

The Life of Muḥammad

Al-Wāqidī's Kitāb al-Maghāzī

Edited by
Rizwi Faizer

Translated by Rizwi Faizer, Amal Ismail
and Abdulkader Tayob



Routledge Studies in Classical Islam

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Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī was a Muslim scholar, born in Medina in the Second Century hijra. Of his several writings the most significant is the Kitāb al-Maghāzī, one of the earliest standard histories of the life of the Prophet.

Rizwi Faizer brings this key text, translated into English for the first time, to a new, English-speaking audience. It includes an "Introduction," authored jointly by Rizwi Faizer and Andrew Rippin, and a carefully prepared index. The book deals with the events of the Prophet's life from the time of his emigration from Mecca to his death, and is generally considered to be biographical. Bringing together events in the Prophet's life with appropriate passages of Qurʾān in a considered sequence, the author presents an interpretation of Islam that existed in his times. It includes citations from the Qurʾān, as well as poetry that appears to have been inspired by activities during his life.

This English translation of a seminal text on the life of Muḥammad is an invaluable addition to the existing literature, and will be of great significance to students and scholars in the field of Islamic studies, Islamic history, Medieval history and Arabic literature.

Rizwi Faizer is an independent scholar, residing in Cornwall, Ontario, Canada. Having obtained her B.A. at the University of Peradeniya, Sri Lanka, she went on to work at the Asia Council for Law and Development in Colombo. In 1984 she obtained her M.A. at the University of New Brunswick, Fredricton, and then obtained her Ph.D. at the McGill University in 1995.

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Al-Wāqidi's Kitāb al-Maghāzī

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With an introduction by Rizwi Faizer and Andrew Rippin

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Preface

This translation of al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, based on manuscripts edited by Marsden Jones,¹ began while I was working on my Ph.D. dissertation, "Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī Revisited: A case Study of Muhammad and the Jews in Biographical Literature" (McGill University 1995). Needless to say, I focused on those chapters that involved the Jews, such as the chapters on the Banū Qaynuqā', Khandaq, the Murder of Ibn al-Ashraf, Khaybar and so forth. As a Sri Lankan who entered McGill with a limited knowledge of Arabic, I found the Medieval Arabic text extremely challenging, and the help of generous fellow students from Jordan and Sudan, who had enjoyed an Arabic education and were, for their own part, intrigued by the relatively unknown work of al-Wāqidī, was greatly appreciated.

The translation of al-Wāqidī's entire *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* that is presented here, has been to a large extent a matter of sheer perseverance, but also the result of the good fortune of having met the right people at the right time. There was firstly Abdul Kader Tayob, who I met at a conference in Denver, Colorado, and who very willingly agreed to take the journey with me as I struggled through the text, dictionary² in hand. Tayob lives in South Africa, and since I myself had just become a resident of Cornwall, Ontario, Canada, we were fortunate to have the connectivity provided by the internet, which was, by this time, a well-understood feat of technology. E-mail played a huge part in enabling our communication and this translation; that truly was quite the opportunity. Of course, it was also a very slow process. When Tayob finally became too busy with his own lecturing and writing to stay with the translation, however, Amal Ismail appeared practically at my door-step. Her family had decided to immigrate to Canada from Egypt and they had purchased a home in my very neighbourhood. Besides being an engineer who has qualified in Egypt, Amal is deeply involved in the study of Islam as a personal quest, and, when I told her of my interest in al-Wāqidī, she happily became an enthusiastic participant in the translation, and helped me complete the work despite all the other neighbourhood distractions.

For an introduction to this work I have turned to Andrew Rippin, who I first came to know as an author of very fine textbooks on Islam while lecturing at Carleton University, Ottawa. Since then I have met him, read many more of his writings and come to respect his unorthodox views on the rise of Islam.

Essentially the overall translation has been my responsibility, and I am accountable for the mistakes that occur. I have used other translated material to guide me especially in two particular areas. Within the work, al-Wāqidī does include several passages from the Qur'ān and in translating these passages I have been guided by the published translations of Yusuf Ali³ and A. J. Arberry.⁴ Al-Wāqidī also cites many verses of

poetry which are familiar because they also appear in ‘Abdul Malik Ibn Hishām’s (d. 218 AH) edition of the work of Ibn Ishāq known as *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*.⁵ I have used the translation of Alfred Guillaume⁶ wherever possible for these passages as I felt this was necessary, but also unavoidable if one was to indicate that this poetry was either taken from Ibn Ishāq without acknowledgment, or a well known feature of the time.

In order to maintain the flow of translation, annotation has been avoided; instead, glosses have tended to be incorporated into the text. Consistency of translation of technical terms has been considered highly important. It is also my hope that the index to the book will serve to provide some level of overall coherence and cross-referencing that may be useful. Ultimately, the goal has simply been to make this text accessible to a greater range of readers than it currently is so as to popularize the study of it and incorporate it more fully into the resources available for the study of the life of Muḥammad. Those needing access to more detailed analysis of the text would best be served by accessing the Arabic original.

Last but by no means least, I would like to thank my husband and three sons but particularly Iqbal, for their patience, kindness and tolerance. I dedicate this work to my mother, Noor Rahmaniya Kaleel, nee Marikar Bawa whose very beautiful recitation of the Qurʾān and love for the Prophet, peace be upon him, were what brought me to this venture.

Rizwi Faizer, January 2010

Introduction

Rizwi Faizer and Andrew Rippin

Abū ʿAbdullāh Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī was born in Medina around the year 130/747, towards the end of the Umayyad caliphate during the reign of Marwān b. Muḥammad, and died at the age of 78 around 207/823: he was buried in the cemetery of Khaizurān in Baghdad⁷. Occupied in the sale of wheat,⁸ al-Wāqidī nevertheless spent much of his time collecting information and traditions about the Prophet Muḥammad. He made a point of meeting with those who had been acquainted with either a companion of the Prophet or one of their descendants, and visiting the places to which the Prophet had been. When the ʿAbbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd visited Medina with his friend Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, after performing the hajj pilgrimage in 170 AH, it was al-Wāqidī who was their tour guide through Medina, told them about the significant places associated with the Prophet, and indicated to them the graves of the many martyrs who had died for his cause.⁹

Al-Wāqidī's meeting with the caliph led to his moving with his family to Baghdad in the year 180/796. According to some sources, Hārūn al-Rashīd appointed al-Wāqidī judge over the eastern side of Baghdad while other accounts suggest that this position was granted later by al-Ma'mūn, Hārūn al-Rashīd's son.¹⁰ That such an appointment was warranted was indicated by his knowledge of the traditions concerning early Islam and the Prophet, and of the genealogy of the Prophet's companions. Additionally it was deserved for his ability to cite recognized exegetes such as Sufyān al-Thawrī (716–78) and Mujāhid (647–722), and explain numerous passages from the Qurʾān as demonstrated in his *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*.

Al-Wāqidī is also said to have amassed a considerable library and with the help his student and amanuensis, Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), authored several books¹¹ concerning the Prophet, his companions and the early Islamic period. Indeed, al-Wāqidī is one of the main sources for later historians covering this period, including Ibn Saʿd, in his “Book of Classes” (*Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), who in his now famous “History of Prophets and Kings” (*Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa l-mulūk*) presents the transmissions of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī, one after the other, probably indicating his recognition of the fact that they offered two different strains of information on the life of the Prophet.

Tradition has it that it was the Caliph al-Manṣūr (d. 158/775) who first understood the need for Muslims to have a biographical account of their Prophet. While the Biblical Testaments of both Jews and Christians explain the circumstances in which their prophets speak and act, the Qurʾān barely mentions Muḥammad and provides no such context for its message. It was thus, at the Caliph's behest, that Ibn Ishāq (d. 150/767) put together a two-part compilation – Mabʿath and Maghāzī – that told of

Muḥammad's birth, prophethood, and struggles.¹² Essentially, it was a compilation of traditions that Muslims had been passing down orally for generations. Still, it differed from the usual collections of the *Muhaddithūn*, who categorized their traditions on the basis of their pertinence to ritual and legal information. Ibn Ishāq laid out, instead, a chronological sequence to provide a narrative of the Arab prophet's life in his 7th century milieu. Included as well were Qur'ānic citations that complemented and helped Muslim interpretation of their scripture, and poetry that reflected the tribal environment.

Al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* maintains the broad narrative outline provided by Ibn Ishāq. It describes for us a leader who is very much a part of his community; he shares in the people's hunger and pain, insists on their charity for the needy, participates in their toil and labor, and incessantly reminds them of a just, but forgiving Lord, who is on his (Muḥammad's) side, helping him win battles and perform miracles as only a prophet can. Like Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī is driven by a focus on the narrative itself. After listing a series of transmitters, he often mixes each one's disparate accounts into a combined narrative to convey a more interesting 'tale' of what the Prophet did on a certain occasion. Contained, as well, are communications from persons who are either unrecognized or lacking in credibility, after which, al-Wāqidī sometimes conveys his scepticism.

The knitting together of these materials required considerable skill, and compilers competed with each other to produce what they hoped would be the most artful and plausible representation of the Muslim Prophet. The *Maghāzī* compilation by al-Wāqidī was probably an attempt to challenge that of his older contemporary, Ibn Ishāq. With this in mind he tries to differentiate his work, most obviously, by moving the focus of his compilation directly to those traditions regarding the Prophet's life in Yathrib (known as the 'City of the Prophet,' *Medinat al-Nabī*, and called "Medina," for short), the chosen home, to which he immigrated in 622 C.E. and where he died and was buried. It was from here that he captured the sanctuary of the Ka'ba from the polytheistic Meccans to finally establish the Arab version of monotheism that was Islam. As well, al-Wāqidī entitles only those expeditions in which the Prophet actively participated as *ghazwa* (those in which the Prophet did not participate are differentiated as *sariyya*). He then extends the term to incorporate all the key negotiations of Muḥammad, including the Peace of Ḥudaybiyya and several defensive battles, and thus brings together what may be viewed as the Prophet's achievements under the title *Maghāzī*.

To fully comprehend al-Wāqidī's originality, however, one must understand the 9th century political environment in which he writes. Despite the overturn of the Umayyad caliphate by a largely Shi'ite leadership, the 'Abbāsids had cleverly manipulated a restoration of Sunni authority. The caliphates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, momentarily challenged by the Shi'ites, were acknowledged as legitimate once more. In describing the life of Muḥammad in Medina, al-Wāqidī thus makes it a point of presenting both Abū Bakr and 'Umar as noteworthy companions of the Prophet to whom he turns frequently for advice. Perhaps more interesting is his rendering of al-'Abbās (the eponym of the 'Abbāsids) as a caring uncle of the Prophet even though he does not convert in the first years of Muḥammad's prophethood. Thus, though al-'Abbās continues to live in Mecca after the Prophet's immigration to Medina, he is not seen to participate in the battle against him at Badr. Moreover, just previous to the battle of Uḥud, he sends secret messages to the Prophet warning him of the impending attack by

the Meccans. Interestingly, the primary theme that runs through al-Wāqidī's *Maghāzī* is that Muḥammad's battles were always defensive. Even his attack on Khaybar is justified in this manner.

However successful al-Wāqidī may have been, it is generally agreed that the compilation by Ibn Ishāq was the more popular in its time.¹³ Today it is available to us in various editions and in English translation. Yet, this so-called Ibn Ishāq compilation is, in fact, Ibn Hishām's (d. 218/833) edition of it, under the title *Sirat rasūl Allah*, which Ibn Hishām admits to having modified – abridging the text in some places and adding information of his own in others. Consequently, it is difficult to determine the exact nature of Ibn Ishāq's contribution. Since Ibn Hishām was a younger contemporary of al-Wāqidī, it means that al-Wāqidī's relatively unknown *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is, in fact, the earliest 'composition' on the Prophet's life that has come down to us in its entirety. Al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is his only extant work. Of all the other books recorded in classical biographical and bibliographical works that he is said to have authored, a few others had been thought to exist. However, these are now understood to be false ascriptions; this is notably the case in a series of works describing the Arab conquests of various regions (the *futūḥ* literature). The attribution of these works to al-Wāqidī should be taken simply as indicative of his renown as a historian of the early period.¹⁴ Even the existence of *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* may be thought to be one of luck and some happy circumstances of history. What is here presented as the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* by al-Wāqidī has in fact come down to us through the transmissions of a series of scholars, as indicated by the introductory chain of authority (*isnād*), who are in order of priority: Muḥammad b. Shujā' al-Thaljī (d. 266/879), who specialized in law and the recitation of Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, and was appointed judge by the caliph al-Mutawakkil (d. 247/861); Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Abī Ḥayya (d. 319/931) who was the librarian of al-Jāḥiz (d. 255/869); Abū 'Umar Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. Zakariyā b. Ḥayawayhi (d. 382/992), who specialized in *ḥadīth and maghāzī* and was a transmitter of both al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd; and Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Jawhari (d. 454 A.H.) who was one of the *'ulama* of the Iraqi school and later judge of Medina.¹⁵

Today, the work exists in three main manuscripts: British Library Or. 1617, the sole complete copy discovered so far (dated 564 *hijrī* [1169 CE]), one that is error-ridden and a significant challenge to use; British Library Add. 20737, a good manuscript but one that contains only the first half of the text; and Vienna 881, containing about one-third of the overall text in a somewhat fragmentary state. These three manuscripts served as the basis for the edition by Marsden Jones¹⁶ upon which this translation is based (and for which the page numbers are indicated within the translated text). Citations of al-Wāqidī's work also appear in a variety of later sources that were used by Jones to establish his critical edition, but none of those sources come close to providing a full version. Jones's edition of al-Wāqidī's compilation was not the first one accomplished: that was published by Alfred Kramer as *The History of Mohammed's Campaigns by Aboo 'Abdollah Mohammad bin 'Omar al-Wakidy* in Calcutta in 1856. Kramer's edition was based on the Vienna manuscript and thus was far from complete.¹⁷ Julius Wellhausen's German translation, *Muhammed in Medina. Das ist Wakidi's Kitāb alMaghazi in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1882), is based upon the British Museum Or. 1617 manuscript but is an abbreviated translation, one that suffers because of the challenges of the manuscript source itself. Kramer and Wellhausen's works served as the basis for some of the major academic work done on the text in the 19th and early 20th centuries, notably that of Joseph Horowitz who published his

Berlin dissertation in 1898 with the Latin title *De Wāqidii libro qui Kitāb al Mağāzī inscribitur*.

Scholarly interest in al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Mağhāzī* has tended to focus on some very specific issues. There have been no recent exhaustive studies that have been devoted to considering the work's overall contribution and value to history. Certainly the book has been tapped for its particular views on certain subjects of prominence during the Medinan period of Muḥammad's life, especially the relationship with the Jewish communities.¹⁸ However, two major historical considerations have been of particular interest and they have tended to dominate academic discussions. One is the emergence of the entire genre of literature concerning the life of Muḥammad and the various names attached to that genre. The focus has been on *mağhāzī*, as in the title of al-Wāqidī's work, and *sīra*, the title that has become attached to the work of Ibn Ishāq in the recension of Ibn Hishām. While the term *sīra* has become the generic term for the narrative biography of Muḥammad, the term *mağhāzī* appears to have been used earlier, specifically being attached to the narrative that tells of Muḥammad's life after his immigration to Medina.¹⁹ Why this word became applied to this genre is the crux of the problem. *Mağhāzī*, the plural of *ghazwa*, means "raids," yet there is a lot more to these accounts of Muḥammad's life than simply raids. That the term had two senses (and certainly it came to have multiple meanings over time, as some consideration of the use of the term in works of *ḥadīth* has pointed out²⁰) is one way of resolving the issue. However, another resolution that has been proposed suggests that the word had an overarching meaning of "achieving goals," a sense that is broad enough to cover all its uses.

The other main scholarly issue which has been discussed concerns the relationship of al-Wāqidī's work to its predecessors, especially that written by Ibn Ishāq, and the accusation of plagiarism made against al-Wāqidī by modern European scholars. While it may be pointed out that it is anachronistic to speak of "plagiarism" as such, that is, nevertheless, the way the issue has tended to be framed.²¹ Fundamentally, what is being questioned concerns the determination of al-Wāqidī's sources, what his original contribution was in the narrative he provided²² (or what material he had access to that others did not), and what it means for him to apparently not have disclosed the commonality of his material with that found in Ibn Ishāq.

The concern about al-Wāqidī's sources is apparent to the student of this literature who sees that the poetry found in al-Wāqidī was previously cited by Ibn Ishāq, and that many of the traditions found in al-Wāqidī are also provided by Ibn Ishāq. Yet al-Wāqidī never cites Ibn Ishāq as an authority. Al-Wāqidī, it seems, either came by his information through other transmitters of the same material, or he was dishonest and obscured his source, Ibn Ishāq. On the other hand, al-Wāqidī does commend Ibn Ishāq's compilation and, indeed, his own narrative broadly follows the sequence provided by Ibn Ishāq. It is possible that the answer to this dilemma lies in the intense rivalry that existed between competing scholars. Despite the popularity of Ibn Ishāq's recitals, there were those who challenged his credibility, and, in fact, preferred the transmission of his rival, Mūsā b. 'Uqba of whose *Mağhāzī* we have discovered but a few pages. Importantly, al-Wāqidī does transmit several traditions from Mūsā b. 'Uqba, who significantly, is never cited by Ibn Ishāq.²³

This question has a deeper and more significant historiographical dimension than this stark way of putting things suggests. Al-Wāqidī has a style that pays particular attention to detail and it has been observed most trenchantly by Michael Lecker²⁴ that

Kitāb al-Maghāzī might be a good example of the general theory of growth in historical traditions (following the theories of Joseph Schacht in the development of *ḥadīth* reports) and the tendency of information to “improve” through time. However, Lecker’s conclusion is that this is not actually so. He suggests that, while al-Wāqidī and Ibn Ishāq had a common source, they did not, for their own reasons, include some of the information that might have been available and thus the details of their narrations do not overlap fully. Al-Wāqidī’s material, according to Lecker, does not “improve” in its historical accuracy over time; he merely used earlier sources that Ibn Ishāq either did not have access to or did not choose to use.

