheists on the Way to Medina

When the Quraysh army reached Abwāʾ,[2] Abū Sufyān's wife suggested that they dig the tomb of the Prophet's mother and take her bones with them, as Muslims might capture the women in the Meccan army. In this case, the Prophet (s) could be forced to release the captives in exchange for his mother's bones, or if no one is captured, they could get a lot of money from him for these bones. Abū Sufyān consulted with the elders of Quraysh about this proposal and they said, "This is not a good thing to do. If we do this, Banū Bakr and Banū Khuzāʿa,[3] who are hostile to the Quraysh, will do this to us, and all our dead ones will be exhumed." [4] The Quraysh army continued on their way and camped in Dhū al- Ḥulayfa and left their camels in the farmlands of the people of Medina. Of course, before the arrival of the Quraysh, the Muslims had transferred their agricultural tools and equipment to Medina. Ḥubāb b. al-Mundhir secretly went out of Medina by the Prophet's command to evaluate the troops and equipment of the polytheists. Upon his return, as the Prophet (s) had instructed him, he reported to him in private the condition of the Meccan army. The Prophet (s) told him to hide what he knew.[5]

Consultation with the Companions

When the polytheists approached Medina, the Muslims appointed guards to protect the city, especially the Prophet's Mosque. The Prophet (s) gathered his companions to consult with them on how to deal with the enemy. The Prophet (s) first informed the Muslims of his dream. He (s) had dreamed that a cow was killed and while he (s)

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:204; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:314.

[2] A large village between Mecca and Medina.

[3] Banū Bakr and Banū Khuzāʿa were among the clans that had a pact with Banū Hāshim since the time of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's grandfather (see Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:70-72).

[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:206.

[5] Ibid., 1:206-7.

was wearing a strong armor, a slit was made in his sword. The Prophet (s) interpreted his dream as follows, "The killing of the cow is a sign that a number of my companions will be killed, and the slit of the sword indicates the killing of a man from my family, and the armor refers to the city of Medina."[1]

After expressing his dream, the Messenger of God (s) consulted with his companions. The Prophet (s) wanted to stay in Medina and confront the enemy from there, but those who were not present in Badr, as well as the passionate youths who had tasted victory in Badr, wanted to leave Medina. This group argued that "staying inside the city makes the enemy think we are scared and they will have more courage to confront us. On the other hand, the Quraysh army has left their horses and camels in our farmlands. They have ruined our sources of income and our lands. If we do not defend our honor and land now and do not drive them out, we can no longer cultivate."[2]

Since most people wanted a war outside Medina, the Messenger of God (s) accepted their decision, went home and put on a war clothes. He (s) advised his companions and then ordered the army to move to fight Quraysh and its allies. The Prophet (s) appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm as his deputy in Medina and handed over the flag of the army to ʿAlī (a), leaving for Uḥud with a thousand men.[3]

The Return of the Hypocrites

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʾUbayy, along with other hypocrites, left the Prophet (s) and returned to Medina in the middle of the road. There were three hundred of them. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʾUbayy, who had suggested staying in Medina, told his companions, "Muḥammad disobeyed me and accepted what the children said. We don't know why we have to put ourselves to death here? So, O people, return."

Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī went towards them and adjured them not to leave their tribe and Prophet alone. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʾUbayy said, "If we knew there would be a war, we would not have left you alone, but we know there would be no war."

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:63.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:212.
[3] Ibid., 1:215, Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:63-64.

Thus, the number of the Muslim army was reduced to seven-hundred. The two tribes of Banū Ḥāritha and Banū Salama hesitated after the departure of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy and wanted to return, but God removed their doubt by revealing the following verse: "When two groups among you were about to lose courage—though Allah is their guardian, and in Allah let all the faithful put their trust" (Q 3:122).

When the Messenger of God (s) reached the battlefield, he (s) led his army to the foot of Mount Uḥud. The Prophet (s) lined up the army and organized the ranks of the Muslims. He (s) commanded the Muslims to wait for the war order to be issued by him and insisted that no one should start the war before his order.

To the left of the Muslims was a mountain called Mount ʿAynayn. The Prophet (s) sent ʿAbd Allāh b. Jubayr, along with fifty archers, to a crevice in that mountain to shoot at the enemy's cavalry and prevent them from attacking the Muslim army from behind. The Prophet (s) said to them, "If you see that birds are sitting on our corpses, do not move from your place until my order reaches you; and if you see that we have defeated and subdued this people, still do not move so that I may send for you."[1]

The Beginning of the Battle

The first person to shoot at the Muslims and start the war was Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib,[2] who came forward with fifty people. They and the Muslims shot at each other for a while, but to no avail and retreated. Abū Sufyān encouraged the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār, the flag bearers of the polytheists' army, to fight and told the women to play the *daf* and to

[1] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:423; see also Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:325; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:64.

[2] Abū ʿĀmir ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Ṣayfī (d. 10/631-632) was from the Aws tribe. He abandoned idolatry and converted to Christianity, and thus he was called Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib (the Monk). Before the battle of Uḥud, Abū ʿĀmir along with some of the youths of the Aws tribe, left Medina for Mecca in order not to be influenced by the Prophet's call. He participated in battle of Uḥud on the side of the polytheists. During the war he introduced himself as Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib and tried to incite members of the Aws tribe to fight the Prophet (s), because of which the Muslims called him Abū ʿĀmir al-Fāsiq (the Impious). He died in 10/631-632 in the Levant while being a Christian (see Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:218; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 1:88-89; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:150-51; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿjam qabāʾil al-ʿArab*, 1:51).

encourage the soldiers by singing. At this time, Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa, the flag bearer of the polytheists challenged the Muslims to fight. ʿAlī (a) responded to his call and went towards him. ʿAlī (a) struck Ṭalḥa on the head with his sword in a way that his head was split open and he fell to the ground, but ʿAlī (a) returned without killing him. They said, "Why did you not finish him off?" He (a) said, "He adjured me by God and kinship. So I left him, even though I knew that God would kill him with that blow."[1]

Gradually, the war between the two groups escalated. The companions of the Messenger of God (s) attacked the polytheists and fought them so hard that their ranks disintegrated.[2] After Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa, the flag of the polytheists' army was given to ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa and then to several others, until they all were killed and the polytheists were defeated and scattered in fear. The Muslims severely attacked the polytheists, and Ḥamza (a), ʿAlī (a) and Abū Dujāna played the key role in defeating the enemy army.

Waḥshī, the slave of Abū Sufyān's wife, who was commissioned by her to kill Ḥamza (a), moved towards him and ambushed him behind a boulder. When Ḥamza (a) passed by the boulder, Waḥshī threw his spear at him. The spear hit Ḥamza (a). He turned to his assailant, but weakness overcame him and he fell to the ground.[3]

Quraysh were defeated and their army began to flee. The guards of Mount ʿAynayn shot at those fleeing, and the Muslim warriors chased them and struck them with swords. Eventually, the polytheists' camp fell to the Muslims, who took what was left of the polytheists as the spoils of war.[4] At this time, when the guards of Mount ʿAynayn saw that the Muslims were taking booty, they hesitated. They feared that the spoils would not be distributed at the end of the war and that the people would get whatever they took. As a result, they differed in staying or joining other Muslims. Eventually, many of them left their site to collect the booty and came down the

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:229; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:153; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 14:236.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:226.
[3] Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 4:201.
[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:229; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 14:239; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 2:513.

mountain. When Khālid b. al-Walīd noticed that the number of the guards of Mount ʿAynayn was decreasing, he ordered his cavalry to attack. ʿIkrama b. Abī Jahl also joined Khālid b. al-Walīd with a group and they suddenly attacked the shooters who had remained in the crevice of Mount ʿAynayn. One of the Quraysh women named ʿUmra bt. ʿAlqama al-Ḥārithiyya picked up the fallen flag of the Quraysh army and raised it. The Quraysh forces who had fled the battlefield returned when they saw the return of their warriors and the raised flag.[1] The Muslims, who considered themselves victorious, did not pay attention to the movement of the enemy and were busy collecting booty. Their ranks were disorganized and they had no connection with the army's commander. The sudden onslaught of the polytheists confused them, and everyone was trying to save his own life. One of the polytheists of Quraysh, thinking that Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr was the Prophet (s), attacked and killed him and shouted, "Muḥammad is killed!" This false news increased the power and courage of the polytheists and the Muslims fled.[2] In the meantime, only ʿAlī (a) remained steadfast and defended the Prophet (s). The Prophet (s) addressed the Muslims, saying "O servants of God! Come to me!" and called the companions by name, but they did not pay attention to his call and without looking behind, they ran to the mountain and climbed it.[3] Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, Ṭalḥa, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ and many other companions were among those who fled.[4]

The Messenger of God (s), who was left alone, looked at the escape of his companions angrily and found only ʿAlī (a) by his side. The Prophet (s) asked him why he did not run away. ʿAlī (a) replied, "Shall I disbelieve after believing?"[5]

When the Prophet (s) was left alone, the polytheists began attacking him, and ʿAlī (a) was constantly attacking back and trying to drive them away. In one of these raids, fifty cavalrymen from Banū Kināna attacked the Messenger of God (s). ʿAlī (a) attacked the riders

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:247; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 15:33; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:431.
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:77-78.
[3] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:237.
[4] See Murtaḍā al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sīrat al-Nabī al-aʿẓam*, 7:173-87.
[5] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:110; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 82; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:95, 107.

and scattered them. When they gathered again and attacked, he (a) killed ten of them and the rest fled. At the same time, Gabriel said to the Prophet (s), "O Muḥammad! This is true help. The angels were amazed at the help of this hero." The Prophet (s) said, "What can prevent him from helping me while he is from me and I am from him?" Gabriel said, "And I am from you."[1]

ʿAlī (a) was so steadfast in defending the Prophet (s) that his whole body was filled with wounds and injuries. The Messenger of God (s) touched the wounds of ʿAlī (a) and healed him as if he (a) had not been wounded at all.[2]

Muslims gradually joined the Messenger of God (s) and he (s) encouraged them to fight. In spite of their small number, they fought the polytheists with great courage. In the Battle of Uḥud, seventy Muslims, most of them were from the Helpers, were martyred. Also, about seventy companions of the Prophet (s) were injured.[3] In contrast, the number of the Quraysh polytheists who were killed was reportedly eighteen to twenty-eight.[4]

The Battle of Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad

Two days after the Battle of Uḥud, the Messenger of God (s) moved by the command of God to pursue the Quraysh army. He (s) ordered his companions to move towards Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad, which was less than 20 kilometers away from Medina. Obeying this order of the Prophet (s) was not easy for the Muslims as they were tired of the Battle of Uḥud. In this regard, the Qurʾan states, "Do not weaken or grieve: you shall have the upper hand, should you be faithful" (Q 3:139).[5]

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[1] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:293, 14:250-51. For Gabriel's words see Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 1:116; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:197; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:110; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:84, 87; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 193; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:154; Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 6:114; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:54, 95, 102, 105, 107; Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 2:59-61.

[2] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 2:119-20; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 2:509; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:23.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:300; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:446; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:255.

[4] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:313-14; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 15:40, 54.

[5] See Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 2:509, 539; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:22, 39.

Gabriel also informed the Prophet (s) from God that no one will accompany you except those who were wounded in the Battle of Uḥud. The Prophet (s) ordered the wounded to mobilize to pursue the polytheists.[1] The Prophet (s) appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm as his representative in Medina and gave the flag to ʿAlī (a) and moved with the wounded companions.[2]

The Quraysh army had encamped in Rawḥāʾ, about 80 kilometers from Medina, and were upset that the Prophet (s) had not been killed in the battle. One group believed that they should return to Medina and finish Islam off, and another group said, "Muslims are angry with their defeat, and if the forces that were not present in Uḥud join them, they can defeat us, while now we are victorious."

Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī, who, despite being a polytheist, was benevolent to the Muslims, met Abū Sufyān and his companions on his way from Mecca to Medina and said to them, "All those who were not present in Uḥud regretted what they had done and have joined Muḥammad, and he is now pursuing you with an army the like of which I have never seen, and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is moving ahead of the army." The polytheists were terrified of this news and hurried to Mecca. The Prophet (s) was informed of the escape of the polytheists and returned to Medina after staying in Ḥamrāʾ al-Asad for three days.[3]

The Battle of Banū al-Naḍīr

After the emigration of the Prophet (s) to Medina, the Jewish tribe Banū al-Naḍīr made a peace treaty with the Muslims.[4] However, in 4/625, Banū al-Naḍīr violated their treaty.[5] Already urged by Quraysh to violate their treaty,[6] they conspired to murder the Prophet (s).[7] The Prophet (s) was informed by God about the conspiracy and gave them a deadline of ten days to leave Medina with all their

[1] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 1:125; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:64.
[2] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:334-40; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:37-38; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:338-39.
[3] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 86; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:447; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:99.
[4] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:501-4.
[5] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:57.
[6] Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:358-59.
[7] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:190.

movable property, except their military equipment, and only come back annually to harvest their date groves.[1]

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʾUbayy, the head of Medina's hypocrites, encouraged Banū al-Naḍīr to disobey the Prophet (s), promising to defend them together with Banū Qurayẓa.[2] The Prophet (s) appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm as his representative in Medina and sieged Banū al-Naḍīr with an army under the commandership of ʿAlī (a)[3] for six nights.[4] During the siege, a Jewish person called ʿAzwak attempted to kill the Prophet (s) but he was killed by ʿAlī (a).[5]

Finally, the Jews surrendered and accepted to leave Medina with only one load of a camel.[6] Some of them went to Khaybar, and others migrated to the Levant.[7]

The Battle of Aḥzāb (Parties) or Khandaq (Trench)

In 5/626, a number of the Jews of Banū al-Naḍīr went to Mecca and encouraged the polytheists to fight the Prophet (s).[8] They went to Abū Sufyān and told him what had happened to them and asked him for help. Abū Sufyān said to them, "We will help you. Go to Quraysh and invite them to war and prove your support for them so that we can bring Muḥammad to his knees." The Jews went to the leaders of Quraysh and called them to war with the Prophet (s). In addition to the Quraysh, the Jews went to other Arab tribes and attracted their attention by promising them property and booty.[9] As a result, the Quraysh, together with other tribes, formed an army of 4,700 men and moved to fight the Muslims under the command of Abū Sufyān.[10]

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:369.
[2] Ibid., 1:368; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:553.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:371; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 3:199-200.
[4] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:191.
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:371.
[6] Ibid., 1:372; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:49; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:266.
[7] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:75-76, 196-98; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:122; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:84, 207.
[8] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:215; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:564.
[9] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:94-95; see also Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:441-43; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:409.
[10] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:443.

War Council in Medina

A group of riders from the Khuzāʿa tribe[1] brought the news of the movement of the polytheists' army toward Medina. After hearing this news, the Prophet (s) went among the Muslims and informed them of the incident and consulted with them about what should be done.

The Muslims had different views on how to confront the Meccan army. Some people said that they should go out of Medina to fight. In the meantime, Salmān said, "O Messenger of God! In Persia, whenever we were afraid of the enemy's cavalry, we would dig a trench around ourselves. Do you think it is appropriate for us to use this war tactic now?" Salmān's proposal was accepted by the Muslims, especially since they knew that the Prophet (s) wanted the Muslims to stay in Medina and not to leave the city even in the battle of Uḥud.

After this decision, the Messenger of God (s) and some of his companions set off on horseback to evaluate the situation in the city and how to dig the trench. He (s) ordered the Muslims to start digging the trench from the area of al-Madhād[2] and continue until Dhubāb[3] and Rātij[4] so that Mount Salʿ[5], which was a famous mountain near the market of Medina, was behind the Muslims.[6]

The Prophet (s) actively participated in digging the trench.[7] His presence and the hardship he (s) endured along with other Muslims encouraged the Muslims more to get the job done. The Prophet (s) sometimes dug the ground with a shovel or pickaxe and sometimes moved the collected soil.[8] The companions said, "O Messenger of

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[1] Khuzāʿa was an Arab tribe that ruled Mecca before the Quraysh. In the time of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Messenger of God (s), they made a pact of help with Banū Hāshim (Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:70-72).

[2] A plain between Mount Salʿ in the northwest of the Prophet's Mosque and the trench dug by the Prophet (s).

[3] A mountain next to Mount Salʿ, north of the Prophet's Mosque.

[4] A castle north of the Prophet's Mosque.

[5] A mountain northwest of the Prophet's Mosque.

[6] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:444; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:219, 221; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:311.

[7] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:445; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 3:226.

[8] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:449; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:221; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 4:516.

Allah! We work instead of you", but he (s) replied, "I want to share in the reward with you."[1]

One of the Companions reports that, "One day I saw the Prophet (s) sitting from exhaustion and leaning on a stone on the edge of the trench. Meanwhile he fell asleep. I saw Abū Bakr and ʿUmar standing above him and preventing people from approaching, so that he (s) would not wake up. As soon as I approached him, he (s) woke up, and said, "Why did you not wake me up?" Then he (s) picked up the pickaxe and while digging, he said, "O God! The real life is the life of the Hereafter. O God! Have mercy on the Helpers and the Immigrants."

Finally, after great efforts, the Prophet (s) and the Muslims completed digging the trench before the arrival of the Meccan army.[2]

Mobilizing the Forces

In Dhū al-Qaʿda 5/April 627, the Prophet (s) called the Muslims to fight the polytheists and went out himself to determine a place for the Muslim camp,[3] and before that he (s) appointed ʿAbd Allāh b. Umm Maktūm as his representative in Medina.[4] At the top of Mount Salʿ, where al-Fatḥ Mosque is located, a tent of red leather was erected.[5]

The Prophet (s) set up ten crossings for the trench and appointed a man from each tribe to guard the gates and appointed al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwam as their commander and told him to fight if a battle occurs.[6] Fearing possible betrayal by Banū Qurayẓa, the Messenger of God (s) appointed guards inside the city of Medina to protect women and children.[7] Like other battles, the flag of the Messenger of God (s) was in the hands of ʿAlī (a).[8]

The polytheists, with the presence of more than ten thousand warriors, had launched a huge army. There were three-hundred

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[1] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 4:1207.
[2] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:50.
[3] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:343.
[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:441; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:220.
[5] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:481.
[6] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:450-52; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:50.
[7] Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:88; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:225; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:483.
[8] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 190.

horses and fourteen-hundred camels in this army.[1] The polytheists raised their flag in Dār al-Nadwa, and ʿUthmān b. Abī Ṭalḥa carried it, and the army was led by Abū Sufyān.[2]

When the polytheists reached Medina, they were surprised to see the trench and could not advance and enter the city.[3] Inevitably, the city of Medina was besieged by the polytheists, which took about fifteen to thirty days.[4]

Scattered Conflicts

Abū Sufyān, Khālid b. al-Walīd, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, Hubayra b. Abī Wahb, ʿIkrama b. Abī Jahl, and Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb were six leaders of the army who, in turn, occasionally attacked the Muslims with their cavalry.[5]

The trench was a major obstacle for the Quraysh warriors and practically deprived them of the opportunity to face and fight the Muslims. Of course, sometimes the two fronts threw stones and arrows at each other, and most of the days, the situation was the same.[6]

The polytheists used to bring their shooters forward in their attacks. Their famous shooters were Ḥibbān b. al-ʿArqa and Abū Usāma al-Jushamī. One day, this group shot the tent of the Prophet (s) in order to kill him. However, he (s) was standing outside the tent on horseback while wearing his armor. One of the arrows of Ḥibbān b. al-ʿArqa hit the hand of Saʿd b. Muʿādh.[7]

Crossing the Trench

The next day, the Quraysh leaders decided to attack the Muslims in groups. They sought to cross a narrower part of the ditch to attack the Prophet (s) and his companions on horseback. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wadd

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[1] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 216.
[2] Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:56; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:218; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:480; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:311.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:470; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:50; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:98; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 2:224.
[4] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:419; 2:440, 468, 491; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:185.
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:468; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:97.
[6] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:484.
[7] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:468-69; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:227.

hastily jumped with his horse from the narrow part of the ditch and stood in a place between the trench and Mount Salʿ.[1] ʿIkrama b. Abī Jahl, Nawfil b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Makhzūmī, Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Fihrī, and Hubayra b. Abī Wahb also crossed the trench and the others remained on the other side.[2]

The Challenge of ʿAmr and the Response of ʿAlī (a)

ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wadd was one of the prominent and courageous figures of Quraysh in warfare.[3] He was called the Warrior of Yalyal, since he, along with several Quraysh cavalrymen, had encountered a group from the Banū Bakr tribe in the Yalyal Plain near Badr, and had been able to defeat them alone without the help of his companions.[4] He and his companions rode their horses. The Muslims watched the scene and no one dared to confront them. ʿAmr challenged the Muslims to fight. The Muslims, who had lined up in front of the Messenger of God (s) now went behind him.[5] ʿAmr kept challenging the Muslims but no one, except ʿAlī (a), accepted his challenge. The Prophet (s) ordered ʿAlī (a) to sit to see if anyone else could meet the challenge, but no one responded. ʿAmr said, "Do you not think that your slain ones will be in Paradise and our slain ones will be in Hell? Would any of you not like to go to Paradise or send his enemy to Hell?" Again, no one got up. ʿAlī (a) stood up for the second time and said, "O Messenger of God! I will fight him." Again, the Prophet (s) ordered him to sit down. ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wadd kept riding his horse and going back and forth. The leaders of the polytheists stood on the other side of the trench and watched. When no one responded, ʿAmr while bragging, chanted, "I kept saying, 'Are there any rivals?' until my voice became hoarse..." The Messenger of God (s) said to his companions, "Which of you will go to fight ʿAmr so that I can guarantee him Paradise?" None of them

[1] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:198.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:470; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:224; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:202, 253.
[3] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 14:237; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:202.
[4] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3:135; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:202, 41:88.
[5] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:182-83.

answered for fear of ʿAmr's greatness and valour.[1] ʿAlī (a) got up for the third time, and finally the Prophet (s) called ʿAlī (a), kissed him, and put his turban on his head. The Prophet (s) gave him his sword Dhu l-Fiqār and accompanied him for few steps and waited for the result of the battle. As soon as ʿAlī (a) went to the battlefield, the Prophet (s) raised his hands and began to pray, "O God! Help ʿAlī against him!"[2]

Confrontation of Islam and Polytheism

When ʿAlī (a) went to fight ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wadd, the Messenger of God (s) said, "The entirety of Islam has confronted the entirety of polytheism."[3] ʿAlī (a) walked towards ʿAmr while the latter was riding his horse and mocking him. ʿAlī (a) kept approaching him[4] while Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī was with him to see the scene.[5] ʿAlī (a) quickly reached ʿAmr and answered his battle cry: "Do not rush, since the extinguisher of your cry has come, with iron determination and complete insight." ʿAmr, who did not believe that anyone would come to fight him, asked in surprise, "Who are you?" ʿAlī (a) said, "I am ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib." ʿAmr said, "O nephew! It is better that your uncles, who are older than you, come to fight me, because I do not like to shed your blood!" ʿAlī (a) replied, "But, by God, I do not hesitate to shed your blood."[6] ʿAmr b. ʿAbd Wadd became angry and attacked ʿAlī (a). ʿAlī (a) said to him, "In the era of ignorance, you had promised that whoever asks you for three things, you will accept at least one of them." ʿAmr said, "That is true." ʿAlī (a) said, "So accept one of my suggestions; first, bear witness to the oneness of God the Almighty and the prophethood of the Prophet (s) and submit to the Lord of the worlds!" ʿAmr said, "O nephew! Do

[1] Karājakī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:297.

[2] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:470-71; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:181-85; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:100-1; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 194-95; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3:135; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 19:63-64; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:61; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:203, 205, 225-28, 254-56.

[3] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:261, 285, 19:61; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 194; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:205, 273.

[4] Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:232.

[5] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 194; Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 1:204.

[6] See Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 3:438-39; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3:135-36; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:261.

not say this and make another request!" ʿAlī (a) said, "Return from the way you came and refrain from fighting the Muslims!" ʿAmr said, "This is not possible either. The Quraysh women will always say that ʿAmr fled for fear of war." ʿAlī (a) said, "My third suggestion is to fight!" ʿAmr laughed and said, "I did not think any Arab would dare to invite me to fight." He said this and dismounted. Then he hamstrung his horse and attacked ʿAlī (a) and struck him on the head with his sword. The blow was so severe that it tore ʿAlī's shield and wounded him in the front of the head. At the same, ʿAlī (a) struck ʿAmr on the neck with his sword from behind and killed him and then recited *takbīr*.[1]

Prayer of the Prophet (s)

During the siege, the Messenger of God (s) used to go to al-Fatḥ (al-Aḥzāb) Mosque on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays. On the last day of the siege, he (s) stood among the people at noon and said, "O People! Ask God for well-being and do not wish to face the enemy, but if you faced the enemy, be patient and know that Heaven is under the shadow of swords."[2] Then he said, "O God who sent the Book! O God who reckons His servants in the shortest time! Defeat the parties (*Aḥzāb*)!"[3] Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī says, "We saw the lightning of joy in the face of the Messenger of God (s)."[4]

The prolongation of the siege caused divisions in the Quraysh army.[5] On the other hand, the shortage of fodder and food[6] weakened the polytheists. Therefore, when there was a storm that day and a strong wind blew away the polytheists' tents, their armies fled in such a way that no one paid attention to the other.[7]

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[1] For more details about this battle, see Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:470-71; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:181-85; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:100-2; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 194-95; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3:139; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 19:46, 63; Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 1:203-4; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:319.

[2] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 4:540; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:323.

[3] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:22; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:143; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:198.

[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:487; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:233; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 100.

[5] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:480-82; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:230-31.

[6] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:444.

[7] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 4:545; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:326; see also Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 8:339; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:192.

Before returning to Mecca, Abū Sufyān wrote a letter to the Messenger of God (s) which reads in part: "I came to you with my allies to uproot you, but I saw that you do not like to fight with us and have dug ditches and trenches. Although we go back now, know that we will devise another day for you like Uḥud when women will rend their garments out of mourning." Abū Sufyān sent his letter with Abū Salama al-Jushamī. Receiving the letter, the Prophet (s) called Ubayy b. Kaʿb to his tent. He read the letter of Abū Sufyān to the Prophet (s). In response to Abū Sufyān, he (s) ordered Ubayy b. Kaʿb to write:

From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God, to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb. You have been arrogant before God for a long time. You wrote that you came to us with your allies and you did not intend to return but after eradicating us. Know that God does not allow you to achieve this goal. He will figure out a good end for us so that you can no longer mention al-Lāt and al-ʿUzzā. The day will come when no one will be with you. There will come to you a day when I will break [the idols] al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, ʾIsāf, Nāʾila, and Hubal so that I may remind you of today.[1]

The Quraysh army fled with utmost humiliation. Abū Sufyān hurriedly rode his camel and, without untying its hobble, struck it to move. ʿIkrama b. Abī Jahl called Abū Sufyān and said to him, "As a leader of people, do you run away like this and leave the people alone?" Embarrassed, Abū Sufyān dismounted and, as he was pulling the bridle of the camel, ordered the army to move. The army marched and Abū Sufyān waited until most of them left. Then he said to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, "You and I have to stay here with a group of cavalrymen in front of Muḥammad and his companions, because we are not safe from being chased by them." ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Khālid b. al-Walīd remained with two hundred cavalrymen, and all others left. They stayed until dawn and then set out and reached the polytheists' army in the area of Malal at noon. When the Ghaṭafān tribe separated from the army, the polytheists did not separate from each other for fear of being chased by the Muslims until they reached the area of al-Mirāḍ

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:492-93; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:344; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:240.

(30 km away from Medina) and then each group rushed to their homeland.[1] In this war, a small number of Muslims were killed, despite the large number of polytheists. The martyrs of this war were between four to six people,[2] all of them from the Helpers. The dead of the polytheists are also mentioned to have been between three to eight people.[3]

Return to Medina

In the morning, when the Muslims woke up, no one was left from the enemy's army, as they all had fled. The Messenger of God (s) prayed the morning prayer with the people and ordered that no one should move until sunrise. However, when the sun rose, all but a few Muslims were gone. The Messenger of God (s) returned with the companions who had remained with him.[4] The Prophet (s) allowed Muslims to go to their homes. Many of the Muslims rejoiced as soon as they heard this leave, left the battlefield, and hurried to their homes. The Prophet (s) did not want the Banū Qurayẓa to see the happiness of the Muslims for returning home, so he (s) sent people after them to return, but not a single person returned.[5] The Messenger of God (s) returned to Medina on the 23rd of Dhū al-Qaʿda.[6]

The Conflict with Banū Qurayẓa

Banū Qurayẓa, a Jewish tribe, broke their pact with the Muslims when the latter were attacked by the polytheists of Mecca and their allies in 5/627. As mentioned before, the Jews of Banū al-Naḍīr had gone to Quraysh to incite them to fight Muslims. In this meeting, Ḥuyayy b. Akhṭab, one of the leaders of Banū al-Naḍīr, promised Abū Sufyān the cooperation of Banū Qurayẓa and pointed out that they have a large number of soldiers.[7] Before the Battle of Aḥzāb, he went

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:490; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:66; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:239.
[2] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:304; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:492.
[3] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:50.
[4] Rāwandī, *al-Kharāʾij wa al-jarāiʾḥ*, 1:158; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:248.
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:491; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 4:550.
[6] Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:66; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:492; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 2:328.
[7] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:454.

to Kaʿb b. al-Asad, the head of Banū Qurayẓa, and asked him for help. At first, Kaʿb refused to accept, but finally, by tearing their covenant with the Messenger of God (s), he announced to the other members of the tribe that the treaty has come to an end.[1]

Informed of their violation of the covenant, the Prophet (s) sent Saʿd b. Muʿādh to dissuade them from violating the covenant, but they responded with arrogance and bad words.[2] These events, which took place before the Battle of Aḥzāb, had caused concern for the Prophet (s) and the Muslims.

Banū Qurayẓa broke their pact in the worst of circumstances. Had the pagans won the Battle of the Trench, they would have destroyed the Muslims with their help. That is why Banū Qurayẓa had to face the consequences of breaking their pact.

After the defeat of the polytheists and the return of the Muslims to Medina, God, through the angel of revelation, commanded the Prophet (s), who was at (s) was at the house of Lady Fāṭima (a), [3] to march towards Banū Qurayẓa. He (s) called ʿAlī (a) and sent him to Banū Qurayẓa with some Muslims and ordered them to perform the noon prayer in that area.[4] The Messenger of God (s) rode on his horse ʿUfayr and moved towards Banū Qurayẓa and stopped near their well and the people gradually joined him. The Muslims arrived in scattered groups; some of them arrived after the evening prayer, and some joined the Prophet's army while not performing the noon and afternoon prayers. Meeting the Jews of Banū Qurayẓa, the Prophet (s) first invited them to Islam, but they did not accept. After that, the Muslims laid siege to Banū Qurayẓa, which reportedly lasted between ten to thirty days.[5]

After this time, Banū Qurayẓa proposed the arbitration of Saʿd b. Muʿādh, who reportedly sentenced the Quraẓī men to execution and their women and children to captivity. The Muslims kept the Jewish captives in the house of Usāma b. Zayd, and their weapons and

[1] Ibid., 2:454-57; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:220-21; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:51.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:458-59.
[3] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 92-93; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:493.
[4] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:57.
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:496.

properties in the house of Bint Ḥārith. The spoils of Banū Qurayẓa were distributed among the Muslims after one-fifth (*khums*) of them was deducted. The cavalry's share of the spoils was twice the infantry's share. With the proceeds from the sale of booty, horses and weapons were bought and distributed among the people.[1] Although the reports about this event is mentioned in many sources, contemporary scholars have raised doubts about their authenticity or details.[2]

After these events, Saʿd b. Muʿādh was martyred due to the wounds he received in the Battle of Aḥzāb. The Prophet (s) was very saddened by his death and the companions wept over him and Ḥassān b. Thābit composed a poem in his praise.[3]

Peace Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya

In 6/628, one night the Prophet (s) dreamed that he (s) and his companions had entered Mecca in complete safety with shaved heads.[4] In his dream, he (s) entered the Kaaba, took the key to the house of God, performed *ʿumra* and stayed in the land of ʿArafāt.[5] When the Prophet (s) narrated this dream to his companions, they were very happy and thought that they would enter Mecca that year. The Prophet (s) informed them that they would go to Mecca to perform *ʿumra*, so they prepared for the journey. He (s) also called the Arabs and the nomads, including the tribes of Ghifār, Juhayna, Muzayna and Aslam, to *ʿumra*.

The Prophet (s) left his house and rode his camel after making major ablution (*ghusl*) in his house and wearing *iḥrām* clothing. Then he (s) and most of those who were with him became *muḥrim* after

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:521-25; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 3:194; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:57-58; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:52-53.

[2] See Arafat, "New Light on the Story of Banū Qurayẓa and the Jew of Medina"; Shahīdī, *Tārīkhi tahlīlī Islām*, 88-90; Zargarīnijād, *Tārīkh ṣadr Islām*, 460-62; Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers*, 73; Salahi, *Muhammad: His Character and Conduct*, 247-56; Cole, *Muhammad: Prophet of Peace*, 123.

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:269-70.

[4] Shaving the head or cutting the hair (*taqṣīr*) are among the rituals of hajj.

[5] Mujāhid b. Jubayr, *Tafsīr*, 608; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:33.

performing two units of prayer in the mosque of Dhū al-Ḥulayfa,[1] although some of the companions became *Muḥrim* in al-Juḥfa.

After the prayer, the Prophet (s) rode his camel in front of the mosque and moved towards Mecca while facing the qibla. His departure was in Dhū al-Qaʿda and, according to some narrations, in the month of Ramaḍān.

The Prophet (s) took seventy camels for sacrifice. After performing the noon prayer in Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, he (s) marked some of the camels and then ordered Nājiya b. Jundab to mark the rest of the camels. The Muslims, numbering between 700 and 1,400, marked their camels as well. The caravan, which also had two-hundred horses, continued to move until it reached ʿUsfān.[2] The Messenger of God (s) chose a deputy for the days he (s) was not in Medina. According to historical reports, he was one of these four people: Ibn Umm Maktūm, Abū Ruhm, Kulthūm b. al-Huṣayn, or Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī. According to some, Ibn Umm Maktūm was the leader of the prayer and Abū Ruhm was the governor of Medina.[3]

The Presence of the Hypocrites in Ḥudaybiyya

Many hypocrites did not see it as expedient to travel with the Prophet (s), because they could foresee that the polytheists would not allow the Prophet (s) to enter Mecca, and there would inevitably be a war between the polytheists and the Muslims. In order to flee from the possible war, they started making false excuses, including working, financial and family problems. However, some hypocrites went on this journey with the Prophet (s). This presence was due to their connection with the polytheists of Mecca and the security that resulted from this connection if the polytheists won the possible war. Also, not attending this journey would cause them to lose their

[1] Dhū al-Ḥulayfa or Shajara Mosque is located eight km southwest of the Prophet's Mosque on the way to Mecca. One of the names of this region is Ābār ʿAlī (the wells of ʿAlī). These wells were dug by Imam ʿAlī (a) for the use of pilgrims to the House of God (See Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, 78; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 3:1002-4).

[2] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:517; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:280; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:72. ʿUsfan is a region between Juḥfa and Mecca (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:121).

[3] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:33; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:9.

position with the Messenger of God (s) and endanger their social conditions among Muslims.

The Muslims did not carry weapons except the swords usually carried by the travelers. ʿUmar said to the Messenger of God (s), "Are you not worried about the enmity of Abū Sufyān and his companions that you do not carry weapons with you?" The Prophet (s) replied, "I do not like to carry a weapon with me when I go to perform *ʿumra*."[1]

When the polytheists heard the news of the Prophet's departure to Mecca, they gathered for consultation. The polytheists said, "How has Muḥammad planned to come to Mecca with his companions, while the Arabs know about the war between us and him? By God, this disgrace will not happen as long as we are alive."[2]

The polytheists sent Khālid b. al-Walīd, along with 200 warriors, the Ḥabashīs,[3] their allies from Thaqīf, women, and children to the area of Baldaḥ.[4] To prevent the Prophet (s) from entering Mecca, they settled in this area and placed guards and spies on the mountains of the area to inform them of all the movements of the Muslims.

On the other hand, Bishr b. Sufyān, who was responsible for watching the movements of the Quraysh, met the Prophet (s) in the area of ʿUsfān, near the Ashṭāṭ pond, and said, "O Messenger of God! The Quraysh have come to know about your journey and gathered all their forces to prevent you from entering Mecca and settled in the area of Dhū Ṭuwā.[5] Also Khālid b. al-Walīd has camped with his fighters in Kurāʿ al-Ghamīm."[6] With an intention of avoiding conflict

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:573.

[2] After the story of Abraha, Mecca gained special respect among the Arabs, and they considered bloodshed in this region to be ominous. The arrival of the Prophet (s) and his companions in Mecca to perform *ʿumra* was very disgraceful for the Quraysh, because despite their enmity with the Prophet (s), they could not confront him due to the sanctity of Mecca. On the other hand, not reacting to the presence of the Prophet (s) could be interpreted as a sign of Quraysh's weakness. For this reason, Khālid b. al-Walīd was commissioned to go out of Mecca to stop the Muslims from approaching Mecca.

[3] The Ḥabashīs were people from Banū Khuzayma, Banū Ḥārith b. ʿAbd Manāf and Banū al-Muṣṭalaq. They became known by this name because they made a pact at the foot of a mountain called Ḥabashī.

[4] A valley north of Mecca, located on the west side of the road from Medina to Mecca (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 1:480).

[5] An area north of the Holy Mosque (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:45).

[6] An area between Medina and Mecca, which also includes Baldaḥ (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:214).

with the Quraysh, the Prophet (s) said, "Who will guide us to a path wherein they are not?"[1]

Prayer of Fear (*Ṣalāt al-Khawf*)

When the Messenger of God (s) approached Mecca, Khālid b. al-Walīd and his troops did not permit the Muslims to move forward. The Prophet (s) ordered ʿAbbād b. Bishr to line up the Muslims against them and he did so. When it was the time for the noon prayer, the Muslims stood behind the Prophet (s) facing the polytheists' army. After the congregational prayer, Khālid b. al-Walīd said, "We missed a good opportunity as we could have attacked them and caused them many casualties, but they have another prayer that is dearer to them than themselves and their families!" At this time, Gabriel revealed the following verse to the Prophet (s):

> "When you are among them, leading them in prayers, let a group of them stand with you, carrying their weapons. And when they have done the prostrations, let them withdraw to the rear, then let the other group which has not prayed come and pray with you, taking their precautions and [bearing] their weapons. The faithless are eager that you should be oblivious of your weapons and your baggage, so that they could assault you all at once. But there is no sin upon you, if you are troubled by rain or are sick, to set aside your weapons; but take your precautions. Indeed Allah has prepared for the faithless a humiliating punishment." (Q 4:102)

Then it was time for the afternoon prayer and the Prophet (s) performed the *prayer of fear* with the Muslims.[2]

Ḥudaybiyya

The Prophet (s) decided to bypass Khālid b. al-Walīd's troops in the dark of night. Hence, some men of Banū guided the Muslims to

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:309; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:115; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:189.

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:582-83; Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 2:505; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4:59-60; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:310; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:348, 83:110.

Ḥudaybiyya through a difficult-to-pass and mountainous road. They were able to reach Ḥudaybiyya that night.[1]

When the Messenger of God (s) and his companions settled in the region of Ḥudaybiyya, Budayl b. Warqāʾ came to the Prophet (s) with a group of Khuzāʿa and Tihāma who were trusted by the Prophet (s). Budayl said to the Prophet (s), "We have come on behalf of the descendants of your ancestors. They have camped with all their might near the wells of Ḥudaybiyya and swore that they would prevent you from entering Mecca as long as they are alive." The Prophet (s) said, "We have not come for war, but we have come to circumambulate the House, and whoever hinders us, we will remove him from the way. The Quraysh have been harmed by the war and their reputation has been tarnished. If they want, we will give them security while we are in Mecca so that they remain safe, and instead, they must not stand between us and other people."

Budayl conveyed the Prophet's message to the polytheists and then said, "You have miscalculation about Muḥammad; he has not come to you for war, but to perform *ʿumra*." ʿUrwa b. Masʿūd al-Thaqafī welcomed the Prophet's suggestion and said, "Send me to Muḥammad to examine his suggestion and see those who have come with him and bring you the news."

The Quraysh sent ʿUrwa to the Apostle of God (s). He went to the Prophet (s) and said, "O Muḥammad! The Quraysh, with all their might and with the help of the Ḥabashīs under their command, have prepared the clans of Kaʿb b. Luʾayy and ʿĀmir b. Luʾayy for war and swore not to let you enter Mecca. You have only two destinies ahead of you: either [with the help of your Companions] you attack your own people, which is unprecedented among Arabs, or those who are with you will betray you and leave you alone."

The response of the Prophet (s) to ʿUrwa was the same as his answer to Budayl b. Warqāʾ. He offered to give security to the Quraysh for a limited time. ʿUrwa returned to the Quraysh and said, "O people! I have visited many kings and seen the courts of Khosrow, Caesar and Negus. I swear by God, I have never seen a king like

[1] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:583-87; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:309-10.

Muḥammad whose people obey him so much. By God, I did not see a king that was as great to his people as Muḥammad, while he is not a king. If he speaks, everyone will be silent and no one will speak unless Muḥammad allows him. If he gives orders to his companions, they will try their best to obey him. He has given you a wise offer and you must accept it! I have warned them, but if you draw your swords on them, they will draw their swords. It does not matter to them what happens. If you prevent Muḥammad from entering Mecca, they will defend their master until the last breath."

The Quraysh said, "How do you utter such words?! We will prevent him this year and allow him to enter Mecca next year." ʿUrwa said, "I see you in a big trouble." Then he went to al-Ṭāʾif with his companions. Al-Ḥulays b. ʿAlqama al-Kinānī, one of the Ḥabashī chiefs, stood up and said, "Let me go to him!" They said, "Go!" When he approached the Muslims, the Prophet (s) said, "He is from a people who honor the sacrifice. Leave the sacrifices (camels) in his path!" When he saw the sacrifices and was greeted by a crowd that had been *muḥrim* for more than fifteen days with dust on their faces, al-Ḥulays shouted and said, "Glory be to God! They should not be forbidden from circumambulating the Kaaba. God has allowed all tribes to perform hajj, so how can the son of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib be forbidden from circumambulation?! They should not be barred from entering Mecca. By the God of the Kaaba, the Quraysh will perish by doing this. These are just a group that intend to perform ʿ*umra*." The Messenger of God (s) said, "It is true, O brother from Banū Kināna!"

Al-Ḥulays returned to the Quraysh and narrated the story and said, "I swear by God, we have not made a covenant with you to prevent the entry of someone who honors the Kaaba and fulfils its right and carries a sacrifice with him. I swear by the One in whose hand is my soul, either you open the way for him or I will leave you with all the Ḥabashīs under my command." The Quraysh said, "Sit down! You are an ignorant Bedouin! Whatever you saw was a trick by Muḥammad. Let us get what we want from him!"

Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ stood up and said, "Let me go to him!" In a meeting with Mikraz, the Prophet (s) repeated what he had said to

Budayl and ʿUrwa. He also returned to the Quraysh and told them the answer of the Prophet (s).[1]

Fearing the attack of Quraysh, the Messenger of God (s) ordered three Muslims to take turns guarding the camp. These three people were Aws b. Khawlī, ʿAbbād b. Bishr, and Muḥammad b. Maslama. One night, when Muḥammad b. Maslama was the guardian, the Quraysh leaders sent a group of forty or fifty men led by Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ to attack the Muslims at night, but Muḥammad b. Maslama arrested them and brought them to the Prophet (s), except Mikraz who managed to escape.[2] When the polytheists heard of the capture of their forces by Muḥammad b. Maslama, they sent another group to the camp of the Prophet (s). They clashed with the Muslims and twelve of them were taken captives. In this incident, one of the Muslims named B. Zunaym was killed.[3]

After that, Suhayl b. ʿAmr, Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā, and Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ came to the Prophet (s) on behalf of Quraysh. When the Prophet (s) saw Suhayl [whose name implies ease and comfort], he (s) considered his coming a good omen[4]. Suhayl said, "O Muḥammad! The clashes were not ordered by the elders and the wise men of Quraysh. They did not know about this incident and were not satisfied with it. Release those who were captured in these two clashes!" The Messenger of God (s) said, "I will not release your companions until you release the Muslims you have captured." The Prophet (s) meant some Muslims who, during this period, had secretly gone to Mecca and were arrested.[5] Suhayl conveyed this message to Quraysh and they released the Muslims, and then the Prophet (s) also released their captives.

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:539-600; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:311-12. For more information on the conversations between the Prophet and the polytheists, see Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:73-74; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:323; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:116; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:190; Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 6:76-78; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:43-6; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:13-16.

[2] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4:324; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:47.

[3] See Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:278; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:48, 55.

[4] See Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:337; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 8:510; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:174.

[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:603-4; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:48.

Before the released Muslims arrived, the Prophet (s) was informed that they had been killed. When this news reached him, he (s) called the Muslims to pledge their allegiance to him.[1] The Prophet (s) went to the residence of Banū Māzin b. al-Najjār near Ḥudaybiyya and sat in the shade of a green tree. Then he said, "God the Almighty has commanded me to receive your allegiance." The people rushed to pledge their allegiance to the Prophet (s) under that tree, so much so that properties of Banū Māzin were about to be trampled underfoot.[2] Sinān b. Abī Sinān was the first person who pledged his allegiance to the Prophet (s).[3] At this time, it became clear that the news of the Muslim captives being killed was not true, and they joined the Muslim camp.[4]

The Text of the Peace Treaty

After the exchange of captives, the freed polytheists recounted what they had seen in the Muslims' allegiance to the Prophet (s) and informed the Quraysh leaders of the great readiness of the Muslims for battle and their great desire to obey the Prophet (s). The polytheists were worried when they heard this news and decided to make peace with the Prophet (s) on the condition that he (s) return to Medina and come to Mecca for three days next year and perform circumambulation and sacrifice without any contact with the polytheists. In this way, they would both prevent the Prophet (s) from entering Mecca and avoid any clash with the Muslims. The polytheists sent Suhayl b. ʿAmr, Ḥuwayṭib, and Mikraz to negotiate with the Prophet (s). When he (s) saw Suhayl, he (s) said, "These people are seeking peace, and that is why they have sent Suhayl."[5]

The negotiations continued while the Muslims were sitting around the Prophet (s) until the terms of the peace treaty were agreed

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[1] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:315-16; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:461.

[2] Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 8:512; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:279; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:48.

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:316; ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, 7:155, 163.

[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:604-5.

[5] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:316; Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 9:221; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:192.

between the two parties, and the treaty was written by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a). The terms were as follows:

- Peace would be made for ten years between the two parties.
- The people of the two parties should be safe from each other.
- Muḥammad will return this year and come to Mecca for three days next year.
- No one can enter Mecca with more weapons than the usual weapons of a traveler.
- If a man from Quraysh joins Muḥammad without the permission of his guardian,[1] Muḥammad must return him to Quraysh, even if he is a Muslim.
- Any Muslim who goes to Quraysh, Quraysh are not obliged to return him.
- No party should conspire against the other.
- The two parties should not steal from each other.
- The two parties should not betray each other.
- Everyone is free to make a pact with Muḥammad or with Quraysh.
- Whoever enters Mecca to perform hajj or *ʿumra*, his life and property are safe. Whoever from Quraysh crosses Medina on the way to Egypt or the Levant, his life and property are safe.
- In the next year, Quraysh will vacate Mecca for three days for Muḥammad and his Companions, and no one will remain in Mecca from Quraysh except for one person who will keep an eye on Muḥammad and his companions.
- Muḥammad has no right to take any of the people of Mecca with him.
- Muḥammad cannot prevent any of his Companions from staying in Mecca.

[1] Apparently, "guardian" (*walī*) here refers to the chief of the tribe.

- Being a Muslim in Mecca will be allowed and no one will impose any religion on them and no one will be persecuted for being a Muslim.[1]

After concluding the peace treaty, the tribes of Khuzāʿa and Banū Bakr rushed to the Prophet (s) and emphasized their covenant with him. Muslims who did not like some of the provisions of the treaty tried to change it, but Suhayl rejected any change. ʿUmar was among those who were outraged by the treaty. He turned to the Prophet (s) and said, "Are you really the Messenger of God?" The Prophet (s) said, "Yes!" He said, "Is not it true that we are on the side of the truth and they are on the side of falsehood?" He (s) said, "Yes!" ʿUmar said, "Are not our slain ones in Paradise and their slain ones in Hell?" The Prophet (s) said, "Yes!" He said, "Then why should we accept these shameful conditions? Why don't we go back and let God judge between us and them?" The Prophet (s) replied, "I am the servant of God and His Messenger. I will never disobey His commands and He will never abandon me and will always help me." ʿUmar said, "Did you not inform us that we will circumambulate around the Kaaba?" He (s) said: "Yes! But did I say that it would be this year?" He said, "No!" He (s) said, "You will enter Mecca and circumambulate the Kaaba." Some women emigrated from Mecca to Medina after the treaty, and Quraysh asked the Messenger of God (s) to return them. The Prophet (s) rejected this request and stated that the provisions of the peace of Ḥudaybiyya do not include women.[2]

The Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya: the Greatest Victory

The Messenger of God (s) organized the caravan of Muslims to return to Medina. One of the Muslims said, "It was not a victory. We were prevented from reaching the Kaaba and offering our sacrifices." The Prophet (s) responded, "This was rather the greatest victory for us. The polytheists, in fact, accepted peace for fear of your power, they

[1] For information on these provisions, see Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:383, 385-86; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:317-18; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:45; Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 9:118; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:282; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 221; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 9:118; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:175; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:234; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:334, 352, 362, 372; 38:328.

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:609; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:325-26.

sought the solution from you and approached you to be safe, because they saw the power of your faith. God gave you victory over them and brought you back to your homes in peace, and this is the greatest victory for you. Have you forgotten the Battle of Uḥud where you, while fleeing, climbed the mountain and did not pay attention to anyone, while I was calling you? Have you forgotten the Battle of Aḥzāb, 'When they came at you from above and below you, and when the eyes rolled [with fear] and the hearts leapt to the throats, and you entertained misgivings about Allāh' (Q 33:10)?"

The Muslims said, "God and His Messenger are telling the truth. This is the greatest victory. O Prophet! By God, we did not think about what you thought. Indeed, you are more knowledgeable than us concerning the will of God and the affairs of the world."[1]

The Results of the Peace Treaty

The results of the peace treaty of Ḥudaybiyya include the following:

- The proclamation of belief in Islam was allowed in Mecca, and anyone could convert to Islam without fear of persecution by the polytheists. Muslims got rid of all physical and psychological pressures, and no one had the right to ridicule them anymore. Had Prophet (s) chosen war, the oppressed Muslims of Mecca would have suffered a lot, because the polytheists would have further persecuted them. On the other hand, this group of Muslims, as they were forced to hide their faith in Mecca, could not be identified in the potential battle against the polytheists, and thus they could be injured or killed during this battle. Therefore, the treaty of Ḥudaybiyya saved many lives.
- The treaty helped Muslims spread Islam in other regions and tribes of the Peninsula without worrying about Quraysh. Hence, the spread of Islam went beyond Medina and its adjacent areas and became more extensive in terms

[1] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 4:160; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUtūn al-athar*, 2:125; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:397.

of geography and number of tribes. This, in fact, led to the isolation of Quraysh and their confinement to the city of Mecca.

- The treaty enabled the Prophet (s) to solve the problem of the Jews of Khaybar, who had sought to weaken Islam by concluding various treaties with other tribes. This was sometimes accompanied by their clear declaration of hostility. They went so far as to mobilize 10,000 fighters against Islam. The Prophet (s) was able to fight the Jews of Khaybar with 1400 people as a result of the security gained from the peace of Ḥudaybiyya.

Letters to Kings

In 6/627-628 or 7/628-629,[1] the Prophet (s) invited six great kings of the world to Islam: Najāshī, king of Abyssinia, Caesar or Hercules, king of Rome, Khosrow Parvīz, king of Persia and Madāʾin, Muqawqis, ruler of Alexandria, Ḥārith, governor of the Levant and Damascus, and Thumāma b. Athāl and Hawdha b. ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī, kings of Yamāma. At the end of Dhū al-Ḥijja or early Muḥarram,[2] six Muslims were selected to deliver the letters. The names of the couriers selected to deliver the letters were as follows: ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to Najāshī, Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa al-Sahmī to Khosrow Parvīz, Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa al-Lakhmī to Muqawqis, Shujāʿ b. Wahb al-Asadī to Ḥārith, and Salīṭ b. ʿAmr al-ʿĀmirī to Thumāma and Hawdha.[3]

Letter of the Prophet (s) to Khosrow Parvīz

The Prophet's letter to Khosrow Parvīz was as follows:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
> From Muḥammad, the Messenger of God to Khosrow Parvīz,
> King of Persia:

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[1] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:285; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:288; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:382.