These two questions—that of defining the genre and of determining the sources—also come together in scholarly discussions. Much attention has been directed to understanding the historical nature of this material. Can one actually understand al-Wāqidī’s compilation, the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, as an account of the Prophet’s life in Medina? Is al-Wāqidī’s description of the Battle of Badr a historical account? Or, has the story emerged from an attempt to understand a particular detail from the Qur’ān, as suggested by Crone.²⁵

However one chooses to answer the above question, modern scholars such as Lecker contend that, as far as al-Wāqidī is concerned, the traditions that he provides are always cited from an earlier transmission; al-Wāqidī himself is not the author of this information. If information that cannot be reconciled with earlier transmissions should appear in his compilation, this is probably due to some copy-error on al-Wāqidī’s part. It is in such a manner that Lecker dismisses al-Wāqidī’s description of the Medinan Jews as allies, rather than clients, of the polytheistic Arabs. Faizer challenges this interpretation to explain that, in fact, al-Wāqidī is very cleverly manipulating the material to portray exactly what he intends. Thus, al-Wāqidī repeatedly portrays the Jews as having very close, ‘foster’ relations with the Arabs as the same ‘mother’ customarily nursed infants of both communities. Thus, Faizer argues, according to al-Wāqidī, the Jews were clearly allies of the Arabs.²⁶

Indeed, al-Wāqidī’s desire to shape this material is clearly indicated by the way he lays out, in his introduction, an unbelievably detailed chronology of the events that marked the life of the Prophet during his stay in Medina. These events span the very first expedition that took place in the seventh month after the *hijra* led by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, an uncle of the Prophet, to Muḥammad’s death ten years later.²⁷ Nor can one discount al-Wāqidī using Ibn Ishāq’s transmission as a tool of reference. As ridiculous as it may seem, the simple act of borrowing what the Muslim public had so favorably received enabled an easier retention of the narrative, which was coming to be recognized as what could have been the life of Muḥammad. To enable his memory, Ibn Ishāq had used all kinds of mnemonics to facilitate the retelling of what he had compiled. The mnemonic of “three,” for instance, reminds performers that there were three crucial battles against the Meccans, each followed by hostility towards three distinguished groups of Medinan Jews. Other points of reference are the *hijra*, the implementation of the *hijāb*, the various expeditions and battles; and the pilgrimages to Mecca. Al-Wāqidī wisely retains these patterns, perhaps not obviously, enabling not only the retelling of his own compilation but also, to a considerable degree, validating and therefore rendering more plausible a tale that had earlier not been so familiar.

Importantly, al-Wāqidī was clearly endowed with a considerable scepticism towards the sources and keenly aware of the subjective nature of these traditions. Despite the chain of authority which links the information to either a companion of the Prophet

(who would have been a witness to the incident), or to a close relative of that companion, the compiler did not necessarily view these traditions as “facts,” but understood them as reports tainted either by the prejudices of the transmitter, whether political or religious, or the ambiguity of his memory. With al-Wāqidī, this authorial scepticism towards the sources is seen, for one, in the way he provides different transmissions of a single incident, one after the other, and then concludes his presentation by informing his audience of which one of the traditions he prefers. It is also seen in the way he repeats certain events in the midst of different circumstances. The attack on some Jews by the Prophet’s aunt Ṣāfiya from the fortress of Farī is first narrated in the midst of the Raid of Uḥud, for instance, and then repeated in the context of al-Khandaq. Al-Wāqidī seems to be indicating that one really could not say when exactly the incident happened, though Ibn Ishāq had indicated the tale in the context of al-Khandaq.²⁸

Finally, these compilers were aware, that to make their audiences believe that Muḥammad was indeed chosen by God as His messenger it was important to portray him as an extraordinary man, whose close links to God would not only bring angels to his side when he fights the more numerous forces of the enemy; but also enable him to repeatedly heal the wounded, feed the hungry and predict what will come to be. And yet al-Wāqidī never allows us to forget that essentially Muḥammad was but a man: irritable, fearful, sometimes even doubting that God was watching over him, and – as a typical Arab of his times – yearning for a son to preserve his legacy.

Such an understanding of al-Wāqidī’s technique brings us to appreciate al-Wāqidī not as a plagiarist who has concealed the pre-existing source material from which he has derived his compilation. Rather, we see a far more artful interaction with the sources being used. Each narrative becomes a unique selection and composition where the focus is not so much on the details of history as it is on bringing information forward that suits the stylistic and ideological goals of the author.

In the end, these academic discussions bring us back to the contents of the work. For many scholars the notion of establishing the historical details of the life of Muḥammad on the basis of any of these early narrative sources is virtually impossible.²⁴ When one combines the variations in dating of events, the divergences among the accounts and the difficulties in the reliability of the manuscript sources, the problems of establishing history must be recognized to be immense. It then becomes clear that answering other types of questions, ones not related to re-establishing the history of Muḥammad, is more likely to be profitable when dealing with a source such as al-Wāqidī. Such questions must revolve around establishing the goal of the writing of the accounts to begin with. Here we can see that *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is a work designed to show the role of Muḥammad as the chosen messenger of God whose work led to the fulfillment of the will of God in establishing His community of Islam. It portrays the Prophet within the ideals of the time, establishing his image as a prophet and his status as a statesman. It provides a basis for establishing the general outlines of Muslim behavior modeled on the example of Muḥammad.²⁹ It also works within typical models of story-telling devoted to continuing and enhancing cultural notions of heroes and legends. Of course, some of this material is “embarrassing” by modern standards, speaking of the cruel realities of a daily life to which we no longer respond positively. Fighting, slavery and the harsh treatment of women³⁰ are all enmeshed in the narrative. Such are the challenges to our modern sensibilities when we study historical works. The core message of Islam is clearly conveyed, however: the unity of God and the devotion to His Prophet

are the resounding themes, even if they are, for the most part, implicit simply in the act of writing the narrative. What was understood—or, better, argued for—in the composition of a work such as *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* is the picture of Islam as being fully existent during the time and life of its prophet. Into that framework then flows the Qurʾān, creatively given a historical context through which the scripture can (and must) be interpreted, grounding the word of God in the day-to-day encounters of Muḥammad with his compatriots. That is the message that we should take from al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*.

Notes To The Preface and Introduction

- 1 Al-Wāqidī, *The Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, edited by Marsden Jones, London: OUP, 1966.
- 2 E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*. 2 Volumes. Islamic Texts Society: Cambridge, 1984.
- 3 A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Quran: Text, Translation and Commentary*, Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1975.
- 4 A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967.
- 5 Muhammad b. Ishāk, *Das Leben Muhammad's*, abridged by Abd al-Malik Ibn Hischam. Edited by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 3 vols. Göttingen, Dietrichsche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1859.
- 6 Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sīrat Rasūl Allah*, Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1955.
- 7 Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, edited by Eduard Sachau, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1940, vol. 5, pp. 314–21.
- 8 Marsden Jones citing Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in his “*Muqaddima al-tahqīq*,” p. 7, in al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, 1966.
- 9 Marsden Jones, “*Muqaddima al-tahqīq*,” p. 6.
- 10 See Josef Horowitz, *The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and their Authors*, ed. Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2002), 107.
- 11 See the list and discussion in Horowitz, and Jones, “*Muqaddima*,” pp. 10–11.
- 12 R. Sellheim, ‘Prophet Chalif und Geshichte,’ *Oriens* 18–19 (1967): 3.
- 13 See Johann Fück, “Muhammad b. Ishāq: Literarhistorische Untersuchungen,” (Ph.D. dissertation, Frankfurt am Main, 1925), p. 44.
- 14 See Rudi Paret, “Die Legendäre Futūḥ-Literature,” in *La poesia epica e la sua formazione* (Rome, 1970), 735–49, English translation, “The Legendary *Futūḥ* Literature,” in *The Expansion of the Early Islamic State*, ed. Fred M. Donner (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2008), 163–75.
- 15 Marsden Jones, “Preface” to the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, London: Oxford University Press, 1966, p. v.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 See A. Sprenger “Notes on Alfred von Kremer’s edition of Wakidy’s Campaigns,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 25/1 (1856), 53–74 this article is primarily an analysis of the contents but with some interesting comments on the transmission of the manuscript source itself. (Our thanks to H. Berg for providing access to this article). For the scholarly background to this edition, see Conrad’s “Editor’s Introduction,” to Horowitz, *The Earliest Biographies*, p. xvi.
- 18 Rizwi S. Faizer, “Muhammad and the Medinan Jews: A Comparison of the Texts of Ibn Ishaq’s *Kitāb Sīrat Rasūl Allāh* with Al-Wāqidī’s *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (1996), 463–89; Michael Lecker, “Wāqidī’s Account on the Status of the Jews of Medina: a Study of a Combined Report,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 54(1995), 15–32; reprinted in *The Life of Muḥammad*, ed. Uri Rubin (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998), 23–40—Lecker’s interest here is also focused on determining whether sources prior to Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī can be uncovered; on that point also see Ella Landau-Tasseron, “Processes of Redaction: the Case of the Tamīmite Delegation to the Prophet Muḥammad,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49(1986),

- 253–70, and Gregor Schoeler, *The Biography of Muhammad: Nature and Authenticity*, trans. U. Vagelpohl, ed. J. E. Montgomery (London: Routledge, 2010).
- 19 See Martin Hinds, “‘Maghāzī’ and ‘Sīra’ in Early Islamic Scholarship,” in *La vie du Prophète Mahomet: Colloque de Strasbourg, Octobre 1980* (Paris: PUF, 1983), 57–66, reprinted in *The Life of Muhammad*, ed. Uri Rubin (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998), 1–10.
 - 20 See Muhammad Qasim Zaman, “Maghāzī and the Muḥaddithūn: Reconsidering the Treatment of ‘Historical’ Materials in the Early Collection of Hadith,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (1996), 1–18.
 - 21 For a summary see Rizwi S. Faizer, “The Issue of Authenticity Regarding the Traditions of al-Wāqidī as Established in his Kitāb al-Maghāzī,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 58(1999), 97–106; also see J. M. B. Jones, “Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī: the Dream of ʿĀtika and the Raid to Nakhla in Relation to the Charge of Plagiarism,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 22 (1959), 41–51, reprinted in *The Life of Muhammad*, ed. Uri Rubin (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998), 11–21.
 - 22 This is particularly the focus of Donald P. Little, “Narrative Themes and Devices in Al-Wāqidī’s *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*,” in *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought: Essays in Honour of Hermann Landolt*, ed. Todd Lawson (London: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 34–45.
 - 23 See Guillaume, “Introduction” in *The Life of Muhammad*, p. xvi.
 - 24 See, for example, Michael Lecker, “The Death of the Prophet Muḥammad’s Father: Did Wāqidī Invent some of the Evidence?” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 145(1995), 9–27.
 - 25 Patricia Crone, *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987).
 - 26 See Faizer, “The Issue of Authenticity.”
 - 27 On the issue of the chronological framework, see J. M. B. Jones, “The Chronology of the *Maghāzī*—a Textual Survey,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 19 (1957), 245–80, reprinted in *The Life of Muhammad*, ed. Uri Rubin (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1998), 193–228; see also Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writings* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1998), 245–8 (al-Wāqidī is “one of the major chronological systematizers of the early Islamic historiographical tradition”).
 - 28 It is unlikely that the attitude reflected in Marsden Jones’s work would be expressed quite as plainly today; see his “The *Maghāzī* literature,” in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad Period*, ed. A. F. L. Beeston et al (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 344–51, in which he states that al-Wāqidī is “the most important source on the development, both social and political, of the early Islamic community”. Compare J. N. Mattock, “History and Fiction,” *Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies*, 1 (1986), 80–97.
 - 29 Gordon D. Newby, “Imitating Muhammad in Two Genres: Mimesis and Problems of Genre in Sīrah and Sunnah,” *Medieval Encounters* 3 (21997), 266–83, while based primarily on Ibn Ishāq’s work, has some relevant insights on this theme.
 - 30 Bärbel Köhler, “Die Frauen in al-Wāqidī’s *Kitābal-Magāzī*,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 147 (1997), 303–53.

The Life of Muhammad

[VOLUME 1 Page 1] INTRODUCTION

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. (ibn, son of) Muḥammad al-Jawharī informed us of what Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. Zakariyya b. Ḥayawayh related to us, word for word. He said: It was read from the book of Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Abī Ḥayya, while I listened, and he confirmed it, on Saturday morning, in the house of Abū ʿAbdullah al-Warrāq, in the district of Shabīb, at the gate of al-Shām, by the Gate of Gold in the Alley of Balkh, in the month of Jamādā l-Ākhira in the year 318 AH. He said: Abū ʿAbdullah Muḥammad b. Shujāʿ al-Thaljī related to us saying: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī related to me that ʿUmar b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Yarbūʿ al-Makhzūmī, Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥārith al-Taymī, Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullah b. Muslim, Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbdullah b. Wahb b. Zamaʿa, ʿAbdullah b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Miswar b. Makhrama, Abū Bakr b. ʿAbdullah b. Muḥammad b. Abī Sabra, Saʿīd b. ʿUthmān b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbdullah al-Taymī, Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Zafarī, ʿĀʿidh b. Yaḥyā, Muḥammad b. ʿAmr, Muʿādh b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī, Yaḥyā b. ʿAbdullah b. Abī Qatāda, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbdullah b. ʿUthmān b. Ḥunayf, Ibn Abī Ḥabība, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathma, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Jaʿfar, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Dīnār, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṣaʿsaʿa, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī l-Zinād, Abū Maʿshar, [Page 2] Mālik b. Abī l-Rijjāl, Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUqba, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿImrān b. Abī Anas, and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Abī ʿAbs, all related to me about this in portions, and some of them were more reliable than others regarding their traditions. Others also related to me, and I wrote down all that was related to me.

They said: The Messenger of God, may peace be upon him, arrived in Medina on Monday, the twelfth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal—some say the second of Rabīʿ al-Awwal—but the twelfth is confirmed. The Messenger of God entrusted the first flag to Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, may God be satisfied with him, in the month of Ramaḍān, the seventh month after the emigration (*hijra*) of the Prophet from Mecca, to confront the caravan of the Quraysh. Then he awarded the flag to ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith in the month of Shawwāl, eight months after the *hijra* (AH), to go to Rābigh, ten miles from Juhfa on the way to Qudayd. The expedition (*sariyya*) led by Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to al-Kharrār followed in Dhū l-Qaʿda, the ninth month AH. Then the Messenger of God marched (*ghazā*) in Ṣafar, the eleventh month AH, until he reached al-Abwā, and then returned. There was no fighting. He was gone for fifteen nights. The Prophet marched to Buwāt, which is close to Juhfa, in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, the thirteenth month AH, obstructed the caravan of the Quraysh, in which were Umayya b. Khalaf and a hundred men from the Quraysh with two thousand five hundred camels, and returned. There was no fighting. Next, seeking Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri, the Prophet marched in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, the thirteenth month AH, until he reached Badr, and returned. He raided again in Jamādā l-Ākhira, the sixteenth month AH—known as the raid of Dhū l-ʿUshayra—obstructing the caravans of the Quraysh as they began their journey to al-Shām, and returned. The Prophet sent ʿAbdullah b. Jaḥsh to Nakhla, in Rajab, the seventeenth month AH. Then he marched (*ghazā*) to the Battle of Badr on the morning of Friday, the seventeenth of Ramaḍān, the nineteenth month AH. The expedition (*sariyya*) to ʿAṣmā bt (bint-daughter of) Marwān followed; she was killed by ʿUmayr b. ʿAdī [Page 3] b. Kharasha. ʿAbdullah b. al-Ḥārith b. al-Faḍl told me, from his father, that he said

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that Ibn Kharasha killed her five nights before the end of Ramaḍān, the nineteenth month AH.

The expedition (*sariyya*) of Sālim b. ʿUmayr to kill Abū ʿAḥaf took place in Shawwāl, the twentieth month AH. The raid of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ took place in the middle of Shawwāl. The Messenger of God marched to the raid of al-Sawīq in Dhū l-Ḥijja, the twenty-second month AH. He raided the Banū Sulaym at al-Kudr in al-Muḥarram, the twenty-third month AH. The expedition (*sariyya*) for the murder of Ibn al-Ashraf took place in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, the twenty-fifth month AH. The raid of the Ghatafān at Najd, in Dhū Amarr, followed in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, the twenty-fifth month AH. Then it was the expedition (*sariyya*) led by ʿAbdullah b. Unays to Sufyān b. Khālid b. Nubayḥ al-Hudhalī. ʿAbdullah said: “I went out from Medina on Monday, the fifth of Muḥarram, the thirty-fifth month AH. I was gone for eighteen nights and returned on Saturday, with seven days left to the month of Muḥarram.” The Prophet raided the Banū Sulaym at Buḥrān, in Jamādā l-Ūlā, the twenty-seventh month AH. The expedition to al-Qarada led by Zayd b. Ḥāritha followed in Jumādā l-Ākhira, the twenty-eighth month AH; Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb was there.