[2] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:288; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:29.

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:607; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:289; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:241.

> Peace be upon whomever follows the guidance, and believes in God and His Apostle, and bears witness that there is no god but Allāh and that I am his messenger to all people so that he who is alive be warned. Submit [to God's religion] Become a Muslim to be safe [from the punishment of God], or else, the guilt of all the Magians will be upon you.[1]

The king of Iran allowed the courier of the Prophet (s) to enter. When the courier entered, he ordered the letter to be taken from him, but the courier rejected and said, "I must give the letter to you, as the Prophet (s) ordered me to do." Then he came forward and the king himself took the letter from him and gave it to the courtiers to read to him. Since the letter started with the name of the Prophet (s) and not his name, he became very angry and tore the letter and shouted, "Does he write to me in this way while he is my servant?!" Then he drove the courier out. The courier came to the Messenger of God (s) and reported to him what had happened. The Prophet (s) said, "He tore his kingdom to pieces."[2]

The king of Iran wrote a letter to Bādhān,[3] the governor of Yemen, asking him to go to the Messenger of God (s) and force him to repent, and if he did not accept, to send him his head.

Bādhān sent his agent and another person to the Messenger of God (s) with the letter of Khosrow Parvīz and wrote that he (s) should go with them to the King of Iran. They conveyed the message to the Messenger of God (s), who said that he would answer them the next day. That night, it was revealed to the Prophet (s) that Khosrow Parvīz had been killed by his son. The next day, the Prophet (s) informed them, "My God has killed your god." The two envoys returned and conveyed the message to Bādhān. He said, "These are not the words of a king. I think he is a prophet. We shall wait; if what he said was true, he is indeed a prophet and apostle; otherwise, we will think what to decide about him."

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[1] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:654.
[2] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 7:175; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:283.
[3] During this period, Yemen was under the rule of the Sassanid king, and its governor was Persian. A Persian population also lived in Yemen during this period.

It was not long before Bādhān received a letter from Shīrūya, announcing his father's murder and adding, "Give the person you were going to arrest a respite and do not harass him until my order reaches you." At this time, Bādhān and the Iranians in Yemen converted to Islam and sent the news of their conversion to the Messenger of God (s).[1]

When Quraysh heard the reaction of the king of Iran to the letter of the Prophet (s) and learned about the instructions he had given to Bādhān about the Prophet (s), they were very happy and said, "The king of kings, Khosrow Parvīz, is angry with him and this is enough to destroy Muḥammad!" But when they heard the news of the assassination and the conversion of Bādhān and other Iranians in Yemen to Islam, they became very disappointed.[2]

Letter of the Prophet (s) to Heraclius

The Prophet's letter to Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, was as follows:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
> From Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh to Heraclius, King of Rome:
> Peace be upon whomever follows the guidance. Thereafter, verily I call you to Islam. Convert to Islam so that you will be safe [from the torment of the Hereafter] and God shall increase your reward twofold. If you do not believe, then the guilt of the farmers will be upon you. "Say, 'O People of the Book! Come to a common word between us and you: that we will worship no one but Allah, that we will not ascribe any partner to Him, and that some of us will not take some others as lords besides Allah.' But if they turn away, say, 'Be witnesses that we have submitted [to Allah].'"[3]

Unlike Khosrow Parvīz, Heraclius highly honored Diḥya al-Kalbī, the courier of the Prophet (s), and in response, he wrote a letter with a very polite tone and sent it to the Messenger of God (s) with gifts.

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[1] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:656; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:307; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:391.

[2] Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 4:337-38; Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa al-tārīkh*, 3:262; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:380, 382.

[3] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:265.

Heraclius wrapped the letter of the Prophet (s) in a piece of silk and placed it in a box. When his letter reached the Messenger of God (s), he said, "Their kingdom will remain as long as that letter is with them." [1]

Letter of the Prophet (s) to Muqawqis, Governor of Alexandria

The Prophet's letter to the governor of Alexandria, was as follows:

> In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
> From Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh to Muqawqis, the Chief of the Copts:
> Peace be upon whomever follows the guidance. Thereafter, verily I call you to Islam. Convert to Islam so that you will be safe from the torment of the Hereafter and God shall increase your reward twofold. If you do not believe, then the guilt of all the Copts will be upon you. "Say, 'O People of the Book! Come to a common word between us and you: that we will worship no one but Allah, that we will not ascribe any partner to Him, and that some of us will not take some others as lords besides Allah.' But if they turn away, say, 'Be witnesses that we have submitted [to Allah]'" (Q 3:64).[2]

Muqawqis answered the Prophet's letter politely and sent him some gifts[3] as well.[4]

The Event of Khaybar

As a result of the treaty of Ḥudaybiyya, the Muslims appeared as a great power in the region, since the repeated battles and defeats of the Quraysh had depleted their fighting power and morale and forced them to make peace in the face of Muslims' power. Thanks to this peace, the Prophet (s) was able to globalize his call and send letters to kings and rulers.

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[1] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:67-68; see also Suhaylī, *al-Rawḍ al-unuf*, 4:196-97; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 11:354.

[2] Ibn Sahhid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:332.

[3] The gifts included four female slaves, one of whom was Māriya. Māriya later married the Prophet and became the mother of his son Ibrāhīm (Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:376, 380-81, 3:4, 8:170-71).

[4] Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 3:274-75; ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, 3:531; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:37.

After the peace treaty with the pagans, there was no integrated power left in the region except the Jews of Khaybar. The Jews were able to organize more than ten thousand warriors and build an unbreakable resistance against the Muslims for several months, relying on economic power, strongholds and food supplies. Therefore, the Muslims, whose military and economic power was not equal to the Jews, could not resist them. On the other hand, the power of the Jews had subjugated some weak Muslims and some Arabs of the region such as Ghaṭafān. However, the following events were contrary to the predictions of the Jews and quickly ruined their hopes and aspirations.

Khaybar was the name of a region 190 km away from Medina, which at that time was traversed in three days. "Khaybar" in Hebrew means stronghold, and the region was on the way to hajj from the Syrian side and there were many forts, farms, and palm trees in it, and there were 40,000 palm trees only in the fort of al-Katība. There were eight forts in the Khaybar region: al-Naṭāt, al-Waṭīḥ, al-Sulālim, al-Katība, al-Shiqq, al-Ṣaʿb, al-Nāʿim and al-Qamūṣ.[1]

The Prophet (s) returned to Medina from Ḥudaybiyya in Dhū al-Ḥijja 6/April 628. God had promised victory and abundant spoils in Sura al-Fatḥ, which was revealed to him on the way to Medina: "Allāh has promised you abundant spoils, which you will capture. He has expedited this one for you, and withheld men's hands from you, so that it may be a sign for the faithful, and that He may guide you to a straight path" (Q 48:20). This good news was about the war against the Jews of Khaybar.[2]

Twenty days after returning to Medina, in Muḥarram 7/May 628, the Messenger of God (s) called his companions to move to Khaybar. All those who accompanied him in Ḥudaybiyya obeyed his order. Those who refused to come to Ḥudaybiyya also accompanied the Prophet (s) out of greed for booty but he (s) said, "Those who only seek jihad should join me, but those who seek booty should not come

[1] See Vaglieri, "Khaybar," *EI*[2] 4:1137-43.

[2] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:115, 152-53; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:43; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:1.

with me!" He then ordered the herald to bring the matter to the attention of all.[1]

Before leaving, the Prophet (s) appointed a deputy in Medina, who was reportedly Numayla b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laythī,[2] Sibāʿ b. ʿUrṭufa[3] or Abū Dharr.[4] When the Prophet (s) was prepared to leave Medina to fight the people of Khaybar, the Jews of Medina, who had made a pact with him, were upset and worried, because they knew that if the Prophet (s) reached Khaybar, the fate of its inhabitants would be the same as that of the Jews of Banū Qaynuqāʿ, Banū al-Naḍīr, and Banū Qurayẓa.[5]

The Jews of Khaybar never thought that the Messenger of God (s) intended to attack them, because their military power in terms of forts, weapons, and warriors was far greater than that of the Muslims. They would tell the Muslims, "By God! There is nothing stronger in front of you than Khaybar! If you see Khaybar, its forts and warriors, you will return to where you came from."[6]

But despite their thoughts, the Muslims moved towards Khaybar and reached the Jewish forts in Sūq Khaybar at night. The Jews were aware of this movement but did not know that the Prophet's army was stationed near them. They disagreed on how to defend themselves and decided not to move that night. Early in the morning, the frightened and worried Jews left the fort with agricultural implements, when suddenly they saw the Prophet (s) and the Muslim army, and fled to their forts with utmost fear.[7]

When the Prophet (s) intended to attack, he (s) placed ʿAlī (a) as the vanguard of the army and said, "Anyone among the Jews who goes towards the palm trees will be safe." When the Prophet (s) said this, ʿAlī (a) repeated it, and the Prophet (s) saw that Gabriel was smiling, so he (s) asked, "Why are you smiling?" Gabriel said,

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:634; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:31; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:115.
[2] Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:31; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:115.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:636; Bukhārī, *al-Tārīkh al-ṣaghīr*, 1:43; ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, 2:13.
[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:637.
[5] Ibid., 2:634-5; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 27:343.
[6] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:637.
[7] Ibid., 2:642-43; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:106; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:118.

"Because I love him." The Prophet (s) informed ʿAlī (a) of that, and the latter said, "Did I hear that Gabriel loves me?" The Prophet (s) said, "Yes! Gabriel and the One who is better than him, God the Almighty!"[1]

The Prophet (s) gave the Muslims permission to fight and ordered them to be patient. The first fort to be besieged was al-Nāʿim, in which the Prophet (s) fought fiercely. The attacks of the Jews on the Prophet (s) were so severe that some of the companions took shields to defend him.[2]

According to a report, when an Abyssinian slave who shepherded for the Jews of Khaybar heard from them that they were going to fight a man who claimed to be a prophet, the love of the Prophet (s) fell his heart, so he left Khaybar under the pretext of grazing sheep and went to the Muslim camp with his flock to meet the Messenger of God (s). He said to the Prophet (s), "What is your message and what do you call to?" The Prophet (s) said, "I call you to Islam to testify to the oneness of God and that I am the Messenger of God and not to worship anyone but God." The slave said, "What will I gain if I do these things and believe in God?" The Prophet (s) said, "If you believe, heaven will be your reward." The slave became a Muslim and said, "O Messenger of God! I am a black-faced, ugly, and stinky person, and I have no money. If I am killed in the battle against the people of Khaybar, will I go to heaven?" The Prophet (s) said, "Yes!" He said, "These sheep are my trust, what should I do with them?" The Prophet (s) said, "Take them out of the camp and leave them in the plain, for God will return your trust!" The slave, surprised by the words of the Prophet (s), did so, and the sheep, without having a shepherd, returned and each went to its owner's house. It was not long before that slave was martyred by an arrow.[3]

Although about 14,000 people took refuge in the forts of Khaybar, the Prophet (s) conquered them one by one. The strongest of these

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[1] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 2:427.

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:649; Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 4:48; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:33-5.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:649-50; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:344-45; Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 2:136.

forts with most defenders was that of al-Qamūṣ.[1] All the Jews who had fled after the conquest of the forts of al-Naṭāt and al-Shiqq had also gone to this fort. The fort was large enough to contain 40,000 palm trees.[2]

The Prophet (s) first sent Abū Bakr to conquer the fort, but he failed to do so. The next day, the Prophet (s) sent ʿUmar to carry out this mission, but he also failed.[3] The Jews defeated the Muslims in these two days.[4] When ʿUmar and his companions retreated, they accused each other of being cowards.[5] At this time, the Messenger of God (s) said, "Tomorrow I will send someone to battle who loves God and His Messenger, and God and His Messenger love him." The next day, while everyone, including Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, wished to be the person the Prophet (s) was going to introduce, the Prophet (s) asked for the flag and, after advising the people, said, "Where is ʿAlī?" They said, "He is suffering from eye pain". He (s) said, "Bring him!"[6] Although ʿAlī (a) had severe eye pain in Medina, he (s) did not stop accompanying the Prophet (s) and came to Khaybar with great difficulty.[7] When ʿAlī (a) was brought before the Messenger of God (s), he (s) said, "What happened to you?" ʿAlī (a) said, "I have so much pain in my eyes that I cannot see ahead of me." The Prophet (s) said, "Come closer to me!" The Messenger of God (s) hugged ʿAlī's head and rubbed his eyes with his own saliva. ʿAlī's eyes healed as if he (a) had no pain until then and he (a) did not feel any pain in his eyes for the rest of his life. The Prophet (s) prayed for him and handed him the flag and said to him, "Fight them until God gives us victory at your hands, and do not return [before that]!"[8]

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[1] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 99; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:21.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:670; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 3:161.
[3] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 5:358; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:300; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:121; Khʷārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, 103; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:213; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:124; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:3, 39:10
[4] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:124.
[5] Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:393-94.
[6] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 4:205; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:126.
[7] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:171; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:48; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:124.
[8] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:125; see also Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:334-35; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:157.

ʿAlī (a) moved quickly towards Khaybar and some Muslims followed him. He (a) stopped before the fort wall. The Jews left the fort to fight the Muslims. The first Jew to come to the battlefield was Ḥārith, the brother of Marḥab, who walked towards the Muslims. He was so famous for his bravery and valor that the Muslims retreated when they saw him, except for ʿAlī (s) who fought him, and after exchanging several blows, killed him. Ḥārith's companions fled and returned to the fort and closed the gate, and the Muslims returned to their positions.[1]

It was not long before Marḥab left the fort. While bragging, he chanted the following verses, "Khaybar knows that I am Marḥab … I am an experienced courageous man. When the roaring lions see me, they stop roaring!" ʿAlī (a) went to the battlefield to fight him. In the battle, Marḥab hit ʿAlī (a) in the hand and the shield fell from his hand, but ʿAlī (a) killed Marḥab by hitting him on the head. During this struggle, ʿAlī (a) alone lifted the iron door of the fort from its hinge. It was so heavy that even eight warriors could not lift it, and thus Khaybar was conquered.[2] ʿAlī (a) said after this incident, "I did not lift the door with physical strength, but I did it with divine power."[3] It is also narrated that ʿUmar asked ʿAlī (a), "O Abū al-Ḥasan! You lifted that heavy door while you had not eaten for three days. Did you do it with human strength?" ʿAlī (a) replied, "I did not lift the door with human power, but with divine power and with a heart confident of God's help."[4]

The forts conquered in this battle were al-Nāʿim, al-Qamūṣ, al-Ṣaʿb (the largest fortress of Khaybar in terms of size, abundance of properties, food, and animals), al-Shiqq, al-Naṭāt, and al-Katība. Later, the forts of al-Waṭīḥ and al-Sulālim surrendered. The siege of Khaybar lasted between ten to twenty days until the fort was conquered in the month of Ṣafar. The Prophet (s) made peace with

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[1] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:653-54; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:220; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:16.

[2] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:657; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:335; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:157; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 5:333, 351; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:195; Ṭbabrī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:30; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:185.

[3] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:51.

[4] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 307; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:26.

them and the people of this fort paid whatever gold and silver they had for the survival of men and women.[1]

The Return of Immigrants from Abyssinia

Before moving to Khaybar, the Prophet (s) sent ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Ḍamrī to Najāshī, king of Abyssinia, to return Jaʿfar and his companions to Hijaz. Najāshī sent them together with his nephew with many gifts in two ships.[2].[3]

When Khaybar was conquered, Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib reached Hijaz. The Prophet (s) sent Abū Rāfiʿ to welcome him and his companions.[4] The Prophet (s) greeted Jaʿfar, hugged him, kissed his forehead, and said, "I do not know for which event should I be happier: for the conquest of Khaybar or for the return of Jaʿfar."[5]

As mentioned in the peace treaty of Ḥudaybiyya, the Prophet (s) agreed with Quraysh that he would visit Mecca in the following year with the Muslims. Now, after a year of the treaty of Ḥudaybiyya, the Prophet (s) decided to go to Mecca to perform ʿ*umra*, which became known as ʿUmrat al-Qaḍāʾ or ʿUmrat al-Qaḍiyya. The Prophet (s) left for Mecca on the first day of the month of Dhū al-Qaʿda 7/March 629. Before leaving, he (s) appointed Abū Dharr as his deputy in Medina. He (s) ordered his companions to be ready to travel and asked all those present in Ḥudaybiyya to join the caravan. The journey began with about two-thousand people.[6] Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib was among those who were not present in Ḥudaybiyya and yet he was with the Prophet (s) in ʿUmrat al-Qaḍāʾ.

A man from Medina said to the Prophet (s), "O Messenger of God! By God, we have no food and no one to feed us." The Prophet (s) ordered the Muslims to spend in charity and to give alms on this

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:622; see also Murtaḍā al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sīrat al-Nabī al-aʿẓam*, 17:70.

[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:359; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:208-9, 4:349; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:23.

[3] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 3:78; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 11:415.

[4] Ibn Abi l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 19:133.

[5] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:359; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:516; Ṭabarī al-Āmulī, *al-Mustarshid*, 333; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 18:413, 21:23, 39:207, 88:206, 208, 211.

[6] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:733; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:120; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:46.

journey and not to be stingy about feeding each other; otherwise, they will perish. Some said, "O Prophet! What can we give while we have nothing with us?" The Prophet (s) said, "Give whatever you have, even a handful of dates."[1]

In this *ʿumra*, the Prophet (s) took sixty or seventy camels as offerings,[2] and appointed Nājiya b. Jundab and four members of the Aslam tribe to take care of these camels. [3] Along with the caravan, weapons such as swords, spears and shields were carried and Bashīr b. Saʿd was made responsible for preserving them. There were also one-hundred horses in the caravan, for which Muḥammad b. Maslama was in charge.[4]

The Muslims became *muḥrim*, and when they reached Dhū al-Ḥulayfa, they sent the horses forward. Some of them said at this time, "O Messenger of God! Quraysh stipulated that you should not enter Mecca except with the weapons of the traveler and the swords in their sheaths, but you have brought weapons of war with the caravan!" He (s) said, "We will not enter the holy city with these weapons; rather, we will put them in a close and accessible place so that if these people want to harm us, war equipment will be available."[5]

Muḥammad b. Maslama, along with some other people, was moving ahead of the caravan to see the situation. When they reached the region of Marr al-Ẓahrān, they encountered some people from Quraysh. When the latter group saw the weapons with the Muslims, they rushed to Mecca and informed the Quraysh leaders. The elders of Quraysh became upset and said, "We have not violated the peace treaty and we will abide by its provisions. Why has Muḥammad intended to attack us?!" They sent Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ with a few people to the Prophet (s). They met the Messenger of God (s) in the region of Yaʾjaj and said, "O Muḥammad! By God, you were never considered a traitor in your childhood and adulthood. Do you want to enter the

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:732; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:189.
[2] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:733; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:121; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:154.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:732.
[4] Ibid., 2:733.
[5] Ibid., 2:733; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:190; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:62.

sanctuary with weapons and attack your relatives, while you accepted to come only with a traveler's weapon and swords in their sheaths?!" The Prophet (s) said, "I will not enter the sanctuary with weapons." Mikraz said, "This is what you are known for: goodness and faithfulness to the covenant!" Then Mikraz and his companions hurried to Mecca and told the Quraysh, "Muḥammad will not enter the city with weapons and he will keep his promise to you."[1]

Quraysh, who hated the Messenger of God (s), left the city as the Prophet (s) approached Mecca so as not to see his circumambulation.[2] On the morning of the fourth day of Dhū al-Ḥijja,[3] the Prophet (s), riding on his camel, while Ibn Rawāḥa took the bridle of the camel, and the companions, reciting *labbayk*, circled around him with their swords, entered Mecca from the valley of Thaniyyat al-Kadāʾ in the area al-Ḥajūn. The Messenger of God (s) stationed two-hundred Muslims in the Yaʾjaj[4] area with weapons under the command of Aws b. Khawlī, and after performing the ʿ*umra*, another two-hundred people replaced the first group so that they could perform ʿ*umra*.[5] The Prophet (s) and his companions stayed in Mecca for three days. Then, Ḥuwayṭib b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā and Suhayl b. ʿAmr came to the Messenger of God (s) and asked him to leave Mecca according to the peace treaty. Thus, the Prophet (s) and his companions left Mecca.[6]

Battle of Muʾta

The Messenger of God (s) sent a letter to the King of Buṣrā[7] in 8/629 through Ḥārith b. ʿUmayr al-Azdī. In the middle of the road, Ḥārith was stopped in the village of Muʾta, one of the villages of the Balqāʾ region in the Levant, by the ruler of that region, who had been appointed by the Roman king, and was killed on his orders after he

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:734; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:263; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:62.
[2] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:62.
[3] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:191.
[4] An area near Mecca (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:424).
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:735; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:121, 3:542; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:194.
[6] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:372.
[7] A city in the present-day Syria, north of Hijaz and south of the Levant (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 1:441).

knew that he was the messenger of the Prophet (s).[1] This news reached the Messenger of God (s) and made him very upset. On his orders, an army of 3,000 people gathered in al-Juruf camp. The Prophet (s) appointed Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib as the commander[2] and accompanied the Muslim army until Thaniyyat al-Wadāʿ. Addressing them there the Prophet (s) said, "Depart in the name of God and fight the enemy of God and your enemy in the Levant. You will see people who worship God in their monasteries; do not disturb them … Do not kill women, children, or the elderly at all; never burn palm trees, nor cut down the trees, nor destroy the houses."[3]

The Muslims left Medina toward the Wādi al-Qurā area. At this time, Shuraḥbīl b. ʿAmr al-Ghassānī, became aware of the movement of the Muslims. He gathered troops and equipment and sent troops to fight the Muslims under the command of his brother Sadūs. Sadūs was killed in battle, so Shuraḥbīl sent his other brother, Wabar b. ʿAmr, to confront the Muslims. He was frightened and took refuge in a fort. The Muslims advanced and encamped in Maʿān, a region in the Levant.[4] On the other hand, allies of the region's ruler moved to the region of al-Mashārif.[5] After realizing the large number of the enemy's troops, the Muslims stayed in Maʿān for two nights to think of a plan. Some of them said, "We should send a letter to the Prophet (s) and let him know about the number of the enemy, so that he (s) sends an aiding army to us or gives another command.[6] But ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa consoled people and said, "By God, what you dislike is what you have departed for and what we are seeking and that is martyrdom. We do not fight relying on our number and our armaments; rather, we fight with reliance on the religion with which

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:755; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:97; Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh*, 4:230.
[2] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:65; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 212; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:205.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:757-58; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 6:146.
[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:757-60.
[5] Ibid., 2:760.
[6] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 102-3; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:205.

God has honored us. Move towards the enemy to achieve one of the two excellences: victory or martyrdom."[1]

The two armies met and a fierce battle ensued. Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, holding the black flag of the army, fought bravely. One of the soldiers of the enemy cut off his right hand. He held the flag in his left hand, but his left hand was also amputated. Jaʿfar attached the flag to his chest with his arms and was martyred while his body was full of wounds.[2] The commanders of the Muslim army were killed one after another, and in the end, ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took the flag, and he was martyred after a while of fighting.[3] With his martyrdom, the Muslims were practically defeated and fled to different directions. The polytheists followed them and many Muslims were martyred.[4]

The commanders of the Muslim army were killed one after another until ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa took over the flag. He was also martyred after fighting for a while.[5] With his martyrdom, the Muslims were practically defeated and fled. The polytheists chased and killed many of them.

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:760; see also Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:375; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:339-40.

[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:380; Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:761; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 103.

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:379.

[4] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:764-65; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:382-83; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:42; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:253; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:341-42.

[5] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:379.

From the Conquest of Mecca to the Demise

The Conquest of Mecca

An ancient conflict existed between the two tribes of Banū Khuzāʿa and Banū Nufātha. Since Banū Khuzāʿa had made a pact with ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of the Prophet of God (s), they became an ally for the Prophet (s). But Banū Nufātha made a pact with Quraysh. As a result, the conflicts between Banū Khuzāʿa and Banū Nufātha stopped after the treaty of Ḥudaybiyya.[1]

However, in the year 8/629, some months after the battle of Muʾta, some of the members of Banū Khuzāʿa started a fight with a member of Banū Nufātha and injured him. This was at a time when only two years had passed from the aforementioned peace treaty. The members of Banū Nufātha came to Quraysh and asked them to assist them in seeking revenge from Banū Khuzāʿa. The elders of Quraysh did not consult with Abū Ṣufyān for this matter. They assumed that no one would see them in the darkness of the night. So, they went with Banū Nufātha and attacked Banū Khuzāʿa in the land of Watīra and killed some of the members of this tribe. With this action, the Quraysh broke the peace treaty.[2]

The Prophet of God (s) said the following to ʿĀʾīshah on the day when this conflict occurred: "Something has happened for Khuzāʿa! ʿĀʿīshah said: "Oh Prophet of God! Do you think that Quraysh dare

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[1] Wāqidī. *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:781-82.
[2] Ibid., 2:782-84; Ibn al-ʾAthīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:239-44.

to break the pact that they made with you?" The Prophet (s) said: "They will break the pact for a destiny that God has willed for them." ʿĀʿīshah said: "Oh Prophet of God (s)! Good or harm?" The Prophet (s) said: "Good."[1]

Quraysh, who regretted helping the Banū Nufātha and breaking the pack and were afraid of the Muslim's reaction, came together for a meeting. In this meeting, after some discussions, Abū Ṣufyān suggested that the best measure to take was to deny that they had breached the pact, and everyone agreed.[2]

Abū Ṣufyān travelled to Medina with one of his slaves. Before he could start off for Medina, the Prophet (s) said: "It is as if [I am seeing that] Abū Ṣufyān has come to Medina to renew the peace treaty and to extend its duration. However, he will return vanquished."[3]

After entering Medina, Abū Ṣufyān went to see his daughter, Umm Ḥabība, who was the Prophet's wife. However, when he wished to sit on the rug that had been spread out, his daughter removed it. Abū Ṣufyān said: "Oh daughter! Are you preventing me from sitting on the rug? Is there something wrong with me?" Umm Ḥabība said: "This is the rug on which the Prophet (s) sits. You are a polytheist and impure. This is why I do not want you to sit on this rug." Abū Ṣufyān: "Oh daughter! You have gone astray in my absence!" Umm Ḥabība said: "Rather, God has guided me. You however, oh father, are the elder and leader of Quraysh. Why have you not entered the fold of Islam and why do you worship a stone that does not see or hear?!"

Abū Ṣufyān left his daughter's home and came to the Prophet of God (s) in the mosque. He said: "Oh Muḥammad (s)! I was not present in the peace treaty of Hudaybiyya. If it is possible, renew the pact with me and extent its duration." The Prophet (s) said: "Have you come for this Abū Ṣufyān?" He said: "Yes." He (s) said: "Have you done something that would break the peace treaty?" Abū Ṣufyān said: "I seek refuge in God! We still accept the peace treaty that we

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:788; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 17:261.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:787-88; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 17:261; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:204.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:786-87, 791; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:395-96.

made in Hudaybiyya and have not changed it." The Prophet (s) said: "We accept that very peace treaty and its duration. We will not change a thing in it." Abū Ṣufyān repeated his statement a few times but did not get any response from the Prophet of God (s).[1]

Then, Abū Ṣufyān went to several of the Companions and asked them if they could speak to the Prophet (s) and convince him to renew their peace-treaty. However, none of them accepted his request. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, Uthmān b. ʿAffān, ʿAlī (a), and Saʿd b. ʿUbāda were some of those whom Abū Ṣufyān asked to talk to the Prophet (s).[2]

When Abū Ṣufyān lost hope in others, he went to Fāṭima (a), who was holding his son Ḥasan (a) in her arms. He said: "O daughter of Muḥammad (s)! Can you grant refuge to people?" Fāṭima (a) refused and said, "No will give against the Prophet of God (s)."[3]

Abū Ṣufyān went again to ʿAlī (a) and said: "Oh ʿAlī (a)! Things have been very difficult for me! Tell me what to do!" He (a) replied: "By God, nothing can save you from this situation! However, you are the elder of the Banū Kināna.[4] Go and announce to the people that you wish to make peace with them and then go back to your land." Abū Ṣufyān had no choice but to go to the mosque. So, he went there and cried out: "Oh people! On behalf of my people, I wish to tell you all that we are not at war with you. I do not think that in this case any of you will attack us." Then he went to the Prophet of God (s) and said: "Oh Muḥammad (s)! I have established peace amongst the people!" and left Medina afterwards.[5]

Abū Ṣufyān had stayed for a long time in Medina and his long absence worried the polytheists. They thought that he had converted to Islam secretly. When Abū Ṣufyān arrived in Mecca and met his

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:792-93; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 8:79; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:321.

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:793; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:321; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:101-2, 126.

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:396; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 106; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:126.

[4] Kināna was the name of the great ancestor of the Quraysh, and thus "Banū Kināna" refers to all the Quraysh.

[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:794-95; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:397; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 106; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:177.

wife, Hind, she said: "You have come back with so much delay that your friends began to have suspicions about you." Abū Ṣufyān told her about what happened in Medina and said: "I did not see any way to get out of it except through what ʿAlī (a) told me." Hind criticized him and said: "You were the worst of people that your friends could have sent. And you have brought back bad news."

The next morning, Abū Ṣufyān went to the idols Isāf and Nāʾila, shaved his head, made offerings, and said: "I will never forgo your worship until I die a polytheist like my father." When people saw this, they said: "Have you brought any news? Have you brought a letter from Muḥammad (s) or renewed the peace treaty?" Abū Ṣufyān told the polytheists what had happened in Mecca. They said: "You have accepted something that you should not have and have done something that has not made either of us safer." He said: "I could not think of anything else."[1]

The Journey to Mecca

Sometime after the return of Abū Ṣufyān, the Prophet (s) decided to move secretly toward Mecca to take the polytheists by surprise.[2] He (s) said the following to ʿĀʾīsha: "Prepare for the journey, but do not inform anyone." He (s) also said: "Oh God! Keep the news hidden from the Quraysh and their spies."[3] When the Prophet (s) decided to leave Medina, Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa wrote a letter to Quraysh to alert them of what was going on. He gave that letter to a woman from the tribe of Muzayna to take it to Mecca.[4] Ḥāṭib had emigrated from Mecca to Medina, but his wife and relatives still resided in Mecca. Quraysh encouraged the family of Ḥāṭib to write a letter to him so that he informs them about the intentions of the Prophet (s).[5]

The Prophet (s) called ʿAlī (a) and ordered him to find this woman on the way to Mecca and get the letter from her. He also told al-

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:795; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:397; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:134.

[2] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:56; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:119.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:796; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 17:265; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:351.

[4] Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:796; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:119.

[5] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:361; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:112, 72:388.

Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām to accompany ʿAlī (a) on this mission.[1] ʿAlī (a) and al-Zubayr went towards Mecca until they finally reached the woman. They got the letter from her and brought it to the Prophet (s). The Prophet (s) called the people to the mosque, went upon the minbar, and, with the aforementioned letter in his hands, said: "Oh people! I asked God to hide our news from the Quraysh. However, one of you wrote a letter to give them our news. Let the writer of this letter stand up! Otherwise, the divine revelation will dishonor him." No one however, stood up, so the Prophet (s) repeated his words once again. At this time, Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa stood up while he was quivering with fear. He said: "Oh Prophet of God (s)! I am the writer of this letter. I have not become a hypocrite after I converted to Islam." The Prophet (s) said: "Why did you write this letter?" He said: "Oh Prophet of God (s)! My family is in Mecca, and I do not have any tribes or refuge in Mecca. I was afraid that the polytheists would harm them if we attacked." ʿUmar said: "Oh Prophet! Give me the order to kill him. He is indeed a hypocrite." The Prophet (s) said: "He is one of the people of Badr. Perhaps he is among those whom God has mercifully looked at and forgiven. Just take him out of the mosque." The People began pushing him out of the mosque, but when the Prophet (s) saw Ḥāṭib's deep regret, he said, "I have forgiven you. Ask God for forgiveness and never do such a thing ever again."[2]

The Prophet (s) appointed Lubāba b. ʿAbd al-Mundhir[3] or Kulthūm b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ghifārī[4] as his deputy in Medina. Then, on Wednesday, 10th of Ramadan, he set off for Mecca with an army of ten-thousand troops.[5] On that day, the Muslims were given the choice to either break their fast or keep it, but the Prophet (s) himself kept his fast. Along with the Immigrants, the Helpers, and some Arab tribes, the Prophet (s) set out for Mecca on horses and camels. Al-

[1] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:57; see also Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:399; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:352, 13:376.
[2] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:58-59; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 104-5; Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 1:217.
[3] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:58; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 106; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:127.
[4] Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:399; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:328; Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 231.
[5] Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, 2:458.

Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām moved ahead of them along with two-hundred troops.[1]

When they got to the desert, the soldiers of the army of the Prophet (s) arrested one of the spies of Hawāzin in a place between al-ʿArj and al-Ṭalūb and brought him to the Prophet (s). He said that the tribe of Hawāzin had united with the tribe of Thaqīf to confront the Muslims and that they had acquired catapults and other heavy weapons of war.[2] The Prophet (s) said: "God is with us and this is sufficient for us." When the Prophet (s) arrived at the place called Qudayd, the tribe of Sulaym also arrived there. There, the Prophet (s) divided the flags amongst the various tribes.[3]

ʿAbbās, the uncle of the Prophet (s), who had left Mecca for Medina with his family, met the army of Islam in the land of al-Juḥfa or Dhū al-Ḥulayfa.[4] He sent his family to Medina and went with Abū Ṣufyān b. al-Ḥārith and ʿAbdullāh b. Abī ʿUmayya to see the Prophet (s) in his tent.

Abū Ṣufyān b. al-Ḥārith was a cousin and milk-brother of the Prophet (s). This is because Ḥalīma al-Saʿdiyya had also suckled him for a few days. He was of the same age as the Prophet (s) and one of his friends before his prophethood. However, after the beginning of the Prophet's mission, he constantly annoyed and hurt the Prophet (s) in various ways.[5] ʿAbdullāh b. Abī Umayya was also a cousin of the Prophet (s) and his brother-in-law and, at the same time, among his top enemies in Mecca.[6]

ʿAbbās and these two old enemies of the Muslims came to the Prophet (s) to repent and accept Islam. At this time, as advised by ʿAlī (a), Abū Ṣufyān b. al-Ḥārith addressed the Prophet (s) and said what the brothers of Yusuf (a) said when they recognized him in Egypt: "We swear to God that God has really given you superiority

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[1] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:801; Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 2:569; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:399-400.

[2] The Prophet (s) confronted the Hawāzin in the month of Shawwāl of the very year that the conquest of Mecca occurred. This battle is known as the Battle of Ḥunayn.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:801, 804-6; Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:102; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 8:385.

[4] Ibn al-ʾAthīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:242; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:118.

[5] Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:356; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:77.

[6] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:806-7; Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 4:137-38.

to us and that we were wrong" (Q 12:91). In response, the Prophet (s) repeated the answer of the prophet Yūsuf (a): "There is no reprimand upon you today. God will forgive you and He is the most merciful of the merciful" (12:92).[1]

The news of the army of Islam was hidden from Quraysh; they were completely unaware of the movement and intention of the Prophet (s). At the same time, they were extremely fearful of being suddenly attacked by the army of Islam. For this reason, they sent Abū Sufyān to find out what was going on.[2] The Prophet (s) stopped at Marr al-Ẓahrān with ten-thousand troops.[3] Abū Ṣufyān left Mecca with Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, and, on the way, Budayl b. Warqaʾ joined them, and together they went to find out about the Muslim army. Quraysh had told Abū Ṣufyān: "If you meet Muḥammad (s), then ask him an amnesty, but if you found his army weak, then let him fight." When those three individuals reached Marr al-Ẓahrān at night and saw the large number of fires and tents that filled the desert and heard the sounds of the hoofs of horses and camels, they were frightened.

On the other hand, ʿAbbās, the uncle of the Prophet (s), who was worried about the people of Mecca, tried to inform the inhabitants of Mecca of the presence of the army of Islam and to tell them to ask the Prophet (s) for an amnesty. He moved toward Mecca on the Prophet's mount, and on the way, he met Abū Ṣufyān and Budayl b. Warqāʾ. When he learned about their intention, he decided to take them to the Prophet (s) to seek an amnesty for them.[4]

Along the way, whenever they reached one of the ignited fires, the Muslims recognized the mount of the Apostle of God (s) and his uncle ʿAbbās, so they did not try to stop them. However, when ʿAbbās reached the fire that had been ignited by ʿUmar, ʿUmar suddenly saw Abū Ṣufyān with ʿAbbās and yelled: "O enemy of God! I thank God that He placed you on my path while no pact or oath has

[1] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:259; see also Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:810-11; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:400-1.
[2] Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:135; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:103, 127.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:814.
[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:816, 818, 819; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārikh madīnat Dimashq*, 23:450-51; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 17:268.

bound my hands." Then he ran toward the tent of the Prophet (s). ʿAbbās also quickly struck his mount and reached the tent of the Prophet (s) simultaneously with ʿUmar. ʿUmar said: "O Prophet of God (s)! This is Abū Ṣufyān, and he has come here while we have no peace-treaty with him. Allow me to cut his head off!" At this time, ʿAbbās said: "O Prophet of God (s), I have granted him an amnesty." ʿUmar pleaded to the Prophet (s) to allow him to kill Abū Ṣufyān. ʿAbbās said: "Have patience O ʿUmar! I swear to God that if Abū Ṣufyān was one of the people of the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, who is your uncle, then you would not have said this. However, because he belongs to the Banū ʿAbd Manāf, you are speaking in this way!" He also said to the Prophet (s): "Oh Prophet of God (s)! I have granted an amnesty to Abū Ṣufyān b. Ḥarb, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, and Budayl b. Warqāʾ. They wish to visit you." The Prophet (s) said: "Allow them to enter."

They entered the tent of the Prophet (s) and spent most of the night with him (s). The Prophet (s) asked them about the news of Mecca and called them to Islam. They said: "We bear witness that there is no god but God." The Prophet (s) said: "Testify that there is no god but God and that I am His prophet." Budayl and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām testified to that, but Abū Ṣufyān said: "I do not know if you are the messenger of God. My heart does not testify to this matter. Leave this testimony for later!" Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām was told: "Pay allegiance!" He replied: "I will pay allegiance but I will never be dishonored or bend my head." The Prophet (s) said: "You will never be dishonored by us."

By the order of the Prophet (s), ʿAbbās took Abū Ṣufyān to his own tent. Then, the next morning they were awakened by the call to prayer (*adhān*). When Abū Ṣufyān heard the sound of the *adhān*, he became afraid and said the following to ʿAbbās: "Have you given the people an order regarding me?" ʿAbbās said: "No! These people have stood up to pray." Abū Ṣufyān said: "How many times a day do you pray?" ʿAbbās said: "Five times a day." When Abū Ṣufyān saw the Muslims collecting the droplets of water from the ablution of the Prophet (s), he said: "I have never seen a king like Muḥammad (s). Neither Caesar nor Kasra (Khosrow) is like him."

ʿAbbās told Abū Ṣufyān to make the ablution and then he took him to the Prophet (s). The Prophet (s) was standing for prayer and the Muslims were following him in it. Abū Ṣufyān saw the way that the Muslims followed the Prophet (s) in prayers and how they bowed when he (s) bowed and prostrated when he (s) prostrated. He said: "I have never seen such obedience, and that too from a diverse group of people, each of which coming from a different land! Such obedience cannot be seen amongst the Persians, who honor their kings greatly, or amongst the Romans, who are famous for their power. Oh ʿAbbās! I swear to God that your nephew is a great king!" ʿAbbās answered: "This is not a monarchy! This is prophecy!"

When the Prophet (s) finished his prayers, he said: "Oh Abū Ṣufyān! Have you still not realized that there is no god but God?" Abū Ṣufyān said: "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! How patient and kind are you! If there were a god besides God, then he would surely have helped me in Badr and Uḥud. I asked my god for help and you asked your God for help. I did not meet you in any war except that you defeated me. If my god was really true and your God false, then I would have defeated you." The Prophet (s) said: "Woe to you O Abū Ṣufyān! Do you not know that I am the prophet of God?!" Abū Ṣufyān said: "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you! How patient and noble are you! How many faults do you forgive! I still do not believe that you are the prophet of God and my heart is not convinced about this." When he said this, the Prophet (s) granted him an amnesty.

Abū Ṣufyān met the Prophet (s) once again and this time he testified to the Prophethood of the Prophet (s). Then he said: "Oh Muḥammad (s)! You have brought lowly people with you, known and unknown, [to attack] your own clan and root!" The Prophet (s) said: "You are more wicked and impious. You betrayed them with regard to the pact of Hudaybiyya, collaborated against Banū Kaʿb sinfully and transgressively in the sanctuary of God and his secure land." Abū Ṣufyān said: "You have spoken the truth, oh Prophet of God (s)! Oh Prophet (s)! I wish you used your might and plans against Hawāzin, as their relation to you is remoter and their hostility toward you is greater." The Prophet (s) said: "I expect that God will

grant me the conquest of Mecca, the prevailing of Islam in it, and the defeat of Hawāzin." Abū Ṣufyān and Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām said: "Oh Prophet of God! Call the people to the amnesty. Will Quraysh be safe if they stop fighting?" The Prophet (s) said: "Yes!" and then declared, "Whoever enters the house of Abū Ṣufyān will be safe." Abū Ṣufyān said: "How many people can my house include?!" The Prophet (s) said: "Whoever enters the Mosque will be safe." Abū Ṣufyān said: "How many people can the Mosque include?!" The Prophet (s) said: "Whoever closes the door of his house, will be safe." Abū Ṣufyān said: "Now this includes everyone."[1]

Entering Mecca

The Prophet of God (s) ordered all the tribes to gather around their commanders, like armies. He also ordered them to openly display their weapons of war. When Abū Ṣufyān saw the soldiers of Islam, he went to Mecca. The majority of the army moved in the direction of Mecca after him, and they remained in the land of Dhū Ṭuwā, awaiting the Prophet (s). The Prophet (s) entered Mecca with an army that were wearing green clothes and riding camels. They all had turbans, covering their faces with red clothes.[2]

When Saʿd b. ʿUbāda passed Abū Ṣufyān with the Prophet's flag, he yelled: "Oh Abū Ṣufyān! Today is the day of blood-spilling. And God will disgrace Quraysh!" For this reason, when the Prophet (s) reached Abū Ṣufyān, the latter said: "Have you given the order to kill your relatives? I ask you not to do this to your family. You are the nicest and most loyal person I know." The Prophet (s) said: "Today is the day of mercy and kindness. Today is the day when God will honor Quraysh with faith." Following this, the Prophet (s) ordered ʿAlī (a) to take the flag from Saʿd b. ʿUbāda and hold it himself.[3] Also,

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[1] For more details on these events, see Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:816-19; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:402-4; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām alwarā*, 106-7; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:216-18; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:216-18.

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:823; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:404; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:219.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:821-22; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:406-7; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 8:386.

the Prophet (s) gave a flag to Abū Ruwayḥa and said that everyone who gathered under his flag would be safe.[1]

The Prophet's tent was pitched in the Ḥajūn area by Jābir. The Prophet (s) told him, "This is our residence. It is the place where the polytheists made a pact to remain in disbelief." Jābir remembered that the Prophet (s) had told him in Medina about the conquest and where they would stay in Mecca.[2]

The Prophet's Ṭawāf

The Prophet (s) had entered Mecca without *iḥrām* and was armed. After he spent some time in his camp and became sure that the Muslims were safe, he performed ritual bath, picked up his weapon, and wore his battle helmet. The people gathered around him (s), and they left the Ḥajūn area quickly.

When the Prophet (s) saw the Kaaba, he began to glorified God by saying "*Allāhu akbar*" (God is the greatest), and the Muslims followed the Prophet in saying that, such that their voice reverberated through Mecca. Then, with the Prophet's indication, they all became silent. The polytheists were watching them from the mountains. The Prophet (s) began to circumambulate the Kaaba.[3]

The polytheists had placed 360 idols around the Kaaba. Hubal was the biggest idol that had been placed in front of the Kaaba; Isāf and Nāʾila were placed at where sacrifices were made. Imām ʿAlī (a) says the following about that day: "The Prophet of God (s) brought me beside the Kaaba and said: 'O ʿAlī (a)! Come and stand upon my shoulders.' … I went up on the roof of the Kaaba and the Prophet of God (s) went aside and said: 'Throw down their biggest idol.' That idol was made of iron and had been hung from the roof by means of iron nails. The Prophet (s) said: 'Pull them out!' I began pulling out the iron nails. The Prophet (s) said, 'Yes! Yes! The truth has come and falsehood and been vanquished.' When the nails were pulled out, the

[1] Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:80.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:828; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:230; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:85.
[3] Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 3:244; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:233; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:88.

Prophet (s) said: 'Throw it down!' I threw the idol down and it smashed into pieces like glass."[1]

The Sermon of the Prophet and the Announcement of a General Amnesty

After circumambulating the Kaaba, the Prophet (s) stood in front of the people of Mecca to deliver a sermon. He began his sermon with the praise of God and then recited the following verse: "There shall be no reproach upon you today. God will forgive you and He is the most merciful of the merciful" (Q 12:92). This was the announcement of a general amnesty that included all of the inhabitants of Mecca. The following are some parts of this sermon:

- All of the important responsibilities, such as the caretaking of the Kaaba, the dispensing of water to the pilgrims, were to remain in the hands of the tribes that had those responsibilities before.
- Class distinctions of the Age of Ignorance were nullified. The Prophet (s) announced that all people were from one father and mother, and there was no difference in social status amongst them. Then, he (s) recited the following verse: "O mankind! Indeed, We created you from a male and a female, and made you nations and tribes that you may identify yourselves with one another. Indeed the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most Godwary among you. Indeed Allah is all-knowing, all-aware" (Q 49:13).
- Muslims were announced to be brothers of one another and all of them one group against the enemy.
- People were declared to be responsible take care of each other, and the rich had to assist the poor.
- Charity would be taken respectfully from the Muslims and distributed amongst the poor.
- Mecca was declared to be the sacred precinct of God; hunting and cutting the plants were not allowed.

[1] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:73; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:236; see also Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Ṭarāʾif*, 1:80-81.

- Fornication was announced to be a grave sin.[1]

The Oath of the People of Mecca with the Prophet (s)

On the day of the conquest of Mecca, the Prophet (s) went to a place near the mountain of Abū Qubays and sat down.[2] People, young and old, female and male, came to the Prophet (s) and paid allegiance to him. They promised to obey God and His Prophet (s). They also testified to the oneness of God and the prophethood of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).[3] The Apostle of God (s) ended up conquering the city of Mecca on Friday, the 20th of Ramadan and stayed in Mecca for 10 to 20 days.[4]

The Battle of Ḥunayn

The victory of the Muslims over the Quraysh cast fear into the hearts of the other polytheists. The two tribes of Thaqīf and Hawāzin were polytheists, and their elders were great warriors and fighters.[5] They came together to consult with one another and finally came to the decision that they should attack the Muslims before they were attacked by them. They collected their troops and prepared themselves. The tribe of Hawāzin was led by Mālik b. ʿAwf b. Saʿd b. Rabīʿa, who was a relatively young leader. They prepared themselves for war. The tribes of Thaqīf, Naṣr, Jushm and Saʿd b. Bakr also joined them.[6]

On the other hand, the Prophet (s) became aware that the Hawāzin were preparing an army for war, so he (s) began to gather people together and prepare them for defense. The Prophet (s) promised

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[1] For more details on the text of the Prophet's sermon, see Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:835-39; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:412; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 51-52; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:50; Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 9:118.

[2] Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, 2:290.

[3] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:415; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:247; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:94.

[4] Ibn Saʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:137; Ṭabrsī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:343; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 2:322.

[5] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:99; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:105.

[6] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:437. This was because they shared the same forefather as the Quraysh and therefore, were blood-relatives (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jumḥurat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 243).

them victory and gave the flag of the army to ʿAlī (a). The Prophet (s) left for Awṭās[1] on Shawwāl 6th, 8/630 with 12000 people.[2]

When the Prophet (s) went to Ḥunayn, all of the inhabitants of Mecca accompanied him. Even those women who had not converted to Islam came with the army to watch the war and to acquire the war-booty. Approximately eighty polytheists accompanied the Muslims to Hawāzin.[3]

Mālik's Spies

Mālik b. ʿAwf tasked three of his men with spying on the Muslim army, but they returned to him fearfully and said: "We saw white people on black and white horses. Upon seeing them, terror overtook us and we could not control ourselves. By God, we are not going to war with the inhabitants of the earth; rather, we are going to war with people of heaven! If you ask us, we think you should return your companions. If people saw what we saw, they would surely die out of fear." Mālik said, "Shame on you! You are more cowardly than all!" Then, he sent another person to investigate about the Muslim army. He returned to Mālik in the same state of fear and told him the same thing that the first two people had said.[4]

Despite the news that was brought to Mālik, he prepared himself for war. The two armies came face to face with one another. Mālik b. ʿAwf said the following to his companions: "Break the sheaths of your swords so that the enemy may come face to face with two-thousand bare swords."[5]

The Beginning of the Battle

The first encounter of the Muslim army with the enemy occurred in a valley at dawn. The Muslims attacked the polytheists of Hawāzin and caused them to retreat. The Muslims thought that they had achieved

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[1] An area in the region where the Hawāzin tribe resided (Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 1:281).

[2] Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:150; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:62; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:410; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 113.

[3] Dhabhī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:577; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:377.

[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:892-93; Bayḥaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 5:123; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:316.

[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:893.

victory and thus turned towards the spoils. Suddenly, they were attacked by the archers of Hawāzin, who threw so many arrows that blackened the sky. When the polytheists of Mecca, who had been forgiven by the Prophet (s) saw the conditions of the war, they said the following to one another: "Leave Muḥammad (s) alone and do not help him! This is a good opportunity for us." They were the first group that fled from the battlefield. Some of the Companions of the Prophet (s) and those who had recently converted to Islam also fled, so the Muslim army was forced to retreat.[1] When some of the Meccans who were accompanying the Prophet (s) saw how people were cowardly fleeing, they began disparaging them. Abū Ṣufyān, for example, ridiculed the Muslims, and Jabala b. Ḥanbal shouted, "Today magic and wizardry was annulled."[2]

When the Prophet (s) saw the Muslims fleeing in this way, he told ʿAbbās, who had a loud voice, the following: "Cry out and remind the people about their oath!" ʿAbbās cried out: "Oh people who made an oath with the Prophet of God (s) under the tree! O people regarding whom Sūrat al-Baqara was revealed! Where are you fleeing to? Remember the pact that you made with the Prophet of God (s)!" However, the people did not listen and continued to run away. The Prophet (s) was left alone in that valley and only ʿAlī (a) remained beside him, but then gradually the Muslims that had run away came back to the Prophet of God (s).[3] They attacked the enemy again and followed the soldiers of Hawzān everywhere that they fled. Mālik b. ʿAwf fled with his soldiers and took refuge in the castle of al-Ṭāʾif.[4]

The Battle of al-Ṭāʾif

The polytheists who fled the battle of Ḥunayn began to prepare for another battle with the Muslims in the city of al-Ṭāʾif. They fortified their fortress and collected one year supply of food for themselves so that they could live there while surrounded by the Muslims. They

[1] Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:101; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:108. Some reports seem to affirm that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb also fled from the battle (See Bhukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:155; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:329; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:106).

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:910; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:443-44.

[3] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:142; Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 2:222; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:167.

[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:917.

prepared many stones to protect the fortress and iron rails to help put the catapult in place. Also, they brought the tribe of ʿUqayl and some other Arab tribes along with themselves. Moreover, they placed their quadrupeds in a safe place. Then, they closed the doors of the city and prepared themselves for war.

The Prophet (s) sent Khālid b. al-Walīd with one-thousand Muslims to al-Ṭāʾif. After he reached that place, Khālid encamped beside the fortress. The polytheist troops stood on top of the fortress. Khālid stood in front of them and said the following with a loud voice: "If one of you comes out to talk, he will be safe until he returns. Or allow me to safely enter the fortress and negotiate." They did not accept, so Khālid reminded of the defeat of Banū Qurayẓa, the Meccans, and Hawāzin. "We will not change our religion," they replied, so Khālid b. al-Walīd returned to his camp.[1]

In the year 8/630, after the battle of Ḥunayn, the Prophet (s) sent countless war-captives to Mecca, to the extent that the city was filled with them. Then, without returning to Mecca, he moved towards al-Ṭāʾif with the army of Islam. When they were moving there, the Prophet (s) had not even distributed the spoils of the war of Ḥunayn amongst the Muslims. The path of the Prophet (s) from Ḥunayn to al-Ṭāʾif went through the land of Nakhla al-Yamāniyya, Qarn, Mulayḥ and Baḥrat al-Rughāʾ via the land of Liyya. He built a mosque in a place called Baḥrat al-Rughāʾ and prayed there.[2]

The Siege of al-Ṭāʾif

The Prophet (s) encamped in al-Ṭāʾif, while one-hundred skilled polytheist archers were above the fortress, attacking anyone who approached the fortress. In these attacks, a few Muslims were injured and twelve of them were martyred.[3]

The Prophet encamped in a place that later became the location of the Thaqīf Mosque. ʿAmr b. Umayya al-Thaqafī, who embraced Islam after the war, was one of the cleverest Arabs. He advised others not to exit the fortress to fight the Prophet (s). He also said that if one of

[1] See Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:382-83; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:110.
[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:925; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:383.
[3] Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:383 Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:110.

the Companions of the Prophet (s) invited them to fight, they should not accept. Khālid b. al-Walīd came close to the fortress and cried out: "Who will fight me?" However, no one answered him. He repeated his words three times, but no one exited the fortress to fight him. Someone from the fortress said, "No one will come out of the fortress to fight. We will remain in this fortress, in which there are enough supplies for several years. Now, if you wish to fight with us, then you should wait here until our supplies are finished." Since no one came out of the castle, the battle between the two groups only continued in the form of archery.[1]

The Prophet (s) sought the advice of his Companions regarding the way to attack the fortress. Salmān said: "O Prophet of God (s)! In Persia, we would use catapults to attack fortified fortresses … I believe that we should attack the fortress in this way. Otherwise, we will have to wait here for a long time." The Prophet of God (s) ordered him to make a catapult. Salmān made the first catapult that the Muslims used in war.

For some time, the Muslims rained stones down upon the inhabitants of al-Ṭāʾif with the catapult. What is more, in order to conquer the fortress, the Muslims used a battering ram that was covered with a cattle-skin that protected them from the arrows of the archers. They went with it to the gate of the fortress with the intention of breaking the gate.

However, the polytheists threw smoldering iron upon the Muslims and consequently the battering ram burnt. Thus, the Muslims were forced to retreat. When they were retreating, the enemy archers on the roof shot the Muslims with arrows and some of them were martyred in this way. For this reason, this day became known as "the Day of Scratch." (*yawm al-shadhka*)[2]

During the siege of the fortress, forty people left it and joined the Prophet (s).[3] The Prophet (s) had announced that any slave who joined the Muslims would be emancipated, so most of those forty

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[1] Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:383-84; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:110; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:115-16.

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:927; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:483; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 123.

[3] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:64.

people were slaves. The Prophet (s) sent each of these slaves to one of his Companions so that they take care of these new Muslims and secure their daily needs. Also, the Prophet of God (s) ordered his Companions to teach the new Muslims the Qur'an and Islamic rulings.[1]

When the tribe of Thaqīf accepted Islam, their leaders, including Ḥārith b. Kalada, asked the Prophet (s) to return those former slaves to slavery. The Prophet (s) said the following to them: "They have been freed by God, and there is no way that they can be taken as slaves."[2]

The End of the Siege of al-Ṭāʾif

One day, Khawla, the daughter of Ḥakīm al-Sulamī, who was the wife of ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn said to the Prophet (s): "Oh Prophet of God! If God helps you conquer the city of al-Ṭāʾif, then give me the jewelry of Bādiya the daughter of Ghaylān and Fārigha the daughter of ʿAqīl." The Prophet (s) said: "O Khawla! What if God did not give me the permission to conquer?" Khawla left the presence of the Apostle of God (s) and told ʿUmar b. Khaṭṭāb what she had heard from the Prophet (s), so ʿUmar went to the Prophet (s) and said: "O Prophet (s)! Has God not ordained the conquest of al-Ṭāʾif?" The Prophet (s) said: "No!" He said: "Should I tell the people to prepare to return?" He (s) said: "Yes!" So ʿUmar announced the return to Medina.[3] In this battle, twelve Muslims were martyred[4] and the siege took approximately 30 days. In the next Ramadan, the people of al-Ṭāʾif sent a delegation to Medina and announced their conversion to Islam.[5] This happened only after all the Arab tribes on the outskirts of

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:931; Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:120; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:605-6.
[2] Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:384-85; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 2:111.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:935-36; Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:484; Ṭabarī, *Tarikh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:85.
[4] Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:486-87; Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:158; Khlaīfa b. khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 56.
[5] Ibn Katir, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:402; Ṭabrisī. *Iʿlām al-warā*, 124.

the city embraced Islam in Ramadan 9/631. The Prophet (s) sent ʿUthmān b. Abī al-ʿĀṣ to teach the people of al-Ṭāʾif Islamic rulings.[1]

The Event of the Closing of the Doors

Some of the Companions had built their homes around the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, and each of these homes had entrance doors to the Mosque. The Prophet (s) was ordered to close all of those doors except the door of his home and the door of ʿAlī's home. This event became known as the event of the Closing of the Doors (*sadd al-abwāb*),[2] which is reported in many historical sources.[3]

Upon hearing this order, some Muslims objected and the Prophet (s) emphasized that he was commanded by God to do that and it was not his personal decision.[4]

Since ʿAbbās, the uncle of the Prophet (s), was among those who objected to the closing of the doors,[5] and considering that his emigration to Medina was after the conquest of Mecca,[6] this event must have taken place after the conquest of Mecca, approximately in 9/630-1.

The Event of Mubāhala

In the year 9/630-631,[7] the Prophet (s) wrote a letter to the people of Najrān, who were mostly Christian, and invited them to Islam. This letter was addressed to Abū Ḥāritha b. ʿAlqama, the leader of the Christians of Najrān. When the letter of the Prophet (s) reached him,

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[1] See Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:537-40; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:79-80; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:97-99.

[2] There is disagreement over the date in which this event took place. This event has been massively reported in Shīʿī and Sunni hadith collections and reflects one of the virtues of Imām ʿAlī (a). In the counsel of six people who were appointed to determine the successor to ʿUmar, ʿAlī (a) argued for his superiority over the others by referring to this event (see Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 3:213).

[3] See Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:369; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 3:98-99, 5:178-89, 6:90, 8:416, 32:41; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, 2:567; Balādurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:106; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna* 2:599; Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 7:417, 424; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 2:190-92; Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 558.

[4] Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 7:424; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 7:342.

[5] Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:176; Ibn Abī ʿĀṣim, *al-Sunna*, 2:609; Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 2:144, Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 7:424.

[6] Balādurī, *Ansaāb al-ashrāf*, 1:355; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 3:61.

[7] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:166-71.

he read it for the people to consult with them about it. They arrived at the conclusion that they should send some representatives to the Prophet (s) in Medina and negotiate with him (s), so they chose a group of sixty people, among whom thirteen of the elders of Najrān including al-ʿĀqib (the bishop's secretary), Ayham,[1] and Abū Ḥāritha b. ʿAlqama. Al-ʿĀqib was the eldest in the group, and they would not do anything without his permission. Ayham was also in charge of logistics. Abū Hāritha b. ʿAlqama, from the tribe of Banū Bakr b. Wāʾil, was a scholarly bishop and in charge of the Christian schools. Roman emperors, who were Christians, supported him in every possible way. They constructed churches and schools for him and honored him greatly because of the knowledge and virtue that they saw in him.[2]

The representatives of Najrān came to the Prophet (s) in Medina, and the Prophet (s) read Quranic verses for them and called them to Islam, but they did not accept. For this reason, God ordered the Prophet (s) to suggest doing *mubāhala* (i.e., a practice in which two parties that are in conflict with each other ask God to curse the party that is wrong) with them:

> Should anyone argue with you concerning him, after the knowledge that has come to you, say, 'Come! Let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, our souls and your souls, then let us pray earnestly and call down God's curse upon the liars. (Q 3:61)

When this verse was revealed, the Prophet (s) called ʿAlī (a), Fāṭima (a), al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Ḥusayn (a) and said: "Oh God! These are my family."[3] Then, the Prophet of God (s) said the following to the representatives of Najrān: "God has ordered me to conduct *mubāhala* with you if you do not accept Islam." They said, "O Muḥammad! We will return to think." When the time given to the Christians to think and consult with one another ended, the Prophet (s) took al-Ḥasan (a) and al-Husayn (a) in his arms and came with ʿAlī

[1] "Sayyid" and "ʿĀqib" were titles of two religious posts among the Christians of Najrān (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, 3:268).
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:573.
[3] Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 2:66; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 6:419; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 37:264-65, 270.

(a) and Fāṭima (a) for the *mubāhala*, without bringing any of his wives. He said the following to those who had accompanied them: "When I make a prayer, you say: 'Amen.'"[1]

When the bishop of Najrān saw the companions of the Prophet (s), he said: "He has come with his family for the *mubāhala*. I see people for whom God would destroy a people on the earth if they ask Him to. Do not do *mubāhala* with them or you will be destroyed … If you really wish to continue following your religion, then make a pact with him and return." So, the people of Najrān said the following to the Prophet (s): "Oh Muḥammad (s)! We will not perform *mubāhala* with you!" The Prophet (s) said: "Then accept Islam! You will have whatever the other Muslims have." They refused that as well, so the Prophet (s) made a deal with them.[2]

The Battle of Tabuk

The Battle of Tabuk was the last battle of the Prophet (s). It was waged in Rajab and Shaʿbān, 9/October and November, 630. The aim was to counteract and defuse military expeditions and preparations by the Roman army in the Levant.

The Muslims were informed that Heraclius, the Roman emperor, had prepared a massive army, in alliance with the Arabian tribes of Lakhm, Judhām, Ghassān, and ʿĀmila. The first group of the Roman army had encamped in the region of Balqāʾ, north of Tabuk, and the Roman ruler had arrived in Homs.[3] In order to confront them, the Prophet encamped in Thaniyyat al-Widāʿ near Medina, and then with an army of thirty-thousand people, he headed to the north of Medina, towards Roman borders.[4] Prior to the expedition, the Prophet (s) designated ʿAlī (a) as his successor in Medina.[5] The hypocrites had conspired to induce riots in Medina in the absence of the Prophet, but they believed that the presence of ʿAlī (a) in the city would impede

[1] Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 2:39; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 6:419; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 35:264.
[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:583-84; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:426; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:277.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:989-90; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:125-26; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:368.
[4] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:992, 996, 1002.
[5] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, 270-71.

their machinations. Thus, they began to spread rumors to the effect that the Prophet was discontent with ʿAlī (a), so he did not take him to the battle. Because of that, ʿAlī went to al-Jurf, near Medina, to visit the Prophet and tell him about the rumors. There, the Prophet (s) told him: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses, except there is no prophet after me."[1]

The Muslim army arrived in Tabuk, where it sojourned for twenty days, but then they returned without any confrontation with the Roman army in Ramadan 9/631.[2][3] There are different historical reports as to the reason behind this return. It is said, for instance, that Heraclius sent an emissary to the Muslim camp to make peace.[4]

An Attempted Assassination of the Prophet (s)

There were a number of hypocrites who plotted to kill the Prophet (s) on his way back from Tabūk and waited for a right circumstance in which they could accomplish their plans. There were paths on the road which were difficult to cross, and those provided the hypocrites with an opportune occasion to put their wicked plots into practice by throwing the Prophet (s) into a valley. However, the Prophet was notified of the treason through a revelation from God. When the Prophet (s) learned about the conspiracy, he issued an announcement to the effect that he would cross the mountain pass on his own, and the rest of the army should travel through the valley. Upon the announcement, the whole army went through the valley, except those who had connived to assassinate the Prophet (s). When the hypocrites learned that the Prophet (s) was alone in the mountain bypath, they veiled their faces and prepared to fulfil their vicious plan.

In the mountain pass, the Prophet (s) was accompanied by ʿAmmār b. Yāsir who held his camel's tack, and by Ḥudhayfa b. al-

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:519-20. This hadith came to be called "Ḥadīth al-Manzila" (the Hadith of Status) and was reported in Sunni hadith collections via different chains of transmitters (Maʿmar b. Rāshid, *Jāmiʿ*, 11:226; Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:405-6; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:366).

[2] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:999, 1015; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:125-26.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1056; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:68.

[4] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:524-25; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:368.

Yamān who walked behind the camel. The Prophet (s) heard the hypocrites' footsteps and noticed their presence. They agitated the camel and thus it raged and went wild. Part of the camel's load fell into the valley. The Prophet (s) was enraged, commanding Ḥudhayfa to repel the assailants. Ḥudhayfa attacked them and was able to drive them away. When the hypocrites saw their plans thwarted, they went down the valley and hid among the troops.

The Prophet asked Ḥudhayfa, "Did you identify any of the assaulters?" Ḥudhayfa replied, "I recognized their mounts, which belonged to the Muslims, but since they had veiled their faces on this pitch-dark night, I could not see their faces."[1] Then the Prophet said: "God has informed me of their names and the names of their fathers, and I will inform you about them." Ḥudhayfa asked: "Will you not command me to decapitate them when the army arrives?" The Prophet (s) said: "I do not want people to say that Muḥammad killed his own companions." The Prophet (s) then told Ḥudhayfa and ʿAmmār their names, and ordered them not to disclose their names to anyone."[2]

The Prophet (s) did not penalize those hypocrites but only anathematized them.[3] He also announced, "There are twelve hypocrites among my companions who will never enter Paradise."[4] The following verse is said to have been revealed about these traitors:

> "They swear by Allah that they did not say it. But they certainly did utter the word of unfaith and renounced faith after their Islam. They contemplated what they could not achieve." (Q 9:74)

In historical sources, the number of those who conspired to assassinate the Prophet (s) is reported to have been fourteen or fifteen, but one cannot find a complete list of the names of these

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1042-43.
[2] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 5:257; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:466-67.
[3] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 5:261; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:648.
[4] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 31:180; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:2143.

traitors.[1] This may indicate an attempt at concealing the identities of some of the conspirators.[2]

Ḍirār Mosque (Mosque of Harm)

Ḍirār Mosque was constructed by some hypocrites from the clan of Banū Ghanam b. ʿAwf in the Qubāʾ area. Members of this clan had asked the Prophet (s) to pray in the location of the mosque with the claim that their goal was building a shelter for the poor.[3]

Upon his return from Tabūk, the Prophet (s) was informed by God of the evil intention behind the construction of the mosque and thus he commanded that it should be demolished. The Quran says in this regard:

> "As for those who took to a mosque for sabotage and for defiance, and to cause division among the faithful, and for the purpose of ambush [used] by those who have fought Allah and His Apostle before[4]—they will surely swear, 'We desired nothing but good,' and Allah bears witness that they are indeed liars." (Q 9:107)

It was already mentioned that the Qubāʾ Mosque in the south of Medina was the first mosque that the Apostle of God (s) built in this region at the beginning of his emigration. This mosque, built in the lands of the clan of Banū ʿAmr ibn ʿAwf, relatives of the clan of Banū Ghanam,[5] was given special attention by the Prophet (s). He would come to this mosque every Saturday and pray there.[6] The status of the Qubāʾ Mosque in the eyes of the Messenger of God (s) caused the jealousy of Banū Ghanam, and thus they decided to build a mosque in their lands in rivalry with Banū ʿAmr.[7] The construction of this mosque caused division among the people in the Qubāʾ region.[8] Also,

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[1] For example, see Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:2144.
[2] See Bayhaqī, Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa, 5:258-59; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, Subul al-hudā, 5:467-68; see also Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Muḥallā*, 12:160.
[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:529.
[4] According to some sources, Abū ʿĀmir al-Rāhib was the one who fought with God and His apostle (Ṣanʿānī, *Tafsīr*, 2:165).
[5] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:494.
[6] Samhūdī, *wafāʾ al-wafā*, 3:802-5.
[7] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:470.
[8] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:529.

according to some reports, this mosque had become a base for the hypocrites, where the Prophet (s) and the Muslims were mocked.[1] After learning of the sinister intentions of the founders of the new mosque, the Messenger of God (s) sent a group with Mālik b. Dukhshum, who was himself from Banū Ghanam,[2] and ordered them to destroy this base of sedition.[3]

The Story of Sura al-Barāʾa

The Conquest of Mecca in 8/629 did not mean the predominance of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula, but eventually in 9/631, which came to be known as "ʿĀm al-Wufūd" (the Year of the Delegates), many tribes sent delegates to the Prophet (s), announcing their conversion to Islam.[4]

The first ten verses of Sura al-Barāʾa (Q 9), were revealed towards the end of 9/631,[5] and the Prophet (s) was ordered by God to convey them to the polytheists in Dhū al-Ḥijja/March of the same year during their congregation in Mecca.[6]

When the ten verses were revealed, the Prophet (s) summoned Abū Bakr, and sent him to Mecca with the mission to read the verses out to people. The Prophet (s) then summoned ʿAlī (a) and gave him his own camel to go after Abū Bakr, to take the written statement from him, and to take charge of the task.[7] ʿAlī (a) reached Abū Bakr in al-Juḥfa and took the statement from him. Abū Bakr went back to the

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[1] Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:203.

[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabqāt al-kubrā*, 3:414. Probably, by doing this, the Prophet wanted the mosque to be destroyed by a member of the same tribe that had built the mosque, so that they could not take action against other tribes.

[3] Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 5:259-60.

[4] See Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:559-60.

[5] Ibid., 2:543-44; ʿAyyāshī, *al-Tafsīr*, 2:73; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 5:3.

[6] Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 5:36-37.

[7] Some Sunni scholars have said that Abū Bakr's dismissal in this incident and ʿAlī's dispatch is not an indication of the latter's superiority; the decision to dispatch ʿAlī was made simply because a contract was considered nullifiable only by the person who made it or by one of his relatives. However, Shīʿī scholars maintain that based on the reports related to this event, the Prophet's explanation for the dismissal of Abū Bakr was that God had revealed to him, "No one fulfills on your behalf except you or a man of you," and this is not restricted to nullifying contracts; in addition, ʿAlī's mission was not simply to nullify the Prophet's contract but to announce and communicate new divine rulings (see Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, 9:164-68).

Prophet (s) and said: "O the apostle of God! Was anything revealed about me?" The Prophet replied, "No! But Gabriel came to me and said, 'Your message is not to be delivered except by you or by a man from you."[1]

ʿAlī (a) arrived in Mecca on Eid al-Adha in the afternoon, and introduced himself to people as the Prophet (s)'s envoy. He recited the opening verses of Sura al-Barāʾa (Q 9), and then said: "From now on, no one circumambulates [around the Kaaba] without clothes, and no polytheist has the right to visit [the Kaaba] as a pilgrim in the upcoming year. Everyone who has made a four-month treaty with the Prophet (s), the Prophet is committed to his treaty, and those without a treaty are given a deadline of fifty nights."[2]

A major virtue of ʿAlī (a) in Shīʿī[3] and Sunni[4] sources is the communication of these verses. The event has been cited in sources of hadith and history.[5] ʿAlī (a) himself cited the event as evidence of his superiority over other companions of the Prophet (s) and as evidence of his entitlement to the position of caliphate.[6]

Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's Son

In Dhū al-Hijjah, 8/March, 630, God gave a son called "Ibrāhīm" to the Prophet. Ibrāhīm's mother was Māriya al-Qibṭiyya, When the midwife gave the good tidings of Ibrāhīm's birth to the Prophet, he gave her a reward. Seven days after his son's birth, the Prophet (s) sacrificed a sheep for him as *ʿaqīqa*. He shaved Ibrāhīm's head and gave pieces of silver equal in weight to the shaved hair as alms to the poor in Medina. He then ordered that the hair be buried under the ground. Māriya was envied by the Prophet's (s) wives for having borne him a son. When Ibrāhīm was born, Gabriel addressed the

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[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:545-46; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:128; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 2:427; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:65-66; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 42:248; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 2:126.

[2] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:76; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 5:37.

[3] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:65; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 2:126.

[4] Khʷārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, 164; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 7:357.

[5] ʿAllāma Amīnī cites seventy-three sources in which the hadith is cited, adding that the hadith was massively transmitted through different chains of transmission (Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 6:338-41).

[6] Ibn Maghāzilī, *Manāqib Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, 170; Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:144.

Prophet with the teknonym Abū Ibrāhīm (the father of Ibrāhīm), and said: "Greetings to you, O Abū Ibrāhīm."[1]

Ibrāhīm, the Prophet's son, died on Tuesday Rabīʿ I 10, 10/June 16, 631.[2] In a lament for his son, the Prophet (s) said: "The eye is tearful and the heart is sorrowful. I do not say anything but that which is pleasing to God. I swear to God, O Ibrāhīm! We are so doleful by your loss."[3]

Yemeni Tribes' Conversion to Islam

In 10/632, the Prophet (s) gave Khālid b. al-Walīd the mission to go to Yemen and call the people there to Islam. He and his associates stayed in Yemen for six months, all the while calling people to Islam, but with no success. Subsequently, the Prophet sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) to Yemen to take the charge, and to send Khālid back to Medina. The Prophet told ʿAlī (a): "Of Khālid's companions, anyone who wishes to stay by your side may do so, and anyone who wishes to return to Medina along with Khālid may do so as well."

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) performed congregational prayer in Yemen together with his companions, and then organized them in a line and stood before them. He then read the Prophet's (s) message to the people. ʿAlī's (a) sincerity left a deep impact on the people there, and thus seniors of the Hamdān tribe, and together with them the whole tribe, converted to Islam. In a letter, ʿAlī (a) gave the good news to the Prophet (s). Upon reading the letter, the Prophet (s) prostrated himself before God, then raised his head and said: "Greetings to Hamdān! Greetings to Hamdān!"[4]

Once again, the Prophet (s) sent ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) to Yemen in Ramadan, commanding him to camp in the area of Qanāt.[5] The Prophet made a flag out of his own turban and handed it over to ʿAlī (a). He also made a turban with his own hand and put it on ʿAlī's

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[1] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:448-50; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 11:21-22; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:183.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:114-15.
[3] Ibid., 1:114; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:62; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 3:262.
[4] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:384; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:131-32; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:62.
[5] Qanāt is a plain south of Medina (Bakrī, *Muʿjam mā ustuʿjim*, 3:1096).

head, telling him: "If you landed on their territories, do not fight them until they fight you. Call them to testify that there is no god except Allāh and Muḥammad is the apostle of Allāh; if they acceded to your call, then call them to pray; if they acceded to this too, then call them to pay zakat; and if they acceded to this too, then do not ask them anything else! I swear to God that if one person is guided by you, that is better than attaining the whole world."

ʿAlī (a) left Medina along with three-hundred chivalries. The first place they arrived at was the habitat of the Madhḥij tribe. ʿAlī (a) dispersed his companions throughout the area in separate groups. He then encountered people in the region, whom he called to Islam, but they refused and attacked the Muslims with arrows and stones.

After their attacks on the Muslims, ʿAlī (a) arranged his army and handed the flag over to Masʿūd b. Sinān al-Sulamī. A person from the Madhḥij tribe asked for a challenger. Aswad b. Khuzāʿī fought and killed him. Then the Muslim army made a sudden raid on the army of Madhḥij under the command of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a), leaving twenty people killed. Soldiers of the enemy were scattered; they left their flags and escaped. ʿAlī (a) did not chase them and just called them to Islam again. This time, everyone acceded to the call. Certain seniors of the tribe pledged their allegiance to ʿAlī (a) on behalf of the whole tribe, and then said: "These are our alms. Take from it what belongs to God!"

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) collected the booty, and divided it into five shares. He separated one part as God's share, and then selected the Prophet's (s) share by drawing lots, and distributed the rest among the soldiers. In such battles, other commanders often gave special booty—which had to be placed among the shares of God and the Prophet (s)—to their courageous soldiers, and then reported these allotments to the Prophet (s), who then allowed them to keep the booty. So, some of the soldiers of the army asked ʿAlī (a) to give them this special share, but he refused to do so, saying, "I will take the fifth to the Prophet so that he makes the decision."[1]

[1] See Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1079-82; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:128-29; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 6:238-39.

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) stayed with the people of Madhḥij for a while to teach them the Qurʾān and Islamic rulings. He wrote a letter to the Prophet (s) and briefed him about the situation. In response, the Prophet (a) asked ʿAlī (a) to join him for ḥajj. Upon receiving the message, ʿAlī (a) headed toward Mecca.

On their way back, in the area of Fatq, ʿAlī (a) entrusted the *khums* (one-fifth of the booty) to Abū Rāfiʿ and appointed him as the commander of the army, and then hastened toward the Prophet (s).

When ʿAlī (a) left, the soldiers insistently asked Abū Rāfiʿ to give them the Yemeni pieces of cloth which had been isolated as the one-fifth (*khums*) of the booty so that they could wear them as their *iḥrām* clothing, so Abū Rāfiʿ gave two pieces of cloth to each soldier. When they were preparing to enter the sanctuary of Mecca in the area of Sidra, ʿAlī (a) met them and saw their clothing, so he interrogated Abū Rāfiʿ about that. Abū Rāfiʿ said: "They persistently asked me to do so, and finally I was tired of their frequent requests. I thought you would have no objection, since commanders before you did the same." ʿAlī (a) said: "You saw that I did not give them anything from the *khums*, and yet you did so. I ordered you to protect what is in your possession, but you gave it to the soldiers!" Then ʿAlī (a) retook the pieces of cloth from those who had put them on as *iḥrām*. Being unhappy about ʿAlī's reaction, the soldiers complained to the Prophet (s), who asked ʿAlī (a) about what had happened. ʿAlī (a) said: "I did not do anything that might lead to their complaints. I distributed the booty among them, and then retained the one-fifth share so that you could decide about it."[1] Thus, in response to the complainants, the Prophet (s) said: "Do not slander ʿAlī; he is from me and I am from him, and he is your master after me."[2]

Ḥajjat al-Widāʿ (Farewell Pilgrimage)

The Prophet lived in Medina for a decade, during which he never performed the ḥajj, although he made an annual sacrifice during the

[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1081; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 2:97; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 6:339.

[2] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 38:117-18; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, 2:688; Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 7:441; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 42:189-90, 199.

ḥajj season. In Dhū al-Qaʿda, 10 AH (February 632), he declared his intention to perform ḥajj. The news circulated in Medina and adjacent areas, and the city became crowded with masses of people who wanted to perform ḥajj the way the Prophet (s) performed it.[1] The Apostle of God (s) delivered a speech about the rituals that had to be carried out during ḥajj. Then, he performed *ghusl*, and then wore a piece of cloth as his *iḥrām*.[2]

On the twenty-fifth of Dhū al-Qaʿda 25 at noon, the Prophet left Medina.[3] He then waited for his companions at the mosque in Dhu al-Ḥulayfa (8 km south of Masjid al-Nabī) and performed afternoon prayers with them when they arrived. Afterwards, the Prophet (s) left Dhū al-Ḥulayfa and headed toward the area of Dhū Ṭuwā, known today as Ābār al-Zāhir, where he made a sojourn on the eve of Sunday twenty-sixth of Dhū l-Qaʿda. He performed morning prayers and *ghusl* there, and then he departed toward Mecca. The Prophet changed his *iḥrām* clothing in Tanʿīm (a place two parasangs away from Mecca) and said the following prayer: "O God! Make this an accepted ḥajj! A ḥajj performed not pretentiously nor for the sake of reputation."[4]

The Prophet entered Mecca from the Thaniyyat al-ʿUlyā area and went to Masjid al-Ḥarām during the dawn, entering the mosque through the ʿAbd Manāf gate. When the Prophet saw the Kaaba, he raised his hands toward the sky and said: "O God! You are the peace and peace comes from You! Admit us with peace! O God! With anyone who performs ʿumra and ḥajj around this house, add to its dignity, greatness, and honor!"[5] Then he headed toward the Ṣafāʾ mountain through the Banū Makhzūm gate.

The Minā Sermon

The Prophet (s) delivered an important speech in Minā after the revelation of Sura al-Naṣr (Q 110), through which the Prophet knew

[1] Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 8:450.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:173; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 2:102.
[3] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:171; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 8:451.
[4] Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 4:138; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 8:468.
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1097; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:131.

that this would be his final ḥajj. The following are some of the passages in this speech:

O People! You have one God and one father. There is no superiority for Arabs or non-Arabs, not for blacks or reds. The only superiority comes from God-wariness (*taqwā*) and piety. The noblest of you before God is the most God-wary of you.

God the exalted has sanctified your blood, property, and honor as He has sanctified this month [i.e., Dhū l-Ḥijja], this land, and this day. The sanctity remains in force until you meet God.

Anyone to whom something is entrusted has to return it to its owner. All kinds of usury, prevalent in the Age of Ignorance (Jāhiliyya), is now revoked and prohibited.

Refrain from injustice; refrain from injustice; refrain from injustice. It is not allowed [to use] the property of a Muslim except by his consent.

O men! Women have rights upon you, just as you have rights upon them. Women are your partners and companions. They are entrusted to you by God. Keep them with you, and as they are lawful for you in God's name, treat them in accord with piety and ask what is good for them.

O people! Satan is disappointed of being worshiped in your land, but in what falls short of worship, he is still greedy for your obedience. God has commanded me to call people to His worship. Do not do injustice to you and do not revert to disbelief after me.[1]

The Story of Ghadīr

Having performed ḥajj, the Prophet (s) departed Mecca to Medina. On Thursday, Dhū al-Hijja 18, 10/632, the caravan of Ḥajj pilgrims arrived in the area of Ghadīr Khumm, where people of Medina, those of Iraq, and those of Egypt would part ways. On that day, Gabriel revealed the following verse to the Prophet:

> "O Apostle! Communicate that which has been sent down to you from your Lord, and if you do not, you will not have communicated His message, and Allah shall protect you from

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:603-4; Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 2:84; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 8:482-83.

> the people. Indeed, Allah does not guide the faithless lot." (Q 5:67)

Moreover, God commanded the Prophet (s) to communicate what had been revealed about ʿAlī's mastership. So, the Prophet (s) ordered the caravan of ḥajj to stop, and a group of Muslims who were ahead of the caravan in the vicinity of al-Juḥfa were ordered to return to Ghadīr Khumm. The Prophet (s) performed noon prayers with the pilgrims and then stood on heaped saddles of camels and said the following:

> Praise is due to God from whom we seek help, in whom we believe, and to whom we entrust everything. We take refuge in God from the evils of our souls and our wrongful deeds—he who is led astray by God cannot be guided, and he who is guided by God cannot be led astray. I witness that there is no god except Allāh, and Muḥammad is His servant and apostle. O people! God the Almighty has informed me that I would meet Him soon. I will be interrogated, as you will be interrogated. So, what would you say?

People said: "We testify that you have communicated to us what you were commanded to, and that you have been benevolent and diligent, may God reward you!" The Prophet said: "Would you not testify that there is no god except Allāh and Muḥamamd is His servant and apostle, and that God's heaven and God's hell are true, and the day of resurrection will certainly come, and God will resurrect everyone from the graves?" People said: "Yes! We would!" The Prophet said: "O God! Bear witness!" He then said: "O people! Do you hear?" They said: "Yes!" He said:

> I will go ahead to the Pond [of Kawthar], and you will meet me at the pond, whose width is the distance between Sanaa and Busra. It contains many silver bowls equal to the number of stars. See how you would treat the two weighty things (*thaqalayn*) after me … The first, which is greater, is God's book; one side of it is in God's hand and the other side is in your hands. Hold fast to it lest you be led astray. And the second, which is lesser, is my household (*ʿitratī*). God the Exalted has notified me that these two shall never leave each other until they meet me again at the Pond. Do not go ahead

of them lest you be destroyed and do not lag behind them lest you be ruined."

Afterwards, the Prophet (s) raised ʿAlī's (a) hand such that everyone could see and recognize him and then said: "O people! Who has a higher claim on people than they have on their own selves?" People replied: "God and His apostle know better." He said: "God is my master (*mawlā*) and I am the master of believers and I have a higher claim on them than they have on their own selves. Whoever I am his master, ʿAlī is his master" and repeated the latter statement three times.[1] Then, the following verse was revealed: "Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you, and I have approved Islam as your religion" (Q 5:3).[2] Afterwards, according to some reports, the Muslims pledged their allegiance to the Prophet (s) and ʿAlī (a) and congratulated the latter, and the first people who did so were Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, Ṭalḥa, and al-Zubayr. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar told ʿAlī (a): "Congratulations! Congratulations! O the son of Abū Ṭālib! Today you have become my master and the master of all men and women."[3] It is reported that for three consecutive days, various groups of people visited the Prophet (s) and ʿAlī (a), and once each group pledged their allegiance to ʿAlī (a), the Prophet (s) said: "Praise is due to God who has given us superiority over the rest of the world."[4]

The Prophet (s) then sat in his camp and ordered ʿAlī (a) to sit in another camp so that people could meet him in groups and congratulate him. After that, he ordered his wives to go to ʿAlī's camp and congratulate him, and they did so.[5]

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[1] For more information one the text of the Ghadīr sermon, see Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 247; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 12:237; Ibn Sharāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3:29, Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 12:49; Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 2:298; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 37:124, 184-85; Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 1:34-35.

[2] The revelation of this verse on the day of Ghadīr is confirmed in the following sources: Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, 8:290; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *Manāqib Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, 46; Khʷārazmī, *al-Manāqib*, 135, 156; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 12:237; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 5:210; Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 2:259.

[3] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:177; Ibn al-Maghāzilī, *Manāqib Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, 46; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 37:180; Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 1:35.

[4] Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:66; Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 1:508-9.

[5] Murtaḍā al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sīrat al-Nabī al-aʿẓam*, 31:234. Hadith al-Ghadīr is undoubtedly a massively transmitted (*mutawātir*) hadith. There are many reliable reports

Sura al-Maʿārij

After the Event of Ghadīr, a person called Jābir b. al-Naḍr went to the Prophet (s) and said: "O Muḥammad! You commanded us on behalf of God to testify that there is no god except Allāh and that you are His apostle, and then you ordered us to offer prayers and fast and perform Ḥajj and pay zakat, and we obeyed you, but you did not rest content with that. You raised your cousin's hands, giving him superiority over us, and said, 'Whoever I am his master, ʿAlī is his master.' Are these your own words or God's command?" The Prophet (s) said: "I swear to the One except whom there is no god that this is from God the Exalted." Jābir went back to his riding animal and said: "O God! If what Muḥammad says is true, either throw stones at us or send down a painful punishment on us!" Then before he reached his animal, a stone went down from the sky, hit his head, and killed him. It was reportedly on this occasion that the following verse was revealed: "An asker asked for a punishment sure to befall" (Q 70:1).[1]

Expedition of Usāma

Usāma's army was the last army mobilized at the command of the Prophet (s) against attacks by the Roman Empire. Since Usāma b. Zayd was the commander of this army, it came to be known as Usāma's army. Usāma's father, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, was a slave emancipated by the Prophet (s) and was one of the first Muslims. For this reason, Zayd and his son, Usāma, were among the Prophet's "*mawālī*" (relatives through emancipation). He was born four years

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of this event; the following are some of those who have reported it: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh, al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, Zayd b. Arqam, al-Barrāʾ b. ʿĀzib, Burayda b. Ḥuṣayb, Abū Hurayra, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī, Jābir b. ʿAbd Allāh, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās, Ḥabashī b. Junāda, ʿAbd Allāh b. Masʿūd, ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī, Salmān al-Fārsī, Asʿad b. Zurāra, Khuzayma b. Thābit, Abū Ayyūb Anṣārī, Sahl b. Ḥunayf, Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, Samura b. Jundab, Zayd b. Thābit, Anas b. Mālik, and other companions of the Prophet (s) (see Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 1:298-99).

[1] See Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 2:381-83; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 3:40; Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 18:278; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, 3:302; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 37:136-37, 162-63, 176.

after the Prophet's first revelation (*biʿtha*) in 614 CE, and at the time of the Prophet's (s) demise he was just nineteen years old.[1]

Late in Muḥarram,11/633,[2] the Prophet (s) commanded the Muslims to wage a war against Rome. He appointed Usāma as the commander of the Muslim army. Usāma encamped in al-Jurf near Medina, where he was joined by Muslims.[3] There are different accounts of the number of Usāma's troops, from seven-hundred to four-thousand, and even twelve-thousand.[4] The army's destination was Balqaʾ and Dārūm in the land of Palestine.[5]

The majority of those who were summoned to Usāma's army were from the Immigrants, and almost all early Immigrants had left Medina along with the army.[6] Prominent figures of the Immigrants who were summoned to the army included Abū Bakr, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and Abū ʿUbayda al-Jarrāḥ.[7] Usāma's appointment as the commander faced resistance and defiance, however,[8] since he was considered too young.[9]

Calamity of the Thursday (*Raziyyat al-Khamīs*)

Early in 11/632, the Prophet (s) fell sick in bed. In the final days of his life, on a Thursday, the Prophet (s) said: "Bring me ink and paper so that I write something with which you will not go astray." At this time, there was an uproar around the Prophet's bed. ʿUmar said: "The Prophet's body is being taken over by pain. We have the book

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[1] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1125.
[2] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:184.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:184; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:650.
[4] See Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 10:139; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 6:305; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 28:107.
[5] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:184.
[6] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1118; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:184.
[7] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1118; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:145-46; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:350.
[8] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1118; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:115.
[9] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:650. According to some sources, the Prophet (s) cursed those who would refuse to join Usāma's army (Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-nalāgha*, 6:52; see also Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa al-niḥal*, 1:30; Āmidī, *Abkār al-afkār*, 5:37). Some scholars have stated that Abū Bakr and ʿUmar did not join the army of Usāma, but this was because they considered their remaining in Medina more beneficial for Islam and the Muslim community (Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-nalāgha*, 12:83; Āmidī, *Abkār al-afkār*, 5:250).

of God, which is sufficient for us."[1] At this moment, there was a dispute between those who agreed with the writing and those who disagreed. The Prophet was infuriated by the scene and said: "Leave my company!"

After the Prophet's demise, Ibn ʿAbbās would weep over this incidence—which came to be known as "Raziyyat al-Khamīs" (Calamity of the Thursday)—and say: "The disaster in its entirety was their disagreement and uproar that prevented the Prophet from writing that written peace."[2]

The Prophet's Demise

When the Prophet's health took a serious turn for the worse, his companions circled around him. ʿAmmār said to the Prophet (s): "May my parents be sacrificed for you, O the apostle of God! Who will wash your body [after your demise]?" The Prophet replied: "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, because he will be assisted by angels when washing each part of my body." ʿAmmār said: "May my parents be sacrificed for you, O the apostle of God! Who will perform funeral prayers for you?" The Prophet (s) said: "May God have His mercy upon you! Be patient!"[3] He then turned to ʿAlī (a) and told him: "O ʿAlī! Take my head into your arms! When my time comes, turn me towards the *qibla*, undertake my funeral wash (*ghusl*) and shrouding, and be the first who performs funeral prayers for me, and do not leave me until you put my body inside the earth."[4]

He then told his companions: "Put my corpse besides my grave and leave me alone for a while, since God will be the first who will send greetings to me. Then I shall be greeted by Gabriel, Michael, and

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[1] This appears in Sunni sources in different ways. According to the majority of sources, he said, "The pain has taken over the Prophet" (see Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:438; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:188; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:36-37, 7:9; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:76). However, the phrase "He is talking nonsense" appears in such Sunni sources as Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 7:137.

[2] See Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:438; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:188; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 5:134-35; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:34, 9:111; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:184; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:232, 235; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 5:227, 251; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 14:446-47; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 12:148; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:468.

[3] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 633; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:507.

[4] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:470.

Isrāfīl, and finally by the angel of death (ʿ*Izrāʾīl*). Together with innumerable angels, they shall pray for me, and shall then be followed by the inhabitants of the divine Throne (ʿ*arsh*), and then by the inhabitants of heaven. O ʿAlī! You and my daughter Fāṭima and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn perform prayers for me. Open the prayer with seventy-five *takbīrs* [that is, the phrase *Allāh akbar* (God is the greatest)], and then recite five *takbīrs*, and then go. This is all after a permission you are granted by Gabriel. After that, you all meet me in groups and perform prayers!" Abū Bakr asked: "Who will enter into your grave?" He replied: "Close members of my household accompanied by angels whom you shall not see. Rise and notify those who are outside!"[1]

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) took the Prophet's head in his arms, and while his hand was under the Prophet's chin, the soul of the Apostle of God (s) left his body. He then turned the Prophet's soulless body towards the *qibla*, shut his eyes, covered him with his cloak, and began preparations for the burial.[2]

This sad event took place on Monday, Ṣafar 28, 11/May 6, 632.[3] At the time of his decease, the Prophet (s) was sixty-three years old.[4]

The Prophet's Obsequies

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) started washing the Prophet's body, while whispering: "Even in death you are as sweet-scented as you were alive!"[5] As per the Prophet's will, ʿAlī (a) washed his body with seven buckets of water from the Ghars well (a water well in Medina),[6] applying pieces of cedar and camphor brought to him by Gabriel from heaven. They amounted to a weight of forty dirhams

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[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 634; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 5:253; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 11:254; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:507, 531, 78:379-80.

[2] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:187; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 136; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:203.

[3] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:189; Ṭabrisī, *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, 2:214; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:514, 531.

[4] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, 75; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:453; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 55:362, 364.

[5] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:214-5; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 14:572; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 12:322.

[6] Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 1:471; Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, 3:112; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 12:323.

(approximately 140 grams), which the Prophet (s) had divided into three parts: one for himself, one for ʿAlī (a), and one for Fāṭima (a).[1]

The Prophet (s) had asked ʿAlī (a) not to use extravagant pieces of cloth for his shrouding.[2] ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib who undertook the shrouding of the Prophet (s)[3] washed the Prophet's body while it was covered by a shirt and shrouded the Prophet (s) with three pieces of cloth.[4]

There was a dispute among people as to where the Prophet had to be buried. Some people suggested that he be buried in al-Baqīʿ cemetery, and others proposed that he be buried inside the mosque. However, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) said: "God does not take the soul of his dearest apostle unless he is in the purest place, so he should be buried where he passed away." Thus, everyone agreed that the Prophet be buried in his own house where he died.[5]

ʿAlī (a) covered the shrouded corpse of the Prophet with a piece of cloth, and then stood at the gate of the house.[6] He then allowed people to enter the house in groups of ten. They circled around the Prophet (s), and ʿAlī (a) stood in the middle of the circle, while reciting the Quranic verse: "Indeed Allāh and His angels bless the Prophet; O you who have faith! Invoke blessings on him and invoke Peace upon him in a worthy manner" (Q 33:56), and people repeated the verse after him.[7]

ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a), ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, al-Faḍl b. ʿAbbās, and Usāma b. Zayd entered the Prophet's house for funeral and interment services. At this moment, a group of Helpers: "O ʿAlī! We swear to God that our share is being neglected. Let one of us enter the house so that the Helpers might have a contribution in the Prophet's burial." ʿAlī (a) said: "Let Aws b. Khawlī enter the house." Aws was a warrior in the Battle of Badr, and was deemed a senior of Banū ʿAwf

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 3:151; Ṣadūq, *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*, 1:302; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:544-45.
[2] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:493-94.
[3] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 555-56.
[4] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:663; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:285; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:114.
[5] Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 10; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:505-6.
[6] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 22:517, 540, 78:302.
[7] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:230; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 12:329; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*, 1:206.

from the Khazraj tribe. When he entered the house, ʿAlī (a) told him to go inside the grave. He did so, and then ʿAlī (a) handed the Prophet's corpse over to him, and when the corpse was placed on the ground, ʿAlī (a) told him to leave the grave. Aws exited from the tomb, and then ʿAlī (a) went inside. He put the cover on the Prophet's face to one side, and while the Prophet's corpse was placed on his right side towards the *qibla*, he put the Prophet's face on the ground. Then he put the *laḥad* stone on the corpse and buried it under the soil.[1] ʿAlī (a) raised the Prophet's grave, as per his will, by one span and four fingers above the ground, poured water on it, and said: "It is the Prophet's tradition to pour water on the grave."[2]When the Prophet's body rested in the soil, Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ (a) threw herself on the grave, took a fistful of the soil, put it on her eyes, and then recited poems to the following effect: "One who smells the soil of [the grave of] God's Apostle will never smell anything so precious till her death. Calamities befell us that would turn the bright day into a dark night."[3] Few Muslims witnessed the Prophet's burial and got the chance to perform funeral prayers for him, since many of them had gathered in the Saqīfa (Hall) of Banū Sāʿda to appoint a caliph. For this reason, after the burial, Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ (a) shouted: "What a bad morning!" Abū Bakr heard her voice and said: "*Your* morning is a bad one!"[4]

The Saqīfa

After the Prophet's demise, while Imam ʿAlī (a) and a number of other companions of the Prophet (s) were engaged in burial services, a number of Helpers led by Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, the head of Khazraj, met in this Saqīfa in order to come to a decision about the Prophet's successor. At the opening of the meeting, Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, who was in a grave health condition, talked to the participants through his son. He tried to make the case that the Helpers had the right of succeeding the Prophet, calling them to take over the administration of the city.

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[1] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:188-89; Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, 143-44; see also Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:328; Bayhaqī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, 7:252; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 12:334.
[2] Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 155.
[3] Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, 2:406; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 12:337.
[4] Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:189.

The audience confirmed Saʿd's proposal, electing Saʿd as their ruler who should be obeyed by everyone. A number of participants suggested that this decision might face an opposition on the part of the Immigrants. And this led to the proposal that two rulers be elected: one from the Helpers and the other from the Immigrants.[1]

The news of the assembly reached Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Along with Abū ʿUbayda al-Jarrāḥ, they headed towards the Saqīfa. When they joined the meeting, Abū Bakr made the case that the Immigrants deserved to be the successors of the Prophet (s) more than the Helpers did.[2] His talk faced disagreements, and there were people who stated that they would not accept anyone as the Prophet's successor except ʿAlī (a).[3]

Finally, Abū Bakr proposed ʿUmar and Abu ʿUbayda as qualified candidates for the position of caliphate. However, they rejected the proposal. According to historical sources, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb later said the following about those moments: "There was uproar from all sides and indistinct voices were heard from every corner. So, I feared that the disagreement would result in a disintegration. Thus, I told Abū Bakr, 'Stretch your hand so that I pledge my allegiance to you!'" However, before ʿUmar could shake hands with Abū Bakr, Bushayr b. Saʿd al-Khazrajī, an adversary of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, outmaneuvered him and pledged allegiance to Abū Bakr.[4] This was followed by a sudden rush of those present in the Saqīfa meeting to pledge their allegiance to Abū Bakr such that Saʿd b. ʿUbāda was nearly crushed by the crowd.[5]

Al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib, a companion of the Prophet (s), is quoted as saying: "After the assembly at the Saqīfa, I saw Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and Abū ʿUbayda al-Jarrāḥ, as well as a number of people with cudgels in their hands who beat everyone they saw on their way and forced them to shake hands with Abū Bakr as a sign of allegiance."[6]

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[1] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa al-siyāsa*, 1:22.
[2] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:327.
[3] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:202; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:325; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 2:22.
[4] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:206; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 2:327.
[5] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa al-siyāsa*, 1:27.
[6] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 1:219.

According to al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), when the Aslam tribe gathered in Medina to pledge their allegiance to Abū Bakr, their population was so great that even the market did not have room to accommodate them. The role of the Aslam tribe in establishing Abū Bakr as the caliph was so undeniable that ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said: "When I saw the Aslam tribe, I became certain that our victory was inevitable."[1]According to al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 1022), a group of Bedouins had come to Medina to purchase their provisions. ʿUmar asked them for help in making the people pledge their allegiance to Abū Bakr.[2] In the final years of his life, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said in a public sermon: "The allegiance to Abū Bakr was a slip and blunder that occurred. Yes, it was so, but God protected people against that mistake. From now on, kill anyone who attempts to elect the caliph in this way."[3]

In a letter to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (years after the Event at the Saqīfa), Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān wrote: "During the Prophet's lifetime, we and your father considered the right of the son of Abū Ṭālib [i.e., ʿAli] incumbent upon us and his superiority obvious to us, but … when God took [the soul] of his Prophet (s) to Himself, your father and his Fārūq [i.e., ʿUmar] were the first people who seized ʿAlī's right and opposed him. They collaborated and then called ʿAlī to pledge allegiance to them. And when ʿAlī refused to do so, they took such undue decisions and made such dangerous plots against him that he had to pledge his allegiance to them."[4]

Objections to Abū Bakr's Caliphate

Abū Bakr's caliphate was not accepted by all people. After the Saqīfa meeting, prominent figures among the family of the Prophet (s) and his companions—such as ʿAlī (a), Fāṭima (a), Faḍl b. ʿAbbās, ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAbbās, Salmān al-Fārsī, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, Abū

[1] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:222.

[2] Mufīd, *al-Jamal*, 43.

[3] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:185; see also Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:581; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 3:205; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 3:8.

[4] Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, 119-20; see also Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:396-97. When al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) mentions the correspondence between Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and Muʿāwiya, he considers it distasteful to mention its details, because ordinary people would not tolerate them. (Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 4:577).

Dhar al-Ghifārī, ʿAmmār b. Yāsir, Khālid b. Saʿīd, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, Zubayr b. ʿAwwām, and Ḥudhayfa b. Yamān—objected to the assembly at the Saqīfa and the election of Abū Bakr as the caliph. Several figures spoke against Abū Bakr's caliphate at the Prophet's Mosque: Khālid b. Saʿīd, Abū Dhar al-Ghifārī, Salmān al-Fārsī, al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad, Burayda al-Aslamī, and ʿAmmār b. Yāsir from the Immigrants and Khuzayma b. Thābit, Sahl b. Ḥunayf, Abu l-Haytham al-Tayyihān, Qays b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda, Ubayy b. Kaʿb, and Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī from the Helpers.[1]

In the days following the election of Abū Bakr and addressing Abū Bakr and his supporters, ʿAlī (a) said, "I deserve caliphate more than you do, and I will not pledge allegiance to you ... You took caliphate from the Helpers on the basis of your closeness to the Messenger of God, and they submitted to your leadership on the same basis. I also argue against you on the same basis that you argued against the Helpers. So, if you fear God, come with us through the door of fairness and accept from us what the Helpers accepted from you; otherwise, you have knowingly engaged in oppression and oppression."[2]

It is reported that ʿAlī (a) had a lengthy debate with Abū Bakr over the issue of caliphate, in the course of which he condemned Abū Bakr for his negligence of the right of the Prophet's household in the Event of Saqīfa. Abū Bakr was impressed by ʿAlī's arguments and almost pledged his allegiance to him as the Prophet's successor, but he changed his mind after consulting with some of his associates.[3]

On a number of occasions, ʿAlī (a) expressed his protest against the event of Saqīfa and reminded his entitlement to the Prophet's succession. A well-known sermon in which he refers to the event is al-Shiqshiqiyya. He opens the sermon as follows: "Beware! By Allah,

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[1] Barqī, *Kitāb al-Rijāl*, 63-66, Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:97-105. Sayyid b. Ṭāwūs (d. 1266) says: "This narration is repeated in Shia sources. If its narration was exclusive to Shia, we would not have mentioned it. Because the Shia men are accused in the eyes of the public. But we narrate this matter through those whom the Sunnis trust." In the following, he cites this incident from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī (d. 10-11th century) and with his exact words (Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Yaqīn*, 335-42).

[2] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa al-siyāsa*, 1:28-29; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 6:11.