The Prophet raided Uḥud in Shawwāl, the thirty-second month AH, and then Ḥamrāʿ al-Asad, also in Shawwāl. An expedition (*sariyya*) led by Abū Salamā b. ʿAbd al-Asad to Qaṭan against the Banū Asad took place in Muḥarram, the thirty-fifth month AH, and was followed by one to Biʿr Maʿūna led by [Page 4] al-Mundhir b. ʿAmr, in Ṣafar, the thirty-sixth month AH. The raid (*ghazwa*) of al-Rajīʿ, commanded by Marthad, was also in Ṣafar. The Prophet raided the Banū Naḍīr in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, the thirty-seventh month AH. Then he marched for his appointment to Badr in Dhū l-Qaʿda, the forty-fifth month AH. The expedition led by Ibn ʿAtīk to Sallām b. Abī l-Ḥuqayq took place in Dhū l-Ḥijja. When Sallām b. Abī l-Ḥuqayq was killed, the Jews fled to Sallām b. Mishkam in Khaybar, but he refused to lead them. Usayr b. Zārim, however, supported their war. The Prophet raided Dhāt al-Riqāʿ in Muḥarram, the forty-seventh month AH, and then attacked Dūmat al-Jandal in Rabīʿ al-Awwal, the forty-ninth month AH.

The Prophet marched to al-Muraysīʿ in Shaʿbān in year five AH. In the same year he fought at al-Khandaq in Dhū l-Qaʿda, and raided the Banū Qurayza during some nights of Dhū l-Qaʿda and Dhū l-Ḥijja.

In the year six AH, in Muḥarram, Ibn Unays led an expedition to Sufyān b. Khālid b. Nubayḥ, and Muḥammad b. Maslama led another to al-Qurṭāʿ. The Prophet raided the Banū Liḥyān at al-Ghāba in Rabīʿ al-Awwal. In Rabīʿ al-Ākhir four expeditions (*sariyya*) were carried out: one was led by ʿUkkāsha b. Miḥṣan to al-Ghamr, the second, by Muḥammad b. Maslama to Dhū l-Qaṣṣa, the third, by Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarrāḥ to Dhū l-Qaṣṣa, [Page 5] and the fourth, by Zayd b. Ḥāritha against the Banū Sulaym at al-Jamūm (which lies between Baṭn Nakhl and al-Naqra). The last two raids took place in the same month. Zayd led an expedition to al-ʿĪṣ in Jumādā l-Ūlā, and then to al-Ṭaraf (which lies thirty-six miles from Medina) and Ḥismā (which lies behind Wādī al-Qurā) in Jamādā l-Ākhira. Zayd led another expedition to Wādī al-Qurā in Rajab. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf commanded a march to Dūmat al-Jandal in Shaʿbān. The raid [*ghazwa*] led by ʿAlī to Fadak followed in the same month. The raid led by Zayd b. Ḥāritha to Umm Qirfa (which lies beside Wādī al-Qurā) took place in Ramaḍān. The expedition led by Ibn Rawāḥa to Uṣayr b. Zārim, as well as that led by Kurz b. Jābir to al-ʿUraniyyīn followed in Shawwāl. In Dhū l-Qaʿda the Prophet traveled to perform the ʿUmrat al-Ḥudaybiyya.

In the year seven AH, the Prophet raided Khaybar in Jamādā l-Ūlā. He turned

from Khaybar to Wādī al-Qurā in Jamādā l-Ākhira, and fought there. Then ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb led an expedition to Turba, which lies six nights from Mecca, in Shaʿbān. Abū Bakr b. Quḥāfa led an expedition to the Najd, and Bashīr b. Saʿd led another to Fadak, also in Shaʿbān. The expedition led by Ghālib b. ʿAbdullah to Mayfaʿa (Mayfaʿa is near Najd) followed in Ramaḍān, [Page 6] and another led by Bashīr b. Saʿd to al-Jināb followed in Shawwāl. The Prophet performed the ʿUmrat al-Qaḍiyya in Dhū l-Qaʿda. The raid of Ibn Abī l-ʿAwjāʾ al-Sulamī took place in Dhū l-Ḥijja.

In the year eight AH, Ghālib b. ʿAbdullah led an expedition to al-Kadayd (which lies behind Qudayd), in Ṣafar. The expedition led by Shujāʿ b. Wahb against Banū ʿĀmir b. Mulawwah, and that led by Kaʿb b. ʿUmayr al-Ghifārī at Dhāt Aṭlāḥ (which is in the direction of Shām about a night's journey from al-Balqāʿ) followed in Rabīʿ al-Awwal. In the same year, Zayd b. Ḥāritha led an expedition to Muʿta. Then ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ led one to Dhāt al-Salāsīl in Jamādā l-Ākīra and Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Jarraḥ led another to al-Khabaṭ, in Rajab. In Shaʿbān, Abū Qatāda led an expedition to Khaḍīra (which lies in the direction of Najd about twenty miles from the garden of Ibn ʿĀmir). In Ramaḍān, Abū Qatāda led an expedition against Iḍam. On the thirteenth of Ramaḍān, the Prophet marched to the Conquest of Mecca. Five nights before the end of Ramaḍān al-ʿUzzā was destroyed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd; Suwāʿ and Manāt were also destroyed in Ramaḍān by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Saʿd b. Zayd al-Ashhalī, respectively. Khālīd b. al-Walīd led the raid against the Banū Jazima in Shawwāl while the Prophet marched to Ḥunayn and then to al-Ṭāʿif. Later, the people went on the *Hajj* pilgrimage. Some say that the Prophet appointed ʿAttāb b. Asīd over that pilgrimage; others, that the pilgrimage of the people was divided and without a leader.

In the year nine AH, the expedition led by [Page 7] ʿUyayna b. Ḥiṣn against the Banū Tamīm took place in Muḥarram. The expedition led by Qutba b. ʿĀmir to Khatʿam followed in Ṣafar, and the march of the Banū Kilāb commanded by Daḥḥāk b. Sufyān followed in Rabīʿ al-Awwal. The expeditions led by ʿAlqama b. Mujazziz to Ḥabasha and ʿAlī to al-Fuls were in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir. The Prophet raided Tabūk, and Khālīd b. al-Walīd attacked al-Ukaydir, in Rajab. The destruction of Dhū l-Kaffayn, the idol of ʿAmr b. Ḥumama al-Dawsī followed. The people, including Abū Bakr, performed the *Hajj* pilgrimage in the year nine AH.

In the year ten AH, the expedition led by Khālīd b. al-Walīd to the Banū ʿAbd al-Madān, and the march of ʿAlī to Yemen took place in Rabīʿ al-Awwal. Some say there were two expeditions to Yemen, and that one of them was in Ramaḍān of the year ten. Then the Prophet went on pilgrimage with the people; when he returned from Mecca he was sick for ten nights. He dispatched Usāma b. Zayd during his sickness to al-Shām. When the Messenger of God died, Usāma did not return until Abū Bakr sent for him. The Prophet died on Monday, the twelfth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal in the year eleven AH.

The Prophet actively participated in twenty-seven raids. He fought in nine of them: Badr, Uḥud, al-Muraysīʿ, al-Khandaq, Qurayza, Khaybar, the Conquest of Mecca, Ḥunayn and al-Ṭāʿif. He directed forty-seven expeditions and performed three ʿUmras [pilgrimage to the Meccan Kaʿba undertaken before or after the annual *Hajj* ritual]. Some say that he fought the Banū Naḍīr, but God made it a special booty for him. He also fought in the raid of Wādī al-Qurā on his return from Khaybar, when some of his companions were killed. Then he fought in al-Ghāba until Muḥriz b. Naḍla and six of the enemy were killed.

They said: The Messenger of God appointed several companions to take his place in Medina during his raids. During the raid of Waddān he appointed Saʿd b. ʿUbāda;

during the raid of Buwāt, Sa'd b. Mu'ādh; during the search for Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri, Zayd b. Ḥāritha; during the raid of Dhū l-'Ushayra, Abū Salama b. 'Abd al-Asad [Page 8] al-Makhzūmī; during the raid of the Battle of Badr and the raid of al-Sawīq, Abū Lubāba b. 'Abd al-Mundhir al-'Amrī. During the raid on al-Kudr, Ibn Umm Maktūm al-Ma'ayṣī; during the raid of Dhū Amarr, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; during the raid of Buhrān, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of Uḥud, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of Ḥamrā' al-Asad, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of the Banū Naḍīr, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of Badr al-Maw'id, 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa; during the raid of Dhāt al-Riqā', 'Uthmān b. 'Affān; during the raid of Dūmat al-Jandal, Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa; during the raid of Muraysī', Zayd b. Ḥāritha; during the raid of al-Khandaq, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of the Banū Qurayza, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of the Banū Liḥyān, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of al-Ghāba, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of al-Ḥudaybiyya, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of Khaybar, Sibā' b. 'Urfuṭa al-Ghifārī; during the raid of 'Umrat al-Qaḍīya, Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī; during the raid of al-Faṭḥ and Ḥunayn and al-Ṭā'if, Ibn Umm Maktūm; during the raid of Tabūk, Ibn Umm Maktūm—some said it was Muḥammad b. Maslama al-Ashhalī; during the *Hajj* of the Prophet, Ibn Umm Maktūm.

The code words of the Messenger of God during battle were: In Badr, "Yā Maṣṣūr, kill." Some said that the battle cry of the Muhājirūn was "Banū 'Abd al-Raḥmān," that of the Khazraj was "Banū 'Abdullah;" and that of the Aws was "Banū 'Ubaydullah." During Uḥud, the raid of the Banū Naḍīr and the raid of Muraysī' the codewords were "Kill, kill;" and during al-Khandaq: "Hā Mīm they will not be victorious!" During the raid on the Banū Qurayza and al-Ghāba, none was stated. During Ḥunayn the code was "Yā Maṣṣūr kill;" during al-Faṭḥ the battle cry of the Muhājirūn was "Banū 'Abd al-Raḥmān;" that of the Khazraj, "Banū 'Abdullah;" and of the Aws, "Banū 'Ubaydullah." During Khaybar, the call of the Muhājirūn was "Banū 'Abd al-Raḥmān," that of the Khazraj, "Banū 'Abdullah;" and that of the Aws, "Banū 'Ubaydullah." During al-Ṭā'if if there were no codewords used.

[Page 9] **THE EXPEDITION (SARIYYA) OF ḤAMZA B. 'ABD AL-MUṬṬALIB**

The expedition of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib occurred in Ramaḍān, the seventh month AH.

They said: The Prophet granted the first banner, after he arrived in Medina, to Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He sent him with thirty riders from two groups, fifteen from the Muhājirūn and fifteen from the Anṣār. Among the Muhājirūn were Abū 'Ubāda b. Jarraḥ, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a, Sālim the *mawlā* of Abū Ḥudhayfa, 'Āmir b. Rabī'a, 'Amr b. Surāqa, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Kannāz b. Ḥuṣayn, his son Marthad b. Kannāz, Anasa the *mawlā* of the Prophet, and other men. From the Anṣār: Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Umāra b. Ḥazm, 'Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, 'Ubayd b. Aws, Aws b. Khawlī, Abū Dujāna, al-Mundhir b. 'Amr, Rāfi' b. Mālik, 'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām, Quṭba b. 'Āmir b. Ḥadīda, as well as men who have not been named to us.

They reached Sīf al-Baḥr, and Ḥamza advanced towards the caravan of the Quraysh that was traveling from al-Shām towards Mecca. In it were Abū Jahl and three hundred riders from the people of Mecca. When they encountered each other and lined up for battle, Majdī b. 'Amr, an ally of both parties, came between them and did not cease to

negotiate between the two groups until the people turned away. Ḥamza turned back, returning to Medina with his companions, while Abū Jahl continued towards Mecca with his caravan and his companions. There was no fighting between them. [Page 10] When Ḥamza returned to the Prophet he informed him of how Majdī (b. ʿAmr) intervened between them, and that they had seen justice from him. When a group from Majdī arrived before the Prophet he clothed them and was good to them. Mentioning Majdī b. ʿAmr the Prophet said, “Indeed he has a winning disposition and finds a blessed result,” or “righteous deeds.”

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAyyāsh from ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUbayd from Ibn al-Musayyib, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Saʿīd b. Yarbūʿ both related to me that the Messenger of God did not send anyone from the Anṣār until he himself raided at Badr because he thought that they would not support him except in their homeland (Medina). This tradition is confirmed.

THE EXPEDITION (SARIYYA) OF ʿUBAYDA B. AL-ḤĀRITH TO RĀBIḠH

The Prophet gave the flag to ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith, in Shawwāl, the eighth month AH, to march to Rābiḡh (Rābiḡh lies ten miles from Juḥfa in the direction of Qudayd).

ʿUbayda went out with sixty riders. He met Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb at the water known as Aḥyāʿ in the valley of Rābiḡh. Abū Sufyān was at that time with two hundred men. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ was the first who aimed an arrow for Islam. He scattered his quiver-full before his companions, while his companions shielded him. He said: He aimed with what was in his quiver until he emptied it. There was not an arrow aimed except he injured someone with it. It was said: There were twenty arrows in the quiver, that they all injured either a man or an animal, and that there was no other arrow at that time. They did not draw swords nor stand in line for battle other than for this shooting and skirmish. Then each group turned back towards its garrison. Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ used to say concerning what Ibn Abī Sabra related to me from al-Muhājir b. Mismār, that there were, in all, sixty from the Quraysh. Saʿd said: I said to ʿUbayda, “If we follow them we will overpower them for surely they have turned away in fear.” [Page 11] But he didn’t agree with me, so we turned back towards Medina.

THE EXPEDITION OF SAʿD B. ABĪ WAQQĀṢ TO AL-KHARRĀR

The Prophet gave the flag to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ to march to al-Kharrār (al-Kharrār is in Juḥfa near Khum) in Dhū l-Qaʿda, the ninth month AH. Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad related to me from his father, from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd, from his father, who said: The Prophet said, “Go, O Saʿd, until you reach al-Kharrār for surely a caravan of the Quraysh will pass by.” I left with twenty or twenty-one men on foot. We were hiding by day and traveling by night, until we arrived there on the morning of the fifth day, but we found that the caravan had passed by the day before. The Prophet had made me promise that I would not go beyond al-Kharrār and if not for that I would have surely followed.

It was said that the Prophet did not send anyone from the Anṣār until he raided with them at Badr. This was because they had promised that they would protect him in their

land alone. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ayyāsh al-Makhzūmī related this to me from ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Ubayd b. Sa‘īd b. Yarbū‘, from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sa‘īd b. Yarbū‘.

THE RAID OF AL-ABWĀ’

The Prophet set out in the month of Ṣafar, eleven months after his emigration, [Page 12] until he reached al-Abwā’ and advanced to the caravan of the Quraysh. There was no fighting. In this raid he made an agreement with the Banū Ḍamra of Kināna that they would not increase forces or help any one against him. The Prophet wrote a document between them and himself and then returned. He was gone for fifteen nights.

THE RAID OF BUWĀṬ

The Prophet raided Buwāṭ (Buwāṭ lies opposite Ḍabba from the direction of Dhū Khushub)—between Buwāṭ and Medina are three postal stations—in Rabī‘ al-Awwal, the thirteenth month AH. He advanced to the caravan of the Quraysh that carried Umayya b. Khalaf, a hundred Quraysh and two thousand five hundred camels. Then he returned. There was no fighting.

THE RAID OF THE FIRST BADR

The Prophet marched in Rabī‘ al-Awwal, the thirteenth month AH, seeking Kurz b. Jābir al-Fihri who raided the pasturing cattle of Medina (that used to graze at al-Jammā’ and around the region), until he reached Badr. He did not reach Kurz.

THE RAID OF DHŪ L-‘USHAYRA

The Prophet marched to Dhū l-‘Ushayra in Jamādā l-Ākhira, the sixteenth month AH. He advanced to the caravans of the Quraysh as they started off to Syria. He selected his companions and went out with a hundred and fifty, and some say two hundred, men. News of the departure of the caravan, in which the Quraysh had collected their wealth, from Mecca to al-Shām had come to the Prophet. [Page 13] They traveled through a gorge, Naqb Banū Dīnār to Buyūt al-Suqyā. This was the raid of Dhū l-‘Ushayra.

THE EXPEDITION TO NAKHLA

The expedition to Nakhla commanded by ‘Abdullah b. Jaḥsh (Nakhla is a valley in Bustān Ibn ‘Āmir) took place in the month of Rajab, the seventeenth month AH.