[3] See Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:115-30.

the son of Abu Quḥafa (Abu Bakr) dressed himself with it (the caliphate) and he certainly knew that my position in relation to it was the same as the position of the axis in relation to the hand-mill. The flood water flows down from me and the bird cannot fly up to me."[1]

After the assembly at the Saqīfa, ʿAlī (a), together with Fāṭima (a), would go to the houses of the Helpers and ask for their support, but they would mention the absence of ʿAlī (a) at the Saqīfa meeting as their excuse for their pledging allegiance to Abū Bakr. ʿAlī would say in response, "Did you expect me to leave the Prophet unburied and dispute over the caliphate?"[2]

Fāṭima (s) protested against the outcome of the Saqīfa council, declaring it in opposition to the Prophet's instruction. When ʿAlī's house was sieged and he was coerced to pledge allegiance to Abū Bakr, she delivered an eloquent speech in protest.[3] Moreover, she delivered a well-known sermon in the Mosque of Medina, known as al-Fadakiyya Sermon, which was overtly critical of Abū Bakr's caliphate.[4]

In addition, when Fāṭima (s) she mentioned the assembly at the Saqīfa in a conversation with the women of the Immigrants and Helpers who had come to visit her in her deathbed. She referred to the assembly as a violation of the Prophet's commands, and seriously warned against the harms it would do to Islam.[5]

There are various views as to whether and when ʿAlī (a) paid allegiance to Abū Bakr. Some Shīʿī scholars maintain that he never did so,[6] and some others hold that the Imam (a) was forced to pay allegiance to Abū Bakr during the lifetime of Fāṭima (a).[7] However, according to Sunni sources, ʿAlī (a) paid allegiance to Abū Bakr after Fāṭima (a) passed away.[8]

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[1] Ṣadūq, *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ*, 1:150; Mufīd, *al-Irshād*, 1:278; Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-balāgha*, Sermon 3.
[2] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa al-siyāsa*, 1:29-30; Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 6:13.
[3] Ibn Qutayba, *al-Imāma wa al-siyāsa*, 1:30-31.
[4] See Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Balāghāt al-nisāʾ*, 19-23.
[5] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 16:233-34; Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghumma*, 1:492.
[6] Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra*, 56.
[7] Hilālī, *Kitāb Sulaym*, 2:593; Masʿūdī, *Ithbāt al-waṣiyya*, 146; Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:130.
[8] See, e.g., Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:139; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:1380.

II. Articles

Sources of the *Sīra* of the Prophet Muḥammad (s)

Mohammadreza al-Khaghani

A Glance at the Genesis of Islamic Historiography and Its Development

History had special significance for the Arab community. Triumphs and major events got fixed in memories with particular titles and names ascribed to them, and the victorious tribes took pride in them. Commonly referred to as the Days of the Arabs (*ayyām al-ʿArab*), they had a special place and significance for the Arabs' historical memory. For instance, in an ancient Arab genealogy book by Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), there are several references to such important events.[1]

After the advent of Islam, history received more significance in Arabia. It is said that the Muslims' attention to history was inspired by the historical themes of the Quran.[2] Due to the status of Muḥammad (s) as a prophet, it can be claimed that Muslim historiography was developed around recording the historical events related to the Prophet's biography, character, and teachings.

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[1] Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jumhurat al-nasab*, 726.

[2] Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 27-28.

The various branches of knowledge, including history, were developed among Muslims in the following three stages:

1. Recording knowledge out of personal curiosity, without clearly systematizing or even organizing the contents. This was the prevailing method up to the beginning of the 2nd/9th century.

2. The recording of various branches of knowledge according to a well-defined outline and structure. This was the dominant practice throughout the 2nd/9th century.

3. The recording of branches of knowledge, particularly historiography, in a chronological order throughout the 3rd/10th century.[1]

Having passed through the above three-stage process, Muslim historiography found its standard form and content. Considering the developments of Islamic historiography, one can realize that this branch of knowledge was born in the context of hadith scholarship, hence many historiographers belonged to the class of Hadith scholars. A noteworthy point is that at times doctrinal or political inclinations exert a tremendous effect on reporting or deleting certain accounts in Islamic historiography in general and specifically in reporting the conducts (*siyar*) of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). For instance, Abān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (d. 105/723) gifted his biography of the Prophet (s) to Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 54-99/674-717), but the latter did not consider Abān's writing to be in the interest of the ruling system, so he ordered all copies of the book to be burnt.[2] Another instance is the order that Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qasrī (d. 99/717) issued for Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742) to show in his works that ʿAlī (a) was destined to hell.[3] Similar biases exerted much the same influence on the compilation of the Prophet's biography, as is noticeable in the works of Ibn Hishām (d. 214/830), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373).

We know that in the Muslim community, producing poetry and retelling the stories of the bygone Arabs went to a wane to a considerable extent. Therefore, historical works centered on two main

[1] Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārīkh al-ʿarabī wa al-muʾarrikhūn*, 1:92-101.
[2] See Zubayr b. Bakkār, *al-Akhbār al-muwaffaqiyyāt*, 331-33.
[3] Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, 22:281.

themes: (1) interpretation of historical contents in the Quran that pertain to the past nations and their prophets, and (2) recording the details of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and the events that took place in his lifetime. The latter came to be known and referred to as the "conducts" (*sīra*) and the battles (*al-maghāzī*) or, broadly, as the Prophet's "conduct" (*sīra*).

Although Islamic teachings wiped out taking pride and boasting in social stratifications among Arab tribes, manifestations of the past stratificational differences emerged in the period of Muslim conquests and the distribution of the booty. When ʿUmar (r. 13-23/624-634) came to power, people's shares from the public treasure (*bayt al-māl*) were determined based on their tribe and social class, hence the share of the Helpers (*al-anṣār*) was not equal to that of the Immigrants (*al-muhājirūn*) and the organization of the army was also affected by tribal differences. Thus, the tribal system gained importance again and was considered in the narration of hadith and historical discussions.

Following the conquests and with the expansion of the Muslim territories, the Muslim community came to include northern and southern Arabs, Persians, Jews, and Christians. Before long, any of these diverse groups of people started developing their own historical writings to compete with boastful Arabic histories.[1]

The development of Islamic historiography can be followed in three key regions: Medina, the Levant, and Iraq.

The School of Medina

As Medina was the locus of the rule of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and the caliphs, and as it was the place where the Companions resided, it has since been associated with a lofty place in scholarship. People from various parts of the vast Muslim territories flocked to the city for the sake of gaining religious knowledge. In this way, Medina turned into the first school of all branches of Islamic sciences, such as fiqh, hadith, Quranic exegesis, and history. The most renowned name in this school was ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās (d. 68/687). Not only was he

[1] Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārīkh al-ʿarabī wa al-muʾarrikhūn*, 1:114-18.

a prominent faqih in that territory, he was referred to as the Sea (*baḥr*) of knowledge.

The early narrators of historica reports in this school include the following: Sahl b. Abī Khuthayma al-Anṣārī (d. during the reign of Muʿāwiya, 41-60/661-80), Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib al-Makhzūmī (d. 94/713), Abān b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (d. 105/723), ʿUrw b. al-Zubayr al-ʿAwwām (d. 94/713), and Saʿīd b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda al-Khazrajī (d. 123/740-1). Among the big names who succeeded the above figures, the following can be mentioned: Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), Muhḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 151/761), Abū Miʿshar al-Sindī (d. after 170/787), and Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823).[1]

In this school of historiography, three major themes can be identified: biography of the Prophet (s) (*sīra*), genealogies (*ansāb*), and comprehensive world histories. Of these three major themes, the first one received more attention than the second one, and the third theme faced opposition to some extent. The legacy of the school of Medina school was taken to the Levant by Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī and ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr.[2] The same legacy was transferred to the school of Iraq Ibn Isḥāq, Abū Maʿshar al-Sindī, and Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī.[3] Among the most noticeable history books written in this school, mention must be made of Ibn Isḥāq's *al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*. The method of recording history in this school was mainly narrative, with each narration containing the chain of transmitters.

When Baghdad became the capital of the Abbasid caliphate, Medina gradually lost its scholarly importance and at the end of the 3rd/10th century was no longer the center of scholarship.

The School of the Levant

When the capital of the Muslim world was transferred to Damascus (41/661), the region became the hub of many learned figures,

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[1] Ibid., 1:151-55; Dūrī, *Nashʾat ʿilm al-tārīkh ʿind al-ʿArab*, 53-66; see also Horovitz, "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors (I)," 536-52.

[2] Horovitz, "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors (I)," 544-47; Horovitz, "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors (II)," 35-36; Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārīkh al-ʿarabī wa al-muʾarrikhūn*, 1:124-27.

[3] Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārīkh al-ʿarabī wa al-muʾarrikhūn*, 1:160, 162-63.

resulting in the formation of its own school. Muʿāwiya (r. 41-60/661-80) spared no effort to invite learned people from all over the Muslim lands to Damascus. Likewise, other Syrian rulers such as ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (r. 65-86/685-705), Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 86-96/705-17), and Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 105-25/724-43) did the same.

One of the points of distinction of this school was its concentration on history, an event that later on took place in the schools of Medina and Iraq too. In addition to genealogy, the Prophet's biography and the Muslim conquests, the Jāhiliyya-oriented (pre-Islamic Arabic) history was particularly favored. One of the signs of the emergence of history as a branch of knowledge in the Levant was that Muʿāwiya invited ʿUbayd b. Sharya al-Jurhumī (d. 67/686-687) to migrate from Yemen to Damascus. There Muʿāwiya ordered him to write down his knowledge of pre-Islamic history and Yemeni peoples and tribes. He also appointed ʿUbayd and Dughful the Genealogist (al-Nassāba) (d. 70/690) as private teachers of his son, Yazīd. Among the signs that indicate Muʿāwiya's interest in history was his zeal to have books on the history of past kings and nations read to him every night.[1]

Among other factors that contributed to the production of works on the history of the Muslim conquests, genealogies, and pre-Islamic Arabs, one may observe the presence of some of the participants in those conquests—such as Abū Amāma al-Bāhilī (d. 86/704-705) and ʿUbāda b. al-Sāmit (d. 34/654-655)—in the Levant. After these people, other figures, such as Abū ʿUthmān al-Ṣanʿānī and Jubayr b. Nufayr al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 80/699-700), who were well-versed in history, came to the Levant.[2]

There were several prominent figures in this school. Among them, the following can be mentioned: ʿUbayd b. Sharya, ʿUrw b. al-Zubayr, Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhrī, and al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/775). The first book that contained the word "history" in its titled was produced in this school: *The Book of History* (*Kitāb al-Tārīkh*) written by ʿAwāna b. al-Ḥakam al-Kalbī (d. 147 or 157/765 or 774).[3]

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[1] Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 3:31.
[2] Ibid., 2:250-51.
[3] Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārīkh al-ʿarabī wa al-muʾarrikhūn*, 1:123, 126-33.

The sources of the historical writing in this school can be classified into three groups: scholars from Yemen, scholars from Medina, and probably Roman individuals who were familiar with Roman history. As in the schools of Medina and Iraq, historiography was in the form of narrations and each historical report was recorded with its chain of transmitters. Among the historians of this school are some prejudiced Umayyad historians, such as Saʿīd b. Yaḥyā al-Umawī (d. 249/863-864) and Khālid b. Hishām, who penned the history of the Umayyad dynasty. There are some books on genealogy (*ansāb*), such as the works of Dughful the Genealogist and Abrash al-Kalbī. Regarding the Prophet's (s) biography and battles, a number of books were written by the end of the Umayyad and the beginning of the Abbasid eras, in which the impact of the confrontation between these dynasties are evident.

With the transfer of the Abbasid seat to Baghdad, the activities of this school began to decline, though continued with works on local histories during the 4th-8th/11th-15th centuries. Among the most important histories written in this period was *al-Bidāya wa al-Nihāya* of Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), which is a comprehensive world history.[1]

The School of Iraq

Before the Muslim conquests, Iraq was an arena of various cultures and civilizations: ancient Greek culture in the north, ancient Persian culture in the east, and Arabic culture in the south. The conquest of this region by Muslims resulted in the gradual wane of ancient Greek and Persian cultures and the predominance of Arabic and Islamic cultures.[2] Muslim works on genealogy reached this region from the Levant and those of comprehensive world history made their way into the region from Hijaz. Thus, various aims and methods of historical research and historiography can be witnessed in this school.

Attitudes to history in this school were divergent and sometimes opposing. Some historians had tribal or sectarian leanings—for instance, Sayf b. ʿUmar al-Tamīmī (d. 180/796) had a bias in favor of the Banū Tamīm tribe and Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774) had leaning

[1] Ibid., 1:119-35.
[2] Ibid., 1:169.

towards Imam ʿAlī. Shīʿī historians such as Naṣr b. Muzāḥim (d. 212/828), Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl (d. 224/839), and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (d. 270 or 274/884 or 887) were also active in this school.

As in the other two schools, jurists and hadith scholars played significant roles in the development and production of historical works. Markworthy is that in this school, people from other occupations also joined the community of historians, such as the vizier Fatḥ b. Khāqān (d. 247/816). Among the important events that emerged in the Iraq school of historiography was that some renowned expert historians, such as al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956) and Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), initiated a movement of historical criticism in the middle of the 4th/11th century that became a significant fruit of this school. In this period, the historiography was transferred from the reporters (*al-akhbāriyyūn*) to historians (*al-muwarrikhūn*).

In this school, one may notice an inclusive view in which tribal boundaries are discarded and all Muslims are regarded as equal. This view can be seen in the works of al-Madāʾinī (d. 225/843), Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ (d. 240/856), Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889), al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292/897), and Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). Al-Ṭabarī produced the most comprehensive historical work in this school such that its wide scope and importance caused historiography enter into a state of relative inertness for around thirty years.[1]

Early Sources of the Sīra

The fundamental materials for compiling the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) are to be found in two main sources: the Holy Quran and hadiths. Due to the revelation of the Quranic verses at various times and on various occasions during the time of the Prophet (s), they form a major source for studying the biography of the Prophet (s). For instance, the Sura al-Anfāl (Q 8) refers to the Battle of Badr. In the Sura al-Baqara (Q 2), there is a reference to the change of the qibla, and in the Sura al-Tawba (Q 9) there are references to the Battle

[1]Muṣṭafā, *al-Tārīkh al-ʿarabī wa al-muʾarrikhūn*, 1:286. For more details on the Iraq school, see Ibid., 1:169-264; Dūrī, *Nashʾat ʿilm al-tārīkh ʿind al-ʿArab*, 103-13; Tarḥīnī, *al-Muʾarrikhūn wa al-tārīkh ʿind al-ʿArab*, 59-69.

of Tabūk and the Prophet's emigration to Medina. This is why Quranic commentaries (*tafsir*) can also be regarded as the sources of writing the sīra.

Hadith Collections as the Sources of Sīra

Due to the pivotal status of the Prophet (s) in Islam and his authority with regard to the Islamic rulings, reports of his words and deeds have been pieced together in various hadith collections. These collections, sometimes referred to as books of *Sunan*, contain the reports of the Prophet's sayings and action, which were transmitted by various people. In addition to the reports indicative of the religious rulings and verdicts issued by the Prophet (s), there are several reports about his life, which in some sources have been put together in a separate section. Among such sources, one may mention *al-Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/826), who has devoted a chapter of his book to the battles (*al-maghāzī*) in which the Prophet (s) participated. In this section of his book, ʿAbd al-Razzāq starts from a report about digging the Zamzam Well and proceeds to the battles in which the Prophet (s) participated and continues his account until the demise of the Prophet (s). After that, he addresses the history of the caliphs.[1] Another book is *al-Muṣannaf* by Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849). He deals with history in two parts of his book, namely, "The Book of History" (*Kitāb al-Tārīkh*) and "The Book of the Battles" (*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*). In "The Book of History," the conquests in the time of ʿUmar (r. 13-23/635-645) are reported.[2] However, in "The Book of the Battles," the account starts from Year of the Elephant (ʿĀm al-Fīl) and continues until the demise of the Prophet (s), followed by some reports about other caliphs.[3] Another notable hadith collection is *Ṣaḥīḥ* by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), in which there is a section entitled "The Book of the Battles" (*Kitāb al-maghāzī*), which starts with the Battle of al-ʿAshīra (or al-ʿAsīra) and finishes with the demise of the Prophet (s).[4] There is also a section entitled "Chapters of History" (*Abwāb al-tārīkh*) in *al-Kāfī* of Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-

[1] Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:313-492.
[2] See Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:546, 7:27.
[3] Ibid.,7:326-446.
[4] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:71, 6:16.

Kulaynī (d. 329/941), which deals with the birth and demise of the Infallibles, part of which deals with the sīra of the Prophet (s).[1] Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) also makes references to the sīra of the Prophet (s) in his *al-Amālī*.[2]

In addition to the hadith collections mentioned above, which can be regarded as comprehensive collections, there are a number of thematic hadith collections, which also contain reports pertaining to various aspects of the personality and life of the Prophet (s). These theme-based collections compilations can be categorized in the following genres.

Iconography (Al-Shamāʾil)

Iconographies are those writings that focus on the apparent and personal characteristics of the Prophet (s). Also included in this category are depictions that pertain to his personal belongings, for example, dresses, sword, shield, and so forth. Some of such works are as follows: *al-Shamāʾil al-nabawiyya wa al-khaṣāʾiṣ al-muṣṭafawiyya* by Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Tirmadhī (d. 279/892), *Akhlāq al-nabawiyya wa ādābuh* by Ibn Ḥayyān al-Iṣfānī (d. 369/979), *al-Shifā bi taʿrīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā* by the Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣubī (d. 544/1149), *al-Anwār fī shamāʾil al-nabī al-mukhtār* by al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122), *al-Wafā bi taʿrīf faḍāʾil al-Muṣṭafā* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 592/1201), *al-Shamāʾil al-sharīfa* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), *Makārim al-akhlāq* by al-Ḥasan b. Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī (date of death unknown), *al-Mawāhib al-ladunniyya bi al-Minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyya* by al-Qasṭallānī (d. 923/1517), and *Ḥadāʾiq al-anwār wa maṭāliʿ al-asrār fī sīrat al-nabī al-mukhtār* by Baḥraq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 930/1524).

Proofs of Prophethood and Records of Miracles (Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa wa al-muʿjizāt)

This type of writings pertains to the proofs of the prophethood of all divine prophets in general and those of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in particular.[3] In these works, there are sometimes discussions concerning certain doctrinal topics that pertain to proving the

[1] See Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:439-549.
[2] See Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, 35-42.
[3] Mahdavī-Dāmighānī, "Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa."

prophethood of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Some of such sources are as follows: *Amārāt al-nubuwwa*[1] by al-Jawzjānī (d. 295/873), *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* by al-Faryābī (d. 301/913), *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfāhānī (d. 430/1038), *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa* by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1057), *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa wa maʿrifat aḥwāl ṣāḥib al-sharīʿa* by al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), *Al-Thāqib fī al-manāqib* by Ibn Ḥamza al-Ṭūsī (d. after 566/1171), and *Qiṣaṣ al-anbīyāʾ* and *al-Kharāʾij wa al-jarāʾiḥ* by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177-8).

Characterography (Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Nabī)

In this type of works, the focus is on the Prophet's specific characteristics and on rulings that exclusively pertain to him.[2] There are sometimes references to his miracles. Some of such books are as follows: *Ghāyat al-sūl fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-Rasūl* by Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401) and *Kifāyat al-ṭālib al-labīb fī khaṣāʾiṣ al-ḥabīb*[3] by al-Suyūṭī.

Jurisprudential Topics in the Sīra

In a certain type of hadith collections, the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) is viewed from a jurisprudential perspective. These works address the life and conduct (sīra) of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in relation to one legal topic. Among the earliest instances of such works are the books on personal properties (*amwāl*), which deal with the rulings of the conquered lands as well as those of khums and alms (*ṣadaqāt*). As expected, recounting the Prophet's conducts and practices have a special place in such works, but the conducts of the Caliphs were also mentioned. Two of the most important books in this regard are *al-Amwāl* of al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) and *al-Amwāl* of Ibn Zanjuwayh (d. 251/865). Another instance of jurisprudential attitude to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad is *Zād al-maʿād fī hady khayr al-ʿibād* of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350). In this book, he attempts to extract Islamic laws by delving into the sīra of the Prophet (s). Although these jurisprudential hadith collections may bear some resemblances to those that concern the

[1] This book is published with the title "*Aḥādīth muntakhaba min kitāb amārāt al-nubuwwa*."
[2] Ḥusaynī Simnānī, "Khaṣāʾiṣ al-Nabī."
[3] This book is known as *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-kubrā*.

Prophet's character traits (*shamāʾil*), they differ from them in having a heavily legal attitude.

There are also references to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in jurisprudential worls. For instance, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) in his *al-Muqniʿa* [1] and then al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) in his *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*[2] make references to the sīra of the Prophet (s).

An Administrational and Civilizational Attitude to the Sīra

Some of the sources that deal with the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) view his life from an administrational vantage point. Some of such works deal exclusively with the Prophet's scribes and his correspondence and some have a more general scope. Among the latter type, reference can be made to *Takhrīj al-dalālāt al-sāmʿiyya ʿalā mā kāna fī ʿahd rasūl Allāh (ṣ) min al-ḥiraf wa al-ṣanāʾiʿ wa al-ʿamālāt al-sharʿiyya* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Khuzāʿī (d. 789/1387) and *Nizām al-ḥukūma al-nabawiyya al-musammā bi al-tarātīb al-idāriyya* by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī (d. 1382/1962). Drawing on the hadiths and sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), the authors of such works try to reconstruct the administrative system of the Islamic polity.

A noteworthy monograph in this regard is *al-Miṣbāḥ al-muḍīʾ fī kuttāb al-nabī al-ummī wa rusulih ilā mulūk al-arḍ min ʿarabī wa ʿajamī* by Ibn Ḥadīda (d. 783/1381). Having mentioned an account of how certain Arab tribes accepted Islam, he provides a list of the Prophet's delegates and mentions some of the correspondence between him and certain kings and tribe chiefs.

Another book in the same category is *Iʿlām al-sāʾilīn ʿan kutub sayyid al-mursalīn* by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). In this book, he quotes the very texts of the letters of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) to certain kings and Arab tribes. Mention must be made of *al-Wuzarāʾ wa al-kuttāb* by al-Jahshiyārī (d. 331/943) in which a section is devoted to the special scribes of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

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[1] See Mufīd, *al-Muqniʿa*, 455-60.

[2] See Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 6:2-19.

Other Monographs

Some sources deal with other peripheral aspects of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). For instance, *Tarakat al-nabī* by Ḥammād b. Isḥāq (d. 267/880) deals with the fate of the properties of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) after his demise. In his *Azwāj al-nabī wa awlāduh*, Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā (d. 208/823) discusses about the wives of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) both before and after his prophethood and mentions his children. Likewise, al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870) in his *al-Muntakhab min kitāb azwāj al-nabī*, which is an abridged version of a greater volume whose original text is lost, deals with the Prophet's marriages. Another book on the same subject is *ʿIshrat al-nisāʾ* by Aḥmad b. Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915), in which he deals with the personal life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and his way of treating his wives. Another type of such books deals with accounts of the demise of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Examples of such books include *Kitāb al-wafāt* by al-Nasāʾī and *Salwat al-kaʾīb bi wafāt al-ḥabīb* by Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashqī (d. 842/1438).

Sīra in Historical Writings

A major difference between historical writings and hadith collections that contain materials about Prophet's biography is that the latter are mostly concerned with those aspects of the sīra that can be used as a basis for inferring laws, whereas the former has a more general scope. Another difference concerns evaluation (*al-jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*) of the reports, which is stricter in hadith collections.

The Books of Conducts and Battles (*al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*)

In some of these works, only the battles of the Prophet (s)—and not other parts of his life—are mentioned, such as *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* by al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823) and *Futūḥ al-buldān* by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), and in others, a more general account of the Prophet's life is given. Some of the noteworthy works in this category are the following:

1. *Al-Sīyar wa al-maghāzī* by Muḥammad b. Isḥāq (d. 151/768): This is the earliest and most important book on the biography of the

Prophet Muḥammad (s).[1] The book has only partially reached us through the narration of Yūnus b. Bukayr (d. 199/814-815).[2]

2. *Al-Sīra al-nabawiyya* by Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833): This is an abridged version of the above book. In his introduction to the book, Ibn Hishām indicates that he has omitted some poems that were of little literary merit or some of the events that cause embarrassment for some people.[3] It must be observed that Ibn Hishām is the first author whose book bear the title "*Sīra.*"[4] He records the events of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) from his birth to his demise.

3. *Jawāmiʿ al-sīra al-nabawiyya* by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1063): This book starts with a mention of the Prophet's lineage and genealogy, then his characteristics and moral traits are mentioned. Then the author gives an account of some of his battles, and then writes about the demise of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

4. Al-Durar fī ikhtiṣār al-maghāzī wa al-siyar by Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr (d. 463/1071).

5. *Al-Iktifāʾ bi-mā taḍammanahū min maghāzī Rasūl Allāh wa al-thalātha al-khulafāʾ* by Abū al-Rabīʿ al-Kalāʿī (d. 634/1237): In this book, al-Kalāʿī attempts to render an abridged version of Ibn Isḥāq's *Sīra*, followed by a mention of the battles of the first three caliphs.[5]

6. *ʿUyūn al-āthār fī funūn al-maghāzī wa al-shamāʾil wa al-siyar* by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās al-Yaʿmūrī (d. 734/1334): This is a book that deals with the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), the events of that era, his miracles, children, and characteristics.

7. *Al-Mukhtaṣar al-kabīr fī sīrat Rasūl Allāh* by Ibn Jamāʿa al-Kinānī (d. 767/1366).

8. *Al-Fuṣūl fī al-sīra* by Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372-3).

9. *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ bi-mā li al-nabī min al-aḥwāl wa al-amwāl wa al-ḥafada wa al-matāʿ* by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441): In this book, the author

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[1] Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition*, 1:202-3.

[2] Based on the original title of this work, i.e., *al-Mubtadaʾ wa al-mabʿath wa al-maghāzī*, the book was in the comprehensive world history genre; however, since only the *sīra* part of the book has remained, it is regarded among the works of the Prophet Muḥammad's biography.

[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:4.

[4] Raven, "Sīra," *EI²* 9:660.

[5] See Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifāʾ*, 1:5-9.

starts with an account of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) from his birth to his demise, and then discusses his characteristics, moral traits, and the signs of his prophethood. After that, he writes about his children, servants, guards, and so on. Finally, the book mentions some of his prophecies and their fulfilment.

10. *Subul al-hudā wa al-rashād fī sīrat khayr al-ʿibād* by al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī (d. 942/1535-6): Although he deals mainly with the *sīra* of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), some other sections of his book deal with his characteristics, moral traits, miracles, correspondence, and delegates. It also contains some doctrinal topics, too.

11. Al-Sīra al-Ḥalabīyya al-musammā bi insān al-ʿuyūn fī sīrat al-amīn al-maʾmūn by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī (1044/1635).

General Histories

In this category of works, an account of Islamic history since the time of the Prophet (s) until the author's time is given. Some of the noteworthy works in this category are as follows:

1. *Tārīkh Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ* (d. 240/854): In this book, important events are covered since year 1 AH (622 CE) until 232/846-847.

2. *Al-Muḥabbar* by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī (d. 245/860): In this book, Ibn Ḥabīb gives a survey of historical events since the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) until that of his own.[1] After that, he mentions the maternal lineage of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), his daughters, the rulers up until the time of the Abbasids, their sons-in-law, their daughters, and the sons-in-law of some of the Hāshimids. Thereafter, he mentions the Prophet's wives in Mecca and Medina, and some of the battles in which the Prophet (s) participated. With an encyclopedic outlook, Ibn Ḥabīb renders noteworthy points in history.

3. *Al-Sīra al-Nabawiyya wa akhbār al-khulafāʾ* by Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354/965): Ibn Ḥibbān starts his book with a discourse on the necessity of safeguarding the legacy of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Then he begins with the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and proceeds

[1] It should be noted that the events included in this book covers the events until the time of al-Muʿtaḍid (r. 279-289/892-902), but these additions must have been made by the transmitters or copyists of the original version (see Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 44).

year by year until his demise. He also surveys the most important events of the Muslim polity after the Prophet (s) until the year 40/660-1 in the same manner. Following this, he mentions the rulers up to the time of the Abbasid ruler, al-Muṭīʿ li Allāh (r. 334-364/946-974), as well as the most important events. Thereafter, and as the epilogue of the work, he lists the names of the Companions.

4. *Al-ʿIbar fī khabar man ghabar* and *Tārīkh al-Islām* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347): In this book, al-Dhahabī first records the most important events of the years 1-700/622-1301, and then, as a supplement, he adds those of the years 700-741/1301-1340. After him and in order to complete his work, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765/1363-4) adds an account of historical events until the year 764/1362-1363.[1] Al-Dhahabī follows the same scheme in his *Tārīkh al-Islām*, which records historical events until 700/1301, but he mentions more details about the biographies of the deceased people of every year than he does in *al-ʿIbar*.

Comprehensive World Histories

In comprehensive world histories, an account of historical events since the creation of Adam (a) until the time of the writer is given, covering the history of the past nations and civilizations. Ibn Isḥāq's book *al-Mubtadāʾ wa al-mabʿath wa al-maghāzī* can be considered the earliest world history written by a Muslim, but since only those parts of it that deal with the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) has reached us, it has been categorized under the category of *sīra* and *maghāzī*. Other works of this genre include the following:

1. *Tārīkh al-Yaʿqūbī* (d. 292/905): This book covers historical events down to the year 258/871-872 in a chronological order. There is a section in this book that deals with the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

2. *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk* by Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923): In this book, world history is surveyed from the beginning of the creation down to the Emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in a chronological order, coupled with the history of other peoples and rulers. The book covers historical events after the time of the

[1] See Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, 1:vi.

Prophet (s) until the year 302/914. Markworthy is that many appendices and complementary additions have been written for this book throughout history.[1]

3. *Murūj al-dhahab wa maʿādin al-jawhar* and *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf* of al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956): Al-Masʿūdī starts the first book with the creation of Adam and finishes it with the reports of the Abbasid ruler, al-Muṭīʿ li Allāh (r. 334-363/946-974). The account of the Prophet's life in this book is brief. His second book, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf*, as an abridgement of *Akhbār al-zamān wa man abādahu al-ḥadathān* and *Murūj al-dhab*.[2] This book covers world history until 345/956.[3] He adopts an annual order in dealing with the events that took place after the demise of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). He also devotes a short section to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in his book.

4. *Al-Badʾ wa al-tārīkh* by Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī (d. after 355/966): Al-Maqdisī starts his book with doctrinal discussions on the divine unicity (*tawḥīd*) and prophethood. Then he moves on to the creation of Adam and surveys the lives of the prophets and kings of the bygone peoples. After that, he surveys the previous world religions, continents and territories, their wonders, and Arab genealogies. Next, he discusses the life of the Prophet (s), together with descriptions and depictions of his character and career. The final chapters of the book deal with the rule of the Abbasid ruler al-Muṭīʿ li Allāh.

5. *Al-Muntaẓam fī tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 592/1201): Ibn al-Jawzī commences his book with a doctrinal discussion on proving the existence of the Creator, then writes about prophets and enumerates the kings of various territories. He mentions the events of the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) from his birth in a chronological order and, when he reaches the Prophet's Emigration, he follows up the events since that time in an annual sequence until his demise. Afterwards, he continues mentioning the historical events down to the year 574/1179.

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[1] See Brockelmann, *History of the Arabic Written Tradition,* 1:214-15.
[2] Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa al-ishrāf,* 1.
[3] Ibid., 5.

6. *Al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233): Ibn al-Athīr states that he wrote *al-Kāmil* based on the model of *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk* by al-Ṭabarī, but with more comments, annotations, and details.[1] Ibn al-Athīr starts his book with a discussion of the definition of time, and then surveys world history since the creation of Adam down to the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). As to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), he starts with the Prophet's genealogy and moves chronologically forward to his Emigration and then annually until the Prophet's demise. After the biography of the Prophet, Ibn al-Athīr continues his chronological survey down to the events of the year 628/1231, with a mention of major happenings and prominent people.

7. *Al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya* by Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373): *Al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya* starts with an account of the creation of the heavens and the earth, and then turns to giving a survey of the history of prophets until the Prophet Muḥammad (s). The Prophet's sīra in Ibn Kathir's book is much more complete than what is included in other world history books. After the biography, he turns to the Prophet's character, merits, and noble traits. Ibn Kathīr's historiography follows a chronological order and style and finishes his book with the events of the year 767/1366.

Geography Books

Geographical sources are the books that are devoted to issues such as distances, geographical features of different places, and sometimes the hadith-transmitters or Companions that lived in each place. In such works, in the context of discussing about the two cities of Mecca and Medina, there are occasional references to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Some of such works are comprehensive in scope, yet some of them deal specifically with the history of Mecca and Medina or their holy shrines. Hence such works can be divided into the histories of cities, history of Mecca, history of Medina, and the history of the two sacred shrines.

[1] Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 1:3.

History of Cities

Among the comprehensive works that deal with the history of cities within which there are mentions of the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), the following two books are noteworthy: *al-Buldān* by Ibn al-Faqīh (d. 340/951) and *Muʿjam al-buldān* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229). Ibn al-Faqīh deals with some fragments of the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in the parts of his book in which Mecca and Medina are discussed.[1] In a like manner, Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī discusses the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in similar sections of his book.[2]

History of Mecca

Considering the special status of Mecca in Islam and Muslim culture, several books have been written about the city and its history, which includes the history of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Some of these works are as follows:

1. *Akhbār Makka wa mā jāʾa fīhā min al-āthār* by al-Azraqī (d. 250/865): This book contains a history of Mecca since the beginning of creation and includes the account of the construction of the Kaaba by the prophet Abram. It also contains accounts of its reconstruction and the history of the presence of Quraysh therein. The sīra part in this book is mostly limited to the time when the Prophet (s) lived in Mecca as well as to his Farewell Pilgrimage (*Ḥajjat al-widāʿ*).

2. *Akhbār Makka fī qadīm al-dahr wa* hadith*ih* by al-Fākihī (d. 275/888). The content of this book is very similar to that of the previous work.

3. *ʿArf al-ṭīb min akhbār Makka wa Madīnat al-ḥabīb* by Ibn al-ʿĀqūlī (d. 797/1394): Contrary to what the title suggests, this book is mainly about the history of Mecca, except a few references to the merits of Medina. It contains information about the construction of the Kaaba, performing hajj by prophets, and the construction of the Sacred Mosque (al-Masjid al-Ḥarām). There are also references to the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) at Mecca, the place of his birth, the house of his first wife Khadīja, and the caves of Ḥirāʾ and Thawr.

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[1] Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 74-78, 80-84.

[2] See Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:82-88, 181-88.

4. *Shifāʾ al-gharām bi akhbār al-balad al-ḥarām* by al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429): In this book, there are references to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad in addition to contents related to the merits of Mecca and residing in it, its reconstruction, and the various parts of the Sacred Mosque.

History of Medina

Medina or Yathrib was the capital of the first polity. The city also witnessed many events both during and after the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), hence it has a special place in Islamic history. This has led Muslim scholars to write a number of books about the city, which include accounts of the time when the Prophet (s) lived therein. As such, these sources contain valuable information about the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Some notable works in this category are the following:

1. *Tārīkh al-Madīna* of Ibn Shabba (d. 262/876): In addition to enumerating the tombs in the city and the neighborhoods of various tribes and listing the main events of the city, it includes sections that are related to the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). From amongst the topics included there are the battles of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), his personal properties, characteristics, and other aspects of his life.

2. *Akhbār Madīnat al-Rasūl al-maʿrūf bi al-durra al-thamīna* by Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643/1245): This book starts with listing the names of Medina and the Jewish and Arab neighborhoods there. It then mentions the neighborhoods and the protective walls of the city, and gives information about the construction and expansion of the Prophet's Mosque. The book also provides information concerning the Emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) thereto, the houses of the Prophet (s) around the mosque, and other special aspects of the life and time of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) therein.

3. *Taḥqīq al-nuḍra bi talkhīṣ maʿālim dār al-hijra* by al-Marāghī (d. 816/1414): This book starts with the merits of Medina and its inhabitants, and then discusses the history of the Prophet's Mosque, the merits and rewards of paying pilgrimage to the Prophet (s) and the religious dignitaries buried in al-Baqīʿ Cemetery and other

important events in the history of the city. The book contains references to the Prophet's Emigration, his homes, and demise.

4. *Al-Tuḥfa al-laṭīfa fī tārīkh al-Madīna al-sharīfa* by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497): This book is regarded also as a book of biographies (*tarājim*), in which the author writes about the biographies of notable people such as the Companions and the Successors who lived in Medina. The book starts with a brief history of Medina and the Prophet's Mosque.

5. *Wafāʾ al-wafā bi akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā* and *Khulāṣat al-wafā bi-akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā* by al-Samhūdī (d. 911/1506): Al-Samhūdī first authored a book entitled *Iqtifāʾ al-wafā* and then wrote another volume, entitled *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, which was a summary of the former book, which burnt in a blaze at the Prophet's Mosque in Medina. Al-Samhūdī later produced a summary of *Wafāʾ*, which he entitled *Khulās al-wafā*.[1] Al-Samhūdī's book *Wafāʾ al-wafā* can be regarded as the most comprehensive and important book on the history of Medina, for he shows much praiseworthy care in describing and locating various places in Medina. In the same way, he properly describes various aspects of the history of Medina both before and after the Emigration of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). He starts his book with a mention of the various names and designations of Medina and the various geographical features of the city and its natural environment, followed by the religious rulings that apply to the Prophet's Mosque. With exemplary exactitude, he mentions the various urban neighborhoods of Medina as well as precise locations of the houses of the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and other dignitaries, all followed by precise descriptions and depictions. Al-Samhūdī devotes parts of his book to an overview of the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). This is not the only merit of this book with regard to recording the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), rather ample and useful information can be found throughout the book. Al-Samhūdī retains the same method and style in a yet more concise way in *Khulāṣat al-wafāʾ*.

[1] Samhūdī, *Khulāṣat al-wafā*, 1:2.

History of the Two Shrines

In this category, it is appropriate to refer to *Tārīkh Makka al-musharrafa wa al-Masjid al-Ḥarām wa al-Madīna al-sharīfa wa al-qabr al-sharīf* of Ibn Ḍiyāʾ (d. 854/1450). This book deals with the histories of Mecca, the Kaaba, and the Sacred Mosque (*Masjid al-Ḥarām*). It also deals with a history of Medina with special emphasis on the Prophet's Mosque. There are various pieces of information on the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) throughout the book.

Books of Ṭabaqāt, Tarājim, and Ansāb

Among the writings that sometimes contain aspects of the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad are books belonging to the *ṭabaqāt* (generations), *tarājim* (biographies), and *ansāb* (*genealogies*) genres. As the Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) gained a higher status, they became subjects of several works, which usually belonged to two genres, namely, ṭabaqāt and tarājim. While in the former genre, the companions are ranked according to the periods in which they lived, they are sorted alphabetically in the latter genre. In these two genres, short biographies of the people, their dates of birth and death, and the types of hadiths they transmitted are mentioned. The books in these two genres are not concerned only with the Companions but also include those who lived after them, i.e. the Successors and other hadith transmitters. Noteworthy is that such works sometimes discuss the inhabitants of a particular region, or members of a certain vocation or guild. Another genre is that of genealogies. Genealogy and family were of utmost significance to Arabs, hence some historical writings were devoted to genealogies (*ansāb*).

In the books belonging to the above genres, a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) appears at first in order for the book to be blessed. Moreover, such works contain ample information regarding the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in other parts.

The Books of Ṭabaqāt and Tarājim

In the gerne of *ṭabaqāt*, mention must be made of *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* of Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), which is the most splendid work in the field. In this book, a section is devoted to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), his lineage, children, and the main events of his life as well as his

other characteristics and moral traits. Another type of works that can be put in the same category concerns the books that deal with the dates of birth and death of the Infallibles. Here *Tāj al-mawālīd* by Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153) deserves mention. Devoted to the dates of birth and death of the Infallibles, it includes a part on the dates of birth and death, names, titles, children, and wives of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

The *tarājim* books may be divided into those that are more general works in contrast to those which concern the Companions. As for those that deal with the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), the most important titles are as follows:

1. *Al-Istīʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* by Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr (d. 463/1071): Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr starts his book with a condensed biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). In this section, he deals with the lineage, tribe, and family of the Prophet (s), his life and death, and touches upon the most important events of his lifetime.

2. *Usd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233): Like Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, Ibn al-Athīr commences his book with a concise biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Here, next to the lineage of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), he deals with the most important events of his lifetime. In this context, he discusses some of the characteristics, moral traits, and social aspects of his life and finishes the discussion with a mention of his demise.

Among the books belonging to the tarājim genre, the following can be mentioned:

1. *Al-Maʿārif* by Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889): Ibn Qutayba's book is an encyclopedic work, which includes biographies of some of the Companions, Successors, and jurists. The book begins with an account of the lives of past prophets until the Prophet Muḥammad (s), about whom the author mentions his lineage, characteristics, and moral traits, followed by the most important events of his life. It is after this section that he deals with the biographies of the caliphs, the Companions, Successors, and jurists.

2. *Al-Maʿrifa wa al-tārīkh* by Yaʿqūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī (d. 277/890): In this book, al-Fasawī first mentions the events of the years 135-241/752-856, and then turns to the biographies of the

Companions. At the end of the book, he devotes a section to the sīra of the Prophet (s).

3. *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347). In this book, al-Dhahabī mentions the biographies of the Companions and Successors, as well as those of a wide range of jurists and traditionists, categorized in thirty-five generations (*ṭabaqa*). He also touches upon the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and surveys his life from birth to death.

Some other general books of tarājim concentrate on presenting short biographies of the Companions, Successors, and traditionists who were present in certain regions. Among this type of works which contain references to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), one can point to *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq* by Ibn ʿAsākir (d. 571/1176). In this book, Ibn ʿAsākir first mentions the merits, background history, and features of the Levant, and then devotes a section to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), in which he mentions the names, titles, lineage, children, characteristics, moral traits, and other personal aspects of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). He also includes biographies of some of the Companions.

Another similar work is *Tārīkh Abī Zurʿa al-Dimashqī* (d. 280/893), which contains biographies of certain dignitaries with special regard to their presence in the Levant and Palestine. Abū Zurʿa writes about the biography of the Prophet (s) in the beginning of his book, as he writes about the biographies of the caliphs.

Some of the works belonging to the tarājim genre concern a particular class of society. In such works, brief biographies of those Companions who were ascetics receive a particularly high attention. Among such works in which the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) is also mentioned, one may refer to *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa* by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201). In this work, having mentioned the merits of the devotees of Allah and the pious, Ibn al-Jawzī renders a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). In this section, he writes about the lineage, birth, names, titles, and other aspects of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

Genealogy Books (Ansāb)

In these sources, the lineage and family relations of people are recorded. Some of these books are either about the genealogy and lineage of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) or discuss the Prophet's genealogy while discussing Arab genealogies in general. Some noteworthy sources belonging to this genre are as follows:

1. *Ummahāt al-nabī* by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Baghdādī (d. 245/860): In this book Ibn Ḥabīb focuses on the mothers of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), mentioning their paternal and maternal lineages.

2. *Ansāb al-ashrāf* by al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892): Focusing on the Arab noblemen, al-Balādhurī renders their genealogies and some parts of their biographies. Al-Balādhurī starts his book with the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) as the noblest of the Arabs. Then he surveys the battles, sīra, moral characteristics, and other aspects of the life of the Prophet (s).

3. *Al-Jawhara fī nasab al-nabī wa aṣḥābih al-ʿashara* by al-Burrī (d. 645/1247-1248). In this book, al-Burrī deals with the genealogy of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and ten of his companions.

History of the Infallible Imams (a)

In certain works, parts of the biography of the Prophet (s) is given in addition to the biography of the Infallible Imams (a). Some of such titles can be listed as follows:

1. *Al-Irshād fī maʿrifat ḥujaj Allāh ʿalā al-ʿibād* by al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022): Although al-Mufīd writes about parts of the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) while surveying the participation of Imam ʿAlī (a) in the battles.

2. *Rawḍat al-wāʿiẓīn wa baṣīrat al-muttaʿiẓīn* by Muḥammad b. al-Fattāl al-Naysābūrī (d. 508/1114-1115): He deals with the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in several sections of his book.

3. *Iʿlām al-warā bi aʿlām al-hudā* by Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153-1154): Al-Ṭabrisī devotes one of the four main sections of his book to the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), and writes about the lineage, birth, miracles, and battles of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

4. *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* of Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192) who devotes a section of his book to the Prophet Muḥammad (s). In it, he

talks of the miracles, moral characteristics, lineage, and the sīra of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

5. *Al-Iktifāʾ fī akhbār al-khulafāʾ* of Ibn al-Kardabūs (d. after 575/1180): Ibn al-Kardabūs starts his book with the genealogy and lineage of the Prophet Muḥammad (s), then turns to his moral characteristics, and the main events of his life. He also surveys his miracles, children, and wives. After that, he mentions the rulers until the caliphate of al-Mustanjid bi Allāh (r. 555-566/1160-1170) and finishes it thereat.

6. *Kashf al-ghumma fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma* by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbilī (d. 692/1292): This book is written about the virtues and biography of the Imams (a). In the beginning, Irbilī has mentioned some of the the life events and miracles that happened before and after the birth of the Messenger of God (s) and the virtues of Banū Hashim.

Literary Sources (*Adab*)

Literature, particularly poetry, has had a unique place in Arabic and Islamic cultures. Many of the historical and hadith sources contain poems on several incidents in the lifetime of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Literary works also contain sections on the Prophet's biography and his sayings and deeds. Among such sources, mention may be made of *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn* and *al-Ḥayawān* by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) wherein many points and parts of the sīra of the Prophet's biography can be found.[1] Another source that deserves mention is *al-Kāmil fī al-lugha wa al-adab* by al-Mubarrad (d. 286/899), which starts with a description of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and contains some aspects of his sīra and life. Another worthwhile book is *Nahj al-balāgha* by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), which is a selection of Imam ʿAlī's (a) sermons and letters, and in it the Prophet (s) is mentioned over twenty times, and over thirty-five fragments of his sayings are quoted. Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī has another book, entitled *al-Majāzāt al-nabawiyya*, which contains literary analyses of the Prophet Muḥammad's (s) sayings.

[1] Aḥmad, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya fī ḍawʾ al-maṣādir al-aṣliyya*, 44.

Glimpses of Characteristics and Demeanor of the Prophet of Islam (s)[1]

ʿAllāma Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī

1. Imām al-Ḥusayn (a): I asked my father about the conduct of the noble Prophet (s) when he entered his home. He said: He (s) entered the home when he wanted to, and when he came home, upon his entrance, he divided his time into three parts: a part for Allāh, a part for his family and a part for himself. Then he divided his own time between himself and the people, keeping his portion for his special companions and the other portion for the general public; and did not save any time for his personal work. It was from his practice, in the portion devoted to [meeting] the people, to give preference and respect to the people of distinction, and he would categorize them according to their excellence in religion. From among them were those with one need and those who had two needs and even those with many needs, so he occupied himself with them and engaged them with what was good for them. He would ask them about the community and inform them about what was necessary, saying:

[1] This chapter is a selection of the hadiths collected by ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī (d. 1981) in his *Sunan al-Nabī* and translated by Tahir Ridha Jaffer (published with the title *Sunan An-Nabi*).

"Those who are present from among you should inform those who are absent, and inform me about the need of one who is unable to inform me of his need. For surely the one who informs a person in authority of the need of the one who cannot express it, Allāh will make his feet firm on the Day or Reckoning." Nothing other than this would be mentioned in his presence and he did not accept from anyone anything other than this. People would come in seeking [knowledge and wisdom] and they would not disperse until they had received it and they would leave as guides [for others].

I asked him about the conduct of the noble Prophet (s) outside the home – how was it? He (a) replied: The Prophet of Allāh (s) would remain silent except when it was necessary for him to speak, and he was affable with the people and would not alienate them. He would honor the honorable of every community and give them charge of their affairs. He was careful with the people and cautious not to be impolite or turn away from them, frowning. He sought to know about the condition of his companions and would ask the people about the condition of others [like their relatives or neighbors]. He used to admire the good deed and encourage it while censuring the evil action and discouraging it. He was unwaveringly moderate in his affairs. He was never unmindful [toward the people] out of fear of their becoming negligent and deviating [from the right path]. He would never fall short of the truth and would never overstep it. Those who were near him were from the best of people. The best from among them, in his view, was the one who gave more advice and guidance to the Muslims and the ones who were of greater status in his eyes were those who were more caring and helpful to them.

He said: Then I asked him (a) about his [manner of] sitting, so he said: He would neither sit nor stand but by remembering Allāh. He never reserved a place specifically for himself and forbade others to have places reserved for them. When he arrived at a gathering, he sat wherever there was a place to sit and he enjoined others to do the same. He would give his attention to all those who were sitting with him, without giving preference to one over the other, such that none of them would feel that any one of them is more important to him. When someone came to sit with him he would remain seated

patiently until he stood up and left. If someone asked him for something, he would give him exactly what he had asked for or, if he did not have it, he would offer kind words to him. The people were so pleased with his character that he became like a father to them and they were all treated as equals by him. His gathering was a gathering of forbearance, respect, honesty and trust. There were no raised voices in it and neither were there any evil imputations. Nobody's mistakes were repeated outside the gathering. Those who were in the gathering were fair to one another and were, in this, linked to each other in piety. They were humble, respectful to the elderly, merciful to the young, charitable to the needy and hospitable to the outsider.

I said: How was his interaction with those who were in his company? He (a) said: He was always cheerful, easygoing, approachable and soft-spoken. He was never rude or harsh. He never laughed loudly, never uttered obscenities, never looked for faults in people and never flattered anyone. He ignored that which was not liked by him in such a manner that it would neither cause despair nor make anyone feel hopeless. He eschewed three things: arguing, being loquacious and talking about things that did not concern him. He also stayed away from three things related to people, namely: he would never rebuke anyone, never reproach anyone and never look for anyone's mistakes or faults. He would not speak except that for which he hoped to be rewarded by Allāh. When he spoke, those who were sitting with him were mesmerized, motionless and silent with awe – as though there were birds perched on their heads. When he became silent, they spoke. They never debated in his presence; when one would speak, the others would listen to him until he had finished and they would take turns to speak in his presence. He would laugh when they laughed and express surprise when they expressed surprise. He was patient with the incivility of the outsider in his questioning and speech, even if his companions objected. He would say: "If you see a person in need then assist him". He would not accept praise except from one who was sincere in his professing himself a Muslim. He never interrupted anyone's talk unless the person exceeded the limits, in which case he would interject by asking him to desist or by standing up.

He said: I then asked him (a) about the silence of the noble Prophet (s) so he (s) said: His silence was based on four things: forbearance, caution, consideration and contemplation. As for [his silence in] consideration, this was in order to look and listen to everyone equally. As for contemplation, it was about what remains and what perishes. He had a perfect balance of forbearance and patience. Nothing would enrage him or upset him. He was cautious in four things: in his doing a good deed so that others would emulate him, in his abandoning evil so that others would also reject it, in his struggle to make the best decisions to reform his community, and in his performing that which secures the good of this world and the next.[1]

2. The Prophet (s) said: "I was sent with the most noble and refined character."[2]

3. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a): "So follow your Prophet, the noble, the pure... He took the least [share] from this world and did not take a full glance at it. Of all the people of the world, he was the least sated and the most empty of stomach. The world was offered to him but he refused to accept it. When he knew that Allāh, the Glorified, hated a thing, he too hated it; that Allāh held a thing low, he too held it low; that Allāh held a thing small, he too held it small. If we love what Allāh and His Prophet hate and hold great what Allāh and His Prophet hold small that would be enough of an isolation from Allāh and a transgression of His commandments. The noble Prophet used to eat on the ground and sat like a slave. He repaired his shoes with his own hands and patched his clothes with his own hands. He rode on an unsaddled donkey and would seat someone behind him. If there was a curtain on his door with pictures on it, he would say to one of his wives: "O so-and-so! Take it away out of my sight because when I look at it I recall the world and its allurements." Thus, he distanced his heart from this world and removed its remembrance from his mind. He wished that its allurements should remain hidden from his eyes so as not take wealth from it, nor regard it a place of stay and hope to live in it. Consequently, he removed it from his mind, distanced it from his heart and kept it hidden from his eyes,

[1] Ṣadūq, *Maʿānī al-akhbār*, 81-83.
[2] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 596.

just as he who hates a thing would hate to look at it or to hear about it."[1]

4. It is reported that he would cry out of the fear of Allāh until his prayer mat became wet [from his tears], despite not having committed any sin.[2]

5. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): "The Prophet of Allāh (s) used to seek repentance seventy times a day." The narrator asked: "Did he say: '*Astaghfirullāh wa atūbu ilayh*' (I seek repentance from Allāh and turn to Him)?" He replied: "No, but he used to say: '*Atūbu ilā Allāh*' (I turn to Allāh)." The narrator said: "The Prophet of Allāh (s) used to repent and not repeat but we repent and repeat [our sins]," so the Imam (a) said: "Allāh is the provider of succor."[3]

6. Imam ʿAlī (a): He was the most openhanded, the most valiant, the most truthful, the most loyal in fulfilling his obligation, the most softhearted.[4]

7. The noble Prophet (s) used to patch his own clothes, mend his sandals, milk his ewe, eat with the slaves, sit on the ground, ride a donkey and take someone with him. He was not ashamed to carry his own groceries and other items from the market to his family. He would shake hands with the rich and the poor alike and he would not take his hand back from the hand of the other person until that person himself withdrew his hand. He would greet anyone who came to him whether rich or poor, old or young. He would never look down on what he was offered, even if it was a dry date. He had few possessions, had a kind nature, was sociable, cheerful, always smiling but without laughing, always sad but without frowning, humble without losing self-respect, generous without being extravagant, softhearted and merciful to every Muslim. He never belched out of being full and he never extended his hand [to something] out of desire [for it].[5]

8. The noble Prophet (s) used to look at the mirror and comb his hair, and sometimes he would look at his reflection in the water and

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[1] Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-balāgha*, Sermon 160.
[2] Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:223.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:438.
[4] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 18.
[5] Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, 1:115.

arrange his hair. He would smarten himself for [meeting with] his companions, aside from grooming himself for his family; and he said: "Allāh loves his servant to dress up and groom himself when he goes out to meet his brothers."[1]

9. The noble Prophet (s) said: "There are five things that I will never leave until my death: Eating on the ground with the slaves, riding on an unsaddled mount, milking the goat with my hands, wearing coarse woolen clothing and greeting the children so that these [actions] may become a *sunna* after me."[2]

10. The noble Prophet (s) used to sit in three postures: *qurfuṣāʾ* – this is where the shanks are straight, in an upright position, with the arms placed around them and the hand clasping the forearm. He would [also, at times] sit on his knees. He (s) would also sit on one leg and extended his other leg over it; and he was never seen sitting in any fourth posture.[3]

11. Imam ʿAlī (a): When the noble Prophet (s) shook hands with someone, he would never withdraw his hand until the other person withdrew his hand first, and when he was occupied with someone in fulfilling his needs or conversing with him, he would never leave until the person himself left first. When someone was talking with him, he (s) would not become silent until he became silent, and he was never seen stretching his leg forward in front of the person sitting with him. He was not given a choice between two options except that he chose the more difficult of the two.

He would never avenge himself for any wrongdoing until it violated the sacred ordinances of Allāh, at which point he would become angry for the sake of Allāh. He never ate while leaning [on anything] until he left this world. He was never asked for a thing to which he replied: "no"; and he never turned away a needy beggar without giving to him what he needed or [if he did not have it] saying some kind words. His prayer was the lightest.[4] His sermons

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[1] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 34-35.
[2] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 72.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:661.
[4] Meaning that he would be considerate of those praying in the congregation behind him and would not prolong the prayer (Tr.)

were the shortest and the least irrelevant. He would be recognized by his fragrance when he approached.

When he ate with a group of people, he would be the first to start and the last to stop eating. When he ate, he would eat from what was in front of him and if there were dry dates or fresh dates, he would extend his hand [to take from it]. When he drank, he would drink in three draughts. He would drink water in sips and would not gulp it down. He used his right hand for his food and his left hand for anything other than that. He loved to begin with the right side in all his affairs, from wearing clothes to putting on shoes, to getting down from his mount.

When he called out, he would call out thrice. When he spoke, he spoke concisely and when he sought permission to enter, he did it three times. His speech was clear and simple such that whoever heard it understood it and when he spoke, it would be as though light was coming out from between his front teeth, so that if you saw him you would say: He has a gap between his teeth, but actually he did not.

He would look with short glances (without staring), and he would not talk to anyone about a thing that he disliked. When he walked, he would raise his feet as though he was descending a declivity. He would say: "The best from among you are those with the best *akhlāq*." He neither criticized the taste of food nor praised it. His companions would not dispute with each other in his presence. Whoever spoke of him would say: "I have never seen anyone like him, neither before him nor after him."[1]

12. The noble Prophet (s) would divide his attention between his companions; he would look at each one of them equally. He [also] said: The noble Prophet (s) never stretched his legs in front of his companions. When someone shook hands with him, he would not leave his hand until the other person left his hand first. When the people became aware of this, whenever anyone of them shook his hand, he would withdraw his hand quickly from the Prophet's hand.[2]

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[1] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 23.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:671.

13. When the noble Prophet (s) spoke, he would smile while speaking.[1]

14. Yūnus al-Shaybānī: Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) said to me: "How do you joke around with one another?" I said: "Little." He said: "Don't you do it? Surely jesting is from good morals and you would make your brother happy by it. The noble Prophet (s) used to jest with a person in order to make him happy."[2]

15. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): There is not a believer but that he has a sense of humor, and the noble Prophet (s) used to joke, but he never said anything except the truth.[3]

16. Muʿammar b. Khallād: I asked Abū al-Ḥasan [Imam al-Riḍā] (a): "May I be your ransom! What do you say of the man who is with a group of people and something funny is said and they laugh." He said: "There is no problem [in it] if it is not ..." and I guessed that he meant 'if it is not obscene,' then he (a) said: There was a Bedouin Arab who used to come to the noble Prophet (s), bringing gifts for him and then saying: "Give us the price for our gifts," so the noble Prophet (s) would laugh, and when he (s) was sad he would say: "What has happened to that Bedouin? If only he would come to us."[4]

17. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The noble Prophet (s) would mostly sit facing the Qibla.[5]

18. When a small child was brought to the noble Prophet (s) in order to pray for blessings for him or to choose a name for him, he would take him in his arms in order to honor his family. Sometimes the child would urinate on him so some of those who saw this would give a loud cry. He (s) would say: "Do not interrupt him until he has finished urinating." Then, when he had finished praying for the child or naming him and his family was happy, he would return him to his family, and they would not see [any] signs of him being upset by the urine of their child. When they had left, he would wash his clothes.[6]

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[1] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 21.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:663.
[3] Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil*, 8:408.
[4] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:663.
[5] Ibid., 2:661.
[6] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 25.

19. The noble Prophet (s) would not allow anyone to walk with him while he was riding unless he carried him together.[1]

20. The noble Prophet (s) would never take revenge for himself from anyone; rather, he would forgive and turn away.[2]

21. If the noble Prophet (s) did not see one of his Companions for three days, he would inquire about him. If he was not present [in the city] he would pray for him and if he was there, he would pay him a visit; and if he was sick he would go to him and comfort him.[3]

22. Anas: I served the noble Prophet (s) for nine years and I never recall him saying to me: "Why did you do this?" and he never criticized me for anything.[4]

23. ʿAjlān: I was with Abū ʿAbd Allāh [Imam al-Ṣādiq] (a) when a beggar came, so he went to the basket of dates and filled his hands [with as many dates as he could] and gave them to him, then another [beggar] came, so he stood up, filled his hands [with dates] and gave them to him, then another came, so he stood up, took a handful [of dates] and gave them to him. Then yet another came so he (a) said: "Allāh is our Provider as He is yours." Then he said: It would never happen that the noble Prophet (s) was asked for anything from his worldly possessions but that he would give it away. Once a woman sent her son to him saying: Go to him (s) and ask him, if he says: "We don't have anything [to give]" then say: "Give me your shirt." So he (s) took off his shirt and gave it to him - Then Allāh instructed him on the right way and said: 'Do not keep your hand chained to your neck, nor open it all together, or you will sit blameworthy, regretful'" (Q 17:29).[5]

24. The noble Prophet (s) accepted gifts but he would not accept charity.[6]

25. Mūsā b. ʿImrān b. Bazīʿ: I said to Imam al-Riḍā (a): "May I be your ransom! The people have narrated that when the noble Prophet (s) went using one route, he would return using another. Was it

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[1] Ibid., 22.
[2] Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil*, 9:7.
[3] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 19.
[4] Ibid., 16.
[5] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:55-56.
[6] Ibid., 5:143.

[really] like this?" He said: "Yes, and I do this myself many times – so you should [also] do it." Then he said to me: "Because it will bring you more sustenance."[1]

26. The noble Prophet (s) would come out after sunrise.[2]

27. When the noble Prophet (s) washed his head and beard, he would wash them with *sidr* (lotus jujube).[3]

28. Imam ʿAlī (a): The noble Prophet (s) combed his hair and would mostly comb it with water saying: "Water is enough of a perfume for a believer."[4]

29. Muḥammad b. Muslim asked Imam al-Bāqir (a) about the dying of hair, so the Imam said: "The Prophet of Allāh (s) used to dye his hair and here is some of his [dyed] hair which we have in our possession."[5]

30. Imamʿ Alī (a): Brushing teeth is liked by Allāh and it is a *sunna* of the noble Prophet (s) and a means of cleansing the mouth.[6]

31. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The noble Prophet (s) had a container of musk and when he performed ablution, he would take it with his wet hands. When he came out everyone knew that it was the Prophet of Allāh (s) because of his scent.[7]

32. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The noble Prophet (s) would spend more on perfume than he would spend on food.[8]

33. Imam al-Bāqir (a): The noble Prophet (s) used to travel on Thursdays.[9]

34. When the noble Prophet (s) used to travel, he would carry with him five things: a mirror, a kohl container, a comb and a *siwāk* (tooth brush).[10]

35. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): While on a journey, when the noble Prophet (s) descended [from an elevation] he would recite the *tasbīḥ*

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[1] Ibid., 5:314.
[2] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-aʿmāl*, 1:281.
[3] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 32.
[4] Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil*, 1:408.
[5] Ṣadūq, *Man la yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 1:122.
[6] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 2:562.
[7] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:515.
[8] Ibid., 6:512.
[9] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 2:266.
[10] Ḥur al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil al-Shīʿa*, 11:426.

("Subḥānallāh") and when he ascended, he would recite the *takbīr ("Allāhu akbar")*.[1]

36. The noble Prophet (s) would never depart from any place until he had offered two rakʿas of prayer, and [when asked] he said: "So that it [the place] would bear witness about my prayer."[2]

37. When the noble Prophet (s) bade farewell to believers, he would say: "May Allāh endow you with God-wariness *(taqwā)*, turn you towards all that is good, fulfil your every desire, safeguard your religion and your material possessions, and return you to me safely."[3]

38. Imam ʿAlī (a): The noble Prophet (s) used to say to anyone returning from Mecca: "May Allāh accept your pilgrimage, forgive your sins and compensate your expense."[4]

39. It is narrated that he (s) had a black turban that he wore while praying.[5]

40. Imam ʿAlī (a): Wear clothes [made] of cotton, for this was the clothing of the noble Prophet (s) and it is our clothing [of choice].[6]

41. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The ring of the noble Prophet (s) was [made] of silver.[7]

42. Abū Khadīja: The stone placed in the ring should be circular. This was how the noble Prophet's (s) ring was.[8]

43. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The noble Prophet (s) had two rings. On one was inscribed 'There is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad is the Apostle of Allāh, and on the other [was inscribed] 'Allāh has declared the truth.'[9]

44. Khadīja (a): When the Prophet (s) entered the house, he would ask for a basin and perform ablution for prayer. Then he would pray a short two-rakʿah prayer after which he would go to bed.[10]

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:287.
[2] Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil*, 8:245.
[3] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 2:276.
[4] Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil*, 8:232.
[5] Ibn Abī al-Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī, *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī*, 2:214.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:446.
[7] Ibid., 6:468.
[8] Ibid., 6:468.
[9] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:61.
[10] Ibid., 3:471.

45. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The noble Prophet (s) never ambushed his enemy at night.[1]

46. Imam al-Bāqir (a): The noble Prophet (s) never woke up from his sleep but that he would immediately fall in prostration to Allāh.[2]

47. Imam ʿAlī (a): A group of companions had deprived themselves of intimacy with their wives, eating during the day, and sleeping at night. Umm Salama informed the noble Prophet (s) about this so he came to his companions and said: "Do you abstain from relations with your wives whereas I come to my wives and eat during the day and sleep at night? Therefore, [know that] the one who does not follow my *sunnah* is not from me."[3]

48. Imam ʿAlī (a): On the seventh day, perform the *ʿaqīqa*[4] for your children and give the equivalent of the hair's weight in silver as charity to a Muslim. This is what the noble Prophet (s) did for al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (a) and all of his other children.[5]

49. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): There was nothing that the Prophet of Allāh (s) loved more than remaining hungry and fearful for the sake of Allāh.[6]

50. Al-ʿĪṣ b. al-Qāsim: I said to al-Ṣādiq (a): It has been narrated from your father that he said: "The noble Prophet (s) never became sated with wheat bread"; is this correct? He replied: "No, the noble Prophet (s) never ate wheat bread, and he never became sated with bread made from barley."[7]

51. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The noble Prophet (s) never ate sitting in a reclined posture, from the time he was sent by Allāh, until Allāh took him from this world. He used to eat like a slave and sit like a slave. I asked: "Why (was this)?" He said: "Out of humility towards Allāh."[8]

52. Abū Khadīja: Bashīr al-Dahhān asked Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) when I was present: "Did the noble Prophet (s) eat while leaning on his right

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:28.
[2] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 39.
[3] Ḥur al-ʿĀmilī, *Wasāʾil al-Shīʿa*, 20:21.
[4] Slaughtering a goat on the occasion of the birth of a child (Tr.)
[5] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 2:619.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:129.
[7] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 320.
[8] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:270.

and his left?" He replied: "The Prophet of Allāh (s) never leaned on his right or his left, rather he sat like a slave." I asked: "Why was this?" He replied: "Out of humility towards Allāh."[1]

53. Imam al-Bāqir (a): The noble Prophet (s) ate like a slave and sat like a slave. He would eat on the ground and sleep on the ground.[2]

54. Ibn ʿAbbās: The noble Prophet (s) used to sit on the ground, restrain the ewe [in order to milk it], and accept the invitation of the slave to [join him in eating] barley bread.[3]

55. The noble Prophet (s) used to eat different types of foods. He would eat what Allāh had made permissible for him, with his family and servants and with the one who had invited him from among the Muslims, [sitting] on the ground or on what they sat on to eat and [eating] from what they ate, except if a guest arrived, in which case he would eat with his guest and the food that he liked the most was that from which most people partook.[4]

56. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When the noble Prophet (s) ate with the people, he was the first to start eating and the last to stop, so that the people could eat [without feeling embarrassed].[5]

57. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): Never was food that included dates served to the noble Prophet (s) but that he would start with the dates.[6]

58. The noble Prophet (s) would praise Allāh between every two morsels.[7]

59. Wahab b. ʿAbd Rabbih: I saw Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) picking his teeth and I watched him, so he said: The noble Prophet (s) used to pick his teeth; and it gives the mouth a good odor.[8]

60. Imam ʿAlī (a): I saw the noble Prophet (s) more than once while he drank [water] and he would have three draughts, beginning each draught in the name of Allāh and ending it by glorifying Him, so I asked him about this and he said: "Thanking Allāh is done by

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[1] Ibid., 6:272.
[2] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 2:457.
[3] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 393.
[4] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 26-27.
[5] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:285.
[6] Ibid., 6:345.
[7] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-aʿmāl*, 1:161.
[8] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:376.

glorifying Him and beginning in His name is a protection from ailments."[1]

61. On the day of Aḍḥā, the noble Prophet (s) slaughtered two rams, one from himself and the other on behalf of the poor from among his *umma*.[2]

62. Zurāra: Abū Jaʿfar [Imam al-Bāqir] (a) said: "Should I not tell you about the noble Prophet's (s) *wuḍūʾ*?" We replied: "Yes." He said: "Bring me a bowl with some water." Then he placed it in front of him and rolled up his sleeves. He then dipped his right hand [in it] and said: "This [is done] if your hand is *ṭāhir* [clean from what is deemed impure]." Then he scooped a handful of water and placed it on his forehead and said '*bismillāh*' and let it drip down to the edges of his beard. Then he passed his palm on his face and forehead once. Then he dipped his left hand and scooped out a handful of water and placed it on his right elbow and passed his palm over his [right] arm until water had reached the edge of his fingers. Then he scooped a handful of water with his right hand and placed it on the left elbow and passed his palm over his [left] arm until the water reached the edge of his fingers. He then wiped the front part of his head and the back of his feet with the wetness of his left hand and the remaining wetness of his right hand.

Abū Jaʿfar (a) said: Verily Allāh is one and he likes singularity. It is sufficient to perform *wuḍūʾ* with three handfuls [of water], one for the face and two for the arms, and [then] wipe the front of your head with the wetness of your right hand and with what remains of the wetness of your right hand wipe the back of your right foot and with the wetness of your left hand wipe the back of your left foot.

Zurāra said: Abū Jaʾfar (a) said: A man asked Amīr al-Muʾminīn (a) about the *wuḍūʾ* of the noble Prophet (s) so he described it to him in this way.[3]

63. Imam al-Riḍā, from his forefathers (a), in a lenghty hadith: The noble Prophet (s) said: It is not permissible for us—the Ahl al-Bayt—

[1] Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-Wasāʾil*, 17:12.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:495.
[3] Ibid., 3:25.

to accept charity, and we have been ordered to perform the ritual purification perfectly …[1]

64. Al-Fuḍaīl b. Yasār and ʿAbd al-Malik and Bukayr: We heard Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) saying: The noble Prophet (s) used to pray twice as many supererogatory prayers as the obligatory prayers and he used to fast twice as many supererogatory fasts as the obligatory fasts.[2]

65. Muʿāwiya b. Wahab: I heard Abū ʿAbd Allāh [Imam al-Ṣādiq] (a) saying, as he recalled the prayer of the noble Prophet (s): He would bring his ablution water, cover it and place it by his bedside, he would put his *siwāk* under his bed, and then he would sleep for as long as Allāh willed. When he woke up, he would sit, look towards the sky and recite the verse from (Sūra) Āl ʿImrān(3:190-200): '*Verily in the creation of the heavens and earth...*' Then he brushed his teeth and performed ablution after which he went to his place of prayer and performed four rakʿahs, with the duration of his *rukūʿ* being equal to the duration of his *qirāʾa* and the duration of his *sujūd* being equal to that of his *rukūʿ*. He would bow in *rukūʿ* until it was asked, "When will raise his head?" And he would prostrate in *sujūd* until it was asked, "When will he raise his head?" He then returned to his bed and slept for as long as Allāh willed. Then he awoke again, sat up and recited the verse from Āl ʿImrān looking towards the sky. He brushed his teeth, performed ablution and went to his place of prayer where he performed the Witr prayer and two [other] rakʿahs (i.e. the *nāfila* of Fajr) and then he left his house [to go to the masjid] for the [Fajr] prayer.[3]

66. The noble Prophet (s) used to seek forgiveness seventy times in the Watr Prayer and then say seven times: "This is the position of the one who seeks protection with You from hellfire."[4]

67. The noble Prophet (s) used to say in the *qunūt* of the Watr Prayer: "O Allāh! Guide me as those whom You have guided, and grant me well-being as those whom You have granted well-being, and take care of my affair as those whose affairs You have taken care

[1] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:29.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 3:443.
[3] Ṭūsī, *Tahdhib al-aḥkām*, 2:334.
[4] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 1:489.

of, and bless me in what You grant me, and protect me from the evil of what You have decreed, verily You decree and nothing is decreed upon You. Glory be to You, O Lord of the House! I seek forgiveness from You and turn to You, and I seek refuge with You and rely on You, and there is no power or might but by Your will, O Most Merciful."[1]

68. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When the Holy Month of Ramaḍān came, the Prophet of Allāh (s) increased his *ṣalāt* and I too increase it [in the month of Ramaḍān], so you should also do the same.[2]

69. Imam al-Bāqir (a): On rainy nights, the noble Prophet (s) would delay the Maghrib prayer and hasten the ʿIshāʾ, praying them together and saying: "One who shows no mercy will not be shown mercy."[3]

70. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): When the Muʾadhdhin (caller of the *adhān*) came to the noble Prophet (s) on very hot days [to seek permission to call the *adhān*] for the Ẓuhr prayer, the noble Prophet (s) would say: "*Abrid! Abrid!*" (wait for it become a little cooler).[4]

71. Muḥammad b. Marwān: I heard Imam al-Ṣādiq (a) saying: The Prophet of Allāh (s) would fast so much that it would be said he does not break his fast and he would stop fasting for so long that it would be said he does not fast. Then he fasted on alternative days. Then he fasted on Mondays and Thursdays. In the end he turned to fasting three days a month: the first Thursday of the month, the Wednesday in the middle of the month and the last Thursday of the month; and he (s) would say: "This is the fasting of the lifetime."[5]

72. Anas: The noble Prophet (s) had a drink with which he would break his fast and a drink for *saḥar*. At times he would have only one [drink, and nothing else], sometimes he would have milk and other times it would be a drink with soaked bread.[6]

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[1] Ibid., 1:478.
[2] Ṭūsī, *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, 3:60.
[3] Ibid., 2:32.
[4] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 1:223.
[5] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:90.
[6] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 32.

73. Imam al-Ṣādiq (a): The first thing that the noble Prophet (s) broke his fast with in the season of fresh dates was fresh dates and in the season of dry dates was dry dates.[1]

74. When the Month of Ramaḍān entered, the noble Prophet (s) freed all the prisoners and gave [something] to all the beggars.[2]

[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:153.
[2] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu al-faqīh*, 2:99.

The Prophet's Role in the Formation of Islamic Theology[1]

Sayyed Hāshim al-Mīlānī[2]

Introduction

We believe that the initial roots of Islamic theology were established during the Prophetic era, particularly in the period after the *mabʿath*, the beginning of the Prophet's mission. No religion can expand and endure without the presence of a doctrinal system which presents its main tenets, defends them, and provides answers to the numerous inquiries which arise. Despite the fixed content of this doctrinal system, its techniques and methodologies change with time and according to need. As long as the aim was to clarify and defend their religion, Muslims adopted the finest available techniques and methodologies in their time to perform this mission.

When we reflect on the initial stages of Islamic theology during the Prophetic era, we observe that the applied techniques and

[1] This chapter is an abridged version of the article "Adwār al-kalām ʿind al-Imāmiyya: al-Dawr al-nabawī" published in the journal *al-ʿAqīda* 2020 (no. 21).

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methodologies, and even the nature of the raised issues, all differ from what we notice after several centuries, especially during the period of prosperity of Islamic sciences. Nevertheless, the main structure and content of Islamic theology were preserved: discussing God's existence, attributes, and actions.

Islamic theology underwent a gradual development, transitioning from a state of generality to detail. It is pertinent to mention that the origins of the topics of Islamic theology are rooted in the Holy Quran. Despite the fact that the Quran has always been the main source of Islamic doctrine, the doctrinal aspect of the Quran did not gain popularity among Muslims during the primary stage. Precious doctrinal pearls remained hidden: their meanings were veiled and their symbols were only deciphered by elite figures who became the gate of the city of knowledge of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Others, however, gained no share of this knowledge and subsequently became divided into various sects and followed different ways.

The Islamic theology of Imāmī Shiism is distinguished from other forms of Islamic theology. This lies in the fact that the direct presence of the Infallible leader extended to reach approximately 250 years in Imāmī Shīʿī view, granting doctrinal immunity to Shiism despite all the external pressures and inner schisms. This lies in contrast with all other doctrinal schools of thought which lacked the presence of a divinely-appointed, infallible leader after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad (s).

When we embark upon considering the doctrinal role performed by the Prophet Muḥammad (s), we must first become acquainted with the religious distribution in Arab society at the time of the *mabʿath*. In addition to the foundational doctrines presented by Islam, some doctrinal stances came as reply to beliefs already present in Arab society. When we examine the Meccan and Medinan societies during early Islam, it is evident that both encompassed a mixture of different opinions and beliefs. These two cities were inhabited by Arab pagans, Jews and Christians while the surrounding areas were inhabited by Magians, Manichaeans, and Sabians, in addition to adherents of other faith traditions. All of these groups left their direct

or indirect mark on society through commercial exchange or religious journeys.

Imam ʿAlī describes the state of humans during this period: "The people of the earth at that time were [divided into] dispersed parties, [their] aspirations were scattered, [their] ways separate. They either likened Allah to His creation, or twisted His Names, or turned to other than Him."[1]

All of these factors turned the Arab society in the Hijaz into a mixture of different opinions and beliefs, some of which were inherited from forefathers, while others were acquired from arrivers to the Hijaz who had inhabited the area, and yet others were gained from commercial interactions and through travel. For this reason, al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292 AH) states: "The religions of the Arabs were different, through proximity to the people of (different) sects, and the movement to cities and places of rest."[2]

These Arab beliefs and opinions formed a tide of opposition in the face of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) after the *mabʿath*, with the Arabs rising to defend their convictions and the beliefs they had inherited from their forefathers. Therefore, it was incumbent upon the Prophet Muḥammad (s) to provide proof of the divine nature of his *daʿwa* first, and to provide responses to the opposing claims in the second place. This essay sheds light on this subject matter, but before delving into the main topic, it is necessary to mention the following points:

- The adopted methodology in this essay is the tradition-based methodology, which depends on religious texts and traditions, and the contents of books of *sīra* and hadith.
- The adoption of this methodology does not involve reliance upon all traditions which have been attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s). This is due to the presence of inauthentic and fabricated reports which have been ascribed to the Prophet (s) during his lifetime and after his death.

[1] Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Nahj al-balāgha*, sermon 1.
[2] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 1:254.

- We assume the authenticity of traditions unless they are incompatible with the Holy Quran, reason, or an established historical truth.
- We shall strive to arrive at the doctrines clarified by the Prophet Muḥammad (s) without adding an analysis or explanation, to prevent the intermixture of hadiths with our personal opinions and presuppositions.
- The early policy of prohibiting the writing of hadiths resulted in the possible loss of contextual information that played an important role in understanding the meaning of hadiths. It is also probably for this reason that we have a limited number of prophetic hadiths pertaining to doctrinal issues.
- The Holy Quran abounds with verses on God, prophethood, resurrection, and other doctrinal themes. Some verses establish doctrinal foundations while others provide answers to people's questions. Due to the fact that this study concentrates on hadiths transmitted from the Prophet Muḥammad (s), we will rarely explore these Quranic verses since a detailed discussion of them requires a separate study.

We shall discuss the doctrinal role performed by the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in five sections which match the number of the Principles of Religion: *tawḥīd* (God's existence and attributes), divine justice, prophethood, imamate, and resurrection.

Tawḥīd

The Prophet's mission was monotheistic in its essence, falling among the monotheistic religions which call humans to the One God. The Prophet Muḥammad (s) laid the foundations of Islamic monotheism in his time, a fact attested to by Quranic verses and hadiths. In this section, we shall discuss the efforts of the Prophet (s) in this regard by referring to the hadiths that we have received from him.

Knowledge of God and Proof for His Existence

It was not necessary for the Prophet Muḥammad (s) to exert a considerable effort to prove the existence of God, as he was sent in a society which had witnessed different religions throughout the ages. The Arab pagans did not meet the presence of a Creator with denial, but they attributed peers to God: "Indeed, only exclusive faith is worthy of Allah, and those who take other as awliya besides Him [claiming,] 'We only worship them so that they may bring us near to Allah'" (Q 39:3).

The belief in the existence of God was not a result of the Prophet's efforts, but the legacy of all prophets: "Their apostles said, 'Is there any doubt about Allah, the originator of the heavens and the earth?!'" (Q 14:10). For this reason, not many hadiths focus on this aspect, but it is possible to categorize the hadiths attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) on this topic according to the following points:

A) The Prophet (s) referred to the innate nature of the human knowledge of God, an inherent quality in every human being's creation. The following hadith is attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) with variations in wording: "No child is born except according to the *fiṭra* (godly innate nature), then his parents make him Jewish, or Christian, or Magian."[1] The narrator of this hadith then recited the following Quranic verse: "…the original nature endowed by Allah according to which He originated mankind" (Q 30:30). According to another version of the hadith, "Every child is born according to the *fiṭra*, which means the knowledge that Allah Almighty is his Creator."[2] Yet another version reads: "Every child who is born from a disbelieving or Muslim father is born according to the *fiṭra*, all of them upon Islam (submission). But the demons have gone to them, and turned them away from their religion, and made them Jewish, Christian and Magian, and ordered them to associate to Allah that for which He had sent no authority."[3]

Some Quranic verses refer to this intuitive knowledge as well. When humans lack material means of safety during times of peril and

[1] Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:94, 95, 6:114.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:13.
[3] Ḥakīm al-Tirmithī, *Nawādir al-uṣūl*, 1:310; Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 1:266.

sense an impending danger, their *fitra* is awakened and they seek aid from God, but when they regain safety, they return to sin and polytheism.

> "When they board the ship, they invoke Allah putting exclusive faith in Him, but when He delivers them to land, behold, they ascribe partners [to Him]." (Q 29:65)

> "It is He who carries you across land and sea. When you are in the ships, and they sail along with them with a favourable wind, exulting in it, there comes upon them a tempestuous wind and waves assail them from every side, and they think that they are besieged, they invoke Allah putting exclusive faith in Him, 'If You deliver us from this, we will surely be among the grateful.' But when He delivers them, behold, they commit violations on the earth unduly! O mankind! Your violations are only to your own detriment. [These are] the wares of the life of this world; then to Us will be your return, whereat We will inform you concerning what you used to do." (Q 10:22-23)

B) The innate knowledge and belief in the existence of God does not imply that humans do not need to be reminded of their Creator. For this reason, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) occasionally emphasized the necessity of acquiring knowledge of God, as the hadith states: "The pillar and foundation of religion is knowledge of God."[1]

When asked about the best of deeds, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) is reported to have answered: "[Acquiring] knowledge of God."[2] Another narration states that a Bedouin asked the Prophet (s): "What is the head of knowledge, O Messenger of Allah?" and he (s) answered: "The knowledge of God as He should be known." The Bedouin then asked: "And what is the knowledge of God as He should be known?" The Prophet then (s) answered: "To know that He has no equal, counterpart, or peer; that He is One and Unique, the Evident and Hidden, the First and Last. There is no equal to Him and no parallel. This is knowing Him as He should be known."[3]

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[1] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 4:807; Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 3:381.
[2] Zamakhsharī, *Rabīʿ al-abrār*, 4:26.
[3] Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 285.

The knowledge of God is embedded into hearts and minds. The mission of prophets, however, was to illuminate the path and remove any obstacles which hide the light of guidance. The following prayer is attributed to the Prophet: "O He who has prepared the intellects for His knowledge,"[1] and, "Praise be to Allah who has granted me knowledge of Him, and has not left me [with a] blind heart."[2]

C) In another hadith, it is mentioned that prophets instill knowledge in humans and aid them in becoming familiar with their Lord: "And he has sent the prophets… so that servants can comprehend from their Lord what they were ignorant of, knowing Him in His lordship after they had [previously] denied, and confessing to His oneness in divinity after they had separated [from monotheism]."[3] Therefore, the role of prophets was to remove the veils which concealed monotheism, and calling people to abandon polytheism which contradicted the monotheistic *fiṭra*.

D) It is impossible to gain knowledge of the essence of God, for how could a finite being fully comprehend the Infinite Being? From the following saying attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) we understand that this question had been in circulation: "O He who no one knows what He is other than Him!"[4] In another saying, the Prophet (s) expresses the incapacity of humans to fully understand God: "Extolment be to you! We have not known You as you should be known."[5]

This human incapacity to fully know God encompasses all humans, even prophets and their spiritual heirs. For this reason, when the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "No one attains the depth of His knowledge," those around him (s) were surprised and asked: "Not even you, O Messenger of Allah?" and he (s) answered: "Not even I. Allah is greater and more sublime than to be known by anyone in depth."[6]

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[1] Ṭūsī, *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*, 1:156.
[2] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 83:282.
[3] Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 44-45.
[4] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-aʿmāl*, 1:343.
[5] Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī, *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī*, 4: 132.
[6] Ibid.

Furthermore, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) forbade meticulous reflection on the essence of God. It is reported that the Prophet (s) said regarding the verse "that the terminus is toward your Lord" (Q 53:42), "No reflection [is allowed] concerning the Lord."[1] Another hadith states: "Reflect upon the creation of Allah, but do not reflect upon Allah lest you perish,"[2] while another one declares: "Reflect upon everything but do not reflect upon Allah the Exalted."[3]

Ibn ʿAbbās mentions a certain incidence, despite his young age at the time of its occurrence, which signifies the Prophet's (s) attention to teaching his companions the proper method to reflect upon God in order to attain sound knowledge. Ibn ʿAbbās states: "The Messenger of Allah (s) entered upon us while we were at the mosque [sitting in] circles. The Messenger of Allah (s) said to us: 'What are you occupied with?' We said: 'We are thinking of the sun, how it rises and sets.' He (s) said: 'Well done. Be like this, reflect upon the creature, but do not reflect upon the Creator'".[4]

The importance of this hadith lies in the fact that it refers to the formation of the first nucleus of doctrinal discussions, illustrated by the gatherings in the Prophet's (s) Mosque. The Prophet Muḥammad (s) supported these gatherings and looked in on them from time to time, expressing his opinions and rectifying their ideas. The presence of organized circles in the Prophet's (s) Mosque for the discussion of doctrinal themes—even if in a simple manner—indicates the legitimacy of Islamic theology.

E) There are traditions which signify the impossibility of gaining knowledge of the essence of God, and these may be categorized under the heading "hadiths of veils." These traditions come in a variety of wording and speak of the concealment of God behind seventy-thousand veils of light and darkness. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "There are seventy thousand veils between Allah and His creatures. The closest creature to Allah is myself and Isrāfīl; there are four veils between us and Him: a veil of

[1] Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, *al-ʿAẓama*, 1:217; Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 29:278.
[2] Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, *al-ʿAẓama*, 1:214; Suyūṭī, *al-Jamiʿ al-kabīr*, 4:409.
[3] ʿAbsī, *al-ʿArsh*, 342-43; Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 3:106.
[4] Abū al-Shaykh al-Iṣbahānī, *al-ʿAẓama*, 4:1489-91; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 54:348.

light, a veil of darkness, a veil of cloud, and a veil of water."[1] Another tradition states: "Allah Almighty is behind seventy-thousand veils of light and darkness. Any soul which hears a sound from those veils will but perish."[2] Another version reads: "His veil is light, and if he were to remove it, the splendor of his face would burn all of His creation, as far as His sight reaches."[3]

F) The following Quranic verse is resorted to in order to prove the innate nature of one's knowledge of God:

> When your Lord took from the Children of Adam, from their loins, their descendants and made them bear witness over themselves, [He said to them,] 'Am I not your Lord?' They said, 'Yes indeed! We bear witness.' [This,] lest you should say on the Day of Resurrection, 'Indeed we were unaware of this,' or lest you should say, 'Our fathers ascribed partners [to Allah] before [us] and we were descendants after them. Will You then destroy us because of what the falsifiers have done?' (Q 7:172-73)

This verse is "one of the most delicate Quranic verses in meaning and the most wondrous in order."[4] It has sparked great debate among Muslim theologians and the scholars of hadith. The meaning of the verse is clear, but the manner in which this testimony was taken is not described in the Quran. ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī explains the verse as follows:

> The meaning is that We have taken their descendants from their loins and made them testify upon themselves. They recognized our lordship and therefore Our evidence over them will be complete on the Day of Resurrection. If we had not done so … they would all have been given an excuse over Us on the Day of Resurrection, [saying] that they had been unaware of Our lordship in the worldly life, and there is no duty or blame upon an unaware person. This is the meaning

[1] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 2:10.
[2] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 6:148.
[3] Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī, *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī*, 4:106.
[4] Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *al-Mīzān*, 8:306.

of God's word: "Lest you should say on the day of Resurrection, 'Indeed, we were of this unaware.'"[1]

Monotheism

Monotheism is the comprehensive prophetic program and forms the basis of the Prophet's mission, which began with the following declaration: "Say there is no god but Allah and you shall prosper."[2] The Prophet's (s) emphasis on monotheism may be taken into account through the following hadith: "Gabriel, the Master of Angels, said; 'Allah, the Master of Masters—glorified and exalted is He—said: I am Allah, there is no god but I. Whoever confesses to my unicity shall enter My fortress, and whoever enters My fortress shall be safe from My punishment."[3] Another hadith states: "[The confession] 'There is no god but Allah' is not surpassed by any deed, and does not leave a [single] sin behind."[4] Another hadith declares: "If the servant says 'I bear witness that there is no god but Allah', Allah the Sublime says: 'O My angels! My servant knows that he has no Lord other than I. Bear witness that I have forgiven him."[5]

The declaration of belief in the One God is the key to embrace Islam, the basis of all actions, and the mark of believers. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "The confession 'There is no god but Allah' signifies His oneness. Deeds are only accepted when accompanied by it. It is the word of piety, and scales are made heavy by it on the Day of Resurrection."[6] Other hadiths are also attributed to the Prophet (s) such as: "Monotheism is the price of paradise,"[7] and, "Whoever dies knowing that there is no god but Allah shall enter paradise."[8]

When the Prophet Muḥammad (s) called people to monotheism, he called them to a sincere conversion to Islam, accompanied by acceptance and compliance. As for those who had only expressed

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[1] Ibid., 8:309.
[2] Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-Siyar wa al-maghāzī*, 231; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 25:404-5.
[3] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2: 135.
[4] Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 4:710.
[5] Suyūṭī, *al-Jamiʿ al-kabīr*, 1:462; Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 1:48.
[6] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 188.
[7] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 570.
[8] Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:55.

verbal acquiescence unaccompanied by inner recognition, they were considered Muslims outwardly but their true nature was hypocrisy and a grave punishment in the hereafter awaited them. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "Verily, 'There is no god but Allah' is a great word, valued by Allah Almighty. Whoever says it sincerely will be entitled to heaven, and whoever says it falsely, it shall preserve his wealth and blood but his fate will be hell."[1] In a counsel to Ibn Masʿūd, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "If you say: 'There is no god but Allah' but you do not know its truth, it shall be returned to you."[2]

Levels of Monotheism

The *mutakallimūn* divided divine unicity into different types and categories, which, though not mentioned by the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and the Infallible Imams, may be logically inferred from the sayings attributed to them. These categorizations are also used to organize the content of the hadiths for the purpose of facilitating understanding. What follows is a selection of prophetic hadiths, presented according to the categories of divine unicity.

Unity of Essence

The belief in the oneness of God entails the complete rejection of any counterpart for Him. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "Everything has a genealogy, and God's genealogy is "Say: There is no god but Allah.'"[3] This verse from Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (Q 112) depicts the highest levels of divine unicity, as it rejects the presence of any form of counterpart to Him. God is One and Unique, He has not begotten nor has he been begotten, and He has no equivalent or parallel. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "O Allah, there is no god but You; You alone without another partner or god. You are the Lord of lords, the Possessor of servants, and the Owner of forgiveness and punishment. I ask You by [your] lordship which is unique to You, free me from hellfire through Your power."[4]

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[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 23.
[2] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 455.
[3] Ṭabarānī, *al-Miʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 1:222.
[4] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, 74.

Unity of Actions

This category represents the belief that everything which occurs in the world falls under the power, authority, and will of God. No individual performs an action independently of God. A supplication attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) states: "O He other than whom there is no god. There is no creator or provider of sustenance other than You, O Allah. I ask You by Your Name which is manifest in everything, by [your] power, glory, proof, and authority, O Allah!"[1]

The Supplication of al-Jawshan al-Kabīr which is attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) includes the following passage: "O He other than whom no one drives away calamities! O He other than whom no one transforms hearts! O He other than whom no one manages affairs! O He other than whom no one causes rain to fall! O He other than whom no one increases sustenance! O He other than whom no one revives the dead!"[2]

Unity of Worship

Unity of worship forms one of the most important aspects of the prophetic mission, especially taking into account the paganism of the ancient Arabs. Each tribe adopted a certain idol and the Arab pagans even went so far as to fill the Sacred Mosque at Mecca with idols. The prophetic mission emphasized the rejection of idols and turning toward the One God in worship and supplication. The Prophet Muḥammad (s) is reported to have said: "When Allah gathers those of ancient and later times in one place … He shall say: 'I am the best partner. Every deed done for Me in the worldly life, in which I had a partner, I shall leave it today and accept sincere [deeds] only.'"[3] Another hadith attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) reads: "I have brought you only good. I have come to you so that you worship Allah alone without a partner… and to forsake al-Lāt and al-ʿUzza."[4]

The Prophet's call to monotheism brought upon him great suffering which he endured patiently. The Quraysh tribe did not care

[1] Kafʿamī, *al-Balad al-amīn*, 415.
[2] Ibid., 410.
[3] Ṭbarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 7:290.
[4] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 38:206.

about personal belief in the One God or the performance of monotheistic rituals, but the Prophet's disparagement of Arab idols and his insistence on the rejection of idol-worshipping infuriated his tribe, leading to a bitter confrontation, as the idols were sacred for them and a source of income. Ibn Hishām reports that "when the Messenger of Allah (s) proclaimed Islam and declared it publicly as Allah had ordered him, his tribesmen did not withdraw from him nor reject him until he mentioned their gods and denounced them. When he did this, they regarded it as a great offence, fought him, and united in opposition and hostility to him."[1] They complained to the Prophet's (s) uncle Abū Ṭālib saying: "He cursed our gods, criticized our religion, and ridiculed our customs."[2]

Unity of Names and Attributes of God

The discussion on the names and attributes of God is an important theme in theology. God's attributes are divided into attributes of essence and attributes of act and into positive and negative attributes. There have been many discussions on the exact number of the names and attributes of God, but what concerns us here is to explore the Prophet's hadiths on divine names and attributes.

In a well-known hadith, it is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "Allah—praised and exalted is He—has ninety-nine names … Whoever learns them shall enter paradise," and then he mentioned those names.[3] The Prophet Muḥammad (s) reiterated these names and attributes in different times and various occasions. The Supplications al-Jawshan al-Kabīr and al-Asmāʾ al-Ḥusna, which are attributed to the Prophet (s), contain the greatest number of divine names. Some hadiths indicate describing God with an attribute that He has not used for Himself is forbidden: "The Creator is only described with that which He has described Himself with. How could the Creator whom the senses are unable to grasp, illusions are unable to realize, and visions are unable to encompass, be described? Glorified be God from the descriptions of describers! He is far in His

[1] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:264.
[2] Ibid., 1:265.
[3] Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 194-95.

nearness, and near in His farness. He made the "how," so "how" may not be said about him; He made the "where," so "where" may not be said regarding Him. He [transcends] the how and the where. He is the One, the Ṣamaḍ (the rich on whom others depend), as He described Himself. Describers cannot reach His description. He did not beget nor was He begotten, and there is no equivalent to Him."[1]

Muslims and non-Muslims inquired about these names and attributes, and some reports indicate that the discussion on the Names and Attributes of God was heated between Muslims and non-Muslims in early Islamic history. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "People will keep asking about everything until they say: 'Allah was before everything, then what was before Allah?' If they tell you this, then say: 'He is the First before everything, and there is nothing after Him. He is the Manifest above everything, and He is the Hidden from everything. He is the Knower of all things."[2]

A Jewish man asked the Prophet Muḥammad (s): "Tell me about your statement: 'He is One with no match.' Is not God one, and a human being one? So, His oneness resembles the oneness of humans!" He answered: "Allah is One, and his reality is one, but a human being's reality is dualistic: substance and accident, body and soul. [The problematic] similarity is only that of the reality."[3] It is also reported that Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh asked the Prophet Muḥammad (s) about the interpretation of the phrase *Subhan Allah*, and he answered: "Glorifying Allah from every evil."[4]

It is related that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) advised his Companions to frequently call God's names for the purpose of overcoming tribulations. It is reported that a man complained to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) his feeling of loneliness, so the Prophet (s) advised him to repeat this praise frequently: "Glory be to my Lord, the King, the Most-Holy, the Lord of the angels and Spirit, the Creator of the heavens and earth, the possessor of glory and might," whereby his feeling of loneliness disappeared."[5]

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[1] Khazzāz, *Kifāyat al-athar*, 12.
[2] Abū al-Jahm al-Bāhihlī, *Juzʾ*, 49-50; Suyūṭī, *al-Jamiʿ al-kabīr*, 12:32.
[3] Khazzāz, *Kifāyat al-athar*, 12-13.
[4] Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 3:164; Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 1:680.
[5] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 350-51.

It is also reported that in battle-fields, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) invoked God with His various names; for instance, in the Battle of Aḥzāb, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) recited the following supplication:

O' God, you are God, before everything, and you are God, after everything. You are God, who remains eternal while everything [else] perishes.

You are the Forbearing, who is never ignorant.

You are the Generous, who is never stingy.

You are the Just, who never wrongs.

You are the Wise, who never oppresses.

You are the Invincible One, who cannot be reached.

You are the Mighty, who cannot be humiliated.

You are the High, who cannot be seen.

You are the Eternal, who never perishes.

You have encompassed everything in knowledge.

You have counted everything in number.

You are the Originator, before everything.

You are the Everlasting One, after everything.

The Creator of the seen, and the Creator of the unseen.

The Knower of everything without instruction.

You grant triumph to whomever You want.

You destroy kings and allow others to rule.

In Your hands is [all] good, and You have power over everything.

You are our master, grant us victory over the disbelievers."[1]

It is also reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) recited the following supplication on the Day of Hunayn: "My Lord, you have been and will always be the Ever-Living who does not die. Eyes sleep and stars fall, but you are the Ever-Living, the Sustainer. Neither drowsiness overtakes You nor sleep." [2]

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) invoked God's names when seeking protection against calamities. He reportedly taught his daughter Fāṭima (a) the following prayer: "O Allah, O most glorified of [all who are] mentioned, and the most ancient in

[1] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muhaj al-daʿawāt*, 70.
[2] Ibid., 71.

glory and might! O Allah, O Merciful to every seeker of mercy, O refuge of every grieved one! O Allah, O He who has mercy over every sorrowful one who complains his anguish and sorrow to Him! O Allah, O best of those whose kindness is asked and the swiftest in giving!'"[1]

The names and attributes of God have a strong presence at the individual and social level, encompassing all states: wakefulness and sleep, war and peace, and times of merriment and sorrow. Through the constant remembrance and invocation of God's names, the presence of God is emphasized, a fruit of the doctrinal endeavor to enhance the piety of the Muslim society.

Divine Justice

The topic of divine justice is considered a controversial theme in Islamic theology. This subject matter is of such significance that it has led to the emergence of numerous theological schools of thought. Under this topic, the theologians have persevered in examining a number of doctrinal themes such as predestination and free will, intrinsic ethical value of actions, and divine benevolence (*luṭf*). Despite the sharp dispute, Muslims unanimously agree that God is just, but they differ in the method they employ to reach this conclusion. The ʿAdliyya (proponents of divine justice) prove divine justice primarily by reason, but the Ashʿarites and Ahl al-Hadith prove it based on the teachings of the Quran and Hadith.

The Holy Quran informs us of the belief in predestination among the Arab pagans:

> "When they commit an indecency, they say, 'We found our fathers practising it, and Allah has enjoined it upon us.' Say, 'Indeed Allah does not enjoin indecencies. Do you attribute to Allah what you do not know?'" (Q 7:28)

> "The polytheists will say, 'Had Allah wished we would not have ascribed any partner [to Him], nor our fathers, nor would we have forbidden anything.' Those who were before them had denied likewise until they tasted Our punishment. Say, 'Do you have any [revealed] knowledge that you can

[1] Ṭabrī al-Āmulī al-Ṣaqīr, *Dalāʾil al-Imāma*, 73.

> produce before us? You follow nothing but conjectures, and you do nothing but surmise.'" (Q 6:148)
>
> "The polytheists say, 'Had Allah wished, we would not have worshiped anything besides Him—neither we, nor our fathers—nor we would have forbidden anything without His sanction.' Those who were before them had acted likewise. Is the apostles' duty anything but to communicate in clear terms?" (Q 16:35)

These Quranic verses indicate that the belief in predestination was deeply-rooted among pagans during the pre-Islamic period. Moreover, the phrase in the aforementioned holy verse "Thus did those do before them" indicates that the belief in predestination goes back to ancient times, and that one of the most important duties which the prophets were tasked to fulfill was to fight this false doctrine.

Now we shall consider Prophet Muḥammad's (s) role in clarifying details concerning divine justice, which were subsequently incorporated into the theme of divine justice within Islamic theology.

Divine Justice

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) has frequently described God's justice in his words. The Supplication of al-Jawshan al-Kabīr contains the following phrase: "O He who is Great and cannot be described, O He who is just and does not act unjustly!"[1] Additionally, the Prophet's (s) sermon on the Day of Ghadir Khumm includes the following statement: "I testify that Allah… is the just who does not tyrannize."[2] It is reported on the authority of Abu Dharr that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) related that God said: "My servants! I have forbidden oppression upon myself, and have made it forbidden among you, so do not oppress one another."[3] Likewise, it is reported from Jabir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī that a Jewish man from Khaybar, Jundab b. Junāda, visited the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and said: "O Muḥammad, tell me what is not possessed by God, what is not present with God,

[1] Kafʿamī, *al-Balad al-amīn*, 411.
[2] Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, 1:58.
[3] Maʿmar b. Rāshid, *al-Jāmiʿ*, 11:182; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1994.

and what is not known by God. The Messenger of Allah said: 'What God does not possess is a partner, and what is not present with God is oppressing the servants…"[1] It is also reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "By justice the heavens and earth have been raised."[2]

Additionally, there are numerous supplications attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) which describe God with such expressions: "the Most Just of [all who] are just," "O He whose command is justice!" "Glory be to the Compassionate, how just He is! Glory be to Him, the Just, how masterful He is!" "His judgment is just," and "He is of a just decree."[3]

Predestination

The topic of predestination is among the most important themes under divine justice, which has led to the emergence of several intellectual schools of thought. To gain a general overview of the prophetic hadiths related to the issue of predestination, it is necessary to categorize them.

First Category: Hadiths Which Forbid Engaging in the Discussion about Predestination

There are several prophetic hadiths from which one may infer the prohibition of discussing the topic of predestination, such as the following:

Qadar [predestination] is the secret of Allah so do not attempt to know it.[4]

Whoever speaks of anything related to *qadar* shall be asked about it on the Day of Resurrection, and whoever does not speak of it shall not be asked about it.[5]

A decree from me over my Umma is that they should not speak regarding *qadar*.[6]

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[1] Khazzāz, *Kifāyat al-athar*, 57.
[2] Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī, *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī*, 4:103.
[3] See Rayshahrī, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿaqāʾid al-Islāmiyya*, 6:31-35.
[4] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 10:260.
[5] Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 1:62.
[6] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 1:119.

The parable of one who looks into *qadar* is like one who looks directly at the sun. The more intense his gaze upon it, the more he will lose his sight.[1]

One of the reasons behind such a prohibition is that the discussion of such topics may lead to false beliefs: "Be aware of *qadar* for it is a branch of Christianity."[2] There are also hadiths attributed to the infallible Imams which prohibit the discussion about *qadar*. We can clarify why some hadiths prohibit this discussion while other hadiths actually explain predestination and provide answers to questions concerning it by resorting to al-Shaykh al-Mufīd's comment on al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq's citation of certain narrations: "As for the narrations he [i.e., al-Ṣadūq] has related concerning the prohibition of discussing *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar*, they may have two meanings: the first is that the prohibition specifically targets a group whose discussion [of such a topics] would corrupt them and lead them astray from the religion, and it would only be for their good to refrain from [this discussion] and forsake engaging in it … The second meaning is that prohibiting the discussion of these two [topics] means prohibiting the discussion about what Allah the Exalted has created, His purposes, His reasons, and what He has ordered and obligated, and about their causes, as investigating about the reasons behind the creation and the command is forbidden, because Allah the Exalted has concealed it from most of His creatures."[3]

Second Category: Hadiths Which Indicate That All Matters Are Ordained

The following hadiths are attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s):

All things, whether good or evil, come from Allah.[4]

Allah ordained the measures fifty thousand years before He created the heavens and earth.[5]

Allah created creatures and decreed their appointed times of death, their actions and sustenance.[1]

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[1] Abū al-Shujāʿ al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws*, 4:146.
[2] Ibn Abī ʿAṣim, *al-Sunna*, 1:146.
[3] Mufīd, *Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, 57.
[4] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 4:45-46.
[5] Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 368.