They said: ‘Abdullah b. Jaḥsh said: The Prophet called me when he prayed ‘Ishā, and said, “Come to me at dawn with your weapons, for I would send you on a mission!” He said: So I approached at dawn with my sword, my bow, my quiver and my shield. The Prophet prayed Subḥ with the people, and then he left and found me—I had preceded

him—standing at his door. I found myself with a group of Quraysh. The Prophet called Ubayy b. Ka'b, and commanded him to write a document. Then he called me and giving me the sheet of leather from Khawlān, said, "I have appointed you over this group. Proceed until you have traveled for two nights, then unfold my letter and do as it says." I said, "O Messenger of God, in which direction?" He replied, "Go towards Najdiyya until you reach a small well."

He said: 'Abdullah b. Jaḥsh hurried, until he was at the well of Ibn Ḍumayra, opened the letter and read it. It said: Go, in the name of God and with His blessings, until you come to the valley of Nakhla, but do not force any one of your companions to go with you. Proceed according to my commands with whoever follows you, until you reach the valley of Nakhla and observe the caravan of the Quraysh from there.

[Page 14] After he read the letter to them, 'Abdullah said, "I do not compel any one of you, so let whoever desires to be witness to and follow the Prophet's command, proceed, and let whoever desires to return, do so immediately." They responded altogether, "We hear and obey God and his Prophet, and you. We will go, by the grace of God, where you wish."

So he went until he came to Nakhla and found a caravan of the Quraysh with 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī, al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān al-Makhzūmī, 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughīra al-Makhzūmī, and Nawfal b. 'Abdullah al-Makhzūmī. When the companions of the caravan saw them, they feared them and were uncertain of their intentions. 'Ukkāsha shaved his head immediately and came forward and the people were calmed.

'Āmir b. Rabī'a said: I shaved the head of 'Ukkāsha with my own hand—Wāqid b. 'Abdullah and 'Ukkāsha thought that they could overpower them—and so he says to them, "We are pilgrims! We are in the month of protection!" 'Ukkāsha rose into view, and the polytheists said to one another, "It is no matter. The people are pilgrims." They felt secure and they tied their animals and let them graze while they prepared their food.

The companions of the Prophet consulted with their commander. It was the last day of Rajab, and some say it was the first day of Sha'bān. They said, "If you delay about them today, they will enter the sanctuary and will be protected, and if you attack them now, it is in the sacred month." Someone said, "We do not know whether this day is in the protected month or not." Another said, "We do not know this day except that it is in the protected month, and we do not think that you should violate it for what you desire." But those who desired the things of the world emerged victorious.

The group was encouraged and they attacked the Meccans. [Page 15] Wāqid b. 'Abdullah set out leading the group. He twanged his bow, aimed his arrow, and shot at 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī—he never missed his mark—and his arrow killed al-Ḥaḍramī. The group attacked the Meccans, and 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughīra and al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān surrendered; Nawfal b. 'Abdullah b. al-Mughīra escaped. They captured the caravan.

Muḥammad related to us saying: 'Alī b. Yazīd b. 'Abdullah b. Wahb b. Zama'ā al-Asadī related to me from his father, from his paternal aunt, from her mother, Karīma bt. al-Miqdād, from al-Miqdād b. 'Amr, who said: I captured al-Ḥakam b. Kaysān, and our commander wanted to execute him. I said, "Let us hand him to the Prophet." So we took him to the Prophet and he invited him to Islam and spoke to him for a long time. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said, "Do you speak to this man, O Messenger of God? By God, he will not convert even if it were the end of the world. Give him to me and I will cut off his head and lead him to his destiny." But the Prophet did not pay any attention to 'Umar until he had converted al-Ḥakam. 'Umar said: When I saw he had converted to

Islam, what happened earlier and how it was settled took a hold of me. I said, “How could I dare rebut the Prophet on a matter about which he is more knowledgeable than I?” Then I said, “Indeed, I desired only the advice of God and his Messenger about that!” ‘Umar said: He converted, and, by God, he was the best of converts. He strove in the way of God until he was martyred on the day of Bi’r Ma’ūna. The Prophet was satisfied that he entered Paradise.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us that: Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah related to me from al-Zuhrī, who said: Al-Ḥakam said, “What is Islam?” Muḥammad said, “You worship God alone, attributing no partners to him, and witness that Muḥammad is his servant and messenger.” He said, “I have converted.” The Prophet turned around [Page 16] to his companions and said, “Had I obeyed you and killed him in anger, he would now be in hell.”

They said: They drove the caravan containing wine, skin/leather and raisins from al-Ṭā’if, and brought it to the Prophet. The Quraysh said, “Muḥammad has profaned the protected month. He has taken blood and wealth though that month has been declared sacrosanct and great importance is attached to it.” Those who rebutted them said, “Rather, you were struck in the night of Sha’bān.” The group approached with the caravan, and when they arrived before the Messenger of God, the Messenger of God stopped the caravan and did not take anything from it. Then he put away the captives, saying to his companions, “I did not command you to fight in the protected month.” Ibn Abī Sabra related to me from Sulaymān b. Suḥaym saying: The Messenger of God did not order fighting either in the sacred month, or in the unprotected months. Rather, he commanded them to seek information about the Quraysh.

They said: The people were bewildered. They thought that especially those who led the attack would be destroyed. They treated them severely and blamed them. Medina heated up like a boiling kettle. The Jews said: Wāqid b. ‘Abdullah al-Tamīmī killed ‘Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī. ‘Amr meant the war thrived; al-Ḥaḍramī indicated that war is present. And Wāqid meant the war is fuelled. Ibn Wāqid said: They regarded it as an omen. That was something from God to the Jewish people.

They said: The Quraysh sent the Prophet the ransom for their companions. The Prophet said, “We will never accept their ransom until they arrive with our companions,” referring to Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ and ‘Utba b. Ghazwān.

Abū Bakr b. Ismā’īl b. Muḥammad related to me from his father, saying: Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ said: We went out raiding with ‘Abdullah b. Jaḥsh until we alighted at Buḥrān [Page 17] (Buḥrān is close to Ma’adin Banū Sulaym), where we slackened the rope of our camels. We were twelve men. Every two of us sat one behind the other on a camel. I was the companion of ‘Utba b. Ghazwān, and the camel was his. But our camel strayed from the route and we spent two days looking for it. Our companions departed and we set out on their tracks, but we erred, and they arrived in Medina days before us, so we did not witness Nakhla. We proceeded to the Messenger of God while they thought that we were captured. We had become very hungry during our journey for we had left from al-Mulayḥa—and between Mulayḥa and Medina are six mail posts, and between Medina and Ma’adin is one night, i.e. Ma’adin Banū Sulaym and Medina.

He said: We left from al-Mulayḥa in a group. We had no food with us until we reached Medina. Someone said, “O Abū Ishāq how many days is it from there to Medina?” He replied, “Three days.” When we were attacked by hunger we ate the *‘Idāh* (a shrub) and drank water. When we arrived in Medina, we found a group of Quraysh that had arrived with ransom for their companions. The Prophet had refused their

ransom. He said, "I fear for my companions." When we arrived the Messenger of God accepted their ransom.

They said: There is from the sayings of Muḥammad to them: If you kill my companion I will kill two of yours. Their ransom was forty ounces of silver for each one; an ounce was forty dirhams.

'Umar b. 'Uthmān al-Jaḥshī related to me from his father from Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah b. Jaḥsh, who said: In *jāhiliyya* one-fourth of the plunder was the share of the leader, but when 'Abdullah b. Jaḥsh returned from Nakhla it was made a fifth of what was plundered. He apportioned the rest among his companions. [Page 18] The first fifth was apportioned in Islam after the words *Know that one fifth of whatever you capture belongs to God* (Q. 8:41), was revealed.

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Sahl related to me from Muḥammad b. Sahl b. Abī Ḥathma from Rāfi' b. Khadij from Abū Burda b. Niyār, who said: The Prophet put away the plunder of the people of Nakhla and proceeded to Badr. When he returned from Badr he apportioned it together with the plunder from the people of Badr, and gave all the people their rightful share.

They said: The Qur'ān revealed: *They ask you about the protected month* (Q. 2:217). *God related to them in His book: Fighting in the protected month was just as it was. But those who seize unlawfully from the Muslims and, more than that, hinder them from the way of God until they hurt them and imprison them so that they emigrate to the Prophet; and those who disbelieve in God and hinder the Muslims from the Masjid al-Ḥaram during the Ḥajj and 'Umra, theirs is the sedition according to the law. God says: Sedition is worse than fighting* (Q. 2:219). He said: This was in reference to the idols Isāf and Nā'ila.

Ma'mar related to me from al-Zuhrī from 'Urwa saying: The Messenger of God paid the blood money for 'Amr b. al-Ḥaḍramī. He observed the protected month as it was until God revealed *Barā'a*. Abū Bakr b. Abī Sabra related to me from 'Abd al-Majīd b. Sahl from Kurayb, who said: I asked Ibn 'Abbās, "Did the Messenger of God pay the blood money for [Page 19] Ibn al-Ḥaḍramī?" He replied, "No." Ibn Wāqid said: We are agreed that he did not pay the blood money. Abū Ma'shar told me that 'Abdullah b. Jaḥsh was named the Commander of the Believers for that expedition (*sariyya*).

THOSE WHO WENT OUT WITH 'ABDULLAH B. JAḤSH ON HIS EXPEDITION

There were eight individuals. 'Abdullah b. Jaḥsh, Abū Ḥudhayfa b. 'Utba b. Rabī'a, 'Āmir b. Rabī'a, Wāqid b. 'Abdullah b. Tamīmī, 'Ukkāsha b. Miḥṣan, Khālid b. Abī Bukayr, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, and 'Utba b. Ghazwān. The last two did not witness the event. Some said there were twelve and others that there were thirteen, but eight is confirmed among us.

THE BATTLE OF BADR

The Prophet watched for the caravan returning from al-Shām, and assigned his companions to it. The Prophet sent Ṭalḥa b. 'Ubaydullah and Sa'īd b. Zayd, ten nights before he went out himself from Medina, to seek information about the caravan. When they alighted before Kashad al-Juhanī in al-Nakhbār at Ḥawrā'—al-Nakhbār is behind

Dhū l-Marwa along the coast—Kashad protected the two of them and made them alight. They continued to stay with him in a tent until the caravan passed, and then, Ṭalḥa and Saʿīd ascended the hill and looked at the people, and at what the caravan carried. The people of the caravan inquired, “O Kashad, [Page 20] did you see any of Muḥammad’s men?” Kashad says, “God forbid. How are there spies of Muḥammad in al-Nakhbār?” When the caravan left, the two Muslims rested the night, rose in the morning and left, and Kashad went with them, for protection, until he brought them to Dhū l-Marwa. Meanwhile the caravan sped along the coast. They traveled by night and day fearful of being discovered.

Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbaydullah and Saʿīd b. Zayd arrived in Medina on the day the Prophet was to meet them in Badr, so they set out in the direction of the Prophet and met him in Turbān—Turbān is between Malal and al-Sayyāla—at al-Maḥja, in the house of Ibn Udhayna the poet. Kashad arrived after that and informed the Messenger of God that both Saʿīd and Ṭalḥa had sought his protection. The Messenger of God greeted him and was generous to him saying, “Shall I apportion some land for you at Yanbuʿ?” He replied, “I am old, and my life is coming to an end, but apportion it to my brother’s son.” So the Prophet apportioned some land to Kashad’s nephew.

They said: The Prophet encouraged the Muslims saying, “This caravan of the Quraysh holds their wealth, and perhaps God will grant it to you as plunder,” so whoever was swift, hastened. Some men were even prepared to draw lots against their fathers. Among those who drew lots about going out to Badr were Saʿd b. Khaythama and his father. Saʿd said to his father, “If it was other than Paradise, I would prefer it for you. Indeed, I hope this is the way to martyrdom.” Khaythama said, “Prefer me, and stay with your women,” but Saʿd refused. Khaythama said, “Indeed it is inevitable that one of us stays.” They drew lots and the arrowhead went to Saʿd. He was killed at Badr.

Many of the Prophet’s companions held him back. [Page 21] They hated his going out raiding and there were many words of dispute about it. Those who stayed behind were not censured because a battle had not been intended. Indeed, they had set out for the caravan. The people who stayed behind were from families of resolve and discernment and if they thought that it would be a battle they would not have stayed behind. Among those who stayed behind was Usayd b. Ḥuḍayr. When the Prophet arrived, Usayd said to him, “Praise be to God who gladdens you and gives you victory over your enemies. By Him who sends you with the truth, I did not stay away from you desiring for myself above you. I did not think that you will meet the enemy; I thought that it was only for the caravan.” The Messenger of God said to him, “You speak the truth.” It was the first raid in which God strengthened Islam and humbled the disbelievers.

The Messenger of God went out with those who were with him until they reached Naqb Banī Dīnār. He alighted at al-Buqʿ, i.e. Buyūt al-Suqyā—al-Buqʿ of Naqb Banī Dīnār is in Medina and al-Suqyā adjoins the houses of Medina—on Sunday the twelfth of Ramaḍān. The army set up its tents there, and he reviewed the combatants. ʿAbdullah b. ʿUmar, Usāma b. Zayd, Rāfiʿ b. Khadij, Barāʿ b. ʿĀzib, Usayd b. Zuhayr, Zayd b. Arqam, and Zayd b. Thābit appeared before him, and he rejected them and did not permit them to fight.

Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl related to me from his father from ʿĀmir b. Saʿd from his father, saying: I saw my brother, ʿUmayr b. Abī Waqqāṣ, hiding, before the Prophet reviewed us, and I said, “What is the matter with you, O my brother?” He replied, “I fear the Prophet will see me and consider me too young and reject me. I want to go out raiding, so that God might bless me with martyrdom.” He said: He was looked over by the

Messenger of God and considered too young. The Messenger of God said, "Return!" But 'Umayr cried, and so the Messenger of God permitted him. He said: Sa'd used to say, "I had tied the shoulder belt of his sword for him since he was little." He was killed at Badr at the age of sixteen.

[Page 22] Abū Bakr b. 'Abdullah related to me saying: 'Ayyāsh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ashja'ī related to me that, at that time, the Prophet commanded his companions to draw water from their well. The Messenger of God drank the water from their well. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad related to me from 'Amr b. Abī 'Amr that the Prophet was the first who drank from their well that day. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad related to me, from Hishām b. 'Urwa from his father from 'Ā'isha that after that, the Messenger of God sought the sweet water from Buyūt al-Suqyā.

Ibn Abī Dhī'b related to me from al-Maḡburī from 'Abdullah b. Abī Qatāda from his father that the Messenger of God prayed at Buyūt al-Suqyā. He prayed for the people of Medina, at that time, saying, "O God, surely Ibrahīm, your servant, your friend and your prophet, prayed for the people of Mecca. So I, Muḥammad, your servant and your Prophet, pray for the people of Medina; that you bless their measures, their provisions and property. Make us love Medina, and transfer its pestilential air to Khumm. O Lord, I have declared sacrosanct that which is between its two tracts just as Abraham your friend protected Mecca." Khumm is about two miles from al-Juḥfa.

They said: The Prophet dispatched 'Adī b. Abī l-Zaghba' and Basbas from Buyūt al-Suqyā. They said: 'Abdullah b. 'Amr b. Ḥarām came to the Messenger of God at that time, and said, [Page 23] "O Messenger of God, it gladdens me, this place of yours, and I believe it is suitable for the scrutiny of your companions. Indeed this place of ours, Banū Salama, is where there took place between us and the Banū Husayka what occurred—Husayka is on al-Dhubbāb—and al-Dhubbāb is a mountain in the direction of Medina. There were Jews in Husayka and they had many houses there. We scrutinized our companions there. We permitted fighting to those who had mastery of the weapons and prevented the young from carrying weapons. Then we marched to the Jews of Husayka, and they were the mightiest of the Jews at that time. We fought them as we wished, and have to this day kept the rest of the Jews humble. I hope, O Messenger of God, that we will meet, we and the Quraysh, and that God grants you satisfaction over them."

Khallād b. 'Amr b. al-Jamūḥ said that when it was daylight, he returned to his people in Khurbā, and his father said to him, "I thought that you had gone." He replied, "The Messenger of God is scrutinizing the people at al-Buq'." 'Amr said, "It is a good omen. By God, I hope that you plunder and are successful against the disbelieving Quraysh. Indeed this was our station the day we marched to Ḥusayka." He [Khallād] said that the Messenger of God had changed its name to al-Suqyā. He said: I wanted to purchase it, but Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ bought it for the price of two young camels—some said for seven ounces of gold. He added: It was mentioned to the Prophet that Sa'd bought it, and he said, "A profitable sale!"