Allah has imposed religious duties upon you so do not forsake them. He has placed limits upon you so do not transgress them. He has forbidden you from [certain] things so do not violate them. He has remained silent concerning [certain] things not due to forgetfulness, so do not pursue them—a mercy from your Lord, so accept them. All matters are in the hand of Allah, and with Allah is their source, and to Him is their return. Servants do not possess [concerning these matters] any authorization or will.[2]

These hadiths should be interpreted as meaning that the will of God is in effect in the entire universe, from its beginning until its very end. This is not contradictory to the law of cause and effect, which itself is also subject to the will and power of God.

Furthermore, there are hadiths under this category, attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s), which indicate the necessity of believing in *qadar*, such as the following: "A servant [of Allah] does not [truly] believe unless he believes in *qadar*, its good and evil, [and] unless he knows that what has befallen him would not miss him and that what has missed him would not befall him."[3] It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) was asked about faith and he answered: "To believe in Allah…and *qadar*, and its good and evil."[4]

Moreover, anyone who does not believe in *qadar* is rebuked: "Whoever denies *qadar* has rejected what I have come with,"[5] and, "The Lord of Glory, may His glory be glorified, has said: 'Whoever believes in Me but does not believe in *qadar*, its good and evil, let him seek a lord other than Me,"[6] and, "My Umma will remain clinging to its religion as long as they do not deny *qadar*. If they deny *qadar*, then will they perish."[7]

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[1] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 1:107.
[2] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 8:381.
[3] Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 4:19.
[4] Ibid., 4:302.
[5] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 1:106, 139.
[6] Ibn Biṭṭa, *al-Ibāna al-kubrā*, 4:59.
[7] Ṭabarānī, *Musnad al-Shāmiyyīn*, 1:399.

Third Category: Hadiths That Indicate that God's Decree is Just, and Everything Which Befalls an Individual is for His Own Good

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) gradually taught his companions that God is most knowledgeable of what is best for His servants, and that He is just in His decree (*qaḍāʾ*), reiterating this in his supplications, sermons, and in other suitable occasions: "He is Mighty (ʿAzīz), Forgiving… whose decree is good,"[1] "… whose decree is just,"[2] and, "In every *qaḍāʾ* of Allah, the Mighty and Majestic, there is good for the believer."[3]The following prophetic hadiths illustrate the goodness of *qaḍāʾ* in prosperity and adversity: "Wondrous is the [affair of] the believer. Allah does not decree a *qaḍāʾ* upon him but it is for his good, whether it pleases him or saddens him. If He afflicts him [with a calamity], it is an expiation for his sin, and if He gives him and honors him, He has awarded him."[4]

Also in this regard, the following hadith is reported on the authority of Ibn Masʿūd: "While we were in the presence of the Messenger of Allah, he smiled, so I asked him: 'What is the matter, O Messenger of Allah?' He said: 'I marvel at the believer and his impatience regarding illness. If he knows the reward [he gains] through illness, he would love to remain ill until he meets his Lord."[5] Another similar report on the authority of Imam al-Sajjād from the Prophet Muḥammad (s) reads: "I marvel at [the affair of] the Muslim. Any *qaḍāʾ* which Allah the Mighty and Majestic decrees is good for him in the outcome of his affair."[6] Ṣuhayb also reports that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) spoke such words to his companions after finishing ʿIshaʾ Prayer.[7]

Fourth Category: Hadiths on the "Drying of the Pen"

There is a group of hadiths known as the hadiths on the "drying of the pen," which indicate that God's *qaḍāʾ* is unchanging and that

[1] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Durūʿ al-wāqiya*, 88.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:581.
[3] Ṣaduq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 371.
[4] Ibn Shuʿba, *Tuḥaf al-ʿuqūl*, 48.
[5] Ṣaduq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 400-1.
[6] Ibid., 401.
[7] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 8:40.

every individual will attain that which he has been created for. It is reported on the authority of Ibn ʿAbbās that the Prophet (s) said: "If you ask, then ask Allah [alone]; and if you seek help, then seek help from Allah [alone]. The pen has dried regarding [all things] which shall occur until the Day of Resurrection. If [all] creatures exerted an effort to benefit you with something that Allah has not prescribed for you, they would not be able to do so. And if [all] creatures exerted an effort to harm you with something which Allah has not prescribed against you, they would not be able to do so."[1] It is reported on the authority of Surāqa b. Mālik that he asked the Prophet Muḥammad (s): "Should we work towards that upon which the pens have dried and the measures have taken their course, or for the affair of the future?" The Prophet (s) answered: "O Surāqa, work for that upon which the pen has dried and the measures have taken course."[2] Another report transmitted on the authority of ʿImrān b. Ḥuṣayn states: "The Messenger of Allah (s) was asked: 'Have the people of heaven been distinguished from the people of hell?' He answered: 'Yes' He was asked: 'For what shall the workers work?'; he answered: 'Everyone is eased toward what he has been created for.'"[3] It is also reported on the authority of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar that a man asked the Prophet (s): "O Messenger of Allah (s) for what shall we work? For something which has passed and elapsed, or for something which will be initiated now? He said: "For something which has passed and elapsed." He was then asked, by the initial inquirer or others: "Then what is the point of action?" He said: "The people of heaven are facilitated to [perform] the work of the people of heaven, and the people of hell are facilitated to [perform] the work of the people of hell."[4] It is also reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "When Allah the Sublime wants to carry out His *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar*, he takes away from the people of intellect their intellect until His *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar* are fulfilled regarding them. When his order is executed, He returns their intellects to them and regret befalls [them]."[5] The

[1] Ibid., 11:223.
[2] Ibid., 7:128.
[3] Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, 2:179; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:2041.
[4] Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, 4:224.
[5] Abū al-Shujāʿ al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws*, 1:250.

following prophetic narrations are in the same vein: "When *qaḍāʾ* arrives, space is constricted"[1] and "No caution will protect from *qadar*."[2]

But how can we understand these hadiths in a manner which does not entail absolute predestination, a concept which is rejected logically and religiously? If we consider these hadiths authentic, a plausible explanation is that these hadiths point to the vastness of God's knowledge and that all matters are under His power and dominion. In other words, these hadiths reject the view according to which God created His creatures and gave them complete freedom in their affairs. The correct doctrine is that all people are in need of God and are not independent in any action they undertake: "O mankind, you are in need of Allah, and Allah is the Free of need, the Praiseworthy" (Q 35:15).

This explanation is assisted by the first hadith transmitted by Ibn ʿAbbās, according to which the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "If you ask, then ask Allah [alone]; and if you seek help, then seek help from Allah [alone]." This advice calls us to cut off our hope in mortals and to direct it to the Creator. Every single human is in need of God and is not independent in his or her actions. Instead of directing our requests to human beings like us and expecting them to provide assistance, we should earnestly entreat God, the Cause of all causes. It is important to point out that without this explanation, we are unable to accept the narrations which speak of absolute predestination, because they contradict the Holy Quran first and foremost and, secondly, they contradict other hadiths of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and the Infallible Imams that reject predestination and indicate that divine decrees may change as a result of our actions.

Fifth Category: Narrations Which Indicate that Qaḍāʾ and Qadar May Change

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said regarding the holy Quranic verse "Allah effaces and confirms whatever He wishes and with Him is the Mother Book" (Q 13:39): "He eliminates from [a

[1] Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī, *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī*, 1:292.
[2] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 36:370.

person's] lifespan what He wills, and he increases in it what He wills."[1] According to another version, "He eliminates from [a person's] sustenance and increases it, and He eliminates from [a person's] lifespan and increases it."[2] Furthermore, the following prophetic hadiths indicate that good deeds change the *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar*:

Charity, performing an act of kindness, maintaining family ties, and dutifulness to parents turn misery into happiness, increase lifespan, and protect from bad deaths.[3]

Nothing prevents *qadar* other than supplication.[4]

Nothing prevents *qaḍāʾ* other than supplication.[5]

Supplication is one of the armies of Allah the Exalted. [It is] mobilized, [and] prevents *qaḍāʾ* after it has been concluded.[6]

No caution suffices [in preventing] *qadar*, and supplication benefits against what has befallen and what has not befallen.[7]

It is also important to note that committing sins changes *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar* but in a negative manner. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "Allah the Mighty and Majestic says… 'There are no people of a town, and no people of a house, and no man in a desert who [perform] what I love of My obedience and then turn from it to what I hate of My disobedience but that I will turn them from what they love of My mercy to what they hate of My wrath."[8]

Sixth Category: Hadiths Which Refute Predestination

The following hadiths of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) negate predestination:

He who likens Allah to His creation does not know Him, and He who attributes the sins of His servants to Him has not described him as just.[9]

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[1] Abū al-Shujāʿ al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws*, 5:261.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 3:431.
[3] Abū al-Shujāʿ al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws*, 5:262.
[4] Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 1:68, 5:152.
[5] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 268, 388, 389.
[6] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 3:702.
[7] Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 1:669.
[8] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 18:325.
[9] Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 47.

There are five [types of people] whose fires [in hell] are not extinguished and their bodies do not die: ... a man who sinned and attributed his sin to Allah the Mighty and Majestic.[1]

Allah is not obeyed compulsorily, nor is He disobeyed [while being] overpowered. He has not neglected [His] servants [in His] kingdom, but he has power over what He made them capable of, and the possessor of what He has made them possess. If servants adhere to God's obedience, there is nothing which would prevent them or repel them from it, and if they sin and [Allah] wished to prevent them from it he would have done so.[2]

He who claims that Allah commands evil and immorality has lied against Allah, and he who claims that good and evil are not under the will of Allah has removed Allah from His dominion, and he who claims that sins [are committed] outside the power of Allah has lied against Allah, and he who lies against Allah, then Allah will make him enter hell.[3]

Seventh Category: Hadiths That Vilify the Qadariyya

There are many narrations in Sunni sources attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) which disapprove of the "Qadariyya," declaring that they would be deprived of intercession in the hereafter, that they are the Magians of the Umma, and that they were cursed by seventy prophets.[4] We do not readily accept that these narrations are authentic and leave this judgment to God. It is possible that these narrations were fabricated at a later time, when the debate on doctrinal issues became heated at the end of the first century and the beginning of the second century AH.

Eighth Category: Hadiths on Salvation

There is a number of narrations which signify that "he who is felicitous is felicitous in his mother's womb, and he who is wretched is wretched in his mother's womb." If these narrations signify that God knows the fate of every human being, then they are acceptable,

[1] Karājakī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 2:47.
[2] Ibn Shuʿba, *Tuḥaf al-ʿuqūl*, 37.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:158.
[4] See Rayshahrī, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿaqāʾid al-Islāmiyya*, 6:198.

as it is established that divine foreknowledge is not a cause for human actions. But if they indicate that humans are forced, we cannot accept them as they contradict the holy Quran, logic, and other narrations.

Evil

One important topic discussed under the theme of divine justice is the presence of evil in the world, which is considered by atheists evidence against the existence of God. Even though this topic was not discussed much during the Prophet's (s) era, we notice that the hadiths recognize the presence of evil as a reality, such as the hadiths that speak of the necessity of believing in *qadar*, its good and bad. The Holy Quran likewise indicates that evil is an actual reality just like good, and that both good and evil are means for testing: "Every soul shall taste death, and We will test you with good and ill by way of test, and to Us you will be brought back" (Q 21:35). Prophetic hadiths also regard evil as trial, which has its own causes and fruits:

A tribulation is a punishment for the wrongdoer, a test for the believer, a degree for the prophets, and an honor for the friends [of God].[1]

No vein quavers and no foot slips except due to what your hands have earned, and what Allah Almighty forgives is more.[2]

The sins of the believer are expiated [through] harm and calamities.[3]

If they do not command good and forbid evil, and do not follow the righteous ones from the people of my house, Allah will empower the evil ones among them over them, and then the righteous ones among them will supplicate but [their prayers] will not be answered.[4]

If Allah the Mighty and Majestic is angry with a nation upon which He has not sent a punishment of being swallowed up by the earth or metamorphosis, prices will increase, rain will be prevented, and the evil ones will dominate therein.[5]

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[1] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 64:235.
[2] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 570.
[3] Shaʿīrī, *Jāmiʿ al-akhbār*, 129.
[4] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:374.
[5] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 2:139.

Good actions prevent bad deaths.[1]

Obedience to Allah [results in] success in every good which is desired, and protection against every evil which is feared.[2]

Therefore, according to these prophetic hadiths, evil is a means of trial; it may be punishment or expiation for sins, or arise due to forsaking guidance and following a misguided path. Furthermore, obedience to God and performing righteous deeds prevent evil.

Names and Rulings

The discussion on the *names and rulings* (*al-asmāʾ wa al-aḥkām*), which aims at defining terms such as "Muslim," "believer" (*muʾmin*), "transgressor" (*fāsiq*), and "disbeliever" (*kāfir*), is related to the disciplines of jurisprudence, lexicography, and theology. The theologians have discussed this topic under the section on divine justice with the aim of clarifying the meaning of these terms linguistically and religiously and then their doctrinal and legal rulings.

These discussions do not date back to the prophetic era, but there are hadiths attributed to the Prophet (s) which point to some of these terms and their meanings. Nevertheless, it is important to be cautious regarding these hadiths, as some of them may have been forged amidst later theological controversies. The following are some of these hadiths.

Islam

The head of this affair is Islam, and whoever embraces Islam will be safe.[3]

There is no child born except with the nature of Islam.[4]

A man might be among the [people] of Islam, but he consumes the money of his brother, sheds his blood, disobeys his Lord, and rejects his Creator; thus, hell becomes a necessary [abode] for him.[5]

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[1] Ṭabrānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 1:289.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:82.
[3] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 20:55.
[4] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:341.
[5] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 23:153.

Indecency and abominableness have nothing to do with Islam, and the truest Islam is that of those who have the highest morals.[1]

A man came to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) and asked him about Islam, so he (s) answered: "[Islam is] to testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah, to establish prayer, to offer *zakāt*, to fast [in the month of] Ramadan, to perform pilgrimage to the House [of God], to love for people that which you love for yourself, and to hate for people that which you hate for yourself."[2] According to another version, "Islam is established on five: testimony that there is no god but Allah, establishment of prayer, offering *zakāt*, performing pilgrimage to the House, and fasting [in the month of] Ramadan."[3]

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said concerning the Khawārij: "A people will appear from here, who recite the Quran but it will not go beyond their throats; they shall depart from Islam as an arrow departs [the bow] in a shot."[4]

Faith

The following traditions are transmitted from the Prophet Muḥammad (s) regarding faith:

Faith is to believe in Allah and His angels, books, and messengers; to believe in heaven, hell, and the Balance; to believe in resurrection after death, and to believe in *qadar* (predestination) whether good or bad.[5]

Faith in Allah is profession by the tongue, confirmation by the heart, and fulfillment by the limbs.[6]

Faith is seventy gates, the highest of which is "There is no god but Allah," and the lowest of which is the removal of a harmful object from the road. Modesty is a branch of faith.[7]

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[1] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 2:256.
[2] Ibid., 2:318.
[3] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:11.
[4] Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*, 138.
[5] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:397.
[6] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 3:573.
[7] Ibn Biṭṭa, *al-Ibāna al-kubrā*, 2:648.

Faith is a garment with which Allah clothes whomever He wills. If a servant commits fornication, the garment of faith is removed from him, and if he repents, it is returned to him.[1]

Five things are from faith; he who has none of them has no faith: submission to the command of Allah, contentment with Allah's decree, delegating [the affairs] to Allah, trusting in Allah, and patience ... [2]

Faith becomes tattered in you, just like a garment becomes tattered. Therefore, ask Allah the Sublime to regenerate faith in your hearts.[3]

Faith is not [realized] by wishing or adorning, but it is that which is fixed in the heart and is validated by action.[4]

Faith and action are companions; none of them is sound except with [the presence of] its partner.[5]

A believer shall not enter hell.[6]

He who has an atom's weight of faith in his heart shall exit hell.[7]

Fighting a believer is blasphemy, and eating his flesh [i.e., backbiting him] is an instance of disobedience against Allah.[8]

What we conclude from these hadiths is that although one embraces Islam simply when one verbally proclaims the *shahādatayn*, faith (*īmān*) requires inner belief and abiding by Islamic laws, and is a graded reality.

Disobedience

"Sinners are punished in hell in proportion to the deficit in their faith."[9]

"Whoever disobeys Allah and His Prophet has erred until he returns to the ordinance of Allah"[10]

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[1] Marwazī, *Taʿẓīm qadr al-ṣalāt*, 1:496.
[2] Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 12:15.
[3] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 13:36.
[4] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 1:25.
[5] Ibid., 1:36.
[6] Abū al-Shujāʿ al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws*, 5:107.
[7] Ṣanʿānī, *Tafsīr*, 1:457; Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 4:295.
[8] Ibid., 2:99.
[9] Abū al-Shujāʿ al-Daylamī, *al-Firdaws*, 5:538.
[10] Shāfiʿī, *Musnad*, 2:26.

"Allah may forgive all sins except he who dies a polytheist or deliberately murders a believer."[1]

"No, by Allah, he shall not receive my intercession who drinks an intoxicating drink and shall not visit me at the Pond [in Paradise]."[2]

"Whoever drinks wine without being forced goes out of faith."[3]

"If a servant commits fornication, faith departs from him and [hovers] over his head like an awning, but when he stops, it shall return to him."[4]

Repentance

"No one is granted repentance while being deprived of acceptance, because Allah the Sublime says: 'And it is He who accepts repentance from his servants.'"[5]

"If one of you errs until his sin fills [the space] between the heaven and earth and then repents, Allah will turn to him [in forgiveness]."[6]

"Verily, Allah accepts a servant's repentance as long as his death has not arrived."[7]

"One who repents from sin is like one who is free from sin."[8]

"No major sin remains major [when it is] accompanied by seeking forgiveness."[9]

Prophethood

In their discussion of prophethood, theologians tackle two issues: proving the necessity of prophethood and establishing the prophethood of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). We may find reference to these two discussions in the words of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). The Apostle of God would, on the one hand, establish his own prophethood and divine mission and, on the other hand, emphasize

[1] Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 7:163.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:400.
[3] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 9:251.
[4] Ibid., 1:399.
[5] Ibid., 7:482.
[6] Ibid., 7:62.
[7] Ibn al-Jawzī, *Jāmiʿ al-masānīd*, 7:489.
[8] Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 5:320.
[9] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *kanz al-ʿummāl*, 4:217.

that he confirmed the previous sacred scriptures and that his mission was a continuation of the previous prophetic missions.

During Prophet Muḥammad's (s) time, doctrinal debates gained momentum. The Prophet (s) confronted the pagans of Quraysh and idol-worshippers in general, as well as the adherents of other religions. He had to defend true monotheism and call people to it, and it was necessary for him to prove his prophethood and divine mission. The Quran states,

> "Say, 'O mankind! I am the Apostle of Allah to you all, [of Him] to whom belongs the kingdom of the heavens and the earth. There is no god except Him. He gives life and brings death.' So have faith in Allah and His Apostle, the untaught prophet, who has faith in Allah and His words, and follow him so that you may be guided." (Q 7:158)

Elsewhere, the Quran states that the Prophet's message is the most complete message: "We have sent down to you the Book with the truth, confirming what was before it of the Book and as a guardian over it" (Q 5:48), while being the continuation of the previous divine messages:

> "Say, 'We have faith in Allah and in what has been sent down to us, and what was sent down to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the Tribes, and that which Moses, Jesus and the prophets were given by their Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and to Him do we submit.'" (Q 3:84)

> "We have indeed revealed to you as We revealed to Noah and the prophets after him, and [as] We revealed to Abraham and Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob, and the Tribes, Jesus and Job, Jonah, Aaron, and Solomon—and We gave David the Psalms—." (Q 4:163)

These and other Quranic verses provided aid to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) in the doctrinal debate with his opponents. Furthermore, these verses are an indication of the intellectual clash during the time. In what follows, a number of hadiths from the Prophet Muḥammad (s) pertaining to the theme of prophethood will be presented.

Daʿwa and Call to Allah

When the Prophet Muḥammad (s) was ordered to make his *daʿwa* public, he began to call people to Islam openly. It is reported that he once stood upon a rock and said: "O company of Quraysh, O company of Arabs. I call you to testify that there is no god but Allah and that I am the Messenger of Allah, and I call you to renounce partners [for God] and idols."[1] Al-Ṭabarī relates that when the Quranic verse: "Warn the nearest of your kinsfolk" (Q 26:214) was revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s), he called all clans of Quraysh and said: "I call you to Allah and warn you of his punishment."[2] Another narration states how the Prophet Muḥammad (s) reiterated his words on the Ṣafā but was confronted in a hostile manner by his disbelieving uncle Abu Lahab, after which Sura al-Masad (Q 111) was revealed, with the opening verse as follows: "Perish the hands of Abū Lahab, and perish he!"[3] Another report by Ibn ʿAbbās on the authority of Imam ʿAlī (a) relates how the Prophet Muḥammad (s) invited men of his tribe to a banquet at his home:

> The Prophet Muḥammad (s) spoke and said: "O sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, by Allah, verily I know of no young man among the Arabs who has brought his people something better than what I have brought you. I have brought you the best of the worldly life and the hereafter, and Allah the Sublime has ordered me to call you to it. Who of you will assist me in this venture, so that he will be my brother, trustee, and successor among you?" They all held back, but I [ʿAlī (a)] … said, "O Prophet of Allah, I will be your helper." He put his hand on my neck and said, "This is my brother, my trustee, and my successor among you, so listen to him and obey him." They rose up laughing and saying to Abū Ṭalib, "He has commanded you to listen to your son and to obey him!"[4]

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[1] Qummī, *Tafsīr*, 1:379.
[2] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:322.
[3] Ibid., 2:319.
[4] Ibid., 2:321.

Afterwards, more and more people embraced Islam. Al-Yaʿqūbī reports, "Many people embraced Islam, their status became known, their numbers grew, and they opposed their pagan relatives."[1]

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) did not only restrict his *daʿwa* to the people of Mecca; he also called other Arab tribes to Islam when they gathered in Mecca for hajj. According to al-Ṭabarī: "The Messenger of Allah presented himself during the season of hajj to the Arab tribes, called them to Allah and to his support, informed them that he was a prophet sent [by God], and asked them to believe in him and protect him until he clarified from Allah that which He had sent him with."[2] Al-Ṭabarī adds, "The Messenger of Allah maintained this [activity] every time people gathered in the season of hajj; he went to them calling the tribes to Allah and Islam, and presented himself and the guidance and mercy he brought from Allah to them. He did not leave an arriver from the Arabs who possessed a title and honor without addressing him, calling him to Allah and presenting him with what he had."[3]

The *daʿwa* was not limited to the Meccan period, but spanned the entire life of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). He sent letters to the rulers of neighboring lands, calling them to belief in the One God and the acceptance of his prophethood and divine message.[4] It is reported that in the sixth year of the *hijra*, "the Messenger of Allah (s) sent six men who departed Medina together in [the month of] Dhū al-Hijja: Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa to the Muqawqis [ruler of Egypt], Diḥya b. Khalīfa al-Kalbī to Caesar, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥudhāfa to Kisrā [Emperor of Persia], ʿAmr b. Ummayya al-Ḍamurī to al-Najāshī [ruler of Ethiopia], Shujāʿ b. Wahab to al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shimr al-Ghassanī, and Sanīṭ b. ʿAmr al-ʿĀmirī to Hawdha b. ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī."[5] The Prophet Muḥammad (s) also met the delegations which came one by one to Medina, especially during the final phases of his blessed life.[6]

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[1] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:28.
[2] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:348.
[3] Ibid.,
[4] For information see Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:403; Murtaḍā al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sīrat al-Nabī*, 16:237; al-Aḥmadī al-Miyānajī, *Makātīb al-Rasūl*.
[5] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 20:282-83.
[6] For more information, see Murtaḍā al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sīrat al-Nabī*, Vol. 28.

Revelation and Gabriel

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) explained to his companions the manner in which he received divine revelation, the modes of revelation, and the content of revelation. This clarification consolidated their hearts, increased their knowledge, and provided answers to their inquiries. It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "Among prophets was he who would hear the sound [of the angel of revelation] and thus became a prophet, and among them was one who would see [the the angel of revelation] in his dream and thus become a warning prophet. Verily, Gabriel comes to me and speaks to me as one of you goes to his companion and speaks to him."[1] Another hadith states: "At times, it comes to me like the ringing of a bell, and this [type of revelation] is the hardest upon me and then it stops while I have comprehended what [the angel] said. Sometimes the angel comes in the form of a man and talks to me, and I comprehend what he says."[2] According to another hadith, the Prophet (s) said, "I saw Gabriel descending, filling the space between the heaven and earth, wearing silk garments upon which was attached pearls and rubies."[3] A further hadith attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) states: "Will you not trust me while I am trusted in heaven; the news of heaven comes to me every morning and evening."[4]

Divine Selection

Prophethood is a form of divine selection, and this has been frequently mentioned in the Quran. In some verses, the Quran refers to the appointment of a certain prophet:

> "He said, 'O Moses, I have chosen you over the people with My messages and My speech. So take what I give you, and be among the grateful.'" (Q 7:144)

> "And who will [ever] forsake Abraham's creed except one who debases himself? We certainly chose him in the [present] world, and in the Hereafter he will indeed be among the Righteous." (Q 2:130)

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[1] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 2:646.
[2] Ibid., 19:783.
[3] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 41:378.
[4] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:164.

In other instances, several prophets are mentioned: "And remember Our servants, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, men of strength and insight. Indeed We purified them with exclusive remembrance of the abode [of the Hereafter]. Indeed they are surely with Us among the elect of the best" (Q 38: 45-47).

There are also prophetic hadiths which refer to divine selection such as the following:

Allah continued to move me from noble loins to pure wombs, purified and refined; whenever two branches were divided, I was in the best of them.[1]

Verily, Allah sent me in the anticipated period, and He chose me. We are the last, and we are the first on the Day of Resurrection. I shall say a word without boastfulness: Abraham is Allah's friend, Moses is Allah's chosen one, and I am Allah's loved one; with me is the Banner of praise on the Day of Resurrection.[2]

Allah chose Abraham from among the sons of Adam and took him as a friend, and He chose Ishmael from the sons of Abraham, then He chose Nizar from the sons of Ishmael, then He chose Mudar from the sons of Nizar, then He chose Kināna from Muḍar, then He chose Quraysh from the sons of Kināna, then He chose Banū Hāshīm from Quraysh, then He chose Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib from Banū Hāshīm, then He chose me from [the descendants of] ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[3]

Proclamation of Prophethood

There are a number of hadiths in which the Prophet (s) proclaims his prophethood such as the following:

I am the Prophet, truly...[4]

I am the unlettered, honest, and pure prophet. All woe to he who denies me, turns away from me, and fights me. Good is for he who gives me refuge, comes to my victory, has faith in me, believes my word, and fights with me.[5]

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[1] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 12:427.
[2] Suyūṭī, *Jamiʿ al-kabīr*, 2:132.
[3] Ṭabarī, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿuqbā*, 1:10.
[4] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:30.
[5] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 3:192.

Any soul on earth who dies without ascribing any partners to Allah, and testifies that I am the Messenger of Allah … will be forgiven by Allah.[1]

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said to those present during the Pledge of al-ʿAqaba: "That which I ask for my Lord is that you believe in Him and do not ascribe any partners to Him, and that which I ask for myself: I ask you to obey me and I shall guide you to the way of rectitude."[2]

The Seal of the Prophets

The Holy Quran clearly states that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) is the final prophet: "Muhammad is not the father of any man among you, but he is the Apostle of Allah and the Seal of the Prophets, and Allah has knowledge of all things" (Q 33:40). The Prophet Muḥammad (s) announced in different occasions that he was the Seal of the Prophets, and that there would be no prophets after him. He emphasized, on the one hand, that his message was from God for all mankind, and, on the other hand, he responded to the Jews and Christians who rejected his prophethood and futilely waited for a prophet to appear from among them. The insistence on proclaiming the finality of his prophethood in numerous occasions is a principal point in the Prophet's mission. There are many hadiths attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad (s) emphasizing that there would be no prophets after him: "Verily, the message and prophethood have terminated. There is no messenger or prophet after me,"[3] and, "I am Aḥmad, Muḥammad, the gatherer, the pioneer, and the Seal."[4] It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said to his daughter Fāṭima al-Zahrāʾ: "O Fāṭima, we are [the] People of the House, Allah has granted us seven characteristics which He has not granted anyone before us and will not grant anyone after us. I am the Seal of the Prophets…"[5] It is also reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said to his uncle ʿAbbās: "O Uncle, stay in your place where you are, for Allah shall end the

[1] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 36:325.
[2] Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 6:47.
[3] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 21:236; Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 4:103.
[4] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 2:378.
[5] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 36:307.

emigration with you as He ended prophethood with me."[1] In another occasion, the Prophet Muḥammad (s) used an illustration to establish this idea: "Verily, the parable of myself and the Prophets before me is that of a man who built a house, perfected it, and beautified it, except for the place of one brick at a corner. The people walk around it and are amazed by it, and say: 'Would that this brick be put [in its place]?' Thus, I am [like] that brick, and I am the seal of the Prophets."[2]

The Prophet Muḥammad's (s) proclamation of the finality of his prophethood was not restricted to the Meccan period, but spanned all phases of his mission. The following hadith, known as Hadith al-Manzila, which dates back to the last period of the Prophet's mission, is a further indication of the finality of the Prophet Muḥammad's (s) message. The Prophet (s) set out for Tabuk, appointing ʿAlī (a) as his deputy in Medina and said, "You are to me like Aaron was to Moses except that there shall be no Prophet after me."[3]

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) and the People of the Book

The doctrinal debate at Prophet Muḥammad's (s) time occurred with two groups: the polytheists and the People of the Book. God commanded his apostle to follow a certain course when calling to the way of God: "Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good advice and dispute with them in a manner that is best" (Q 16:125). Another Quranic verse addresses the Muslims: "Do not argue with the People of the Book except in a manner which is best, except such of them as are wrongdoers" (Q 29:46).

The Prophet Muḥammad (s), followed by some Muslims, abided by the divine order and engaged in a doctrinal debate with the People of the Book, a debate which was mostly centered on monotheism and prophethood. In their turn, many Jews and Christians wished that Muslims would turn away from their belief: "Many of the People of the Book are eager to turn you into unbelievers after your faith, out of their inner envy, [and] after the truth had become manifest to them" (Q 2:109).

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[1] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 6:154.
[2] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:186.
[3] Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1870.

The holy Quran mentions some of the misconceptions which the People of the Book introduced in order to frustrate the Muslims: "And they say, 'No one will enter paradise except one who is a Jew or Christian.' Those are their [false] hopes! Say, 'Produce your evidence, should you be truthful'" (Q 2:111); "And they say, 'Allah has taken a son.' Immaculate is He! Rather, to Him belongs whatever there is in the heavens and the earth. All are obedient to Him" (Q 2:116).

Additionally, God issued the following order to Muslims, guiding them to distance themselves from those who ridiculed Islam: "O you who have faith! Do not take those who take your religion in derision and play, from among those who were given the Book before you, and the infidels, as friends, and be wary of Allah, should you be faithful" (Q 5:57). The following verse also exposes their plot against the Prophet Muḥammad (s): "Judge between them by what Allah has sent down, and do not follow their desires. Beware of them lest they should beguile you from part of what Allah has sent down to you" (Q 5:49).

The Quran also includes a reference to Mubāhala, a well-known event in Islamic history where the Prophet Muḥammad (s) faced a Christian delegation from Najrān, accompanying with him ʿAlī (a), Fāṭima (a), al-Ḥasan (a), and al-Ḥusayn (a):[1]

> "Should anyone argue with you concerning him, after the knowledge that has come to you, say, 'Come! Let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, our souls and your souls, then let us pray earnestly, and call down Allah's curse upon the liars.'" (Q 3:61)

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said to a group of Jews: "O community of Jews! Show me twelve men among you who testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah. [Then], Allah will remove from every Jew under the canopy of the sky the wrath which He has [placed] upon them." None answered, so he said: "You have refused, [but] by Allah, I am the gatherer, last, and pioneer, [whether] you believe or disbelieve."[2] According to another report by Ibn ʿAbbās, when ʿAbd Allāh b.

[1] See Mailisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 21:168.
[2] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 18:46.

Salām, Thaʿlaba b. Saʿya, Asad b. ʿUbayd, and other Jews converted to Islam, the faithless rabbis said: "Only the evil ones among us have believed in Muḥammad and followed him. If they were among our noble ones, they would not forsake the religion of their forefathers."[1]

Imamate

The succession of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) was a fundamental issue and required clarification. For this reason, we see that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) began giving instructions about this issue from the early days of his mission until the final days of his blessed life. The Prophet (s) did not view succession as a position of material gain or worldly authority but as completion of his mission. The succession of the Prophet (s) gained more significance after he (s) announced that his message was the final message and that there would be no prophets after him. This clearly indicated that Islam was the chosen religion for the inhabitants of the entire world until the Day of Judgment and that it needed a divinely-appointed leader who would provide them with correct interpretation of divine message.

Among the indications that Imamate and succession depended, in the Prophet's view, on the divine command is that when the he approached Banū ʿĀmīr during the early days of his mission to call them to Islam, a man named Bayḥara b. Firās said: "By Allah, if I could take this young man from Quraysh, I would eat the Arabs with him." Then he said to the Prophet (s): "If we paid allegiance to you and Allah gave you victory over your opponents, would we have authority after you?" The Prophet (s) answered: "Authority is a matter which Allah places wherever He pleases."[2]

ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit reports that in the Pledge of ʿAqaba "the Prophet (s) called us and we gave him the pledge of allegiance for Islam, and among the conditions on which he took the pledge from us was that we were to listen and obey…and not to dispute over authority with those who deserve it."[3] The latter condition may be an indication of a previous discussion between the Prophet Muḥammad

[1] Ibid., 2:78.
[2] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:350.
[3] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9:47.

(s) and the people of Yathrib at ʿAqaba regarding the issue of succession and shows that the issue of succession was a matter of concern for the Prophet (s) since the early times of his mission.

These narrations indicate the importance of the issue of succession in the Prophet's view and his belief that the leader of the Muslim community after him would be appointed through a divine order, without any human intervention. This is also attested by the aforementioned incident after the revelation of the verse "Warn the nearest of your kinsfolk" (Q 26:214) when the Prophet Muḥammad (s) introduced ʿAlī (a) as his successor.[1]

The measures which the Prophet Muḥammad (s) took in announcing the imamate of ʿAlī (a) ranged between public proclamation and allusion, in words and action. The books of *sīra*, hadith, and history include a large number of prophetic hadiths on the virtues of Imam ʿAlī (a), which are fully related to the status of the Imam, such as closeness to God, extensive knowledge, and courage. We may divide the prophetic hadiths regarding imamate into several sections:

The Necessity of Knowing the Imam

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) emphasized the necessity of knowing the Imam, as is illustrated in the following hadiths: "He who dies but does not know the Imam of his time will have died the death of ignorance,"[2] and, "He who dies without having an Imam, his death is the death of ignorance."[3]

The Number of Imams

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) mentioned the exact number of the Imams who were to lead the Islamic Ummah after his departure. The following hadiths refer to this number: "The Imams are twelve; all of them are from Quraysh";[4] "The number of the successors after me is the number of chieftains of Moses";[5] and "This

[1] See Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:321.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:377.
[3] Ibid., 1:376.
[4] Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:1453.
[5] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 2:555.

matter will not pass until twelve successors rule, all of them being from Quraysh."[1] It is also reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "I have more authority over the believers than [they have over] themselves, then my brother ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib has more authority over the believers than [they have over] themselves. When ʿAlī is martyred, then al-Ḥasan son of ʿAlī has more authority over the believers than [they have over] themselves, then my son al-Ḥusayn after him has more authority over the believers than [they have over] themselves. When al-Ḥusayn is martyred, his son ʿAlī son of al-Ḥusayn has more authority over the believers than [they have over] themselves."[2]

The Leadership of Imam ʿAlī (a)

There are many hadiths concerning the leadership of Imam ʿAlī (a); some hadiths indicate his right to Imamate due to his closeness to the Prophet Muḥammad (s), his higher rank, and his greater knowledge and bravery, while other hadiths, such as the following, clearly state his succession to the Prophet Muḥammad (s):

Gabriel came to me and said: "O Muḥammad (s)! Your Lord sends you the greeting of peace and tells you: 'ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalīb is your trustee and successor over your family and Umma.'"[3]

Shall I guide you to a matter which, if you follow its guidance, you shall not perish nor go astray? … Your Imam and guardian is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalib.[4]

Are you not pleased that you are to me like Aaron to Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me?[5]

Your Imam after me is ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and he is the sincerest advisor to my Umma.[6]

I have more authority over every believer than they have over themselves, and ʿAlī, after me, has more authority over them than they have over themselves.[1]

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[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 2:470.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:529.
[3] Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, 168.
[4] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 477.
[5] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 307.
[6] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 2:465.

Every prophet has a trustee whom he appoints by the command of Allah—May His remembrance be exalted—and my trustee ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālīb is their master, the best of them, and the most honorable among them in the sight of Allah.[2]

Allah has favored me with prophethood and favored ʿAlī with imamate.[3]

In addition, there is the well-known and oft-transmitted hadith of Ghadīr Khum "Whoever I am his master, ʿAlī is his master," and many other hadiths which signify ʿAlī's succession to the Prophet (s), let alone those which mention his virtues, which also point to his right to succession, for the Imam must be the most knowledgeable, most courageous, and most righteous of people, and all these traits were converged in Imam ʿAlī (a).

In summary, if the evidence needed to demonstrate ʿAlī's right to caliphate after the Prophet Muḥammad (s) is a religious prooftext, there are numerous hadiths with that indication, and if the qualification needed for the Prophet's successor is his closeness to the Prophet (s) or his possession of a multitude of virtues, then ʿAlī (a) was the foremost among the Prophet's (s) companions in these aspects.

Hadiths on al-Mahdī (a)

The Mahdī is from my progeny. His face is like a glittering star.[4]

The Mahdī is one of us, the People of the Household … He shall fill the earth with justice and equity when it is filled with tyranny and oppression.[5]

The world will not perish and the days will not pass before a man from my Household rules, his name matches my name.[6]

O Fāṭima … from us is the Mahdī of this Umma.[7]

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:406.
[2] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:180.
[3] Ṭabarī al-Āmulī, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, 147.
[4] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 14:264.
[5] Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 4:600.
[6] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 14:263.
[7] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 36:370.

You [i.e., al-Ḥuayn (a)] are a master, son of a master; you are an Imam, son of an Imam; you are a proof, son of a proof, father of nine proofs from your loins, the ninth of them is the Riser.[1]

Placing aside the dispute over his birth, the hadiths on al-Mahdi (a) are widely-transmitted in both Sunni and Shīʿī sources and show that the Prophet (s) was concerned about the leadership of his community in the end time, which in turn demonstrates that it is highly unlikely that the Prophet (s) would neglect the leadership of the Muslim community after himself.

Resurrection

Death is an inevitable reality, which every human being shall face and which has expectedly sparked questions throughout the ages regarding one's fate after death. Is death a descent into non-existence or is there a life after death? The answers to such questions compose the subject matter of a major part in Islamic theology. The Holy Quran has emphasized the doctrine of resurrection as it is closely linked to monotheism and theological themes. In view of the fact that the universe has been created by God, then life has a purpose, which human beings shall reach after death: "Did you suppose that We created you aimlessly, and that you will not be brought back to Us?'" (Q 23:115).

The verses on resurrection and the hereafter, heaven and hell, and other themes related to the afterlife have ignited a widespread discussion in Islamic circles and sparked numerous questions. The Quran reports:

> "They question you concerning the Hour, when will it set in? Say, 'Its knowledge is only with my Lord: none except Him shall manifest it at its time. It will weigh heavy on the heavens and the earth. It will not overtake you but suddenly.' They ask you as if you were in the know of it. Say, 'Its knowledge is only with Allah, but most people do not know.'" (Q 7:187)

As there are various stations related to the hereafter, such as the moment of the soul's departure from the body, the grave, the reckoning, and the final abode (heaven or hell), and there are

[1] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 1:52.

prophetic hadiths regarding every station. Many of these hadiths have edifying purposes, but some of them are related to doctrinal themes, which we will mention below.

Emphasis on the Afterlife and the Need for Preparation

The Prophet Muḥammad (s) emphasized the hereafter and the necessity of preparing for it in a community that had no belief in the hereafter and would say, "They say, 'There is nothing but our life of this world, and we shall not be resurrected'" (Q 6:29). In such a society, the Prophet (s) reportedly said:

Work for what is after death, as if the worldly life never existed and the hereafter always existed.[1]

If the hereafter is one's concern and preoccupation, Allah will gather for him his means of sustenance, and place his richness in his heart.[2]

Ahead of you is a difficult steep pass which shall not be passed by those who are laden [with evil deeds].[3]

You are today in an abode of action with no reckoning, and tomorrow you will be in an abode of reckoning with no chance to act.[4]

Flee from hell and seek heaven as much as you can … The hereafter is surrounded by hardships, and the worldly life is surrounded by temptations and pleasures.[5]

The Grave

Many hadiths explain about the life in the grave and the potential bliss or punishment one shall face therein. All of these hadiths serve as an indirect response to those who deny life after death. The following are some of these hadiths:

You will necessarily have a companion who will be buried with you while he is alive and you will be buried with him while you are dead. If he is honorable, he will honor you, and if he is ignoble, he

[1] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 74:187.
[2] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 2:364.
[3] Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥulyat al-awliyāʾ*, 1:226.
[4] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:51.
[5] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 15:832.

will abandon you. He will be resurrected with you, and you will be raised with him, and you will be asked only about him. Therefore, do not make him anything but good. If he is good, you will find tranquility with him, and if he is corrupt, your aversion will be to nothing but him, and he is your action.[1]

The grave is a pit of hell or a garden from the gardens of paradise.[2]

When a Muslim is asked in the grave, he will testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the messenger of Allah. That is [the meaning of] God's word: "Allah keeps firm those who believe, with the firm word, in the worldly life and in the hereafter."[3]

It is also reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) stood by the corpses of the pagans after the Battle of Badr and addressed them: "Have you found true what your Lord promised you?" The Prophet (s) was asked: "O Messenger of Allah (s), do they hear?" He answered: "They hear as you hear, but they cannot answer."[4]

Resurrection and Reckoning

It is reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said: "When Allah raises [His] creatures on the Resurrection Day, a caller shall cry from under the Throne three times: 'O Company of monotheists! Verily, Allah has forgiven you so forgive one another."[5] Likewise, the Prophet (s) reportedly said,

Verily, Allah the Exalted will raise peoples on the Day of Resurrection with light in their faces, [residing] on pulpits of pearl, while people will envy them. They are not prophets nor martyrs; they are those who love one another for the sake of Allah, from various tribes, who gather upon the remembrance of Allah, extolling Him.[6]

By Him in whose hand is my soul, [people] from my Ummah will exit from their graves in the image of monkeys and pigs, due to their

[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:114-15.
[2] Ibn Abī al-Donyā, *al-Qubūr*, 115-16.
[3] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6:80.
[4] Ṭabarānī, *al-Miʿjam al-kabīr*, 7:165, 10:160.
[5] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 1:318.
[6] Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 10:77.

compromise in sins and refraining from forbidding [evil] even though they are able [to do so].[1]

Intercession

The following hadiths contain the reported sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said:

On the Resurrection Day, the banner of praise will be with me, and I will be the Leader of the apostles and the holder of their intercession.[2]

I will be the first to enter heaven, and the first to intercede.[3]

I will intercede and my intercession will be accepted, to the extent that the one for whom I shall intercede will [also] intercede and his intercession will be accepted, such that even Iblis will aspire [to gain] intercession.[4]

There are four people for whom I intercede on the Resurrection Day: he who honors my progeny after me, he who fulfills their needs, he who strives to attend to them when they need him, and he who loves them in his heart and words.[5]

As for my intercession, it will be for the people who commit grave sins except the people of polytheism and oppression.[6]

My intercession for my Ummah is for [those] who love my Household.[7]

It is also reported that the Prophet Muḥammad (s) said to Imam ʿAlī: "Give glad tidings to your followers that I am their interceder on the Resurrection Day when nothing will benefit except my intercession."[8]

Immortality

Regarding the issue of immortality, the following hadiths are narrated from the Prophet (s):

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[1] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 3:83.
[2] Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 8:284.
[3] Suyūṭī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 3:210.
[4] Haythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 10:376.
[5] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akbār al-Riḍā*, 1:254.
[6] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 2:355.
[7] Muttaqī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, 14:399.
[8] Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, 65:98.

The return is to Allah, to heaven or hell, to immortality without death, and to residence without departure.[1]

The people of heaven shall enter heaven, and the people of hell [shall enter] hell. Then a caller among them will rise and say: "O People of Heaven! There is no more death. O People of Hell! There is no more death. Both [of you] will be immortal where you are." [2]

With this section, we finish this article on the doctrinal teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Praise be to God the Lord of the Worlds, and peace and greetings be upon the Prophet (s) and his Household![3]

[1] Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 20:175.

[2] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 10:286.

[3] In composing this article, I benefited greatly from the book *Mawsūʿat al-ḥadīth al-nabawī: ʿAqīdatᵃⁿ wa sharīʿatᵃⁿ wa khulqᵃⁿ* by Kāẓim Mudīr Shānachī as well as *Mawsūʿat al-ʿaqāʾid al-Islāmiyya fi al-kitāb wa al-sunna* by Ayatollah Rayshahrī.

The Companions of the Prophet (s) and Their Integrity

Mohammadreza al-Khaghani

Introduction

The Companions of the Prophet (s) formed the nascent Muslim community and played a significant role in the transmission of the Prophet's teachings to the later Muslim generations. The doctrine of the integrity of all the Prophet's Companions (*ʿadālat al-ṣaḥāba*) was developed among Sunni Muslims as a result of this significant place. The Shīʿīs, however, do not believe in the integrity of all the Companions or the authoritativeness of their views. This article explores the place of the Companions in Sunni thought and tries to critically analyze the underlying arguments for their all-embracing integrity. It discusses the outcomes of the belief in this doctrine and concludes with a presentation of the Shīʿī view on this matter.

Definition of "Companion"

There is disagreement among Sunni traditionists and scholars of legal theory over who counts as a Companion of the Prophet. Most of the traditionists and some of the scholars of legal theory maintain that

anyone who met the Prophet (s) even for a very short time is a Companion. In contrast, most Sunni scholars of legal theory hold that in order for a person to be considered a Companion, he has to have accompanied the Prophet (s) for one or two years or participated in one or two of his battles.[1] The earliest definition of "Companion" is probably that of al-Wāqidī (d. 207/823). According to him, whoever met the Prophet (s) even for a moment counts as a Companion if he was a believer and an adult.[2] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) put forward a definition close to that of al-Wāqidī, with the difference that in his definition adulthood is not mentioned as a condition.[3] Al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) also mentions that a Muslim who accompanied the Prophet (s) or saw him is a Companion.[4] Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233)[5] and al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448)[6] also consider anyone who met the Prophet (s) even for a moment to be a Companion.

The Special Place of the Companions

In Sunni thought, the Prophet's Companions have a special place. One of the reasons behind this special place is the fact that from a Sunni perspective, the Companions were the ones who conveyed the teachings of the Prophet (s) to the later generations.[7] In less than a century after the demise of the Prophet (s), the Companions found a more significant place, and their sayings and opinions became further emphasized. For instance, it is reported that when Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741) and Ṣāliḥ b. Kaysān (d. after 130/747) finished collecting the sayings of the Prophet (s) (*sunan*), Ibn Shihāb suggested that they should collect the sayings of the Companions. However, Ṣāliḥ did not agree to do that, because the Companions' sayings were not part of the Sunna, so Ibn Shihāb did that on his own, and it led to

[1] Aḥmadī, "*Al-Iṣāba fī ʿadālat al-ṣaḥāba*," 142-46.
[2] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā – al-Ṭabaqa al-Rābiʿa*, 4,818-19.
[3] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Uṣūl al-sunna*, 39-40.
[4] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:2.
[5] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 1:19.
[6] ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣaba*, 1:158.
[7] Juwaynī, *al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, 1:242; see also Jabali, *The Companions of the Prophet*, 67-68.

his prosperity.[1] This report shows, at the same time, that the sayings of the Companions were not considered part of Sunnah at that time.

The Prophet's Companions have been classified in various ways. During the reign of ʿUmar (r. 13-23/634-644) they were divided into two groups: those who participated in the Battle of Badr and those who did not. ʿUmar would privilege the former group above the latter in the distribution of public revenues.[2] Later, the Companions were further divided into twelve categories, including the ten who were promised Paradise, participants in the Battle of Badr, those who were present in al-Ḥudaybiyya, the Emigrants, and the Helpers.[3]

Literature on the Companions

Reports about the virtues of the Companions began to appear in Sunni Hadith collections. The first Hadith collection that included a section on the Companions seems to have been *al-Jāmiʿ* by Maʿmar b. Rāshid.[4] Afterwards, major Sunni Hadith collections usually included a chapter on the virtues of the Companions.[5] Monographs on the virtues of the Companions appeared in the middle of the third/tenth century, such as *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* by Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* by al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915). Another set of works dealing with the topic of the Companions were *ṭabaqāt* works. In these works, the Companions of the Prophet (s) are classified according to various criteria and their biographies are provided. The earliest extant example of these works is *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā* by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/854).

Afterwards, there appeared works that exclusively provided the biographies of the Companions. The earliest of these works seems to have been *Muʿjam al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn Qāniʿ al-Baghdādī (d. 351/962), which contains the biographies of 1,225 Companions. The most significant of these works are *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Aṣbahānī (d. 430/1038), *al-Istiʿāb fī maʿrifat al-aṣḥāb* by Ibn ʿAbd al-

[1] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 2:296; Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa al-tārīkh*, 1:641.
[2] Abū Yūsuf, *al-Kharāj*, 53-54.
[3] Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth*, 23-34; Khaṭīb, *al-Sunna qabl al-tadwīn*, 392.
[4] This book contains a section entitled "The Section on the Prophet's Companions" (Maʿmar b. Rāshid, *Jāmiʿ*, 11:221-42).
[5] See, e.g., Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:303-417; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:2-30; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1854-1973.

Birr (d. 463/1071), *Usd al-ghāba fī maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), and *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448). These books provide information on the lives of 1402, 4225, 7703, and 12000 Companions respectively.

Integrity of the Companions in the Sunni View

It can be said that the Sunni belief in the integrity of all the Companions embodies three points: (1) the Companions never intentionally lie when they report the Prophet's sayings or deeds[1]; (2) if we receive a report from a Companion that the Prophet (s) said or did something, we accept it even if we do not identify that Companion[2]; and (3) there is no need to investigate about the integrity of anyone who is counted among the Companions, because their integrity is not questionable.[3] This is the view of the majority of the Sunnis, as stated by al-ʿAlāʾī[4] (d. 761/1359) and al-ʿAsqalānī[5] (d. 852/1448).

However, Shīʿī scholars disagree with this predominant Sunni belief and maintain that we need to investigate about the integrity of the Companions just as we need to investigate about the integrity of other Muslims. On this basis, they accept a Companion's hadiths if his integrity is established.

It is noteworthy that even some Sunnis do not accept the integrity of all the Companions; for instance, according to al-Māzarī (d. 536/1141), we cannot accept the integrity of a person who met the Prophet (s) only for a short time.[6] Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-ʿĀmirī (d. 893/1488), a Shāfiʿī traditionist and historian, maintained that some of the Companions lost heir integrity because of the misdeeds they committed.[7] Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1679), a Ḥanbalī scholar, had a similar view.[8] Ibn al-Qaṭṭān al-Baghdādī (d. 359/970), a Shāfiʿī jurist,

[1] Rāzī, *al-Jarḥ wa al-taʿdīl*, 2:14; ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, 2:181.
[2] Abyārī, *al-Taḥqīq wa al-bayān*, 2:709.
[3] Dhahabī, *al-Ruwāt al-thiqāt,* 24; Haytamī, *Tuḥfat al-muḥtāj*, 9:171.
[4] ʿAlāʾī, *Taḥqīq munīf al-rutba*, 60.
[5] ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, 1:25.
[6] Māzarī, *Īḍāḥ al-maḥṣūl*, 482.
[7] ʿĀmirī, *Ghirbāl al-zamān*, 56-57.
[8] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 1:279.

believed that the integrity of the Companions, like that of any other person, needs to be investigated.[1]

Sunni Arguments for the Integrity of All the Companions

Significant evidence against the idea of the integrity of all the Companions is that the Companions themselves did not believe in it, as some of them would accuse some others of impiety or even enmity with God and curse them. For instance, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb accused Mughīra b. Shuʿba of ungodliness (*fisq*).[2] Moreover, when Khālid b. al-Walīd killed Mālik b. Nuwayra and returned to Abū Bakr, ʿUmar called him an "enemy of God" for killing an innocent Muslim.[3] According to some reports, ʿAlī (a) would curse some of the Companions, including Busr b. Arṭāt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, and Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, on different occasions.[4] When Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, one of the Companions, was mentioned as a righteous man in the presence of Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān, who was a Companions as well, the latter said, "You say that, but I testify that he is an enemy of God and His apostle and hostile to them in the world and on the day when the witnesses rise [i.e., Day of Judgment]."[5] It is also reported that during the Battle of Ṣiffīn, ʿAlī (a) stated that in his view Muʿāwiya and his army, which contained some of the Companions,[6] were neither believers nor Muslims.[7] According to a report, ʿUmar said to ʿAlī (a) and ʿAbbās: " … you considered him [i.e., Abū Bakr] a liar, sinner, deceiver, and betrayer … and you considered me a liar, sinner, deceiver, and betrayer."[8] These are only some of the reports that reflect the attitude of the Companions toward each other,[9] which shows that they did not believe in the idea that all the Companions are people of integrity.

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[1] Zarkashī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, 6:187.
[2] Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:155.
[3] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 4:277.
[4] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 2:18, 260.
[5] Ibid., 13:314-15.
[6] Ibid., 2:234.
[7] Dhahabī mentions ten Companions that were on Muʿāwiya's side (Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 3:547).
[8] Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:1378; Bayhaqī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 6:298; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 12:371.
[9] For more reports, see Ḥasanbigī, "ʿAdālat-i ṣaḥāba," 112-15.

In the first three Islamic centuries, there are no mention of the idea of the integrity of the Companions, except some remarks about the impermissibility of swearing at them. For instance, Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) states that whoever swears at the Companions is an apostate,[1] and Abū Zurʿa al-Rāzī (d. 264/878) considers anyone who swears at the Companions to be a heretic (*zindīq*).[2] Even the hadiths that are used in the later periods as evidence for the integrity of the Companions are collected in this period under such headings as "What is mentioned about refraining from [insulting] the Companions"[3] or "Virtues"[4] or collected in monographs mentioned earlier entitled *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba* (Virtues of the Companions). Ibn Ḥibbān[5] (d. 354/965) and al-Jaṣṣāṣ[6] (d. 370/980) are the first people who mention the integrity of the Companions in their works.[7] In these and later works, certain Quranic verses and prophetic traditions are adduced to support the integrity of the Companions.[8] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245), for instance, writes, "There is one common point about all the Companions, and that is the fact that no one should question their integrity, as this is something well-established, because all of them are considered just based on prooftexts from the Quran and Sunna and consensus of those whose consensus is accepted."[9]

Prooftexts for the Quran

Some Quranic verses have been used in Sunni sources to prove the integrity of all the Companions. Among the most important verses in

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[1] Qāḍī ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-madārik*, 2:46.
[2] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 38:32.
[3] Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:404.
[4] Miʿmar b. Rāshid, *Jāmiʿ*, 11:59-65 "bāb fī faḍāʾil al-Anṣār" and "faḍāʾil Quraysh wa al-Anṣār wa al-Thaqīf"; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:303-417 "Kitāb al-faḍāʾil"; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:2-71 "Kitāb aṣḥāb al-nabī" and "Kitāb manāqib al-Anṣār"; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1854-1973 "Kitāb faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba"; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 1:70-116 "bāb fī faḍāʾil aṣḥāb Rasūl Allāh".
[5] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:162.
[6] Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 1:111.
[7] For more information, see Osman, "ʿAdālat al-Ṣaḥāba: The Construction of a Religious Doctrine."
[8] See, e.g., Abū Niʿaym al-Aṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, 1:32-47; Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *al-Kifāya*, 46-49; Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 1:1-18; ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, 1:162-66.
[9] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Muqaddama*, 176.

this regard is Quran 9:100: "The early vanguard of the Emigrants and the Helpers and those who followed them in virtue—Allah is pleased with them and they are pleased with Him, and He has prepared for them gardens with streams running in them, to remain in them forever. That is the great success."[1] It is argued that, according to this verse, God is pleased with the Companions and has promised them entrance to Paradise, which proves their integrity.[2]

However, this argument is objectionable from several aspects:

The expression "early vanguard of the Emigrants and the Helpers" obviously does not include all the Companions.[3]

It has been mentioned that the expression "those who followed them in virtue may refer to the Successors (*tābiʿūn*, i.e., the generation after the Companions) or to all Muslims until the Day of Judgment,[4] but no one believes in the integrity of all the Successors or Muslims until the Day of Judgment; even if the phrase referred only to the Companions, it would not indicate the integrity of all of them, because according to the verse, God is pleased with "those who followed them *in virtue*," not with all who accompanied the Prophet regardless of their actions.

Based on the subsequent verse (Q 9:111), among the people of Medina and neighboring Bedouins were hypocrites "steeped in hypocrisy," whom the Prophet (s) did not know. The fact that the Prophet (s) did not know them indicates that these hypocrites were not those who refrained from participating in the Battle of Tabūk or those who tried to assassinate him on the way back from that battle,[5] because the Prophet (s) knew both groups and the verse under discussion was revealed after these events.[6] Therefore, this verse shows that among the Companions of the Prophet (s) in the last years

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[1] See, e.g., Samʿānī, *Qawāṭiʿ al-adilla*, 1:363; Samarqandī, *Mīzān al-uṣūl*, 485; Ibn Qudāma, *Rawḍat al-nāẓir*, 1:345; ʿAlāʾī, *Taḥqīq munīf al-rutba*, 63; Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth*, 4:94.

[2] ʿAlāʾī, *Taḥqīq munīf al-rutba*, 63.

[3] For more details, see Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, 11:6; Zamakhsharī, *al-Kashshāf*, 2:304. According to some sources, this expression refers to ʿAlī (a) and six or ten members of Quraysh who participated in the Battle of Badr (Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, 2:192; Ḥaskānī, *Shawāhid al-tanzīl*, 1:334).

[4] Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿaẓīm*, 6:1868-69.

[5] ʿAlāʾī, *Taḥqīq munīf al-rutba*, 63.

[6] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 3:1022-25.

of his life, there were people who were not only hypocrites but "steeped in hypocrisy." This fact fundamentally challenges the idea of the integrity of all the Companions.

Another Quranic verse adduced to support the doctrine of the integrity of the Companions is the following: "Thus We have made you a middle [wasaṭ] nation that you may be witnesses to the people, and that the Apostle may be a witness to you" (Q 2:143). Since one of the meanings of the word "*wasaṭ*" in Arabic is "ʿ*adl*" (just, righteous),[1] this verse is interpreted as demonstrating the integrity of all the Companions. It is said that, in this verse, God is addressing the Companions and calling them a *wasaṭ* nation, which indicates that they were all just and righteous.[2] This argument can be criticized on several points:

First, there is no reason to restrict the addressees of this verse to the Companions; al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), a renowned Sunni scholar and commentator of the Quran, maintains that the addressees of this verse are all those who believed in the Prophet (s) and his message—not merely those who accompanied him.[3] Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210), another prominent Sunni scholar and commentator, maintains that in this verse the entire Muslim community is addressed.[4]

Second, although "*wasaṭ*" is sometimes used in the sense of just or righteous (ʿ*adl*), this is not its only meaning, and thus, other meanings of this word may have been intended in this verse. Al-Ṭabarī, for instance, interprets this word as meaning moderate and far from the extremes to which Christians and Jews went; al-Zamakhsharī also considers the word to indicate the middle of everything without mentioning the meaning of righteousness.[5]

A third verse used as a proof-text for the doctrine of the integrity of the Companions is Quran 48:18: "Allah was certainly pleased with the faithful when they swore allegiance to you under the tree. He

[1] Mujāhid b. Jabr, *Tafsīr*, 215; Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, 1:500.
[2] See, e.g., Safārīni, *Lawāmiʿ al-anwār*, 2:384; Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt*, 4:448-49.
[3] Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, 2:5.
[4] Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 4:86.
[5] Ṭabarī, *Jamiʿ al-nayān*, 2:5. In al-Ṭabarī's commentary on this verse, there is no sign of a belief in the doctrine of the integrity of the Companions as it was formulated later.

knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down composure on them, and requited them with a victory near at hand."[1] This verse was revealed in relation to the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya and those who pledged their allegiance to the Prophet (s) there. It is argued that according to this verse, God is pleased with those who pledged their allegiance, and this shows that they were righteous, because God is never pleased with the impious.[2] Moreover, the sentence "He knew what was in their hearts" is used to argue for their sincerity and sound views.[3]

However, using this verse as a proof-text for the integrity of all the Companions has the following problems:

The number of those who went to al-Ḥudaybiyya was reportedly between 700 to 1400,[4] which means not all the Companions were present in that event.

In the last verse of the same sura, the Prophet's Companions are described and then it is said that "Allah has promised those of them who have faith and do righteous deeds forgiveness and a great reward" (Q 48:29). This shows that just being a Companion of the Prophet (s) does not guarantee salvation; the Companions, like other people, need to have faith and good deeds in order to be saved.

Al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib (d. 72/691-692), who was one of the Companions that pledged their allegiance to the Prophet (s) in al-Ḥudaybiyya, did not believe in the integrity of all those who pledged their allegiance to the Prophet (s) there. It is reported that when someone praised him for having met the Prophet (s) and for having been present in al-Ḥudaybiyya, al-Barāʾ told him, "You do not know what we did after that!"[5] In some reports, Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693) is reported to have made similar statements.[6] This emphasizes the fact that the Companions themselves did not consider themselves to have such a special characteristic.

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[1] See Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Risāla al-bāhira*, 9; Juwaynī, *al-Burhan*, 1:239; Samʿānī, *Qawāṭiʿ al-adilla*, 1:363; Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā*, 130; Rāzī, *al-Maḥṣūl*, 4:307.

[2] Ṭūfī al-Ṣarṣarī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa*, 2:181.

[3] Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qurʾān*, 5:273.

[4] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:309.

[5] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:125.

[6] Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq*, 20:391; ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, 3:67.

In Sunni sources of hadith sciences and jurisprudence, some other Quranic verses are also adduced to support the doctrine of the integrity of the Companions.[1] But none of these verses can be taken to indicate the integrity of all the Companions considering the verses that rebuke or criticize some of the Companions[2] and considering the presence of hypocrites among them. These verses further show that the Muslim community at that time was not the perfect society that is sometimes portrayed. We will mention some of these verses below:

In Sura al-Anfāl (8), there are some verses that were revealed on the occasion of the Battle of Badr[3] (2/624). One of these verses reads, "They disputed with you concerning the truth after it had become clear, as if they were being driven towards death as they looked on" (Q 8:6). This verse shows that some of the Companions did not want to accept "the truth" and disputed with the Prophet (s) about it.

During the Battle of Uḥud (3/625), many Companions escaped from the battleground and left the Prophet (s), and only a few of them remained with him. In some sources, the names of the escapers are mentioned.[4] The Quran reports, "When you were fleeing without paying any attention to anyone, while the Apostle was calling you from your rear …" (Q 3:153). Based on this verse, despite the Prophet's calls, many of the Companions fled the battleground and left the Prophet. According to the subsequent verse, a group of the Companions "anxious only about themselves, entertained false notions about Allah, notions of [pagan] ignorance. They say, 'Do we have any role in the matter?' … They hide in their hearts what they do not disclose to you. They say, 'Had we any role in the matter, we would not have been slain here' …" (Q 3:156).

The Quran describes the situation in the Battle of Khandaq (5/627),[5] when the Muslims were besieged by the Polytheists and their allies: "When they came at you from above and below you, and

[1] These verses include Quran 3:110; 8:74; 9:117; 27:59; 57:10; 59:8.
[2] See below.
[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:131-38; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:666-67.
[4] Ṭabarī, *Tārikh al-umam wa l-mulūk*, 2:522; Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān*, 4:95-96; Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 3:1074; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:28; Suyūtī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, 2:88; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 4:206.
[5] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:594-95.

when the eyes rolled [with fear] and the hearts leapt to the throats, and you entertained misgivings about Allah" (Q 33:10). This verse shows to what extent the Muslims were frightened in their confrontation with the polytheists; their faith was weakened in fear, and they had misgivings about God.

Regarding the Battle of Ḥunayn, Quran 9:25 reads, "Allah has certainly helped you in many situations, and on the day of Ḥunayn, when your great number impressed you, but it did not avail you in any way, and the earth became narrow for you in spite of its expanse, whereupon you turned your backs [to flee]." According to this verse, the Muslims fled from the battle.

Some of the verses of Sura al-Tawba (9) is about the Battle of Tabūk[1] and the reluctance of the Companions to go to the battle: "O you who have faith! What is the matter with you that when you are told: 'Go forth in the way of Allah,' you sink heavily to the ground? Are you pleased with the life of this world instead of the Hereafter? But the wares of the life of this world compared with the Hereafter are but insignificant" (Q 9:38). The next verse warns them that if they refuse to go, they will be severely punished: "If you do not go forth, He will punish you with a painful punishment, and replace you with another people, and you will not hurt Him in the least, and Allah has power over all things" (Q 9:39). Verse 40 states that the Prophet (s) is supported by God and implies that he is not in need of their help. We read in verse 42, "Were it an accessible gain or a short journey, they would have surely followed you; but the distance seemed too far to them. Yet they will swear by Allah: 'If we could, we would have surely gone forth with you.' They [merely] destroy themselves. Allah knows that they are indeed liars … Among them there are some who say, 'Give me leave, and do not put me to temptation.' Look! They have already fallen into temptation and indeed hell besieges the faithless" (Q 9:42-49).

These verses show that some of the Companions lied in order to avoid participating in the Battle of Tabūk. Elsewhere it is stated that some of the Companions when fighting was prescribed for them,

[1] Ibid., 3:1022-25.

behold, a part of them feared the people as if fearing Allah, or were even more afraid, and they said, "Our Lord! Why did You prescribe fighting for us? Why did You not respite us for a short time?!" Say, "The enjoyments of this world are trifle and the Hereafter is better for the God-wary, and you will not be wronged so much as a single date-thread" (Q 4:77).

According to another verse, some of the Companions, instead of referring to the Prophet (s), wanted to go to other judges to arbitrate their disputes despite being prohibited from that: "Have you not regarded those who claim that they believe in what has been sent down to you and what was sent down before you? They desire to seek the judgment of fake deities, though they were commanded to reject them, and Satan desires to lead them astray into far error" (Q 4:60).

The Quran also reports that some of the Companions would criticize the Prophet (s) for the way he distributed the alms: "There are some of them who blame you regarding [the distribution of] the charities: if they are given from them, they are pleased, but if they are not given from them, behold, they are displeased" (Q 9:58).

Considering these and similar verses, it is difficult to accept the doctrine of the integrity of all the Companions.

Prooftexts from Hadith

In Sunni sources, a number of hadiths are also adduced to support the doctrine of integrity of all the Companions. These hadiths can be divided into four groups:

Hadiths that speak of the Companions as the best people, such as the following: "The best of people are my generation,"[1] "The best of you are my generation,"[2] and "The best of my nation are the generation in which I was raised [to prophethood]."[3] It is argued that "generation" in these hadiths refers to the Companions of the Prophet and thus, according to these hadiths, the Companions are the best of people, and this proves their integrity.[4]

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[1] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:171; 8:91.
[2] Ibid., 8:91, 141.
[3] Ibid., *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:2.
[4] See ʿAlāʾī, *Taḥqīq munīf al-rutba*, 72; Nawawī, *al-Minhāj*, 16:84; Sakhāwī, *Fatḥ al-mughīth*, 4:96.

Hadiths that enjoin people to do good to the Companions and refrain from swearing at them, such as, "Be good to my Companions,"[1] and "Do not vilify my Companions."[2] It is argued that to believe in the integrity of the Companions is an instance of doing good to them and to say that they lack integirty is an instance of vilifying them. Therefore, we must maintain that the Companions were people of integrity.[3]

Hadiths in which the Companions are considered the assurance of the protection for the ummah, such as "My Companions are the assurance of protection for my ummah; when they go, that which my ummah were promised will befall them."[4] It is argued that being the assurance of protection is a high standing, and if the Companions lacked integrity, they would not have such a high standing. Therefore, all the Companions have integrity.[5]

Hadiths that instruct those who were present to convey the Prophet's words to those who were absent, such as the hadith according to which the Prophet (s) delivered a lecture before a large gathering of Muslims in his Farewell Pilgrimage, and at the end said, "Let those who are present deliver [my sayings] to the absent; indeed, many a conveyer who conveys the message to a person who comprehends it more than himself."[6] It has been argued that since the Companions were commanded to convey the Prophet's sayings to those who were absent, they all have integrity, since those lacking integrity cannot be entrusted with such a task.[7]

An analysis of these hadiths shows that the chains of the transmitters of most of them contain unknown or unreliable hadith transmitters, which reduces their.[8] Moreover, these hadiths—or more exactly, the Sunni understanding of these hadiths—are inconsistent with the above-mentioned Quranic verses. Besides, several Sunni sources contain hadiths according to which the Prophet said that some of his Companions would be taken away from him on the Day

[1] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 1:310; Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 8:284.
[2] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 17:137; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 5:8.
[3] See ʿAlāʾī, *Taḥqīq munīf al-rutba*, 66.
[4] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 32:335-36; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1961.
[5] Ṭūfī al-Ṣarṣarī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa*, 2:183.
[6] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 34:23-24; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 2:176.
[7] Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:162.
[8] See Fahīmī Tabār and Ādharīfard, "Ta'ammulī dar asnādi nāẓir bi ʿadālati Ṣaḥāba."

of Judgment; he would call unto God: "O Lord! My Companions, my Companions!" Then, he will be told, "You do not know what they did after you … they had been renegades ever since." This hadith is transmitted in various wordings on the authority of Abū Hurayra,[1] Ibn ʿAbbās,[2] Ibn Masʿūd,[3] Ḥudhayfa b. al-Yamān,[4] Abū Bakra (Nufayʿ b. al-Ḥārith),[5] Abū Saʿīd al-Khudrī,[6] Anas b. Mālik,[7] Sahl b. Saʿd al-Sāʿidī,[8] Umm Salama,[9] ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,[10] and Asmāʾ bt. Abī Bakr.[11] According to some other hadiths, when the Prophet (s) testified to the faithfulness of the martyrs in the Battle of Uḥud, some of the Companions wanted to have the same testimony from the Prophet (s) about themselves, so they said, "O apostle of God! Are we not their brothers? We embraced Islam as they did, and we participated in jihad as they did." The Prophet (s) replied, "Yes, but I do not know what you will do after me."[12]

The Companions during the Prophet's Time

Some accounts and reports try to illustrate the nascent Muslim community during the Prophet's time as a community that was away from all misdeeds and wrongdoing,[13]and these reports have been

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[1] Maʿmar b. Rāshid, *Jāmiʿ*, 11:406; Ṣanʿānī, *Tafsīr*, 2:287; Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 174; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:120; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:217.

[2] Ṭayālisī, *Musnad*, 4:362; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:86; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 4:9, 136; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 6:55, 97, 8:109; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:2194; Tirmidhī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr*, 4:193, 5:173; Nasāʾī, *al-Sunan al-kubrā*, 2:487, 10:90, 187.

[3] Ibn Abī Shayba, *Musnad*, 1:163; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6:148, 362, 400, 412; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:119, 9:46; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1796; Ibn Māja, *Sunan*, 4:245.

[4] Nuʿaym b. Ḥammād, *al-Fitan*, 87; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:455; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 38:326, 363, 403.

[5] Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:307; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 34:133, 143.

[6] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:120.

[7] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 19:54, 21:406; *Al-Kashshī, al-Muntakhab*, 365; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 8:120; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1800.

[8] Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 37:514.

[9] Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:1795.

[10] Yaʿqūb b. Shayba, *Musnad ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb*, 84.

[11] Ibid., 93.

[12] Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 2:461; see also Ibn al-Mubārak, *al-Zuhd*, 171; Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1:310; Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:540, 575.

[13] See Aḥmadī, "*Al-Iṣāba* fī ʿadālat al-ṣaḥāba." 153.

adduced to demonstrate the integrity of all the Companions.[1] Despite great virtues and significant sacrifices of the early Muslim community for the cause of Islam, the Quran indicates, as we explained earlier, that the early Muslim community was not flawless. Here, we will mention some of the reports that give a more realistic image of that community.

It is reported that al-Walīd b. ʿUqba was sent by the Prophet (s) to collect the offerings of the Banū al-Muṣṭalaq tribe, but when he saw that they were coming toward him, he got scared and returned to the Prophet (s) and falsely said that they refused to give their offerings. On this occasion, Quran 49:6 was revealed, calling him an ungodly person.[2] On another occasion, some of the Companions slandered ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet's wife,[3] and when their lie was exposed, the Prophet (s) punished them.[4]

In the events surrounding the Ḥudaybiyya treaty, we see instances of disobedience and objection to the Prophet. When the treaty was about to be written, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb began to object. According to some reports, he later said, "By God, I never doubted since I became a Muslim except on that day; I went to the Prophet (s) and said, "Are you not really the prophet of God?"[5] When the treaty was made, the Prophet (s) commanded the Companions to offer their sacrifices and shave their heads; some of the Companions obeyed the Prophet (s) and shaved their heads but others just cut some of their hair. The Prophet (s) then prayed for those who had shaved their heads; when he was asked why he only prayed for them, the Prophet said, "They did not doubt."[6]

As was mentioned earlier, all the Companions were not in one level of faith. The Prophet (s) informed people about hypocrites

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[1] See, e.g., Fasawī, *al-Maʿrifa wa al-tārīkh*, 2:634; Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 13:482; Rāmhurmuzī, *al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil*, 235; Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, 1:216; Ibn ʿAdī, *al-Kāmil*, 1:263.

[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:296.

[3] Ibid., 2:298.

[4] Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, 1:483.

[5] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:634; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:175-76; Maqrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:291-92.

[6] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:319; see also Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 2:613; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:55.

among his Companions, without mentioning their names: "There are twelve hypocrites among my Companions, eight of which will never enter Paradise until the camel passes through the eye of the needle."[1] We mentioned earlier that the Quran states, "There are hypocrites among the Bedouins around you and among the townspeople of Madinah, steeped in hypocrisy. You do not know them; We know them, and We will punish them twice, then they shall be consigned to a great punishment" (Q 9:101). According to this verse, there were hypocrites among the Companions, whom even the Prophet did not know, as they were skillful in hiding their false beliefs.[2]

These reports, in addition to what was mentioned in our discussion of Quranic verses, show that the nascent Muslim community was not as flawless as later sources try to depict. On the other side, the existence of unknown hypocrites among the Companions undermines the theory of the integrity of all the Companions and makes it necessary to investigate about each Companion.

The Outcomes of the Belief in the Integrity of All the Companions

The belief in the integrity of all the Companions had several outcomes, one of which has been suppressing historical reports that were not compatible with this belief. Ibn Hishām (d. 213/828), for instance, mentions in the introduction to his book that he deleted certain contents that were displeasing or offensive to some people.[3] In his account of the construction of the Prophet's Mosque, Ibn Hishām reports that ʿAlī (a) recited a poem that praised those who put themselves to trouble for building the mosque and criticized those who escaped from the work, and then ʿAmmār b. Yāsir kept reciting the same poem. According to Ibn Hishām, one of the Prophet's companions thought that ʿAmmār was referring to him, so he threatened to beat ʿAmmār with his staff. When the Prophet (s) heard this, he said, "What do they want from ʿAmmār? He invites them to

[1] Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:2143.
[2] See Muqātil b. Sulaymān, *Tafsīr*, 2:192-93; Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, 16:131.
[3] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:4.

Paradise and they invite him to Hell … If you ever heard anything else from this man, neglect him and do not pay attention to him." Even though Ibn Hishām states that Ibn Isḥāq had mentioned the name of this man, he prefers not to mention his name.[1] By referring to other sources, we find out that this Companion was ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān.[2]

Balādhurī reports that when Abū Dharr criticized ʿUthmān for his extravagant gifts to his relatives, ʿUthmān banished him to Syria. There, too, Abū Dharr criticized Muʿāwiya for doing things that were against the Quran and the Prophet's tradition, so Muʿāwiya complained to ʿUthmān about that. The latter wrote to him to send Abū Dharr to Medina on the harshest animal, and Muʿāwiya did so.[3] In relation to these incidents, al-Ṭabarī mentions that many things have been said in this regard, most of which "I dislike mentioning."[4] Al-Ṭabarī does the same thing elsewhere in relation to the correspondence between Muʿāwiya and Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr with the excuse that people cannot tolerate hearing the contents of the correspondence.[5] Here, too, al-Balādhurī reports the contents of the exchanged letters, which reflect Muʿāwiya's betrayals and actions that were against the Quran and Sunna.[6]

Another example of this censorship can be seen in *al-Istīʿāb* where the author refuses to mention what Ḥudhayfa said about Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, saying he "disliked" to mention it.[7] This censored saying is reported by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258); according to this report, Ḥudhayfa considered Abū Mūsa an enemy of God and the Prophet (s).[8]

Sometimes, this kind of censorship was done by scribes and copyists. For instance, Marsden Jones (d. 1992), mentions in the introduction of his edition of *Kitab al-Maghāzī* that in some of the

[1] Ibid., 1:497.
[2] Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, 5:90; Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 3:336; Diyārbakrī, *Tārīkh al-khamīs*, 1:454.
[3] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 5:541-43.
[4] Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 4:283.
[5] Ibid., 4:557.
[6] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:293-97.
[7] Ibn ʿAbd al-Birr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 3:980.
[8] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 13:314-15.

manuscripts of the book the names of those who escaped from the battleground in the Battle of Uḥud were censored and replaced by the word *fulān* (so and so), whereas in some other sources, such as *Ansāb al-ashrāf*[1] and *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*,[2] their names are mentioned. He then concludes that these names existed in the original text but the copyists censored them.[3]

It was mentioned above that ʿUmar doubted the prophethood of the Prophet (s) on the day of Ḥudaybiyya and later said, "By God, I never doubted since I became a Muslim except on that day…" This saying of ʿUmar is part of a report mentioned in *al-Muṣannaf* by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827).[4] However, ʿUmar's sentence is omitted from the same report[5] in al-Bukhāri's (d. 265/870) *Ṣaḥīḥ*.[6]

These examples show how the belief in the integrity of the Companions have led to censorship in Islamic history.

The Integrity of the Companions in the Shīʿī View

Al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) adduces evidence from the Quran, Hadith, and historical sources to illustrate that the belief in the integrity of all the Companions is untenable.[7] Al-Shahīd al-Thāni (d. 965/1558) also states that the integrity of Companions needs to be investigated, as in the case of other people.[8] Mawlā Muḥammad al-Māzandarānī (d. 1081/1670-1671) adduces arguments to refute the idea of the integrity of all the Companions.[9] Mullā Mahdī Narāqī (d.

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[1] Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:326. Al-Balādhurī has given the names of some of those who escaped from the battle of Uḥud. These include ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, Ḥarith b. Ḥāṭib, Thaʿlaba b. Ḥāṭib, Sawād b. Ghaziyya, Saʿd b. ʿUthmān, ʿUtba b. ʿUthmān, Khārija b. ʿĀmir, and Aws b. Qayẓī.

[2] Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha*, 15:24; In addition to the names mentioned by al-Balādhurī, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd mentions ʿUmar among the escapers, referring to al-Wāqidī as his source.

[3] Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, introduction, 18.

[4] Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:330-42.

[5] Comparing the text and the chain of the transmitters of the two reports clearly shows that they are one and the same.

[6] See Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 3:193-97. It should be noted that it is probable that ʿUmar's sentence was omitted by the copyists, because al-Ṣāliḥī al-Shāmī (d. 942AH/1535-36) quotes ʿUmar's saying from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (See Ṣaliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 5:53).

[7] Mufīd, *al-Iftiṣāḥ*, 41-63.

[8] Shahīd al-Thānī, *al-Riʿāya*, 343.

[9] Māzandarānī, *Sharḥ Uṣūl al-Kāfī*, 12:393-96.

1209/1795) also rejects the doctrine of the integrity of all the Companions.[1] Contemporary Shīʿī scholars have also continued to reject this doctrine.[2] Shīʿī scholars maintain that merely being a Companion of the Prophet (s) is not a proof for trustworthiness.

In some Shīʿī hadith sources, a saying is attributed to the Imams (a) according to which all people turned back (*irtadda al-nās*) after the Prophet (s) except few individuals.[3] This hadith has been used to claim that the Shīʿa believe that most of the Prophet's Companions deserted Islam and became apostates after him, because the verb *irtadda* could also indicate apostasy.[4] Of course, a survey of the opinions of Shīʿī scholars shows that this claim is false. Moreover, it was mentioned earlier that in several Sunni sources, there is a hadith according to which on the Day of Judgment, it will be said to the Prophet (s) that some of his Companions "continued to turn back on their heels." In addition to this hadith, many historical reports can also be found in Sunni sources, which attribute the same verb, i.e., *irtadda*, to "the people"[5] or "the Arabs"[6] or even state more clearly that "the Arabs became unbelievers"[7] (*kafarat al-ʿArab*) after the Prophet's demise. These reports attribute apostasy to people who were among the Prophet's Companions during his lifetime in a clearer way.

Now, we will discuss the meaning of the word *irtadda* (turned back) in the above-mentioned Shīʿī hadiths.[8] This word is derived from the root *r-d-d*, which means returning something.[9] According to

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[1] Narāqī, *Tajrīd al-uṣūl*, 66.

[2] See, e.g., Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*, 2:321; ʿAskarī, *Maʿālim al-madrasatayn*, 1:140-41.

[3] See, e.g., Mufīd, *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, 6, 10; Kashshī, *Rijāl*, 8, 11; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:244.

[4] See, e.g., Ramaḍānī, "Naqd shubuhāt"; Abū Zāyid, "Naqd al-bināʾ al-manhajī"; ʿAbd al-Salām, "*Mawqif al-firaq al-islāmiyya*";

[5] See, e.g., Ibn Shabba, *Tārīkh al-Madīna,* 2:524; Bazzār, *al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār*, 3:138.

[6] See, e.g., Maʿmar b. Rāshid, *Jāmiʿ*, 11:52; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 7:434; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, 1:98, 2:828; Dārimī, *Sunan*, 1:225.

[7] See, e.g., Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 4:50; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Tārīkh*, 103; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 95.

[8] For a detailed discussion of the authenticity of this hadith, see Nādirī, "Barrasī taḥlīlī ḥadīth irtadda al-nās."

[9] Farāhīdī, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, 8:7; Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 2:473; Ibn Fāris, *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-lugha*, 2:386.

al-Jawharī (d. 393/1003), it also denotes rejecting and refusing,[1] which is similar to the previous meaning.

The word *irtadda* and its derivatives are used several times in the Quran. In some verses, the meaning is turning away from faith (e.g., Q 2:217; 5:21, 54; 47:25), but in others the meaning is turning back from other things (e.g., Q 12:96; 14:43; 18:64; 27:40). For instance, in Quran 96:12, *irtadda* is used to indicate the return of Jacob's sight, and in 18:64 it is attributed to Moses and his companion to indicate their return from their way. In hadith sources, too, we see this word used in the sense of deserting faith[2] and also in the sense of returning.[3] Therefore, the word *irtadda* or the infinitive *irtidād* does not necessarily indicate apostasy.

Considering this point, Shīʿī scholars have presented several possible meanings for the word *irtadda*, including turning away from the covenant[4] and disobedience.[5] Ayatollah Sobhani, a contemporary Shīʿī scholar, mentions in this regard that the word *irtadda* in this hadith cannot be taken as indicating deserting Islam or apostasy; at most, it points to the fact that most people abandoned the instruction of the Prophet (s) with regard to the issue of succession.[6]

Conclusion

Considering the above discussion, we can draw the following conclusions:

The difference between the Shīʿī and Sunni views on the issue of the integrity of the Companions is whether all the Companions enjoyed this degree of integrity or only some of them.

The alleged evidence from the Quran and Hadith adduced to establish the integrity of *all* the Companions not only fail to do so but also contradict Quranic verses, hadiths, and historical reports.

The Quran affirms that there were hypocrites among the Companions, whom even the Prophet (s) did not know. This shows

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[1] Jawharī, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, 2:473.
[2] See, e.g., Ṣanʿāni, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:82; Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 135.
[3] See, e.g., Maʿmar b. Rāshid, *Jāmiʿ*, 11:312; Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 3:474.
[4] Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī, *Istikhrāj al-marām*, 3:407-10.
[5] Murtaḍā al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ min sīrat al-imām ʿAlī (a)*, 10:59.
[6] Subḥāni, *al-Aḍwāʾ*, 523-27.

the necessity of investigating about integrity of each Companion and counts as a counterexample to the doctrine of the integrity of all the Companions.

A survey of the history of the belief in the integrity of all the Companions shows that this belief did not exist in the first three centuries of Islamic history. The Companions themselves did not have such a belief about themselves and did not think that they had an exceptional status of integrity in comparison to other people.

Holding on to this doctrine has led to censorship in the transmission of the historical reports related to early Islamic history.

A History of the Prophet's Mosque

Mohammadreza al-Khaghani

Introduction

The Prophet's Mosque has had a special social, political, and religious place in Islamic history. It is the place where the holy grave of the Prophet (s) is located. Also, over the course of time, it has witnessed many important events. This article will begin with a short discussion of how the mosque was constructed and then will introduce the various parts of the mosque and investigate the expansion that it has undergone in various historical eras since the demise of the Apostle of God (s) till now.

The Selection of the Location of the Mosque and its Purchase

After exiting Mecca, the Prophet (s) awaited ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) for some time in a place called Qubāʾ. After handing over the things that had been entrusted by people to the Apostle of God (s) to their respective owners, ʿAlī (a) set out for Yathrib to join the Prophet (s). Meanwhile, the Apostle of God (s) constructed the Qubāʾ Mosque in

the lands of the tribe of Banū ʿAmr b. Mālik.[1] After spending some days in this place, he set off for Medina.

In Medina, several clans asked the Prophet (s) to live in their area, pulling the reigns of the mount of the Apostle of God (s) towards their own neighborhood. The Apostle of God (s) said: "This camel is commanded [by God]. I will take residence wherever it sits." The camel of the Prophet (s) moved in the streets of Medina until it finally sat down in front of the house of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. So, the Prophet (s) chose his home as his residence.[2]

Construction of the Mosque and Its Distinctions

After the Prophet (s) determined his residence, he began the construction of a mosque. The land of the mosque belonged to two orphans named Sahl and Suhayl, who lived under the guardianship of Asʿad b. Zurāra. Before the Prophet (s) arrived in Medina, Asʿad led the Muslims in congregational prayers in this place, which was surrounded by short walls.[3] The Apostle of God (s) bought the land from the two orphans and began the construction of the mosque upon it.[4] In order to encourage the Muslims to take part in the construction of the mosque, the Prophet (s) personally participated in the work.[5]

The land included some date palms, old buildings, and the graves of some polytheists. By the order of the Prophet (s), the land was leveled and bricks were made for the walls of the mosque.[6] There are several reports regarding the dimensions of the land of the Prophet's

[1] Banū ʿAmr b. Mālik and Banū ʿAwf b. Mālik were two tribes that lived in the Qubāʾ area in Medina. They were related to the Aws and were originally Yemeni (see Ibn Ḥazam, *Jamharah ansāb al-ʿArab*, 470).

[2] Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:492-96; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:180-83; Yaʿqūbī, *Tārīkh*, 2:41-42; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 2:381-83; Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 2:279-80.

[3] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:326.

[4] Ibn Saʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:184; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:266; Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 2:30; Maqrīzī, *ʾImtaʿ al-asmāʿ*, 1:67; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:326-31, 336.

[5] Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:496.

[6] Ibn Saʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:184; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 47.

Mosque.[1] Keeping these reports in mind, it is possible to guess that the area of the mosque was between 1,060 and 12,475 cubic meters. Stones and bricks were used in the construction of the mosque. In the beginning, a 1.5-meter foundation of stone was made for the mosque. Thereafter, a wall was built around the mosque and later the height of the wall was increased.[2] Trunks of date palms were used for the pillars of the roof. The roof, approximately 3.5 meters high,[3] was covered by the branches of date palms and some other plants until the rainy season. Then, the roof was made out of mud so that rainwater could not enter the mosque. The entire mosque was not covered by a roof, and the main entrance of the mosque was open.[4]

Three doors were placed in the mosque: one of them in the southern wall of the mosque; another one in the western part of the mosque called the Door of ʿĀtika (Bāb ʿĀtika),[5] which later became known as the Door of Mercy (Bāb al-Raḥma);[6] and a third door on the east side, known as the Door of ʿUthmān (Bāb ʿUthmān),[7] which is known today as the Door of Gabriel (Bāb Jirāʾīl).[8] The form of the mosque remained such until Shaʿbān 15th, 2/624, when the qibla changed from Jerusalem to Mecca with the revelation of the following verse: "We certainly see you turning your face about in the sky. We will surely turn you to a qiblah of your liking: so turn your face

[1] Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:184-85; Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:86; Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 69; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:340; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 3:338; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 48-49.

[2] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:335; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 3:338; Kattānī, *Niẓām al-ḥukūma al-nabawiyya*, 2:53, Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 49-50.

[3] Ibn al-Faqīh, *al-Buldān*, 81; Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:86; Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 69-70; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:327-28, 336; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 50-51.

[4] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:335; Sāliḥī al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā*, 3:338.

[5] ʿĀtika bt. ʿAbd Allah b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya was a woman whose home was opposite to this door. This door was also called the Door of the Market (Bāb al-Sūq) (Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:697).

[6] It has been mentioned that someone once entered the mosque from this door and asked the Prophet (s) to pray for rain, and the Prophet (s) did so, and after seven days, it began to rain in Medina, hence the name the Door of Mercy (Bāb al-Raḥma) (See Ibid., 2:697-98).

[7] It was called so because it was opposite to the house of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (see Ibid., 2:689).

[8] It was called so either because the Station of Gabriel was close to this door or because Gabriel once entered the mosque from this door to meet the Prophet (s) (Ibid., 2:690-91).

towards the Holy Mosque. And wherever you may be, turn your faces towards it!" (Q 2:144).

At this time, the Prophet (s) and his companions were performing the noon prayer in congregation at a mosque that later on became known as the Mosque of the Two Qiblas (Masjid al-Qiblatayn). When this verse was revealed, the Prophet (s) turned towards the Kaaba and then his Companions did the same.[1] This change resulted in the creation of some changes in the Prophet's Mosque. The door in the south wall was closed, and instead a door was opened on the north wall, because the qibla was towards the south. Three enclaves were built in the south side of the mosque. A covered area was also built in the south part of the mosque that became a refuge for the homeless. These individuals became known as the Inhabitants of the Bench (Ahl al-Ṣuffa). In the time of the Prophet, the mosque did not have any minarets or niches.[2]

The Prophet (s) built some homes for his wives around the mosque. According to some reports, these were alongside the north and east walls of the mosque and were mostly covered by the leaves of date palms. The only exception was Umm Salama's home, which was built of bricks. Cloths made from camel hairs were also hung on the doors of these houses as curtains.[3] These homes were in the shape of squares, and the length of each side was 4 to 4.5 meters.[4]

Among these homes was that of Fāṭima (a), next to the Prophet's home. There was a window on the wall between the two homes. When going out, the Prophet (s) would greet his daughter (a) through this window. It is reported that for several months the Prophet (s) would stand every morning at the door of her daughter's home and recite the following verse: "Indeed Allah desires to repel all impurity from you, O People of the Household, and purify you with a thorough purification" (Q 33:33).[5] This home was between the grave

[1] Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 1:606; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:188-86; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:275, 276, 359-61.
[2] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:453-54.
[3] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 73-75; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:458-64.
[4] Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 60.
[5] Ibn Abī Shayba, *Musnad*, 2:233; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:388; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥaba*, 2:761; Balādurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 2:104; Tirmidhī, *al-Jamiʿ al-kabīr*, 5:205.

and the Pillar of the Night Prayers (Usṭuwānat al-Tahajjud).[1] In the era of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 50-96/ 668-715), these homes were destroyed and became part of the Mosque.[2]

The Various Parts of the Mosque of the Prophet (s)

The *Miḥrāb* of the Mosque

There was no mihrabs in the mosque in the life of the Apostle of God (s). After his demise however, during the times when it was expanded, mihrabs were made in the places where the Prophet (s) prayed. The first mihrab was made during the reign of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99-100/682-720).[3] Before the revelation of the verse regarding the change of the qibla, the Apostle of God (s) would pray towards Jerusalem. He would pray in the north part of the mosque,[4] but after the change in the qibla, the Apostle of God (s) prayed for a few days beside the Pillar of ʿĀyishah. Following this, he went to pray beside al-Mukhallaqah Pillar.[5] The present-day mihrab was built in this very place in the year 888/1483-4 by the order of the Mamlūk sultan, Qaitbay.[6]

Another mihrab is called the Mihrab of Night Prayers (*tahajjud*), which was built in the place where the Prophet of God (s) performed his night prayers. It is located to the north of the Prophet's Room (*Al-Ḥujra al-nabawiyya*),[7] after the home of Fāṭima (a), beside the Ṣuffa. This mihrab, which was built in the era of Qaitbay, still exists to this day, but it is covered by a wooden plank.[8]

The Pulpit and *Rawḍa* of the Prophet (s)

Initially, the Apostle of God (s) would deliver his speeches near a pillar which was made from the trunk of a date palm. After some

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[1] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 75-76; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:466-70.
[2] Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:387, 8:133; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Tārikh*, 2:284; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-umam wa al-mulūk*, 6:435.
[3] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:525.
[4] Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 22.
[5] Ibid., 38
[6] ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 105
[7] The place where the Prophet (s) is buried.
[8] ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 107-9.

time, a woman from the Helpers told him (s) that she had a servant who was a carpenter and that if the Apostle of God agreed, he could build him (s) a pulpit. The Prophet (s) agreed and the servant made a pulpit for him (s). It has also been said that when the Prophet (s) would deliver a speech standing up, he felt pain in his blessed legs, so he (s) was advised to make a pulpit. The pulpit was made of the wood of a manna tree and had three steps. It was made in the year 8/630. The length of the pulpit was approximately 1.1 meters and its breadth was roughly 0.5 meters. This pulpit remained in the same shape until the rein of Muʿāwiya (r. 41-60/661-680), who added six steps to it and covered it with a cloth. This pulpit remained until the year 654/1256, in which the first fire in the Prophet's Mosque occurred. After this accident, the pulpit of the mosque was replaced with new pulpits. Finally, in the year 998/1589, by the order of Sultan Murād III, the last pulpit was made and gifted to the mosque.[1]

Another one of the sacred places at the Prophet's Mosque is the Garden (*al-Rawḍa*). This place was actually a part of the mosque, between the Prophet's home and the pulpit. Its name was taken from the following hadith: "There is a garden between my home and my pulpit."[2]

The area of the present Garden (*Rawḍa*) is 330 cubic meters (22×15). It has a greater area than the original Garden, because during the reign of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/719), the houses of the wives of the Prophet (s) were added to it. Many traditions have been related regarding the virtue of praying in this place.[3]

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[1] For more information on the history of the Prophet's pulpit, see Ibn Sʿad, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:192-96; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 6:319; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 22:117; Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1:97, 3:61; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, 1:477, 5:15; Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 79-82; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 4:236; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:391-413; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 35-37; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 119-21; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min tārikh al-Madīna*, 72-74.

[2] Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, 1:197; Ṣanʿānī, *al-Muṣannaf*, 3:182; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Muṣannaf*, 5:305; Bukhārī, *Saḥīḥ*, 2:61; Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *Saḥīḥ*, 2:1010-11; Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:553-56.

[3] For more information, see Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 82-83; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:426-34; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 24-27; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 114-17; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 73-74; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*,75-78.

The Doors of the Mosque

We discussed earlier about the three doors of the Prophet's Mosque—i.e., the Door of Mercy, the Door of Gabriel, and the door that was added to the mosque after the qibla changed. After the demise of the Prophet (s), several doors were added to the mosque, which we will when we explain about the expansion of the Mosque in various eras.

The Pillars of the Mosque

It was mentioned earlier that the roof of the mosque was built upon pillars that were made from the trunks of date palms. Eight of these pillars were named after a certain historical event. Each of them witnessed a specific historical event.

Usṭuwāna al-Mukhallaqa (The Perfumed Pillar): This pillar is also known as al-Muṭayyaba, al-Muʿaṭṭara (both words meaning "perfumed", as it was the only pillar that used to be perfumed), and ʿAlam al-Muṣalla (lit. the sign of the place of prayer, as it determined the place where the Apostle of God (s) would pray). This pillar is located next to the Mihrab.[1]

Usṭuwanat ʿĀʾisha (The Pillar of ʿĀʾisha): This is the third pillar from the Prophet's pulpit, the third from the noble grave, and the third from the qibla. The reason why it is called the Pillar of ʿĀʾisha is that she narrated a tradition regarding the virtue of those who pray next to that pillar.[2] Another name of this pillar is Usṭuwānat al-Qurʿa (the Pillar of Lots), since, according to the hadith narrated by ʿĀʾisha, "If people knew what virtue there was in praying in the place beside this pillar, they would vie for it by lots."[3] This pillar was also the place where the Immigrants would gather, and because of that it was also called the Pillar of the Immigrants (Usṭuwānat al-Muhājirīn).[4]

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[1] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:439-40; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 53-54; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 123-25; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 76-77; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 69.

[2] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:440-41.

[3] Ḥaythamī, *Majmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, 4:9; Ṭabrānī, *al-muʿjam al-awsaṭ*, 1:264; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:440-41.

[4] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 91-92; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:440-42; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 44-46; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 125-27; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 77; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 69.

Usṭuwānat al-Tawba (The Pillar of Repentance): The fourth pillar from the pulpit, the second pillar from the blessed grave, and the third from the direction of the qibla is called the Pillar of Repentance. This pillar is also known as Usṭuwānat Abī Lubāba (the Pillar of Abū Lubāba). The reason why this pillar is called by these two names is that when Abū Lubābah treasonously informed Banū Qurayẓa of the Prophet's plans, he regretted his action, so he tied himself to this pillar in repentance and remained there until his repentance was accepted.[1]

Usṭuwānat al-Sarīr (The Pillar of the Bed): This pillar is to the east of the Pillar of Repentance. It is connected to the window of the blessed Prophetic tomb. The Apostle of God (s) would perform *iʿtikāf* in a place beside this pillar. Also, in this place, a bed made of the branches of date palms was placed for him. The Prophet (s) would lie upon this bed.[2]

Usṭuwānat al-Miḥras (The Watchman's Pillar): From the north side, behind the Pillar of the Bed, in front of the door of the house of the Prophet (s) by which he used to enter the mosque, there is the Watchman's Pillar. This pillar is also called the Pillar of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, because ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (a) would stand watch next to this pillar in front of the door of the house of the Apostle of God (s) to protect his life.[3]

Usṭuwānat al-Wufūd (The Pillar of the Delegations): From the north, after the Watchman's Pillar, there lies the Pillar of the Delegations. The Prophet of Islam (s) would meet delegations that came to meet him or to accept Islam near this pillar. This place is also called the Place of the Necklace (Majlis al-Qilāda), because the

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[1] Ibn Ḥishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, 2:236-37; Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 89-91; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:442-47; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 50-53; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 127-29; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 78-79; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 70.

[2] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:447-48; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 54-55; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 130; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 79-80; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 70.

[3] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:448-49; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 55-56; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 130-31; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 80; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 70.

Prophet (s) would sit in this place with his greatest of Companions,[1] like the jewel in a necklace.

Usṭuwānat Murabbaʿat al-qabr (The Pillar of the Four Corners of the Grave): This pillar is inside the room where the sacred grave of the Apostle of God (s) is located. This pillar is also known as the Station of Jibrāʾīl (*Maqām Jibrāʾīl*). It is located in front of the western side of the Pillar of the Delegations. According to historical reports, this pillar, which was later built, is now in the place where the door of the house of Fāṭima (a) was located.[2]

Usṭuwānat al-Tahajjud (The Pillar of Night Prayers): Behind the house of Fāṭima (a), from the north, is the place of the Pillar of Night Prayers. The Niche of Night Prayers, which points to this pillar, is also located in this place. This was the place where the Prophet (s) would perform his night prayers.[3]

The Expansion of the Prophet's Mosque through History

After the battle of Khaybar, in 7/628, the Apostle of God made the decision to expand the mosque due to the increase in the number of Muslims and participants in prayers. Thus, the area of the mosque was expanded twenty meters in breadth and fifteen meters in length. After this, the area of the mosque became 2,500 meters.[4]

During the Caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb

The second time when the Prophet's Mosque was expanded was in the year 17/639, during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. ʿUmar decided to buy the houses around the mosque so that he could expand it. One of these houses was the house of ʿAbbās b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the uncle of the Prophet (s), who donated his house so that the mosque could be expanded. In this expansion, the foundations of

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[1] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 92; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:449-50; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 46-50; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 131-32; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 80; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 70.

[2] For more information on this pillar, see Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:450; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 133; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 80-81; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 70.

[3] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:450-53; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 81-82; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 71. See Figure 2.

[4] Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā*, 1:184-85; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 1:340.

the mosque were raised approximately 2 meters with stones. On the side of qibla, the mosque was expanded five meters and fifteen meters on the north side. Also, the area of the mosque was expanded on the western side by ten meters. Also, the roof was raised from 3.5 meters to 5.5 meters. The number of doors was increased from three to six. The new doors were the Door of Peace (Bāb al-Salām), which was located in the western wall of the mosque, the Door of the Women (Bāb al-Nisāʾ), which was located in the eastern wall, and a door in the northern wall. Also, a courtyard was added to the mosque, outside of it, on the eastern side. The floor of the mosque was also covered with pebbles from the ʿAqīq area.[1]

During the Caliphate of ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān

The third time when the mosque was expanded was in the era of ʿUthmān. This expansion started in 29/649 and ended on Muḥarram 1st, 30. In this era, the mosque was expanded five meters from the north, the south, and the west. The mosque was first emptied and then it was built from scratch. The material from which the new edifice was built was plaster molding and carved stones. What is more, the pillars were made from rocks and the roof was adorned with a covering made from teak-wood.[2]

The Umayyad Period

Prior to the reign of Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 86-96/705-715), no expansion occurred in the Prophet's Mosque, but during this period ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 101/420), who was the governor of Medina, ordered the expansion of the Prophet's Mosque. He bought the houses around the mosque, including the houses of the wives of the Prophet (s), so that they could be added to the mosque. The expansion project began in the year 88/707 and ended in the year

[1] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 93-96; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:481-500; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 89-94; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 43-44; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 94-103; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 81; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 1:274-76.

[2] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 96-98; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:500-10; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 89-92; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 45-46; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 103-9; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 81; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 1:293-95.

91/710. When the houses of the wives of the Prophet (s) were added to the mosque, it expanded fifteen meters to the east. Also, ten meters were added to the mosque on the west side and twenty meters were added on the north. The new edifice and its pillars were made of stones. Also, the pillars were reinforced with iron and graphite. What is more, the first mihrab of the mosque was built in this time. Also, the walls of the mosque were adorned from inside with marble, gold, and ceramic. The tops of the pillars and wooden doors were ornamented with gold. Also, eight doors were added in the east, eight in the west and four in the north. Furthermore, in this expansion, for the first time ever, four minarets (30×4×4) were placed in the four corners of the mosque. One of these minarets collapsed during the reign of Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (r. 96-99/715-717).[1]

The ʿAbbāsid Period

Al-Mahdī (r. 158-169/775-785) gave the order to expand the mosque in the hajj season of the year 160/777. In this expansion, only thirty meters were added to the mosque on the north. This project lasted from the year 161/779 till the year 165/782, and the mosque remained the same until the year 654/1256 without any expansion or major reconstruction.[2] On the first night of the Ramadān of 6541256, a fire occurred in the Prophet's Mosque, which led to the complete destruction of the roof and the burning of everything in the mosque. In the year 655/1257, al-Mustaʿsim (r. 640-656/1242-1258) ordered the reconstruction of the Prophet's Mosque. However, the fall of Baghdād and then the end of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate prevented this order from being carried out, but the people of Medina built a roof over the blessed grave and the remaining pillars of the mosque.[3]

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[1] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 98-103; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:513-30; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 92-97; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 47-48; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 111-22; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 83; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 1:395-400.