They said: The Prophet left Buyūt al-Suqyā on Sunday, the evening of the twelfth of Ramaḍān. Three hundred and five Muslims went with him. Eight stayed behind but he granted them their share and their reward. There were seventy camels [Page 24] and they sat one behind the other on the camels, two, three and four. The Prophet, 'Alī, and Marthad—some say Zayd b. Ḥāritha instead of Marthad—sat on one camel. Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Zayd b. Ḥāritha, Abū Kabsha and Anasa, the freedman (mawlā) of the Prophet, sat on one camel; 'Ubayda b. al-Ḥārith, al-Ṭufayl and al-Ḥuṣayn, the two

sons of al-Ḥārith, and Miṣṭaḥ b. Uthātha sat on a watering camel belonging to ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith who bought it from Ibn Abī Dāwud al-Māzanī. Muʿādh, ʿAwf, and Muʿawwidh, the sons of ʿAfrāʾ and their freedman Abū l-Ḥamrā shared a camel. Ubayy b. Kaʿb, ʿUmāra b. Ḥazm and Ḥāritha b. Nuʿmān shared a camel; Khirāsh b. al-Ṣimma, Quṭba b. ʿĀmir b. Ḥadīda and ʿAbdullāh b. ʿAmr b. Ḥarām, one camel; ʿUtba b. Ghazwān and Ṭulayb b. ʿUmayr shared a camel belonging to ʿUtba b. Ghazwān—which they named al-ʿUbays. Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr, Suwaybiṭ b. Ḥarmala and Masʿūd b. Rabīʿ shared a camel belonging to Muṣʿab; ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and Ibn Masʿūd shared a camel; ʿAbdullah b. Kaʿb, Abū Dāwud al-Māzanī, and Salīṭ b. Qays shared a camel belonging to ʿAbdullah b. Kaʿb. ʿUthmān, Qudāma, ʿAbdullah b. Maḏʿūn and al-Sāʾib b. ʿUthmān shared a camel. Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, shared a camel; Saʿd b. Muʿādh, his brother, his nephew al-Ḥārith b. Aws and al-Ḥārith b. Anas, shared a watering camel belonging to Saʿd b. Muʿādh named al-Dhayyāl; Saʿd b. Zayd, Salama b. Salāma, ʿAbbād b. Bishr, Rāfiʿ b. Yazīd and al-Ḥārith b. Khazama shared a watering camel belonging to Saʿd b. Zayd. Each was supplied with only one measure of dates.

[Page 25] ʿUbayd b. Yahyā related to me from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa, from his father, saying: I went raiding with the Prophet to Badr. Every three of us sat one behind the other on a camel. I and my brother, Khallād b. Rāfiʿ, rode on a camel of ours with ʿUbayd b. Zayd b. ʿĀmir. We went along until we reached al-Rawḥā. Our camel was fatigued and standing still, and its legs folded on us, and it became disabled. My brother said, “O God, indeed I give You a solemn pledge that if You take us back to Medina I will sacrifice this camel.” He said: The Prophet passed by us while we were in that situation, and we said, “O Messenger of God, our camel is fatigued.” The Messenger of God asked for water, and gargled his mouth with it while performing ablution in a vessel. Then he said, “Open its mouth,” and we did. Then he poured the water into its mouth, on its head, neck, withers, hump, back, and tail. Then he said, “ride!” and the Messenger of God went on his way. We caught up with him at the bottom of al-Muṣṣarif, for indeed our camel was running with us, until, when we reached al-Muṣṣalla, it collapsed. My brother sacrificed it and divided its meat as *ṣadaqa* (alms).

Yahyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿīd b. Saʿd b. ʿUbāda related to me from his father, saying: Saʿd b. ʿUbāda provided twenty camels in Badr. Abū Bakr b. Ismāʿīl related to me from his father from Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ [Page 26], who said: We set out with the Prophet to Badr taking seventy camels with us. They sat one behind the other, three, four and two on a camel. I was among the most favored of the companions of the Prophet, free from want, the spriest pedestrian, and the best shot with an arrow, and I did not ride a step either going or coming.

The Messenger of God said, when he left from Buyūt al-Suqyā, “O God, surely they are bare footed, so provide them with beasts to ride on; and naked, so clothe them; and hungry, so feed them, and dependent, so provide for them by Your grace!” He said: Not one among them desiring to ride returned, except he found a ride: for one man a camel or two; clothed were those who were naked; they took food from their provisions and ransom from the prisoners and enriched the needy. The Messenger of God appointed Qays b. Abī Ṣaʿsaʿa—and his name was ʿAmr b. Zayd b. ʿAwf b. Mabdhūl—over the pedestrians, and ordered him, when he left Buyūt al-Suqyā, to count the Muslims. Ibn Abī Ṣaʿsaʿa stopped at the well of Abū ʿInaba, and counted them, and informed the Prophet.

The Messenger of God set out from Buyūt al-Suqyā until he came to Baṭn al-ʿAqīq;

then he took the road to al-Muktamin until he reached the plain of Ibn Azhar, where he alighted under a tree. Abū Bakr brought some stones and built a mosque under that tree. The Messenger of God prayed in it. Monday dawned when the Prophet was here, and he appeared in Malal and Turbān between al-Ḥafīra and Malal.

Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ said: When we were in Turbān, the Messenger of God said to me, "O Sa'd, look at the gazelle." He said: I aimed an arrow at it. [Page 27] The Messenger of God stood and placed his chin between my shoulder and my ear; then he said, "Shoot, and may God guide your shot." My arrow did not err from its neck. He said: The Prophet smiled. He said: I went running, and found it at its last breath, so I slaughtered it, and we carried it until we alighted close by. The Prophet commanded that it be divided between his companions. Muḥammad b. Bijād related to me about that, from his father, from Sa'd.

They said: They had two horses with them; the horse belonging to Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī, and the horse belonging to al-Miqdād b. 'Amr al-Bahrānī, the ally of the Banū Zuhra. Some said that one of the horses belonged to al-Zubayr. But there were only two horses, and there is no dispute among us that one horse belonged to Miqdād. Mūsā b. Ya'qūb related to me from his aunt, from her father, from Ḍubā'a bt. Zubayr, from al-Miqdād b. 'Amr, who said: On the day of Badr I had a horse called Sabḥa. Sa'd b. Mālīk al-Ghanawī related to me from his ancestors that Marthad b. Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī was seen at that time on a horse of his named al-Sayl.

They said: The Quraysh entered al-Shām in their caravan. It was a caravan of a thousand camels. It contained significant wealth, for there was not a man or woman from the Quraysh in Mecca who had some wealth accruing, but it was sent in the caravan. Even the woman who had a paltry sum sent it. Some said that it contained fifty thousand dinar, though others said there was less. It was said that much of what was in it came from the property of the family of Sa'īd b. al-'Āṣ—Abū Uḥayḥa—either the wealth belonged to them, or to those who borrowed against half the profits to be made, and most of the caravan belonged to them. Some said that it belonged to the Banū Makhzūm who owned two hundred camels and five or four thousand pieces of gold. Others, that Ḥārith b. 'Āmir b. Nawfal owned a thousand pieces of gold and Umayya b. Khalaf, two thousand pieces of gold. [Page 28] Hishām b. 'Umāra b. Abī l-Ḥuwayrith related to me, saying: There were 10,000 gold pieces belonging to the Banū 'AbdManāf in the caravan. Their merchandise was going to Ghazza from al-Shām and there were several small caravans that the Quraysh concealed in it—i.e. in the large caravan.

'Abdullah b. Ja'far related to me from Abū 'Awn, the *mawlā* of al-Miswar, from Makhrama b. Nawfal, who said: When we entered al-Shām a man from Judham caught up with us and informed us that Muḥammad had been observing our caravan ever since we started our journey; he had left him conscientiously awaiting our return and had become an ally and made an agreement against us with the people on the road. Makhrama said: We set out cautiously fearing an ambush, and sent ḌamḌam b. 'Amr, when we left al-Shām.

'Amr b. al-'Āṣ used to relate, saying: When we were in Zarqā' (which is in al-Shām in the direction of Ma'ān, about two *mirhal* from Adhri'āt when descending to Mecca), we met a man from Judhām, who said, "Muḥammad and his companions have been observing you since you started your journey." We said that we did not know. He said, "But indeed, he stayed a month then returned to Yathrib. On the day Muḥammad approaches you, you must be quick for he is now well prepared to obstruct you. Surely

he has computed for you the number of days, so be careful of your caravan and consider your decision. By God, I do not see the numbers, or the camels, or the weapons.”

They made a joint decision and sent ḌamḌam who was in the caravan. The Quraysh had passed by him while he was on the coast with two camels of his. They paid him twenty pieces of gold and Abū Sufyān commanded him to inform the Quraysh that Muḥammad was observing their caravan. He ordered him to cut his camel's ears when he entered, and to turn his saddle around: to tear his shirt both in front and behind and shout, help! help! Some say: Rather, they sent him from Tabūk. There were thirty men from the Quraysh in the caravan and with them were ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ and Makhrama b. Nawfal.

[Page 29] They said: ʿĀtika bt. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib saw a dream that frightened her, before ḌamḌam b. ʿAmr arrived, and she was distressed in her heart. She sent a message to her brother al-ʿAbbās saying, “O my brother, by God, I had a dream at night and I was distressed by it. I fear that a great evil will come upon your people. Keep it secret and I will relate it to you.” She said, “I saw a rider approach on a camel until he stopped at al-Abṭaḥ, then he screamed at the top of his voice, ‘O family of Ghudar, disperse to your slaughtering place in three days.’ He shouted it three times. The people saw and gathered to him. Then he entered the sanctuary (*masjid*) and the people followed him, and lo and behold, the camel ascended with him to the top of the Kaʿba and he shouted three times as before. Then the camel ascended with him to the head of Abū Qubays and he shouted again, as before, three times. Then he took a stone from Abū Qubays and threw it, and it arrived falling to the bottom of the hill. There did not remain a house (*bayt*) nor a room (*dār*) in Mecca but a piece of the stone had entered it.” ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ used to relate saying, “Surely I saw all this, and I saw a splitting from the rock which had been broken off from Abū Qubays, and surely that was a warning. But God did not desire that we convert at that time for He delayed our conversion until He desired.”

They said: Nothing from that rock entered a house or room from the houses of Banū Hāshim or Banū Zuhra. They said: Her brother said, “Surely, this is but a dream!” He went out distressed until he met al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa, who was his friend. He mentioned it and asked that he keep it a secret, but he spread the news among the people. Al-ʿAbbās said: I left in the morning and circumambulated the house. Abū Jahl was seated with a group [Page 30] of Quraysh, talking about the dream of ʿĀtika. He said, “What ʿĀtika saw was this!” And I said: “What is that?” And he replied, “O Banū ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, does it not satisfy you that your men prophecy, but that even your women must prophecy? ʿĀtika claims that she saw in her sleep whatever she saw and we will wait three days until it happens. If it happens that what she said is true, it will be. But if three days pass and it does not happen, we will write of you that you are the worst liars of any family (*ahl bayt*) with the Arabs.” He (al-ʿAbbās) responded, “O you of the yellow buttocks, you are the first of the liars and more vile than us!”

Abū Jahl said, “Indeed we have competed for greatness with you. You said, ‘With us is the distribution of water (*siqāya*).’ We said, ‘No matter, you shall quench the thirsty pilgrims.’ Then you said, ‘With us is the office of gate keeper (*ḥijāba*).’ And we said, ‘No matter, you shall watch over the house.’ Then you said, ‘With us is the council (*nadwā*).’ And we said, ‘No matter you will prepare the food and feed the people.’ Then you said, ‘With us is support for the weak (*rafāda*).’ And we said, ‘No matter, you will gather what is needed for the weak.’ And when we fed the people, you fed them. The travelers gathered, and we competed for greatness; we were like two race horses.

But now you say, 'From us is a prophet.' Then you say, 'From us is a prophetess!' No, by al-Lāt and al-'Uzza, this will never be!"

Al-'Abbās said: I could do nothing but deny that. I denied that 'Ātika saw something. In the evening every mother who had given birth from the Banū 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib came to me. They said, "Are you satisfied with this sinful, evil, person (Abū Jahl) who falls upon your men and now attacks your women while you listen? Have you no shame?" Al-'Abbās said, "By God, I have only done insignificant deeds. By God, surely I will go to him tomorrow, and if he repeats himself I will satisfy you about him." When the next day, from that day in which 'Ātika saw what she saw, dawned, Abū Jahl said, "This is one day." On the next, he said, "These are two days." And when it was the third day Abū Jahl said, "This is the third day, nothing more remains."

[Page 31] Al-'Abbās said: I rose early, on the morning of the third day, and I was sharp with anger. I saw the matter had escaped me and I desired to grasp it. I remembered how the women had made me angry about it and what they had said to me. By God, I was walking towards him (Abū Jahl)—a thin man, with a sharp face; sharp of tongue and sharp of sight—when all of a sudden he set out towards the gate of Banū Sahm with urgency. I asked myself: What's in his mind . . . may God curse him! Is all this from fear that I would scold him? But he had heard the voice of Ḍamḍam b. 'Amr saying, "O you Quraysh, O family of Lu'āyy b. Ghālib, the young weaned camels (*laḡīma*). Muḥammad approaches them with his companions. Help! Help! By God, I do not think that you will reach them." Ḍamḍam shouted about that in Batn al-Wadi. He had cut off the ears of his camel and torn his shirt in front and behind, and turned his saddle around (back to front). He used to say: Surely, I remember, before I even entered Mecca, and indeed, I saw in my sleep—while I was on my saddle, as though the valley of Mecca was dripping blood from top to bottom. I awoke with fear and alarm, and I feared for the Quraysh, for I was convinced that it would be a disaster for them.

It was said: Surely it was Satan who called out at that time. He took the shape of Surāqa b. Ju'sham, went ahead of Ḍamḍam, and made them rush to their caravan. Ḍamḍam arrived after him. 'Umayr b. Wahb used to say, "I never saw an affair more astonishing than the affair of Ḍamḍam." It was Satan alone who screamed in his voice. Indeed, he did not let us take control of our affairs, urging us, until we all set out whether in difficulty or ease. Ḥakīm b. Hizām used to say, "It was not a man that incited us to the caravan. Indeed, it was Satan." It was said, "How was that, O Abū Khālid?" He replied, "Indeed I was astonished about it. We could not take control of our affairs."

They said: The people made preparations and were distracted from each other. There were only two kinds of men: Those who wanted to go out and those who wanted to send another instead. The Quraysh inclined towards the dream of 'Ātika, and the Banū Hāshim were content. One of them said: Indeed, you claimed that we lied and that 'Ātika lied. The Quraysh were mobilized in three days, and some said two. They went out armed [Page 32] and bought weapons. The powerful among them helped the weak. Suhayl b. 'Amr stood up in the midst of the Quraysh, saying, "O you Quraysh, this is Muḥammad; the youths with him are from your youth and from the people of Yathrib. They observe your caravan and the camels of the Quraysh, the young weaned camels, the *laḡīma*—and the *laḡīma* is the merchandise." Abū Zinād said, "The young camels (*laḡīma*) are all that is carried by the camels as merchandise." Others said, "The fragrant *laḡīma* are special—for those who desired a mount this was a mount; for those who desired power, this was power." Zama'a b. al-Aswad stood up and said, "By al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā, a matter of greater importance than this has not come down to you. Surely,

Muḥammad and the people of Yathrib observe your caravan and desire the property in it on which you depend for your living. So stir yourselves. Not one of you shall stay behind. Those who have no strength, this is his strength. By God, if Muḥammad attacks it, he will not alarm you until he has taken you completely.” Ṭu‘ayma b. ‘Adī said, “O Qurayshī people, by God, a matter has not come down to you that was more significant than this: that your caravan, containing your property and your living and the camels of the Quraysh, is taken. By God, I do not know a man or a woman from the Banū ‘AbdManāf who owns but twenty dirham or more, but it is in this caravan. For those who have no strength, we have strength, and we will bring then our strength.”

He provided twenty camels, and strengthened them and followed them with their families in Ma‘ūna. Ḥaṇẓala b. Abī Sufyān and ‘Amr b. Abī Sufyān stood up and incited the people to go out, but they offered neither power nor beasts. It was said to them, “Will you two not offer what your people offer of beasts of burden?” They both replied, “By God, we do not have wealth. Only Abū Sufyān has wealth.” Nawfal b. Mu‘āwiya al-Dīlī walked up to the more powerful families among [Page 33] the Quraysh and spoke to them about granting money and camels to those going out. He spoke to ‘Abdullah b. Abī Rabī‘a, who said, “Here are five hundred dinars. Put it where you think fit.” He spoke to Ḥuwayṭib b. ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā and took two or three hundred dinars from him and purchased weapons and animals to ride on.

They said: None of the Quraysh stayed behind unless he sent someone else in his place. The Quraysh went to Abū Lahab and said, “Surely you are one of the lords of the Quraysh, and if you stay behind, the rest of your people will follow your example. So either leave yourself, or send someone.” He replied, “By al-Lāt and al-‘Uzza, I will not go out, nor will I send someone.” Abū Jahl came to him and said, “Rise, Abū ‘Utba, for by God, we do not go out except for the protection of your religion and the religion of your forefathers.” Abū Jahl feared that Abū Lahab would convert to Islam. Abū Lahab was silent but he did not go out, nor did he send any one for apprehension regarding the dream of ‘Ātika. Indeed he used to say that the dream of ‘Ātika helped him stand by his decision. Some said that he sent al-‘Āṣ b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra, for the latter was indebted to him. He said, “Go and your debt is paid!” So Ibn Mughīra went out for him.

They said: ‘Utba and Shayba (the sons of Rabī‘a) went out in their coats of mail. ‘Addās (their slave) saw them restoring their coats of mail, and their tools of battle, and said, “What do you intend?” They replied, “Did you not see the man to whom we sent you with grapes from our grape vine in al-Ṭā‘if?” He said, “Yes.” They both said, “We will go out and fight him.” ‘Addās cried out, “Do not go out, for by God, he is surely a prophet.” But they rejected him, and went out. ‘Addās went out with them and was killed in Badr with them.

They said: The Quraysh drew lots before Hubal for going out. Umayya b. Khalaf, ‘Utba and Shayba drew lots before Hubal for commanding or forbidding, and drew out the forbidding arrowhead for going out. They gathered at the place until Abū Jahl disturbed them and said, “I shall not cast lots, nor shall we [Page 34] stay away from our caravan.” When Zama‘a b. Aswad decided to go out, he was in Dhū Ṭuwā. He drew lots about it. He drew out one forbidding his going out, and felt anger. He tried a second time and drew out one similar to the one before, so he broke it. He said, “I have not seen such a day when an arrowhead was more false than this!” Suhayl b. ‘Amr passed by him while he was in that situation and said, “How is it that I see you angry, O Abū Ḥukayma?” Zama‘a informed him, and he said, “Keep it from you, O man. What

is more false than these arrowheads! ‘Umayr b. Wahb has informed me similar to what you inform me, that the forbidding arrowhead met him.” Then they both left, according to this tradition.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidi related to us, saying: Mūsā b. Ḍamra b. Sa’d related to me from his father, who said: Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb said to Ḍamḍam, “When you arrive before the Quraysh say to them: Do not cast lots with arrow heads.”

Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah related to me from al-Zuhri from Abū Bakr b. Sulaymān b. Abī Ḥathma, saying: I heard Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām say, “I did not ever take a position more hateful to me than my march to Badr. I have never seen anything similar to what I saw before I set out on this trip.” Then he says: Ḍamḍam approached, and he called out the troops to battle. I cast lots with the arrowheads detesting all that came out. Then I set out in spite of that until we alighted at Marr al-Zahrān. Ibn Ḥanzaliyya (i.e. Abū Jahl) slaughtered the camels. But one of the camels was still alive, and there did not remain a tent among the soldiers’ tents, but it was spattered with its blood. This was a clear sign. For that reason I was on the verge of returning, when I remembered Ibn Ḥanzaliyya and his misfortune. The memory caused me to change my mind and set me on my course.

[Page 35] Ḥakīm used to say: Indeed you saw us when we reached al-Thaniyyat al-Bayḍā’ (which brings you down to Fakh if you are approaching from Medina). There was ‘Addās, seated, and people were passing by, and the two sons of Rabī’a passed by him. ‘Addās jumped at them and grabbed their legs as he lunged at them. He said, “By my father and mother, you two, surely he is the Messenger of God. Do not conscript for it will be your death!” Tears fell from his eyes onto his cheeks. I desired to return, as well, so I left, and al-‘Āṣ b. Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj passed by and he stopped before him when ‘Utba and Shayba left. Al-‘Āṣ said, “What makes you cry?” He replied, “My lords and the lord of the Ahl al-Wādī make me cry. They are leaving to their deaths. They will fight the Messenger of God.” Al-‘Āṣ said, “Muḥammad is the Messenger of God?” Al-‘Addās rose in protest, and he had goose flesh. He cried out, saying: “By God, he is indeed the Messenger of God to all the people.” He said: Al-‘Āṣ b. Munabbih converted, but continued to be doubtful until he was killed with the disbelievers in doubt and suspicion. Some say that ‘Addās returned and did not witness Badr. Others, that he witnessed Badr and was killed at that time. The first saying is confirmed among us.

They said: Sa’d b. Mu’adh went out to ‘Umra before Badr and alighted with Umayya b. Khalaf. Abū Jahl came to Umayya and said, “Do you lodge this enemy? He has sheltered Muḥammad and he notifies us of war.” Sa’d b. Mu’adh said, “Say what you wish, is not the route of your caravan before us.” Umayya b. Khalaf said, “Be careful! Do not say this to Abū l-Ḥakam. Indeed, he is the lord of the Ahl al-Wādī.” Sa’d b. Mu’adh said, “You say that, O Umayya, did I not, by God, hear Muḥammad say, ‘I will kill Umayya b. Khalaf.’” Umayya said, “You heard him?” He said: I said, “Yes.” [Page 36] He said: He took it to heart, and when the troops came, Umayya refused to go out with them to Badr. So ‘Uqba b. Abī Mu’ayṭ and Abū Jahl came to him (Umayya), and ‘Uqba held a censer with perfume; and Abū Jahl held a *kohl* container and an application stick (*mirwad*). ‘Uqba placed the censer under his nose and said, “Perfume yourself, for surely you are a woman!” And Abū Jahl said, “Pencil your eyes, for indeed you are a woman!” Then Umayya said, “Buy me the best camel in the Wādī.” They bought him a stallion for 300 dirhams from the livestock of the Banū Qushayr. The Muslims claimed it as booty on the day of Badr. It was included in the portion of Khubayb b. Yasāf.

They said: None among those who went out to the caravan detested it more than al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir. He said, “I wish the Quraysh had decided to sit it out and that my property in the caravan was destroyed, and the property of the Banū ʿAbd Manāf also.” It was said, “Surely you are the Lord of Lords. Did you not stop them from going out?” He replied, “Indeed, I thought that the Quraysh had decided to go out. I did not think that one who had the strength should stay behind unless for a reason and I detested opposing them. I do not like the Quraysh to learn what I say now, but though Ibn Ḥanzaliyya (i.e. Abū Jahl) is a man of ill omen for his community, I know only that he protects his community from the people of Yathrib. Indeed, he has apportioned some of his properties to his son for he is convinced that he will not return to Mecca.” Ḍamḍam b. ʿAmr came to al-Ḥārith, for he was indebted to him, and said, “Abū ʿĀmir, I had a dream which I detested. I was awake on my riding beast and I saw your Meccan valley drip blood from its lowest to its highest part.” Al-Ḥārith said, “One did not go out in a direction more hateful to him than this direction of mine.” He said: Ḍamḍam says to him, “By God, I think that you should stay.” Al-Ḥārith replied, “If I had heard this from you [Page 37] before I set out I would not have taken a single step. Hide this news from the Quraysh, for indeed they accuse all those who desired to stay away from the march.” Ḍamḍam mentioned this news to al-Ḥārith in the valley of Yaʿjaj.

They said: The Quraysh—i.e. the people of opinion among them—hated the march. They consulted each other. Among those who held back from the march were al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir, Umayya b. Khalaf, ʿUtba and Shayba the sons of Rabīʿa, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, Abū l-Bakhtarī, ʿAlī b. Umayya b. Khalaf, and al-ʿĀṣ b. Munabbih; until Abū Jahl accused them of being cowards. ʿUqba b. Abī Muʿayṭ and Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith b. Kalada supported his going out. They said: This is the act of women, and they came together for the march. The Quraysh said: Do not leave any of your enemies behind.

Among the proofs for al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir, ʿUtba, and Shayba hating to go out was that none of them offered a means of transport (beasts), nor did they carry one of the people. If the man was coming to them as an ally or to give assistance and did not have the ability to do so, and requested a camel from them, they said, “If you have wealth and you want to go out, then do so, but if not, stay,” until even the Quraysh learned of it.

When the Quraysh gathered for the march, they remembered the hostility that existed between them and the Banū Bakr. They feared the Banū Bakr would attack those who stayed behind (the women and children). ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa had the greatest fear for them. He said, “O people of the Quraysh, even if you achieve what you desire, surely we [Page 38] are not protecting those who stay behind, and it is the women and children who have no power who stay behind. So consider your decisions!” Then Satan took on the form of Surāqa b. Juʿshum al-Mudlijī and said, “O Qurayshī people, you know my nobility and place among my people. I am your protector who will ensure that Kināna will not bring you something you detest,” and ʿUtba was content. Abū Jahl said, “What more do you want? This is the lord of the Kināna who will protect those who stay behind.” ʿUtba said, “Nothing. I am leaving.”

Concerning that which was between the Banū Kināna and the Quraysh, Yazīd b. Firās al-Laythī related to me from Sharīk b. Abī Namir, from ʿAṭāʾ b. Zayd al-Laythī, that a son of Ḥafṣ b. al-Akhyaf, one of the sons of Maʿīṣ b. ʿĀmir b. Luʿāyy, set out looking for a missing camel. He was a youth with a head of flowing hair, wearing a suit of clothes, a radiant youth. He passed by ʿĀmir b. Yazīd b. ʿĀmir b. al-Mulawwaḥ b. Yaʿmar, in Ḍajnān, who said, “Who are you, O youth?” He replied, “A son of Ḥafṣ b.

al-Akhyaf.” ‘Āmir said, “O Banū Bakr, is there not blood between you and the Quraysh?” They said, “Yes.” He said, “A man who will kill this youth in revenge for one of his own men will surely find fulfillment.” So a man from the Banū Bakr followed him and killed him for the blood that was his due from the Quraysh. The Quraysh discussed it. ‘Āmir b. Yazīd said, “You owed us a blood debt, so what do you want? If you want to discharge money for what you owe us, we will discharge that the debt which is with us. If you wish, let it be blood, man for man. But if you wish to overlook that which we owe you, we will overlook what you owe us.” The youth was of no significance to the Quraysh, so they said, “Fulfill, man for man!” And they neglected to demand his blood price.

Meanwhile, his brother Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ was in Marr al-Zahrān. All of a sudden he saw ‘Āmir b. Yazīd, lord of the Banū Bakr, on a camel. When he saw him, he said to himself: I will not seek a shadow and let what is before me escape! [Page 39] He knelt his camel, drew his sword and struck ‘Āmir with it until he killed him. Then he went to Mecca by night, and hung up the sword of ‘Āmir b. Yazīd, whom he had killed, under the curtain of the Ka’ba. In the morning the Quraysh saw the sword of ‘Āmir b. Yazīd and knew that Mikraz b. Ḥafṣ had killed him. A poem about this from Mikraz was heard. The Banū Bakr grieved about the killing of their lord. The revenge they sought was to kill two or three lords from the Quraysh.

The troops arrived while they were in this predicament. They instilled fear in them regarding their children who stayed behind in Mecca. When Surāqa said what he said, when he was speaking with the tongue of Satan, the people became emboldened, and the Quraysh went out swiftly. They left with their songstresses and their tambourines. Sara, the slave girl of ‘Amr b. Hāshim b. al-Muṭṭalib, ‘Azza the slave girl of al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib, and the slave girl of Umayya b. Khalaf sang in every drinking place. They killed the slaughter-camel. They went out as soldiers throwing spears at each other in war. They left with nine hundred and fifty warriors. They led a hundred horses, proud, and to be seen by men, just as God mentions in His book: *Be not like those who started from their homes insolently and to be seen of men . . .* (Q. 8:47) to the end of the verse. Abū Jahl said, “Does Muḥammad think that he can take from us what his companions took at Nakhla? He will know whether we protect our caravan or not!” The people of power among them had horses. The Banū Makhzum had thirty horses with them, and there were seven hundred camels. The people on horses were all clad in armor—and there were a hundred—as were those on foot.

They said: Abū Sufyān approached with the caravan. As they came closer to Medina they became very afraid and lingered waiting for Ḍamḍam and the troops. On the night following the morning they spent at Mā’ Badr [Page 40] the caravan approached Mā’ Badr. They spent the last part of the night behind Badr in order that they enter Badr by morning if they were not attacked. They did not settle the caravan until they tied it with rope, although some of them praised the use of two ropes. The groans of the camels reminded them of the water of Badr, though there was no need for water among them for surely they had drunk the day before. The people of the caravan began to say, “Indeed this is something that the camels have not done since we set out.” They said: darkness concealed us that night until we could not recognize a thing.

Basbas b. ‘Amr and ‘Adī b. Abī l-Zaghbā’ came to Majdī at Badr in search of information. When they alighted at Mā’ Badr they knelt their camels close to the water, then, took their water bags and filled them from the water. They heard two slave girls from the slaves of Juhayna. One of them, Barza, owed her companion a dirham. Her

companion was saying, “Surely the caravan will be here tomorrow or the day after. It has alighted at al-Rawhā’.” Majdī b. ‘Amr heard her and said, “You speak the truth!” When Basbas and ‘Adī heard that, they set off on their return to the Prophet. They met him at ‘Irq al-Zābya and informed him of the news. Muḥammad informed us that al-Wāqidī related to us, saying: Kuthayr b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Amr b. ‘Awf al-Muzannī related to us from his father, from his grandfather, who was one of the weepers, that the Messenger of God said, “Moses, the prophet, on whom be peace, went through Fajja al-Rawhā’ with 70,000 of the Banū Isrā’īl.” They prayed in the Masjid in ‘Irq al-Zābya, which is about two miles towards Medina from al-Rawhā’ if you go to the left.

[Page 41] That night Abū Sufyān rose in Badr and went ahead of the caravan fearful of being observed. He said, “O Majdī, did you see anyone? You know, by God, that there is not a man or a woman in Mecca with one *nashshun* or more—one *nashshun* is half an *awqiyya*, weighing twenty dirhams—but he has sent it with us. If, indeed, you keep secret from us a matter concerning our enemies no man from the Quraysh will settle with you for a very long time.” Majdī replied, “By God I have not seen anyone whom I do not like for there is not an enemy between you and Yathrib. And if there was an enemy between you and Yathrib, he would not be hidden from us and I would not conceal it from you; except that I saw two riders coming to this place,” and he pointed to the place where ‘Adī and Basbas alighted. “They knelt their camels, drew water for their water bags and then turned back.” Abū Sufyān came to where the riders had alighted and took a dropping from their camels; he crumbled it and found there were date stones in it. He said, “This, by God, is the fodder of Yathrib. They are spies of Muḥammad and his companions. I believe they must be near.” Abū Sufyan directed his caravan to take the coast, and leaving Badr on his left, departed swiftly.

The Quraysh approached from Mecca alighting at every watering place, feeding those who came to them, and slaughtering their sacrificial camels. While the Quraysh were thus on their journey ‘Utba and Shayba lagged behind, chatting to each other. One of them said to his companion, “Did you not consider the dream of ‘Ātika bt. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib? I was surely afraid of it.” The other said, “Recall it.” He was recollecting it when Abū Jahl came up to them and asked, “What are you talking about?” They said, “We were recollecting the dream of ‘Ātika.” He said, “O how remarkable of the Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib! Are you not satisfied that their men should prophecy for us, but even their women should be prophets among us? By God, if indeed we return to Mecca we shall surely do with them what we will do with them!” ‘Utba said, “Indeed they have a kinship and a close relationship.” One of them said to his companion, “Do you want to return?” Abū Jahl said, “Will you return after the distance you have traveled, and leave your people in the lurch and separate from them after you saw your blood avenged with your own eyes? Do you two doubt that Muḥammad and his companions [Page 42] will confront you? By God, I have with me, among my group 180 from my family. They will disperse when I disperse; they will ride when I ride, so return if you wish.” They both said, “By God you are destroyed and you destroy your people with you!” ‘Utba said to his brother Shayba, “This man is unlucky—meaning Abū Jahl. Indeed he is not affected by his relationship to Muḥammad as we are, although Muḥammad has the offspring with him. Return with us and leave what he says.” Shayba said, “By God, it will be a disgrace for us, O Abū l-Walīd, if we return now after going out!” So they went.

They reached al-Juḥfa, at ‘Ishā’, where Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt b. Makhrama b. al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘AbdManāf was sleeping. He said, “I believe I was between sleep and waking looking at a man approaching on horseback and leading a camel. He stopped before me and

said, ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a, Shayba b. Rabī‘a, Zama‘a b. al-Aswad, Umayya b. Khalaf, Abū l-Bakhtarī, Abū Ḥakam, Nawfal b. Khuwaylid, as well as others from the nobility of the Quraysh are killed. Suhayl b. ‘Amr is taken prisoner. Ḥārith b. Hisham has run away from his brother.’” He said: One of them said, “I thought that you were among those going out to your graves!” He said: Then I saw him slash the neck of his camel and send it into the camp. And there was not a tent from the camp, but it was spattered with its blood. This was mentioned to Abū Jahl.

The dream spread throughout the camp. Abū Jahl said, “This is another prophet from the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, and you will know tomorrow who was killed, us or Muḥammad and his companions.” The Quraysh said to Juhaym, “Surely Satan jokes with you in your sleep, for tomorrow you will see the dissimilarity from what you saw in your sleep. The noble companions of Muḥammad will be taken captive and killed.” He said: ‘Utba turned to his brother and said, “Would you return? This is a dream like the dream of ‘Ātika and the words of ‘Addās, and by God, ‘Addās did not lie to us. By my life, if Muḥammad is a liar then there are among the Arabs those who will protect us from him (Muḥammad) [Page 43] and if he is truthful, then we will be the happiest of Arabs with him. We are certainly his kinsmen.” Shayba said, “He is as you say, so shall we return from among the people of the camp, in full view of them?” Abū Jahl arrived while they were discussing it. He said, “What do you wish?” They said, “The return. Do you not consider the dream of ‘Ātika, the dream of Juhaym b. al-Ṣalt and the sayings of ‘Addās to us?” He [Abū Jahl] said, “You will desert your people and separate yourselves from them?” They replied, “You are finished and you will destroy your people with you,” and they left with that.