[2] Ibn al-Najjār, *al-Durra al-thamīna*, 103-5; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:535-40; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 98-100; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 49; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 123-30; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 83-84; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 2:65-67.

[3] Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, 48:24; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa al-nihāya*, 13:193; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:598-601 Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, 7:455; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 100;

The Mamlūk Era

After the fall of Baghdād and the murder of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph, Medina came under the rule of the Mamlūk governor of Egypt. Manṣūr Nūr al-Dīn (r. 655-657/1257-1259) ordered the reconstruction of the mosque. He was disposed in the year 657/1295 and replaced by Muẓaffar Ṣayf al-Dīn, who was killed after one year. The reconstruction of the Prophet's Mosque finished in the reign of the next ruler Baibars (r. 658-675/1260-1277). The area of the renovated mosque was not different from its area in the Abbasid era. Following this, in 678/1279, a wooden dome was constructed by the order of Nāṣir Muḥammad Qalawūn al-Ṣālihī, the ruler of Egypt. This dome was also covered with graphite. Moreover, in 705-706/1305-1306, the western and eastern roofs of the courtyard of the mosque were repaired and reconstructed. Also, in the year 831/1427, these roofs were repaired. Furthermore, by the order of Ṣayf al-Dīn Barsbay (825-841/1422-1437), a new roof was made for the northern part of the courtyard. In the year 881/1476, Sultan Qaitbay (r. 872-890/1468-1496) gave the order to make fundamental repairs to various parts of the mosque. In the year 886/1481, another fire occurred as a result of a bolt of lightning that struck one of the eastern minarets and led to the burning of the doors, walls, and library of the mosque. After this event, Qaitbay gave the order to reconstruct the edifice of the mosque. In this re-construction project, an area of 1.2 meters was added to the total area of the mosque on the eastern side. Aside from this, a roof that was eleven meters high was added to the mosque. Furthermore, he gave the order for a green dome to be constructed over the blessed grave of the Prophet (s), which became known as the Green Dome (al-Qubba al-Khaḍrāʾ). The room that surrounded the grave of the Prophet (s) was covered with stone. Also, the pulpit and the place of the caller to prayers were made of marble. This reconstruction and expansion finished in the year 888/1438.[1]

ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 50-51; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 130-31; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 2:233-37.

[1] Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafā*, 2:600-17; Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 101-2; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 51-54; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 135-47; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 84-87; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 2:235-37, 310-17.

In the Ottoman Era

After the fall of the Mamlūks at the hands of the Ottomans in the year 922/1517, Medina came under the rule of the Ottoman Sultan. In the year 946/1539, by the order of Sultan Sulaymān (r. 926-972/1520-1566), the Mamlūk crescents that covered the dome and minarets of the mosque were replaced by crescents covered in gold. From 947/1540 to 974/1540, by his order, some other repairs were made to the Prophet's Mosque. The greatest expansion plan for the Prophet's Mosque was carried out in the era of Ṣultan ʿAbd al-Majīd I (r. 1238-1246/1823-1861). This expansion began in 1265/1849 and lasted for 13 years and included the addition of 170 small domes on the roof of the mosque and its adornment with Qurʾānic verses and Arabic poems. What is more, the inside of the mosque was also adorned with Qurʾānic verses and the names of the Apostle of God (s) and was also covered with gold. Furthermore, by the order of ʿAbd al-Majīd, places were made in the mosque for teaching the Qurʾān. The area of the mosque to the east was expanded 2.6 meters, and an area of 1,293 cubic meters was added to the mosque.[1]

The Saudi Era

The expansion of the Prophet's Mosque under the Saudis includes three stages [of construction]:

The First Stage

This stage began in 1372/1952 by the order of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to expand the mosque and finished in 1375/1955. In this expansion plan, the total area of the mosque reached 16,326 cubic meters, which could accommodate 28,000 worshippers, and a rectangle-shaped edifice (128×91) was built, which included three doors on the west side and three doors on the north. Also, the roof was made to rest upon 232 pillars. Moreover, three of the five old minarets of the mosque were destroyed and two new minarets, each seventy-two meters high, were built, which were located in the north-eastern and north-western parts of the mosque.

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[1] Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 102-4; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 54-65; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 147-73; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 87-89; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 2:483-87.

During the reign of Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the number of pilgrims and worshippers increased. For this reason, a space was created in the western part of the mosque. Eighty umbrella-shaped structures were added to it. This ended up being a space of approximately 3,500 cubic meters. This plan was implemented in the year 1973 but was destroyed in the next expansion project.

The Second Stage

In 1406/1985, a second project for the expansion of the Prophet's Mosque began by the order of Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which lasted until 1414/1994. In this project, an area with the size of 82,000 cubic meters was added on the eastern, western, and northern sides of the mosque. This area could accommodate 150,000 worshippers. During this expansion project, the total area of the mosque reached 98326 cubic meters, which could accommodate 178,000 worshippers. The total area of the mosque would be 58,250 cubic meters if the area of the roof of the mosque, which could accommodate 90,000 worshippers, is taken into consideration. With the addition of the courtyards around the shrine (235,000 cubic meters), the mosque could accommodate 698,000 worshippers. With the addition of new entrances, the number of the entrances to the Prophet's Mosque reached 41.[1]

The Third Stage

This stage began in 2012 by the order of ʿAbdullah b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. According to a report from The Agency of the General Presidency for the Affairs of the Prophet's Mosque, this expansion has been planned to take place in three phases. In the first phase, the space of the courtyards will be made to be able to have room for 800,000 worshippers. In the second and third phases, two courtyards will be added in the west and east sides of the mosque. These courtyards will also be able to accommodate 800,000 worshippers.[2]

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[1] Shānqīṭī, *al-Durr al-thamīn*, 105-9; ʿAbd al-Ghanī, *Tārīkh al-Masjid al-nabawī*, 65-102; Anṣārī, *Taʿmīr wa tawsiʿa-yi masjid sharīf nabawī*, 177-214; Ḥāfiẓ, *Fuṣūl min Tārīkh al-Madīna*, 90-111; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ Badr, *al-Tārīkh al-shāmil*, 3:228-36, 268-69. See Figure 3.

[2] The Agency of the General Presidency for the Affairs of Prophet's Mosque: https://wmn.gov.sa/public/?page=page_927618.

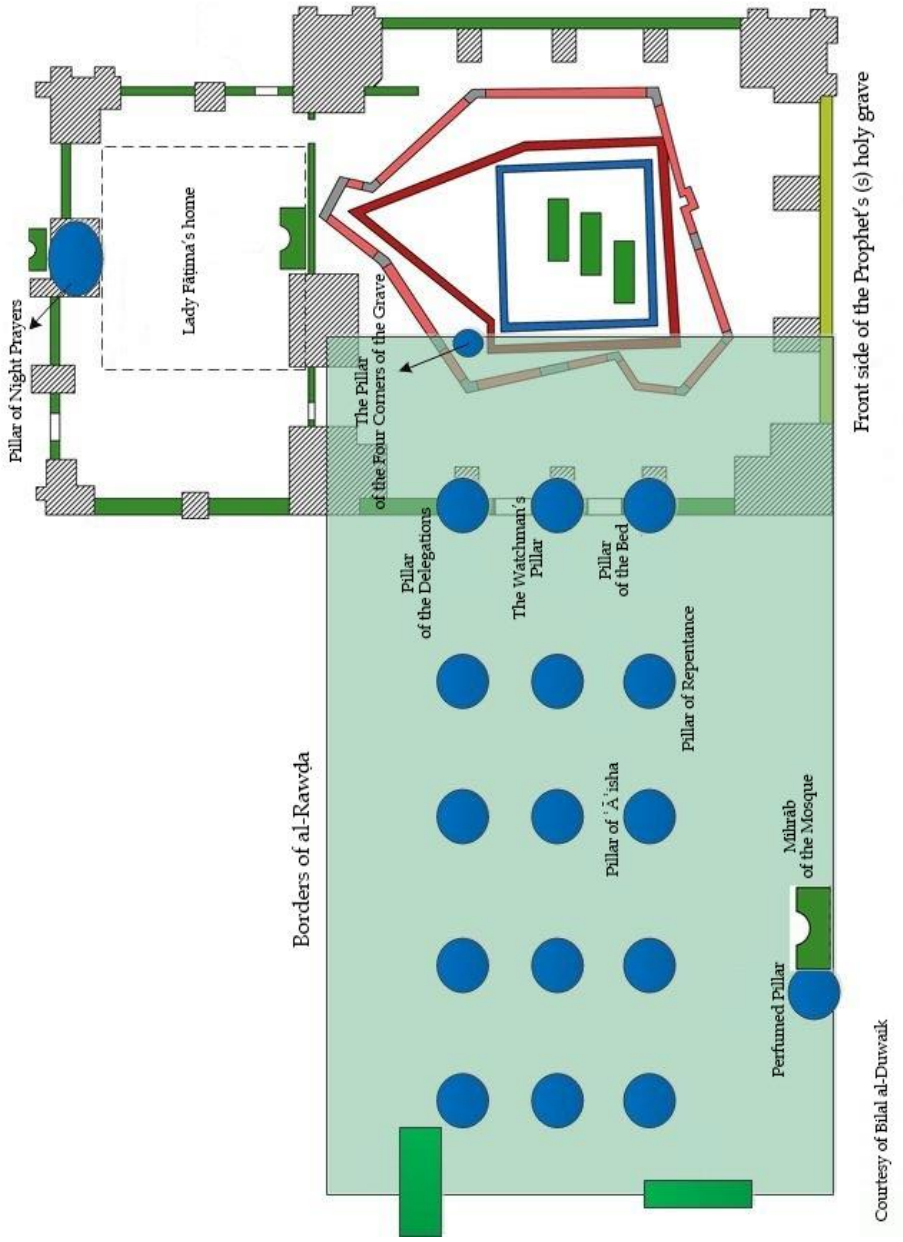


Figure 2. Pillars of the Prophet's Mosque

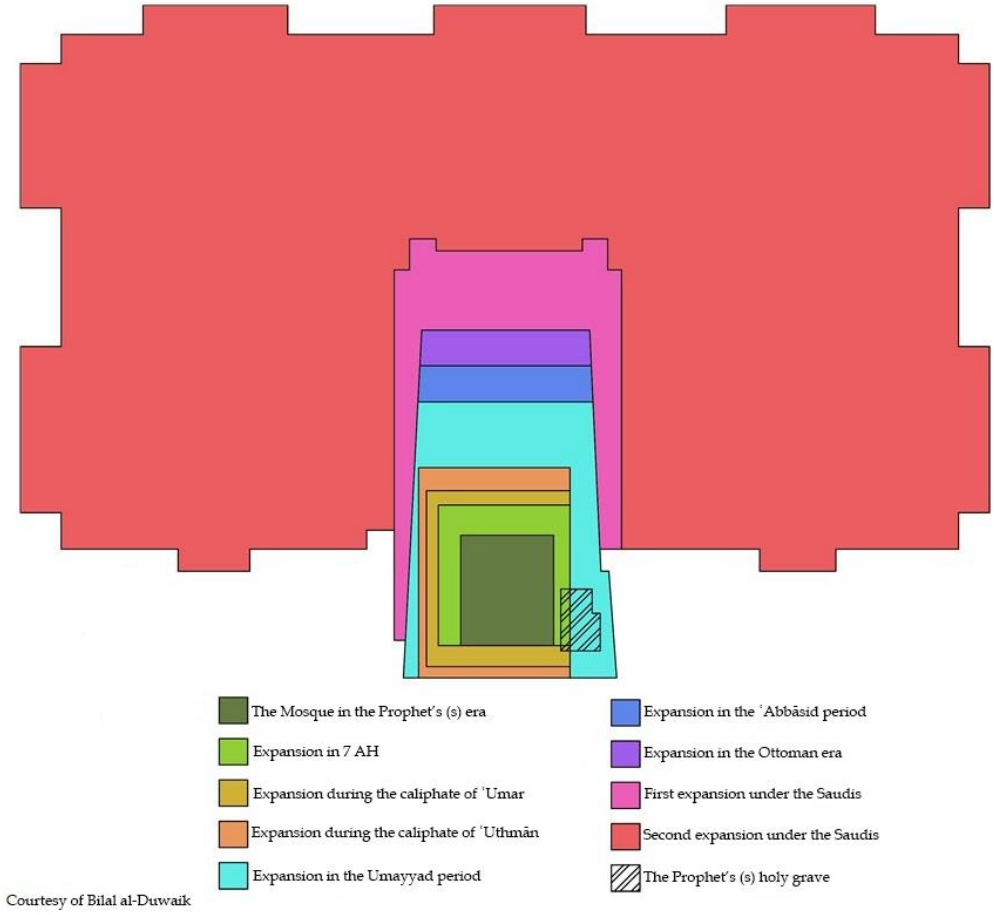


Figure 3. Expansions of the Prophet's Mosque

III. Select Hadiths

Reason

1. A man's noble descent is his religion, and his courteousness is his temperament, and his origin is his reason.[1]

2. Tenderness toward people is half of reason.[2]

3. Part of the Prophet's will to Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī (a): There is no property more profitable than reason, and there is no loneliness more horrific than vanity.[3]

4. God the almighty the glorified is not worshiped with anything better than reason, and a believer will not have reason unless ten characteristics come together in him: the good from him is expected, and from his evil people are immune; a bit of good from others he sees much, and the plenty of good from himself he sees little, and never tires of seeking knowledge throughout his life, and never becomes impatient by [dealing with] those in need; humbleness is more likeable to him than nobility, and poverty is more likeable to him than wealth; his share of the world is his [daily] sustenance; and the tenth ... he should not see anyone unless he says, "He is better and more pious than me." [For] people are of two kinds: the man who is better and more pious than him, and the other who is worse

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:181.
[2] Ibid., 2:643.
[3] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:17.

than him and inferior. So, when he sees one who is better and more pious than him, he shows humbleness to join him, and when he sees one who is worse than him and inferior, he will say, "His good might well be hidden and his evil manifest, and his ending might be good." So, when he does this, his dignity will be sublime, and he will surpass those of his time.[1]

5. God has not distributed anything among his servants greater than reason, so the intelligent man's sleep is greater than an ignorant man's vigilance, and the intelligent man's break of the fast is greater than the ignorant man's fasting, and the intelligent man's stay is greater than the ignorant man's migration. And Allah has not sent a messenger or a prophet unless He perfected his reason and his reason was greater than his nation's reason. And what the Prophet, peace be upon him and his household, harbors in himself is greater than the struggle of all strugglers. And the intelligent man does not perform the obligations enacted by God unless he reflects on them with his reason. The worship of all worshipers fall short of the worship of the intelligent man. Intelligent men are those who possess intellect, about whom God the exalted said, "And none takes admonition except those who possess intellect."[2]

6. When you hear about a man's good state, look into the goodness of his reason. For he will be rewarded in proportion to his reason.[3]

7. Many are the intelligent men who grasped God's command from God the almighty the glorified, while they are humble among people and not good-looking, and tomorrow [on the day of resurrection] they will attain salvation. And many are the good-looking men with soft tongues, who will perish tomorrow on the Day of Resurrection.[4]

8. Consultation with gracious intelligent men is rectitude, blessing, and success from God. If a gracious intelligent man advises you, beware not to defy it, since that would entail destruction.[5]

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[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 2:433.
[2] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:193-94.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:12.
[4] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 393.
[5] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 2:602.

Thinking, Knowledge, and Wisdom

1. An hour of thinking is better than a night of vigilance [for worship].[1]

2. There is no worship like thinking.[2]

3. It is an obligation upon every Muslim to seek knowledge, so seek knowledge wherever you suspect you will find it, and obtain it from people of knowledge. For it is good to learn it for the sake of God, and it is an act of worship to seek it, and it is a glorification [of God] to study it, and it is a jihad to act upon it, and it is a charity to teach it to one who does not know it, and giving it to people of knowledge is closeness to God the exalted. For it [i.e. knowledge] is indicative of what is legitimate and illegitimate, it is an illuminator of the path to heaven, a companion in solitude, friendship in loneliness and isolation, a conversant in solitariness, a guide in ease and adversity, a weapon against the enemies, and an ornament before one's friends. With knowledge, God elevates peoples and then appoints them as leaders in good, their traces will be followed, and with their actions others are guided, and things come down to their opinions; the angels tend to befriend them, and touch them with their wings, and in their prayer there is a blessing on them; everything fresh or withering seeks forgiveness for them, even the fish and vermin of the sea and wild animals and the cattle of the land. Verily, knowledge is the life of the hearts against ignorance, sight of the eyes against darkness, and strength of bodies against weakness. It takes the servant to the stages of the best people, and companionships of the pious, and sublime degrees in this world and the hereafter. Remembrance of knowledge is equal to fasting, and study of knowledge is equal to vigilance. With knowledge, the Lord is obeyed and worshiped, and with it, kinships are sustained, and the legitimate is discerned from the illegitimate. Knowledge is the leader of action, and action follows suit. It is inspired to the felicitous people, and the wretched are deprived thereof. So, happy are those whom God has not deprived of its enjoyment.[3]

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[1] Kūfī al-Ahwāzī, *al-Zuhd*, 15.
[2] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:372.
[3] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 488.

4. The Messenger of God entered a mosque, and saw people surrounding a man. He asked, "Who is this?" They said, "A knowledgeable man." He asked, "What is a knowledgeable man?" They replied, "He is the most knowledgeable man about the lineage of Arabs and the Arab chronology and the Age of Ignorance, and poems and the Arabic language." He said, "Lacking that knowledge does not harm anyone and learning it does not benefit anyone." He then added, "Verily, there are three varieties of knowledge: definitive verses, a moderate obligation, or an established tradition. Anything but this is spare."[1]

5. He who leaves [home] to seek a section of knowledge by which to restore a falsity to truth or a misguidance to guidance, his action is like forty years of worship by a worshiper.[2]

6. He who takes a path in pursuit of knowledge, God the exalted will take him to a path that leads to heaven. Verily, the angels spread their wings for the seeker of knowledge out of contentment with him. And indeed, for him will ask for forgiveness everyone in the sky and everyone on the earth, even the fish in the sea. And the superiority of the knowledgeable over the worshiper is like that of the bright moon over other stars. Truly, the knowledgeable are heirs of the prophets.[3]

7. The seeker of knowledge among the ignorant is like a living being among the dead.[4]

8. In his advice to Abū Dharr, the Messenger of God said, "O Abū Dharr, a group of people in heaven turn toward a group of people in hell and say, "What has led you into the fire, while we have entered heaven in virtue of your teachings and trainings?" They say, "We commanded you to do good but we did not do it ourselves."[5]

9. There are two groups of knowledgeable men: a man who takes up his knowledge, who is saved, and a man who quits his knowledge, who is perished. Verily, people of the Fire will be disgusted by the smell of the knowledgeable man who quit his knowledge, and indeed the most regretful among the people of the

[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:32.
[2] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 619.
[3] Ṣaffār, *Baṣā'ir al-darajāt*, 1:3.
[4] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 577.
[5] Ibid., 527.

Fire are those who called a servant to Allah and he answered and accepted the call and obeyed God, and God admitted him into heaven, while the caller is admitted into the Fire because of having abandoned his knowledge and having followed his desires and having remote hopes. As for following desires, it hinders the truth, and remote hopes make you forget the hereafter.[1]

10. God never makes anyone mighty with ignorance, and never degrades anyone with forbearance.[2]

11. Verily, God has created Islam and put for it a field, a light, a fort, and an assistant. Its field is the Quran, its light is wisdom, its fort is decency, and its assistants include me and my household and our Shīʿa [or followers].[3]

12. Two words are strange, so forbear them: a word of wisdom from an idiot, which you should accept it, and a word of idiocy from a wise man, which you should forgive.[4]

13. Indeed, God's saints stayed silent, and their silence was remembrance [of God]; they looked, and their look was [taking] lessons; and they talked, and their talk was wisdom.[5]

Faith

1. Faith is word and action.[6]

2. Faith is in ten things: recognition, obedience, knowledge, action, piety, struggle, patience, certainty, contentment, and submission. Whichever of these is missed by the possessor of faith, then its order will be invalid.[7]

3. One of the firmest handles of faith is to love for God and hate for God and give for God and deny aid for God.[8]

4. A believer's friendship with a believer is one of the greatest branches of faith. And he who loves for God and hates for God and

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:44.
[2] Ibid, 2:112.
[3] Ibid, 2:46.
[4] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:406.
[5] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:237.
[6] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:53.
[7] Karājakī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 2:11.
[8] Kūfī al-Ahwāzī, *al-Zuhd*, 17.

gives for God and denies aid for God is indeed among God's chosen ones.[1]

5. There are three characters such that he who has them has perfected the characters of faith: when he is satisfied, his satisfaction does not lead him to wrongdoing; when in wrath, his wrath does not take him away from the truth; and when he is in power, he does not encroach upon what is not his.[2]

6. Amīr al-Muʾminīn [Imam ʿAlī] said, "O Messenger of God, let me know about the characteristic of the believer." He lowered his head and then raised it and said, "… O ʿAlī, indeed believers are those who are ready for the prayer, and haste to zakat, and are pilgrims of God's venerated house [i.e., the Kaʿba], and fast in the month of Ramadan, and feed needy persons, and [kindly] caress the heads of orphans, and clean their clothes … Those who do not lie when they talk, and do not break their promise when they promise, and are truthful when they speak; hermits at night and lions during the day, fasting during the day, vigilant at night; they do not bother their neighbors [intentionally], nor are their neighbors bothered by them [unintentionally]; those who walk humbly on the earth…[3]

7. Three things are the truths of faith: donation in times of indigence, and being fair to people, and imparting knowledge to the learner.[4]

8. The servant [of God] does not become a believer unless he interrogates himself more harshly than a partner interrogates his partner and a master interrogates his slave.[5]

9. ʿAlī and I are the fathers of this nation. He who knows us knows God the almighty the glorified, and he who denies us denies God the almighty the glorified.[6]

10. He who knows himself knows his Lord.[7]

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[1] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:263.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:239.
[3] Ibid., 2:232.
[4] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:360.
[5] Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Muḥāsabat al-nafs*, 14.
[6] Ṣadūq, *Kamāl al-dīn*, 1:261.
[7] Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī, *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī*, 4:102.

11. The parable of the believer to God is that of a close angel, and indeed the believer is to God greater than that. And nothing is more favorable to God than a repentant male or female believer.[1]

12. Indeed, the believer is known in the sky in the way in which a man knows his family and children, and indeed, the believer is more honored by God than a close angel.[2]

13. Indeed, when God the blessed and exalted sees people of a town excessively indulging in sins but three believers are among them, He calls them, glorified be His glory and sanctified be His names: "O those who sin against me! Had there not been among you believers who love each other by my glory and who maintain my land and mosques with their prayer, and who ask for forgiveness at dawns out of fear from me, I would send you a punishment and then I would not care."[3]

14. Faith is not a matter of decoration and wish. Rather, faith is what is purified in the heart and is verified by acts.[4]

15. Behold! Bothering a believer is one of the greatest causes of losing faith.[5]

This World, Worldliness, and Contentment

1. This world is a farm for the hereafter.[6]

2. This world is an hour, so make it [an occasion for] obeying [God].[7]

3. Frequently remember that which destroys pleasures [i.e., death].[8]

4. In the advice given by the Messenger of God to Abū Dharr: O Abū Dharr, appreciate five things before five things: your youth before your senility, your health before your illness, your richness

[1] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:29.
[2] Ibid., 2:33.
[3] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 199.
[4] Ṣadūq, *Maʿānī al-akhbār*, 187.
[5] Karājakī, *Kanz al-fawāʾid*, 1:352.
[6] Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī, *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī*, 1:267.
[7] Ibid., 1:285.
[8] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:70.

before your poverty, your leisure before you occupation, and your life before your death.[1]

5. The believer makes provisions and the disbeliever [only] enjoys worldly pleasures. O son of Adam! avoid what God has forbidden and you will be a worshiper; be content with the share God has given you and you will be rich; be good to your neighbor and you will be a Muslim; keep company with people the way you like them to keep your company and you will be fair. Indeed, there were people before you who collected an abundance and constructed fortified buildings and had long hopes, but then they all became ruined and their houses turned into graves. O son of Adam! You are hostage to your action and will be exposed to your Lord. So, be generous with what is in your hands and walk the earth, which will soon be your home. Ever since you fell on the earth from your mother's belly, you kept losing your life.[2]

6. O people, there are instructors for you, so reach out to them. And indeed, there is a destination for you, so reach your destination. Behold! The believer acts between two fears: between a life passed, which he does not know what God will do about it, and a life remaining, which he does not know what God has decided about it. So, the faithful servant should make provisions for himself from himself and for his hereafter from this world and in youth before senility and in life before death. I swear to him in whose hand is Muḥammad's soul, there is no place for regret in the world after this world, and there is no house after this world but heaven or hell.[3]

7. O people, you are in the house of peace and you are on the back of a journey, and your travel is fast. And you have seen the night and the day and the sun and the moon, wearing out everything new and bring closer everything far and bringing everything promised, so prepare the equipment for a long crossing … If seditions cover you like a dark night, take refuge to the Quran, which is indeed an approved interceder and an endorsed mediator. He who puts it before him, it will lead him to heaven, and he who puts it behind

[1] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 526.
[2] Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, 1:18-19.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:70.

him, it will drive him to the fire. It is the guide that guides to the best path … It has an interior and an exterior. The exterior is a ruling and the interior is knowledge; the exterior is gorgeous and the interior is deep. It has stars, and on its stars there are stars,[1] the wonders of which cannot be enumerated and its oddities do not wither. It has in it torches of guidance and markers of wisdom and guide of knowledge for those who know the attribute. One should gaze and let his eye reach the attribute to be saved from destruction and rescued from the claw [of ignorance], since thinking is the life of the insightful man's heart, just as the enlightened walks in the dark with the light.[2]

8. Verily, people in this world are guests and what is in their hands is a loan. Indeed, the guest will leave and the loan will be returned. Behold! The world is a ready offer consumed by both good and vicious people, and the hereafter is the true promise, in which an all-dominant just king will adjudicate. May God have mercy upon him who looked into himself and prepared for his grave and has his chord on his neck before his time comes [i.e., is prepared for death] and his hope is lost when regret is futile.[3]

9. Indeed, God the almighty the glorified revealed to the world: "fatigue him who serves you and serve him who abandons you. Indeed, when the servant is alone with his master in the dark of night and supplicates to him, God will establish the light in his heart. So, when he says, "O Lord! O Lord!" The Almighty, glorified be His glory, calls him: "here I am, my servant! Ask me and I will give you, and trust in me and I will suffice you." He, glorified be His glory, then says to His angels, "O my angels! Look at my servant. He is alone with me in the dark of the night, while deviants are indulged in diversion and the ignorant are asleep. Witness that I have indeed

[1] Majlisī (d. 1110/1699) considers the stars of the Qur'an to be its verses, because the verses of the Qur'an, like the stars, are a source of human guidance. He also proposed three possible explanations for the stars on the verses: first, that they indicate the Sunnah, because the Sunnah is the explanation of the Qur'an; second, they indicate the Imams (a), because they follow the Qur'an; third, they mean miracles, because miracles guide people to the truth of the Qur'anic verses (Majlisī, *Mirʾāt al-ʿuqūl*, 12:479).

[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:598-99.

[3] Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, 1:23-24.

forgiven him." The Prophet then said, "be committed to piety and struggle and worship, and be ascetic in this world, which is ascetic toward you. For the world is deceptive—a house of mortality and perishing. Many are those who were deceived by the world, and it destroyed them, and many are those who trusted in the world, and it betrayed them, and many are those who relied on the world, and it duped and surrendered them. And beware that ahead of you is a horrible path and a distant journey, and you will cross the Bridge (Ṣirāṭ), and the traveler should have a provision. He who does not make a provision and goes on a journey will suffer and be destroyed. The best provision is God-wariness. Then remember that you stand before God, glorified be His glory, the just arbiter, and be prepared to answer when He interrogates you. For He will definitely ask you about what you did to the Two Weighty Things after me: the Book of God and my Household. See to it that you do not say, "as for the book, we have changed and distorted it, and as for the Household, we have left and killed them." In that case, your punishment will only be the fire. So, if any of you wants to be rescued from the horror of that day, he should befriend my friend and follow my executor and successor after me, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Indeed, he is the owner of my pond, keeping his enemies away from it and supplying water to his friends. He who is not given water from that pond will remain thirsty forever and will never be saturated, and he who is given water from that pond will never be miserable and will never be thirsty. Verily, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is the owner of my banner in the hereafter, as he was the owner of my banner in this world, and he is the first to enter heaven, because he walks ahead of my while he has my banner in his hand, under which is Adam as well as other prophets.[1]

10. He who yearns for heaven hastes toward the good, and he who fears the fire abandons the lusts, and he who expects death turns away from pleasures, and he who practices asceticism finds it easy to endure tragedies.[2]

11. Two voracious persons will never be saturated: seeker of the world and seeker of knowledge. He who rests content with what is

[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 279-80.
[2] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 447.

permitted by God in this world remains intact, and he who seeks it in an illegitimate way is destroyed unless he repents or returns. He who seeks knowledge from its authorities and acts upon his knowledge will be saved, and he who intends it for this world will have the world as his share.[1]

12. Love of the world is the head of every wrong and the key to every misdeed, and a cause for failure of every virtue.[2]

13. What I fear the most for my people is desire and long hope. As for the desire, because it hinders the truth, and as for the long hope, because it makes them forget the hereafter.[3]

14. Truly, the goodness of the first [generation] of this nation is by asceticism and certainty, and the destruction of the last [generation] thereof is by miserliness and long hope.[4]

15. What is trifling and sufficient is better than what is abundant and distractive [from remembering God].[5]

16. In his Farewell Hajj [his last Hajj pilgrimage], the Messenger of God said: behold! The Trustworthy Spirit [that is, Gabriel] inspired to me that no one dies unless he has received his sustenance in full. So, be God-wary and seek nicely. A delay in part of the sustenance should not make you seek it through disobedience of God the blessed and exalted. God has distributed sustenance among His creatures in a legitimate way and has not distributed them in illegitimate ways. So, God gives from the legitimate share to the God-wary and patient man, and he who tears apart the veil and hastens off and takes the sustenance in illegitimate ways will have his legitimate share of the sustenance diminished and will be interrogated on the day of resurrection.[6]

17. He who wants to be the richest of all people should rely on what is in God's hand more than he relies on others' hands.[7]

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[1] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 1:46.
[2] Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, 1:21.
[3] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 51.
[4] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 227.
[5] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:376.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:80.
[7] Ibid., 2:139.

18. A man went to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, teach me something!" He said, "You should be disappointed of what is in people's hands since He is the omnipresent rich." He said, "add more, O Messenger of God!" He said, "Avoid avarice since it is the present poverty."[1]

19. There is no one from the first and the last [generations] unless he wishes on the day of resurrection that he would not be given in the world anything but his sustenance.[2]

20. When God is wrathful at a nation and does not send a punishment to it, its prices go high, and its lives will be short, and its merchants will not profit, and its fruits will not be fine, and its rivers will not roar, and they will be deprived of rains, and evils will rule them.[3]

Making a Living and Seeking Legitimate Sustenance

1. Worship has seventy parts, the greatest of which is to seek legitimate (ḥalāl) sustenance.[4]

2. He who spends the night tired of having sought legitimate sustenance will spend the night being forgiven [by God].[5]

3. There are two circumstances in which many people are entangled: health and leisure.[6]

4. He who is parsimonious in his living, God will sustain him, and he who is wasteful, God will deprived him [of sustenance].[7]

5. Cursed is, cursed is he who throws liability to people! Cursed is, cursed is he who forsakes his dependents.[8]

6. When two merchants are honest [in a transaction], they will be blessed, and when they lie and cheat, they will not be blessed.[9]

7. There are four things such that if one has them his business will be good: when he buys he does not pinpoint the flaws; when he sells

[1] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:410.
[2] Ibid., 4:363.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:317.
[4] Ibid., 5:78.
[5] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 289.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 8:152.
[7] Ibid., 4:54.
[8] Ibid., 4:12.
[9] Ibid., 5:174.

he does not brag about it; and he does not conceal [the flaws of his merchandise]; and he does not swear [in the transaction].[1]

8. Indeed, God the blessed and exalted likes it when the servant is easygoing in selling, buying, receiving the good and payment.[2]

9. The Messenger of God forbade meddling in a Muslim brother's transaction.[3]

10. The worst thing to eat up is an orphan's property eaten up unjustly.[4]

Good Temperament and Tolerance

1. Good temperament is half of religion.[5]

2. If tolerance is put on something, it will decorate it, and if it is removed from something, it will degrade it.[6]

3. Nothing is put on a man's scale on the day of resurrection greater than good temperament.[7]

4. Have good temperament, for good temperament is definitely in heaven. And avoid bad temperament, for bad temperament is definitely in the fire.[8]

5. What most often takes my nation to heaven is God-wariness and good temperament.[9]

6. The Prophet said: "Indeed, the best of you are those who have intellects." It was said, "O Messenger of God, who are those who have intellects?" He said: "Those who have good temperament and proper wishes and ties with their kin and are good to their mothers and fathers and are committed to their neighbors and orphans and donate food and spread peace in the world and perform the prayer while people are obliviously asleep.[10]

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[1] Ibid., 5:153.
[2] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 3:196.
[3] Ibid., 4:5.
[4] Ibid., 4:377.
[5] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 30.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:119.
[7] Ibid., 2:99.
[8] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:31.
[9] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:100.
[10] Ibid., 2:240.

7. Part of courtesy during a journey … is to share one's provisions and have good temperament and make non-sinful jokes.[1]

8. There are three things without which no action will be valid: piety that inhibits him from sins against God, and good temperament with which to be tolerant with people, and forbearance with which to expel the ignorance of the ignorant.[2]

9. There are four things such that if one has them while he is indulged in sins from head to toe, God will turn his sins into good deeds: honesty and shame and good temperament and thankfulness.[3]

10. When two persons converse, the most tolerant of them will be more greatly rewarded by God and will be more favored by God the almighty and glorified.[4]

11. The Messenger of God said: my Lord has commanded me to be tolerant to people, just as He commanded me to perform the obligations.[5]

12. Tolerance toward people is half of faith, and kindness to them is half of life.[6]

13. The Messenger of God said: Should I not let you know about one on whom the fire will be forbidden tomorrow [on the day of resurrection]? They said, yes, O Messenger of God. He said: the soft-hearted, intimate, lenient, easygoing.[7]

14. The Messenger of God said in a sermon: Should I not let you know about the best of temperaments in the world and the hereafter? Forgiving him who did injustice to you and having ties with him who cut ties with you and beneficence toward him who mistreated you and giving him who deprived you.[8]

15. Amiability removes grudges.[9]

16. Verily, God the almighty and glorified is merciful and loves every merciful person.[1]

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[1] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:27.
[2] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 6.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:107.
[4] Ibid., 2:669.
[5] Ibid., 2:115.
[6] Ibid., 2:117.
[7] Ṣadūq, *Thawāb al-aʿmāl*, 172.
[8] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:107.
[9] Ibid., 2:103-4.

17. Bad temperament corrupts the action, just as vinegar corrupts honey.[2]

18. A man went to the Messenger of God and said, "O Messenger of God, give me a piece of advice." Part of his advice for the man was his saying: "visit your [religious] brother with an open face.[3]

19. The Messenger of God said: O sons of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib! You do not afford to give your money to all people, so visit them with an open face and amiability.[4]

20. He who suppresses his anger—while he can express it—and stays patient will be given by God the reward of a martyr.[5]

21. I guarantee a house on the heights of heaven and a house in the middle of heaven and a house in the gardens of heaven for him who quits a quarrel even if he was rightful.[6]

22. He who hinders his wrath, God will hinder his punishment, and he who makes his temperament good, God will elevate him to the degree of the fasting vigilant.[7]

23. Have mercy upon a mighty man who is humiliated, and a rich man who is stricken with poverty, and a knowledgeable man lost in the time of ignorant people.[8]

24. Give each other gifts, love each other; gives gifts to each other because it removes grievances.[9]

25. The worst people on the day of resurrection are those honored from the fear of their evil.[10]

26. Verily, God hates bad-mouthing obscene insistent beggar.[11]

27. He who becomes heedless of the affairs of Muslims is not a Muslim.[12]

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[1] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 516.
[2] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:37.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:103.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:15.
[6] Ṣadūq, *al-Tawḥīd*, 461.
[7] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:71.
[8] Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 66.
[9] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:144.
[10] Ibid., 2:327.
[11] Ibid., 2:325.
[12] Ibid., 2:163.

28. He does not believe in me who spends the night fed-up while his neighbor is hungry. There are no people of a town, among whom a hungry person, at whom God looks on the day of resurrection.[1]

29. He who hears a man calling "O Muslims" and does not answer him is not a Muslim.[2]

30. God revealed to David: "Indeed, a servant of mine comes to Me with a good deed on the day of resurrection, and I judge that he go to heaven." David said, "and who is the servant who brings you a good deed on the day of resurrection and you judge that he go to heaven." He said, "a faithful servant who tried to fulfil the need of his faithful brother and likes to fulfill it, whether it is fulfilled or not."[3]

31. He who honors his Muslim brother with a word of grace and relieves him of his distress will remain under God's shadow extended over him with mercy as long as he does so.[4]

32. The best deed is to fairly affirm people's entitlements and empathy with the [religious] brother for the sake of God and remembrance of God under all circumstances.[5]

33. He who wants God to put him under the shadow of His Throne in a day when there is no shadow but his should look after an indigent person or renounce a right he has on him.[6]

34. Every Muslim who serves a group of Muslims, God will give him servants in heaven equal to the number of those Muslims.[7]

35. There are three things, which this nation does not find straining: equity toward the brother in his property, and fair affirmation of people's entitlements, and remembrance of God under all circumstances, and remembrance is not restricted to [recitation of phrases such as] "Exalted is Allāh" and "Praise be to Allāh" and "There is no god but Allāh" and "Allāh is the greatest." Rather, it

[1] Ibid., 2:668.
[2] Ibid., 2:164.
[3] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 515.
[4] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:206.
[5] Ibid., 2:145.
[6] ʿAyyāshī, *al-Tafsīr*, 1:153.
[7] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:207.

includes fear of God when one engages in what God has declared illegitimate.[1]

36. He who lends money to a believer until he affords to pay it back has zakat in his property and is in a prayer by the angels until he pays back.[2]

37. Secret charity abates the wrath of the Lord the blessed and exalted.[3]

38. He who takes care of an orphan until he becomes self-subsistent, God the almighty the glorified will thereby enjoin heaven for him, just as He enjoins the fire for him who eats up the orphan's property.[4]

39. Those among you who note their hard-heartedness should approach an orphan and be kind to him and touch his head, then his heart will be soft in the will of Allah the almighty the glorified. For the orphan has a right.[5]

40. There is no nobility except by humility, and there is no dignity except by God-wariness, and there is no action except by intention.[6]

41. The best-loved among you to me and the closest among you to my seat on the day of resurrection is those among you with the best temperament and the most humble, and the furthest among you from me on the day of resurrection are blabbers.[7]

42. He who walks arrogantly on the earth will be cursed by the earth and all that under and above it.[8]

43. He who believes in God and the Last Day should keep his promise.[9]

44. Indeed, God's saints stayed silent, then their silence was remembrance [of God], and they looked, then their look was [taking] a lesson, and they talked, then their talk was wisdom, and they walked and their walk among people was a blessing. Had not been

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[1] Ṣadūq, *Muṣādaqat al-ikhwān*, 36.
[2] Ṣadūq, *Thawāb al-aʿmāl*, 138.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:8.
[4] Ibid., 7:51.
[5] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 1:188.
[6] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 2:202.
[7] Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 46.
[8] Ṣadūq, *Thawāb al-aʿmāl*, 275.
[9] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:364.

the lives destined for them, their souls would not stay in their bodies from the fear of punishment and passion for the reward.[1]

45. It was said, "O Messenger of God, which companions are the best?" He said, "The one whose meeting reminds you of God and whose speech adds to your knowledge and whose action reminds you of the hereafter.[2]

46. There is no believer who prays for male and female believers except God will return to him the like of what he has prayed for them.[3]

47. He who walks to reconcile two people will be greeted by God's angels until he returns, and will be given the reward of the Qadr Night. And he who walks to cut ties between two people will have a burden on him equal to the reward of the man who reconciled two people. God's curse is written on him until he enters hell, and then the punishment will be doubled on him.[4]

48. When one of you loves his companion or brother, he should let him know.[5]

49. Honor the elderlies, for it is a glorification of God to honor the elderlies.[6]

50. He who decorates himself with what God loves, but in private faces God with what God hates, will meet God while He is wrathful hostile at him.[7]

51. Three things refine the man's love for his Muslim brother: meet him with an open face when visiting him, and make room for him when he sits beside him, and call him with his most favorite names.[8]

52. Neighborliness builds up the land and makes lives longer.[9]

53. He who bothers his neighbor, God will deprive him of heaven's breeze and his abode will be hell and it is an evil destination. And he who breaches the rights of his neighbor is not

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[1] Ibid., 2:237.
[2] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 157.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:507-8.
[4] Ṣadūq, *Thawāb al-aʿmāl*, 288.
[5] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:266.
[6] Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, 311.
[7] Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 92-93.
[8] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:643.
[9] Ibid., 2:677.

from us. Gabriel kept recommending me about neighbors to the extent that I suspected that the neighbor inherits.[1]

54. It is not legitimate for a believer to abandon his believing brother longer than three days.[2]

55. He who has prejudice in his heart equal to a grain of mustard, God will raise him on the day of resurrection along with Arabs of the Ignorance Era.[3]

56. Indeed, most quickly punished evil is aggression.[4]

57. A Muslim should not plot and deceive, for I have heard Gabriel saying that plot and deception are in hell.[5]

58. God the almighty the glorified told Moses the son of Amran: O son of Amran! Do not envy people for what I have given them out of my grace, and do not extend your eyes to that, and do not let your soul pursue it, for the envious is angry at my blessing and hinders the share I have distributed among My servants. He who is like that is not from me and I am not from him.[6]

59. Indeed, among the evilest people to God the almighty the glorified on the day of resurrection is the double-faced.[7]

60. The Messenger of God said: "should I not let you know about the evilest among you?" They said, "yes, O Messenger of God." He said, "those who walk gossiping, dividing friends, defaming the good people.[8]

61. Happy is him who is diverted by fear of God the almighty the glorified from fear of people. Happy is him who is prevented by his own flaws from those of his believing brothers.[9]

62. He who refrains from [engaging in what pertains to] people's reputations, God will forgive him on the day of resurrection. And he

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[1] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:11.
[2] Ibid., 4:380.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:308.
[4] Ṣadūq, *Thawāb al-aʿmāl*, 275.
[5] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 270.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:307.
[7] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:38.
[8] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:369.
[9] Ibid., 8:168.

who refraining from having wrath at people, God the blessed and exalted will refrain from punishing him on the day of resurrection.[1]

63. O company of those who became Muslims with their tongues without becoming Muslims with their hearts, do not look for drawbacks in Muslims, for he who looks for drawbacks in Muslims God will look for his drawback, and when God looks for someone's drawback, He will disgrace him.[2]

64. It is a treachery to disclose your brother's secret, so avoid it.[3]

65. He is not from us who belittles the entrusted property; that is, he who damages it when it is entrusted to him. And he is not from us who betrays a Muslim in his family and property.[4]

66. Trustworthiness attracts wealth and treachery attracts poverty.[5]

67. The believer has seven obligations over the believer, required by God the almighty the glorified: honoring him in his absence, loving him in his heart, helping him in his property, forbidding gossips behind him, visiting him when he is sick, having funeral for his corpse, not saying anything but good about him after his death.[6]

68. [The obligations a Muslim has over his Muslim brother include] … concealing his flaws and condoning his drawbacks and accepting his apology and preventing gossips behind him and continually advising him and keeping friendship with him … and visiting him in sickness and participating his funeral and accepting his invitation and agreeing to receive his gift and reimbursing his beneficence and thanking his blessing and helping him in a good way and protecting his family and fulfilling his needs and interceding for his problems … and finding his lost object and greeting him back and refining his words and compensating his grace and endorsing his oaths and befriending his friends and being hostile to his enemies and helping him when he is an oppressed and when he is oppressed: helping him when he is an oppressor by hindering him from oppression, and helping him when he is oppressed by assisting him

[1] Ibid., 2:305.
[2] Ibid., 2:355.
[3] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 470.
[4] Mufīd, *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, 248.
[5] Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 117.
[6] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:398.

to reclaim his right and not surrendering him and not letting him down, and liking for him the good he loves for himself and disliking for him the evil he dislikes for himself.[1]

Enjoining the Decency and Forbidding the Indecency

1. He who enjoins a decency or forbids an indecency or guides to a good or suggests it is indeed a partner, and he who commands a misdeed or guides to it or suggests it is indeed a partner.[2]

2. The highest-ranking people to God on the day of resurrection are those who most often walk the earth with benevolence for God's creatures.[3]

3. When the servant commits a sin covertly, it does not harm anyone but its agent, and when he commits it overtly without being reprimanded, it will harm the public.[4]

Generosity and Free-Handedness

1. Generosity is a tree whose root is in heaven while it extends its shadow over the world. He who clings to a branch thereof will be led to heaven.[5]

2. A person went to the Prophet and said, "O Messenger of God, which people are greater in faith?" He said, "the most free-handed among them."[6]

3. Stinginess and faith never go together in a servant's heart.[7]

4. The Messenger of God said: "There are three salvific and destructive things." They said, "O Messenger of God, what are the salvific things?" He said, "fear of God in one's privacy as if you see Him, for if you do not see Him, He sees you; justice in contentment and wrath; parsimony in richness and poverty." They said, "O Messenger of God, what are the destructive things?" He said, "a desire followed and stinginess complied with and self-arrogance."[8]

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[1] Karājakī, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, 1:306.
[2] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:138.
[3] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:208.
[4] Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 55.
[5] Ṣadūq, *Ma'ānī al-akhbār*, 256.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 4:40.
[7] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 75.
[8] Kūfī al-Ahwāzī, *al-Zuhd*, 68.

5. The Messenger of God told [Imam ʿAlī]: O ʿAlī, never consult a coward, for he narrows for you the way out, and never consult a stingy man, for he makes you fall short of your goal, and never consult a greedy man, for he decorates the evil for you. And beware that cowardice and stinginess and greed are instincts, common to which is suspicion.[1]

Family and Children

1. Do not cut ties with kin even if they cut ties with you.[2]

2. Indeed, heaven's scent can be smelled from a path of five-hundred years, but it cannot be smelled by one who disobeyed his parents.[3]

3. The best among you is the best of you for his family, and I am the best among you for my family.[4]

4. The best people in faith are the best among them in temperament and the kindest to their family, and I am the kindest among you to my family.[5]

5. A man went to the Prophet and said, "O Messenger of God, what is my obligation toward this son of me?" He said, "give him a good name and teach him good manners and put him in a good position.[6]

6. Dignify your children and teach them good manners so as to be forgiven.[7]

7. He who kisses his child, God the almighty the glorified writes for him a good deed, and he who makes his child happy, God makes him happy on the day of resurrection, and when one teaches the Quran to his child, both parents will be called [on the day of resurrection] and are clothed with two cloaks, the lights of which illuminate the faces of heaven's dwellers.[8]

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[1] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 4:409.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:347.
[3] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 3:444.
[4] Ibid., 3:555.
[5] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:38.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:48.
[7] Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhlāq*, 222.
[8] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:49.

8. Love children and have mercy on them, and when you make them a promise, keep it, for they imagine that you sustain them.[1]

9. It is a blessing for the woman to have a girl as her firstborn.[2]

10. He who enters the market and buys a gift, and then takes it to his family is like a carrier of charity to those in need, and he should begin with females before the males, for one who makes a female happy is like one who emancipates a slave from the progeny of Ishmael. And he who delights a son is like one who cries from the fear of God, and he who crises from the fear of God, God admits him into gardens of bliss.[3]

Worship

1. The most rewarded worship is the most secret one.[4]

2. Indeed, this religion is firm. So, go into it gently, and do not make God's servants hate the worship of God, and do not be like a rider who overtires his mount—neither has he finished his journey, nor is he left with a back to ride.[5]

3. There are seven people whom God the almighty the exalted puts under His shadow [of mercy] on a day where there is shadow but His: a just leader, a youth who has grown in the worship of God the almighty the glorified, a man whose heart longs for mosque since when he leaves until he returns to it, and two men who obey God the almighty the glorified and come together in that and then separate, a man who remembers God in his privacy and weeps for the fear of God the almighty the glorified, a man seduced by a noble beautiful woman but he says "I fear God the almighty the glorified," and a man who gives charity in secret such that his left hand does not know the charity given by his right hand.[6]

4. Behold! He whose eyes shed tears for the fear of God has a castle in heaven for every drop of his tears, a castle adorned with pearls and

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[1] Ibid.
[2] Muḥaddith al-Nūrī, *Mustadak al-Wasā'il*, 14: 304.
[3] Ṣadūq, *Thawāb al-aʿmāl*, 201.
[4] Ḥimyarī, *Qurb al-isnād*, 135.
[5] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:86.
[6] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 3:343.

jewelry. There is in it what no eye has seen and no ear has heard and has not occurred to any person's mind.[1]

5. A sign of misery is dryness of the eye and hardness of the heart and keen avarice in pursuit of the world and persistence in sins.[2]

6. He who is given a supplicating tongue is given the good of this world and the hereafter.[3]

7. God said: the most loveable thing with which My servant makes himself loveable to me is by what I have made obligatory upon him, and he makes himself loveable to me with nāfila [non-compulsory prayer] until I love him, and when I love him, I become the ear with which he hears and the eye with which he sees and the tongue with which he speaks and the hand with which he strikes and the foot with which he walks. When he calls Me, I answer him, and when he asks Me, I give him, and I never doubted anything that I do as I doubt about the death of a believer who hates death and I hate his sadness.[4]

8. He who acts upon what God has made obligatory is one of the most worshiping people.[5]

9. He who repents for his sin is like him who committed no sins.[6]

10. The Messenger of God said: "he who repents one year before his death, God will accept his repentance." He then said: "One year is too long. He who repents one month before his death, God will accept his repentance." He then said, "One month is too long. He who repents one Friday before his death, God will accept his repentance." He then said, "One Friday is too long. He who repents one day before his death, God will accept his repentance." He then said, "One day is too long. He who repents before he meets [death], God will accept his repentance."[7]

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[1] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 432.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:290.
[3] Ibid., 2:499.
[4] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 1:291.
[5] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:84.
[6] Ṣadūq, *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā*, 2:74.
[7] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 2:440.

Response to Catastrophes and Tragedies

1. God the almighty the glorified tells the angel appointed for the believer when he becomes ill: Write for him what you would write for him in his health, for I am the one who entangled him in My ropes.[1]

2. The Messenger of God was asked about the best servants [of God]. He said, "Those who are delighted when they do a good deed, and ask for God's forgiveness when they commit a misdeed, and thank when they are given, and are patient when they are afflicted, and forgive when they are wrathful.[2]

3. He who is bereaved of three children from his own loins and entrusts them with God the almighty the glorified will definitely go to heaven.[3]

4. He who condoles with a tragedy-stricken man has a reward like his.[4]

5. There are three characters with which the good of this world and the hereafter is attained: thankfulness for the blessings and patience for distress and prayer during catastrophe.[5]

6. God the almighty the glorified said: when I intend to gather the good of this world and the hereafter for a Muslim, I put for him a humble heart and supplicating tongue and a body that endures catastrophes and a believing wife to delight him when he looks at her and to protect herself and his property when he is absent.[6]

Animal Rights

1. A riding animal has rights to be observed by its owner: once he dismounts, he should give fodder to it; when he passes beside water, he should supply it with water; and he should not hit its face, for it celebrates its Lord's praise; he should not stand on its back except in

[1] Ibid., 3:113.
[2] Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī*, 10.
[3] Ṣadūq, *al-Khiṣāl*, 1:180.
[4] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 3:205.
[5] Daylamī, *Irshād al-qulūb*, 1:149.
[6] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 5:327.

the path of God; he should not burden it with what it has no strength to bear; and he should not task it with walking beyond its strength.[1]

2. Do not sit sidewise on the mounts and do not take their backs as seats.[2]

3. Never strike the faces of mounts and everything that has a soul, for it celebrates God's praise.[3]

[1] Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, 2:286.
[2] Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*, 6:539.
[3] Barqī, *al-Maḥāsin*, 2:633.

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