When Abū Sufyān escaped with the caravan, he thought he had saved it. He sent Qays b. Imrā’ l-Qays—who was with the companions of the caravan he went out with from Mecca—to command them to turn back to Mecca. He says, “Your caravan has been saved, so do not give yourselves up to be killed by the people of al-Yathrib. There is no need for you to pursue them. You went out to protect your caravan and your property, and God has saved them. If they refuse you they will not refuse a single target, and they will destroy the songstresses. Indeed, war when it devours, deters.”

He took pains to persuade the Quraysh, but they refused to return. They said: As for the singers, we will surely return them and they returned them from al-Juḥfa. The messenger caught up with Abū Sufyān at al-Hadda (Hadda is seven miles from al-‘Aqaba ‘Usfān and thirty-nine miles from Mecca). He informed him of the Quraysh going forward. Abū Sufyān said, “O my people! This is the work of ‘Amr b. Hishām [Abū Jahl]. He hates to return because he has become the leader of the people. He has unjust desires, despicable and shameful. If the companions of Muḥammad overpower the troops, Muḥammad will humiliate us until he enters Mecca.” The singers were Sara the slave girl of ‘Amr b. Hishām, the slave girls of Umayya b. Khalaf, and the slave girl called ‘Izza belonging to al-Aswad b. al-Muṭṭalib. Abū Jahl said, “No, by God, we will not return [Page 44] until we appear at Badr—and Badr is the place of the festivities of *jāhiliyya* where the Arabs gather, for there is a market in it. The Arabs will hear of us, and of our marching out. We will stay for three days at Badr, where we will slaughter the camels, supply food, and drink wine. The singers will sing for us, and the Arabs will fear us forever.”

The Quraysh sent al-Furāt b. Ḥayyān al-‘Ijlī, when they dispersed from Mecca, to Abū Sufyān b. Ḥarb informing him of their marching and departure, and where they had gathered. But he missed Abū Sufyān, i.e. to say Abū Sufyān stayed close to the sea,

and Furāt took al-Maḥajja and showed up before the polytheists at al-Juḥfa where he heard the words of Abū Jahl who was saying, “We will not return!” He said, “They have no desires against you. Surely he who returns after he sees his revenge at hand is weak!” So he went with the Quraysh and left Abū Sufyān. He was wounded on the day of Badr, and ran away, saying, “I have not seen so painful an affair as this day. Indeed Ibn Ḥanzaliyya is not blessed.”

‘Abd al-Malik b. Ja‘far related to me from Umm Bakr bt. al-Miswar from her father, who said: Akhnas b. Sharīq, also named Ubayy, who was an ally of the Banū Zuhra, said, “O Banū Zuhra, God saved your caravan, your property, and your companion Makhrama b. Nawfal. Indeed, you went out to protect the caravan and what was in it. Muḥammad is a man from among you, the son of your sister. If he is a prophet, you are lucky with him. If he is a liar, it is better that another kills him than that you kill the son of your sister. So return, and let me take the blame. There is no need for you to go out when there is no profit to be made. This man (Abū Jahl) will not do what he says, for indeed he is the destroyer of his people, swift in corrupting them.” So they obeyed him, and his prayers for them were answered. They found in him [Page 45] a good omen. They asked, “How shall we return if we return.” Al-Akhnas said, “We will go out with the people, and when it is the evening, I will fall, and you will say, al-Akhnas is bitten. And when they say, ‘Proceed,’ you shall say, ‘No, we will not be parted from our companion until we know whether he lives or dies so we may bury him.’ And when they leave, we will return.” The Banū Zuhra did so. In the morning when they were in al-Abwā’ returning, it was clear to the people that the Banū Zuhra had gone back. Not one of the Banū Zuhra witnessed Badr. They said: They numbered a hundred or less than a hundred, and this is most likely. Another said that they were three hundred. ‘Adī b. Abī l-Zaghbā’ from Muḥammad’s party while descending to Medina from Badr, informed the riders around him saying:

Stand up to them, O Basbas,
Indeed, the riding beasts of the people should not be stopped.
Forcing them on the road is smarter
Allah granted victory and Akhnas fled.

Muḥammad b. Shujā’ al-Thaljī told us that Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidi said: Abū Bakr b. ‘Abdullah related to me from Abū Bakr b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who said: The Banū ‘Adī went out with a group until they were in Thaniyyat-Laft. When they were in al-Saḥr they turned away from the coast and departed to Mecca. Abū Sufyān unexpectedly came across them, and said, “O Banū ‘Adī, how is it that you return without a caravan and troops?” They said, “You sent to the Quraysh to return, so whoever desired to return, returned.” Not one of the Banū ‘Adī witnessed Badr. Some said that Abū Sufyān said those words when he met them at Marr al-Zahrān. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidi said: The Zuhra returned through al-Juḥfa; as for the Banū ‘Adī, they returned from the road, some say, from Marr al-Zahrān.

[Page 46] The Messenger of God left and, on the morning of the fourteenth of Ramaḍān, he was in ‘Irq al-Zabya. A Bedouin arrived approaching from Tihāma. A companion of the Messenger of God said to him, “Do you have information on Abū Sufyān b. Harb?” He replied, “I do not have information on Abū Sufyān.” They said, “Come, greet the Messenger of God.” He said, “Is the Messenger of God with you?”

They said, “Yes.” He said, “Which of you is the Messenger of God?” They said, “This.” He said, “Are you the Messenger of God?” The Messenger of God said, “Yes.” The Bedouin said, “If what you say is true, tell me what is in the belly of my camel?” Salama b. Salāma b. Waqash replied, “You had sexual intercourse with it and it has been impregnated by you!” The Prophet hated his words and he turned away from him. The Prophet continued on his journey until he reached al-Rawḥā’ on the night of Wednesday, in the middle of the month of Ramaḍān. He prayed at Bi’r Rawḥā’.

Muḥammad b. Shujā’ al-Thaljī related to me that: Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Wāqidī told us: ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz related to me from Abān b. Šāliḥ, from Sa’īd b. al-Musayyib, that the Messenger of God, when he raised his head from the last prostration (*rak’ā*) of his night prayer (*witr*), cursed the disbelievers and said, “O God do not release Abū Jahl, the pharaoh of this community. O God, do not let Zam’a b. al-Aswad escape; O God, make hot the eyes of Abū Zama’a b. Zama’a. O God blind him. O God, do not release Suhayl. O God, save Salama b. Hishām and Ayyāsh b. Abī Rabī’a and the weak among the believers.” al-Walīd b. al-Walīd was not included in his list at that time. He was captured at Badr, but he converted when he returned from Mecca after Badr. He desired to leave for Medina and was captured. The Prophet prayed for him after that. The Messenger of God said to his companions at al-Rawḥā’, “This is *Sajāsij* (winds which are neither hot nor cold),” [Page 47] referring to Wādī al-Rawḥā’. “This is the best valley of the Arabs.”

They said: Khubayb b. Yasāf was a brave man. He refused Islam. When the Prophet went out to Badr, he and Qays b. Muḥarrith went out, but they followed the religion of their people. They caught up with the Prophet in al-‘Aqīq. Khuybayb was wearing iron armor, but the Messenger of God recognized him from under his helmet. The Messenger of God wheeled around towards Sa’d b. Mu’ādh who was coming to his side, and said, “Is it not Khubayb b. Yasāf?” He replied, “Of course.” He said: Khubayb approached until he took the girth of the camel of the Prophet. The Prophet said to Qays b. Muḥarrith—who was also called Qays b. al-Miḥrath and Qays b. al-Ḥārith—“What is it that brings you two out with us?” They said, “You were the son of our brother and our neighbor. We are coming out with our people for the plunder.” The Messenger of God said, “A man does not come out with us without accepting our faith.” Khubayb said, “My people know that I have great ability in war, and am strong in offense. I will fight with you for plunder but I will not convert.” The Messenger of God said, “No; but convert, then fight.” Then he met him again at al-Rawḥā’ and he said, “I submit to God the Lord of the worlds, and I witness that you are the Messenger of God.” The Prophet was happy about that. He said, “Go forth!” He was of great use both in and out of Badr. Qays b. Muḥarrith refused to convert, so he returned to Medina. But when the Messenger of God arrived from Badr, he converted. Then he witnessed Uḥud and was killed.

They said: The Messenger of God, while fasting, went out for a day or two. Then he returned and his herald called out, “O people of disobedience, indeed I am breaking my fast, so break your fast!” This was because [Page 48] he had said to them before, “Break your fast,” and they had not broken their fast.

They said: The Messenger of God went out until he was at a place below Badr, and news came to him about the Quraysh marching. The Messenger of God informed the people about their march and consulted them. Abū Bakr stood up and said nice words. Then ‘Umar got up and he said some nice words. Then he added, “O Messenger of God, they are the Quraysh, and they have power, and, by God, they are not humble

since they are powerful, and, by God, they are not protected since they are disbelievers. By God, they will never surrender their power. They will surely fight you. Be ready therefore for war and make your preparations.” Then al-Miqdād b. ‘Amr stood up and said, “O Messenger of God, go to the affair of God and we will come with you. By God, we will not say to you as the Banū Isrā’īl said to their prophet, ‘Go you and your Lord and fight, while we sit here,’ but go you and your Lord and fight and we will fight with you. By Him who sent you with the truth, if you go with us to Birk al-Ghimād surely we will go with you”—Birk al-Ghimād is beyond Mecca by five nights’ journey towards the coast that follows the sea; it lies eight nights from Yemen on the way from Mecca. The Messenger of God said kind words to him, and prayed for his happiness. Then the Messenger of God said, “Advise me, O people!” But the Messenger of God meant the Anṣār, for he thought that the Anṣār would help him in their land alone. That was because they stipulated to him that they would protect him from that which they protected their women and children.

The Messenger of God said, “Advise me.” Sa’d b. Mu’ādh stood up and said, “I will answer for the Anṣār for it appears to me that you are referring to us.” He said, “Yes, indeed.” Sa’d said, “Perhaps you have gone out of an affair because another was revealed to you. But surely we already believe in you and trust you, and we testify that all of what you bring us is true and we give you our agreement and our promise that are based on ‘we hear and obey.’ So go, O Prophet of God, for by Him who [Page 49] sent you with the truth, if you consider this a sea and go through it, we will go with you, for there is not a man among us who will stay behind. Take whoever you wish and leave behind whoever you wish. And take from our property what you wish, for what you take from it is dearer to us than what you leave. By Him who holds my soul in His hands, I have not taken this path before, and have no knowledge of it. But we do not hate to meet our enemy tomorrow. Surely, we are patient in war and trustworthy at the meeting. Perhaps God will show you what will endear us to you.”

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us, saying: Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to me from ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatāda from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, that Sa’d said, “O Messenger of God, surely we have left behind among our people, a people whose love for you is as strong as ours. Nor are we more obedient than them. They have a desire for *jihād* and an intention. If they had thought that you were going to meet an enemy they would not have stayed away. But they thought that it was the caravan.

We will build a booth for you, and watch over you and your riding animals. Then we will meet our enemy, and if God strengthens us he will grant us victory and that is what we desire. But if it is otherwise, you will sit on your camel and meet those who are behind us.” The Prophet spoke kind words to him. He said, “O Sa’d, may God grant something better than this.” They said: When Sa’d concluded his advice, the Messenger of God said, “Go, by the grace of God, for He has promised me one of the two parties. By God, it looks to me as if I see the places where the people fall.” The Messenger of God showed us the places of death at that time. This is the site of so and so; and not one of them was killed away from his prescribed place. The people knew that they were joining the battle, and that the caravan had escaped. They hoped for victory in accordance with the words of the Prophet.

Muḥammad related to us, he said: Al-Wāqidī related to us, he said: Abū Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abdullah b. ‘Aṭīyya b. ‘Abdullah b. Unays, from his father, said: [Page 50] The Prophet gave out the flags, at that time, and there were three, and he displayed the weapons. He had set out from Medina without an established flag.

The Messenger of God went out from al-Rawḥā' and he took the road to al-Maḍīq. Then he went to Khabīratayn, and he prayed between the two cities. Then he turned right, and then left, in the valley until he passed Khayf al-Mu'tariḍa and went past Thanniyat al-Mu'tariḍa until they came to al-Tayya. Here they met Sufyān al-Ḍamrī. The Messenger of God was hurrying along with Qatāda b. al-Nu'mān al-Zafarī—and some say 'Abdullah b. Ka'b al-Māzanī, while others say Mu'ādh b. Jabal—and he met Sufyān al-Ḍamrī at al-Tayyā. The Messenger of God said, "Who is this man?" He said, "Ḍamrī; and who are you?" The Messenger of God said, "Tell us, and we will tell you." Al-Ḍamrī said, "This for that?" The Prophet said, "Yes." Al-Ḍamrī said, "Ask about what you wish!" The Prophet said, "Tell us about the Quraysh." Al-Ḍamrī said, "It has reached me that they set out on such and such a day from Mecca, and if he who informed me was telling the truth, they will now be by the side of this valley." The Messenger of God said, "Inform us about Muḥammad and his companions?" He said, "I was informed that they went out from Yathrib on such and such a day, and, if he who informed me was truthful, they will be by this valley." Al-Ḍamrī said, "Who are you?" The Prophet said, "We are from Mā'," and he pointed with his hand towards al-'Irāq. Al-Ḍamrī said, "From Mā' of al-'Irāq!" Then the Messenger of God turned to his companions. Not one of the two parties knew about the situation of the other. Between them was a mound of sand.

[Page 51] They prayed at al-Daba; then they prayed at Sayar, at Dhāt al-Ajdāl, at Khayf 'Ayn al-'Alā', and then at al-Khabīratayn. The Messenger of God looked at the two mountains and said, "What are the names of these two mountains?" They said, "Musliḥ and Mukhrī." He asked, "Who lives on them?" They said, "The Banū Nār and Banū Ḥurāq." The Messenger of God turned from Khabīratayn and continued until he crossed al-Khuyūf. Then he made them take the left route until they came to Mu'tariḍa, where Basbas and 'Adi b. Abī l-Zaghbā' joined him and informed him of the news.

The Prophet alighted at the valley of Badr on the eve of Friday, the seventeenth of Ramaḍān. He sent 'Alī, al-Zubayr, Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, and Basbas b. 'Amr to look for water. He pointed towards al-Zurayb and said: I hope that you will find news at this well near al-Zurayb: the well is a water-hole whose source is in al-Zurayb—al-Zurayb is a small hill. They pushed on until they reached al-Zurayb and found at that well, which the Prophet mentioned, the watering camels of the Quraysh and their water carriers. The Muslims encountered the Quraysh, but most of them slipped away.

Among those known to have escaped was 'Ujayr. He was the first who came to the Quraysh with news of the Messenger of God. He called out: O family of Ghālib, this son of Abū Kabshā and his companions took your water-carriers. The soldiers became agitated for they hated the news.

[Page 52] Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām said: We were in a tent of ours, around a slaughtered camel roasting its flesh, when all of a sudden we heard the news, and could no longer digest our food. We started to meet with each other. 'Utba b. Rabī'a met me and said: "O Abū Khālid, I do not know of any expedition more strange than ours. Indeed, our caravan has been saved, yet we come to a people in their land wishing them harm." 'Utba said of the momentous affair, "There is no decision for one who is not obeyed. This is the misfortune of Ibn Ḥanzaliyya (Abū Jahl)! O Abū Khālid, do you not fear that the people will attack us at night?" I said, "I do not feel safe about that." He said, "And what is the decision, O Abū Khālid?" I said, "We will keep watch until morning when you will see who is behind you." 'Utba said, "This is the decision!" He said: So we

kept watch until dawn. Abū Jahl said, “What is this? This is from the command of ‘Utba who hates fighting Muḥammad and his companions! Surely this is strange. Do you doubt that Muḥammad and his companions will confront your gathering? By God, I shall move aside with my people where no one is guarding us.” He turned aside, and the heavens rained down upon him. ‘Utba says, “This is, indeed, an unhappy diversion. They have taken your water carriers.”

That night, Yasār, the slave of ‘Ubayda b. Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ, and Aslam the slave of Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj and Abū Rāfi‘ the slave of Umayya b. Khalaf were taken, and brought to the Prophet while he was standing in prayer. They said; “We are the water carriers of the Quraysh who sent us to fill their bags with water.” The community hated their news. They had hoped that they belonged to Abū Sufyān and the companions of the caravan, so they struck them. Once they had unsettled them with their strokes the slaves said, “We belong to Abū Sufyān and we are with the caravan. This caravan is in this sand hill.” So they kept away from them.

The Prophet freed himself from his prayer. He said: [Page 53] “If they tell you the truth, you strike them, and if they lie to you, you leave them!” The companions of the Prophet said: “They informed us, O Messenger of God, that the Quraysh have come.” The Messenger of God said: “They told you the truth. The Quraysh have set out to protect their caravan. They fear you will take it.” Then the Messenger of God approached the water carriers and said: “Where are the Quraysh?” They said: “Behind this sand dune.” He said: “How many are they?” They said: “Many.” He said: “How many do they number?” They said: “We do not know their numbers.” He said: “How many camels did they slaughter?” They replied: “Some days ten, and on others, nine.” He said: “The people number between one thousand and nine hundred.” The Messenger of God said to the water carriers: “Who went out from Mecca?” They said: “There was not one who had a belly (courage) but he went out.” The Messenger of God approached the people and said: “This is Mecca. It has thrown out to you its liver (most dear).” Then he asked them: “Did any of them go back?” They said, “Ibn Abī Shurayq of the Banū Zuhra returned.” The Messenger of God said, “He has guided them rightly, even though, as you know, he is an enemy of God and His book.” He said: “Anyone else?” They said: “The Banū ‘Adī b. Ka‘b.”

Then the Messenger of God said to his companions: “Advise me about the camp-site.” al-Ḥubab b. al-Mundhir said: “O Messenger of God, have you considered this site? Is it a site that God revealed to you, for then it is not for us to encourage you in it or hold you back from it. Or is it a decision and a strategy of war?” The Prophet replied, “Rather, it is the decision and strategy of war.” He said: “Surely, this is not a good site. Let us go until we are near the water of the people. Indeed I know it and its wells; in it is a well, I know, with sweet water; the water is plentiful and it is not far. Then we will build above it a cistern, and throw in it our vessels, and we will drink and we will fight and we will spoil the other wells.” [Page 54] Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us that: Ibn Abī Ḥabība related to me from Dāwud b. al-Ḥuṣayn from ‘Ikrima from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said: Gabriel revealed to the Messenger of God, saying, “The counsel is as al-Ḥubāb indicated.” The Messenger of God said: “O Ḥubāb, you indicated the right advice.” The Messenger of God endorsed and acted on it.

Muḥammad related to us, that al-Wāqidī related to us that: ‘Ubayd b. Yaḥyā related to me from Mu‘ādh b. Rifā‘a, from his father, who said: “God sent rain from the heavens and the valley was *Dahsan*—*Dahsan* means sandy. The muddy earth was difficult but it did not prevent us from marching. It hurt the Quraysh such that they were

unable to ride, for between them were mounds of sand. They said: Sleep overcame the Muslims that night. Neither rain nor harm overtook them. al-Zubayr b. al-Awwām said: Sleep ruled over us that night until even I could not resist. The earth had covered me and I was capable of only that. The Messenger of God and his companions were in that same situation. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ said, "I remember having my beard between my hands, and I did not feel a thing until I fell on my side." Rifā'a b. Rāfi' b. Mālik said: Sleep overcame me, and I had wet dreams until I washed late at night.

They said: When the Prophet withdrew to his camp after he took the water carriers. He sent 'Ammār b. Yāsir and Ibn Mas'ūd and they both went among the people and returned to the Prophet and said, "O Messenger of God, the people are alarmed and frightened. Indeed when a horse wants to whinny they strike its face." The heavens rained down on them. When they arose, Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj—and he was a man who recognized tracks—said, [Page 55] "These are the signs of Ibn Sumayya and Ibn Umm 'Abd. I know them. Muḥammad has come with our foolish, and the foolish from Yathrib." Then he said: "Hunger does not let us shelter for the night; it is inevitable that we die or cause death."

Abū 'Abdullah said: I mentioned the words of Nubayh b. al-Ḥajjāj, "Hunger does not let us shelter," to Muḥammad b. Yaḥya b. Sahl b. Ḥathma: and he said: By my life, they were surely satisfied! Indeed my father informed me that he heard Nawfal b. Mu'āwiya say: That night we slaughtered ten camels. We were in one of their tents roasting the hump and the liver and the delicious meat, fearful of a sudden attack from the enemy, and keeping watch until the light of dawn. I heard a warner say after the glow of dawn, "These are the signs of Ibn Sumayya and Ibn Mas'ūd!" And I heard him say, "Fear does not let us take shelter in the night: It is inevitable that we die or cause death. O people of the Quraysh, observe tomorrow. If we encounter Muḥammad and his companions, stay with those kinsmen of yours and attack the people of Yathrib. Indeed, if we return with them to Mecca, they will recognize their error and will not part from the faith of their forefathers."

Muḥammad related to us, that al-Wāqidī related to us that: Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to me from 'Aṣim b. 'Umar from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, who said: When Muḥammad alighted at the well, a resting place of palm branches was built for him. Sa'd b. Mu'ādh stood at the door of the booth wearing his sword on a belt. Then the Prophet, he and Abū Bakr entered.

Yaḥya b. 'Abdullāh b. Abī Qatāda related to me from 'Abdullah b. Abī Bakr [Page 56] b. Ḥazm, who said: The Messenger of God arranged his companions in rows before the Quraysh appeared. When the Quraysh appeared, the Prophet was still arranging them in rows. They had filled a basin before dawn and thrown their vessels in it. The Messenger of God gave the flag to Muṣ'ab b. 'Umayr, and Muṣ'ab approached the place where the Prophet wanted him to place it. The Messenger of God stopped and looked at the lines. He turned to face the West and put the sun behind him. The polytheists approached and faced the sun. The Messenger of God alighted on the side of al-Shām while they alighted on the side of Yemen—'Udwat al-nahr or 'Udwat al-wādī means the two sides. One of his companions said, "O Messenger of God, if this came from you according to an inspiration, then go to it. If not, I think I see you go above the valley, for I think I see a wind has risen from above it; Indeed, I think it was sent to help you. The Messenger of God said: I have arranged my rows and I have placed my flag, and I will not change that. Then the Messenger of God asked his Lord, and Gabriel came down to him with this verse: *When you implored the assistance of your*

Lord, He answered you, “I will assist you with a thousand angels rank upon rank (Q. 8:9),” i.e. a group of angels immediately following an earlier group.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Muʿāwiya b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to me from Yazīd b. Rūmān from ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr that the Prophet arranged the lines at that time. Sawād b. Ghaziyya appeared and stood in front of the rows, and the Prophet pushed his arrowhead into his stomach, saying to him, “Stand in line, O Sawād.” Sawād said, “You have hurt me. [Page 57] By Him who sent you with the truth as Prophet, let me retaliate!” The Messenger of God uncovered his stomach and said, “Retaliate!” Instead, Sawād embraced and kissed him. The Prophet said to him, “What changed you regarding what I did?” He replied, “What you see is one who attends to the affairs of God. I fear the battle and hope it will be my last time with you, so I embraced you.” They said: The Messenger of God straightened out the lines at that time as though he were arranging arrowheads.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Mūsā b. Yaʿqūb related to me from Abū l-Ḥuwayrith, from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭʿim from a man from the Banū Awd, who said: I heard ʿAlī say, when he was speaking in al-Kūfa: While I was drawing water at the well of Badr—*amīḥ* means to draw water and he who draws the bucket, and *al-maḥ* is also used—a wind came, and I have not seen one so strong. Then it went and another wind came, and I had not seen one like it except for that which came before. Then it went and another wind came, and I had not seen one like it except for that which came before. The first was Gabriel with a thousand angels with the Messenger of God, and the second was Mikāʿīl with a thousand from the right of the Messenger of God and Abū Bakr, and the third was Isrāfīl with a thousand, who alighted from the left side of the Messenger of God and I was on the left. When God most high defeated his enemies, the Messenger of God carried me on his horse, and when it trotted I fell on its neck and called out, “My Lord,” and the Prophet held me until I was stable, for what had I to do with horses; surely [Page 58] I was but a shepherd! When I was firmly seated, these hands of mine pierced the enemy until this—meaning his armpit—was reddened with my blood.

They said: Abū Bakr, who was at that time on the right, and Zamaʿa b. al-Aswad commanded the cavalry of the polytheists. Yaḥyā b. al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān related to me from his father, who said that al-Ḥārith b. Hishām was commander of the cavalry of the polytheists, and on the right was Hubayra b. Abī Wahb, while on the left was Zamʿa b. al-Aswad. Another said that on the right was al-Ḥārith b. ʿĀmir, and on the left was ʿAmr b. ʿAbdWadd.

Muḥammad related to us that, al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ related to me from Yazīd b. Rūmān; and Ibn Abī Ḥabība related to me from Dāwud b. al-Ḥuṣayn: they both said that neither the one on the right—that is of the Messenger of God—on the day of Badr, nor the one on his left, was named. Likewise, we have no names for those on the right or left of the polytheists. Ibn Wāqid said: This is confirmed with us.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Muḥammad b. Qudāma related to me from ʿUmar b. Ḥuṣayn, who said: The flag of the Messenger of God was at that time the biggest. The flag of the Muhājirūn was with Muṣʿab b. ʿUmayr; the flag of the Khazraj, with al-Ḥubāb b. Mundhir; and the flag of Aws, with Saʿd b. Muʿādh. The Quraysh had three flags: there was a flag with Abū ʿAzīz, a flag with al-Naḍr b. al-Ḥārith, and a flag with Ṭalḥa b. Abī Ṭalḥa.

They said: The Messenger of God spoke at that time. He praised God and commended

Him. Then he said, while he was commanding them and urging them and increasing their desire regarding the reward that was to come, “As for that which is after, indeed I urge you to what God urges you, and I forbid you from what God forbids you. Surely God is great in His affairs, commanding the right and loving the truth. He gives His people happiness according to their position with Him. With Him do they seek remembrance and with Him do they seek precedence in excellence. Surely, you have awakened in one [Page 59] of the places of righteousness. God receives in it only those who desire His face. Indeed, patience in places of difficulty is one of the means by which God releases one’s grief and saves one from distress, and brings one to deliverance in the next world. With you is the Prophet of God who will warn you and command you. Be humble today that God most high will overlook something of your affair that He detests you for. Indeed God says: *greater was the aversion of God to you than your aversion of yourselves* (Q. 40:10). Observe that which He commands you from His Book and shows you of His signs, for He has strengthened you after lowliness. Cling to it so that your Lord will be satisfied with you. Perform repeatedly for your Lord in these situations as decreed, so you will deserve that which He promised you in it from His graciousness and His forgiveness. Indeed His promise is true, His word, trustworthy, and His punishment, severe. Indeed you and I are with God everlasting. He is our refuge, and to Him do we cling. In God do we trust. With Him is our destiny. May God forgive me and the Muslims.”

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidi related to us saying, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah related to me from al-Zuhrī according to ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ; and from ‘Āṣim b. ‘Umar according to Yazīd b. Rūmān who both said that when the Messenger of God saw the Quraysh coming down the valley—the first who appeared was Zama‘a b. al-Aswad upon a horse of his, followed by his son—he turned around with his horse desiring to prepare a stop for the people. The Messenger of God said, “O God, surely You revealed the Book to me, You commanded me to fight, and You promised me one of the two factions. You will not betray your promise! O God, these Quraysh have arrived with their horses and their glory. They challenge You and lie about Your messenger. O God, You promised me Your help. O God, destroy them this morning!” ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a appeared [Page 60] on a red camel, and the Messenger of God said, “If there is a good man in this group he will be the master of that red camel. If they obey him they will be rightly guided.”

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidi related to us saying, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdullah related to me from al-Zuhrī, from ‘Abdullah b. Mālik, who said: Īmā’ b. Raḥḍa sent a son of his with ten slaughtering camels to the Quraysh, when they passed by him. He gifted them to the Quraysh and said, “If you want, we can provide you weapons and men—we are prepared for that and ready—we will act.” And they sent a reply saying, “You are closely related, and have fulfilled your responsibility. By my life, if we are fighting people we are not weak compared to them. But if we are fighting God, as Muḥammad claims, surely there is none with the power of God.”

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidi related to us saying, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith related to me from his grandfather, ‘Ubayd b. Abī ‘Ubayd, from Khufāf b. Īmā’ b. Raḥḍa, who said: Nothing was more desirable to my father than peace among his people. He was the keeper of that peace. When the Quraysh passed by he sent me with ten slaughtering camels as a gift for them. I approached driving them and my father followed behind. I gave them to the Quraysh and they accepted them and delivered them to the tribes. My father passed by ‘Utba b. Rabī‘a—and he was the lord

of the people at that time—and my father said, “O Abū l-Walīd, what is this march?” He replied, “By God I do not know, I have been over ruled.” My father said, “But you are the lord of the tribe. What prevents you returning with the people and assuming the blood of your ally, and bringing the caravan that they captured at Nakhla and delivering it to your people? By God, what do you seek of the power of Muḥammad other than this? By God, O Abū l-Walīd, you only kill yourselves through Muḥammad and his companions.”

Ibn Abī l-Zinād related to me from his father, who said: We have not heard that anyone was lord without [Page 61] wealth except ‘Utba b. Rabī’a. Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us saying, Mūsā b. Ya’qūb related to me from Abū Ḥuwayrith from Muḥammad b. Jubayr b. Muṭ’im, who said: When the people descended, the Messenger of God sent ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb to the Quraysh saying, “Return! I would have preferred it if someone other than you had come to take control of this affair, and I would rather that I take control of the affair from other than you.” And Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām said, “He proposes justice, so accept it. By God, you will not be victorious over him after what he proposes of justice.”

He said: Abū Jahl said, “By God, we will not return now that God has made it possible to get them. We will not run after a shadow after we have seen the source. Our caravan will not be intercepted after this, ever.” They said: A group of Quraysh approached until they arrived at al-Ḥawḍ. Among them was Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām. The Muslims desired to oust them i.e. to drive them away. The Prophet said, “Leave them!” They arrived and drank the water, and not one from among them drank but he was killed, except for Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām.

Abū Ishāq related to me from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd from Sa’īd b. al-Musayyib, who said: Ḥakīm was saved from fate twice for what God desired with him of good. The Messenger of God went out against a group of polytheists. They were seated and waiting for him, and he read Yā Sīn and left sand on their heads. And there was not one among them present but he was killed except for Ḥakīm. He arrived at al-Ḥawḍ on the day of Badr. None arrived at al-Ḥawḍ, at that time, but he was killed except for Ḥakīm.

[Page 62] They said: When the people became calm they sent ‘Umayr b. Wahb al-Jumaḥī who was the master of the divining arrows. They said: Evaluate Muḥammad and his companions for us. So, he went around the campsite with his horse towards the wadi, and ascended it, saying, may be they have assistance or have prepared an ambush. But he returned and said: “They have neither assistance nor ambush. They have three hundred people or a little more with seventy camels and two horses.” Then he said: “O people of the Quraysh, the catastrophe brings death. The camels of Yathrib carry poisonous death. The people do not have the power of resistance or refuge other than their swords. Do you not see them dumb and not speaking. They put forth their evil tongues like serpents. By God, I do not see that a man among them will be killed until he kills a man from us. If they kill among you as many as their number, there will be no goodness in life after that. So consider your decision.”

Muḥammad related to us, that al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Zafarī related to me from his father, who said: When Umayr b. Wahb said these words to them, they sent Abū Usāma al-Jushamī—he was a rider—He went around the Prophet and his companions, then returned to them and they said to him: “What did you see?” He said: “By God, I did not see toughness, or numbers or weapons or quivers. But, by God, I saw a people who did not desire to return with their families; a people

desiring death. They did not have the power of resistance nor refuge except their swords. Blue eyed, they were like pebbles under the shield.” Then he said that he [I] feared that they would have an ambush or assistance, so he went towards the wadi and ascended. Then he returned to them and said. “There is neither ambush nor assistance. Consider your decision!”

Muḥammad related to us saying, al-Wāqidī related to us that Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullah related to us from al-Zuhrī from [Page 63] ʿUrwa; and Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar and Ibn Rūmān, who said: That when Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām heard what ʿUmayr b. Wahb said, he walked with the people to ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa and said, “O Abū l-Walīd, you are an elder of the Quraysh and their Lord, and command their obedience. What is there for you except to continue doing happily, among them, until the end of time, what you did on the day of ʿUkkāz!” ʿUtba at that time was the leader of the people. He said, “What is that, O Abū l-Khālīd?” He replied, “Return with the people and assume the blood of your confederate and what Muḥammad captured of that caravan in the valley of Nakhla. Surely you do not seek from Muḥammad anything other than this blood and the caravan?” ʿUtba said, “I shall do so or you can testify against me about that.” He said: Then ʿUtba sat on his camel and went among the polytheists of the Quraysh saying: “O people, obey me and do not fight this man and his companions. Bind this affair on my head and blame it on my cowardice. Indeed among them are men whose relationship is close. The man among you will not stop looking at the killer of his father and his brother. Hatred and malice will be bequeathed among you. You will never be able to finish them off without them killing the same number among you. Moreover there is no guarantee that you will have success. You seek only the blood of this man and the caravan that was taken. I will carry that and take it upon myself! O people, if Muḥammad is false to you, the jackals of the Arabs will take care of him—the jackal of the Arabs is the most destitute of the Arabs; but if he will be your king, you will eat in the kingdom of the son of your brother; and if he will be your prophet you will be the happiest of men with him! O people, do not reject my advice or consider my opinion light witted!” He said: Abū Jahl was envious of ʿUtba when he heard his speech, and he said to himself that if the people responded to [Page 64] ʿUtba’s speech, he would be the lord of the community.

ʿUtba was the most outspoken among the people, and his language was most beautiful. He said, “I implore you, by God, make these directions, that are like lanterns, replace those directions that compare to serpents!” When ʿUtba completed his words, Abū Jahl said, “Surely ʿUtba points you in this direction because his son is with Muḥammad, and Muḥammad is the son of his uncle. He detests the fact that his son and the son of his uncle will be killed. Filled, by God, were your lungs, O ʿUtba, yet were you fearful of when the two armies met. (The two rings of the belly girth met)! Now you abandon us and command us to return? No, by God, we will not return until God judges between Muḥammad and us.” He said: ʿUtba was angry, and he replied, “O you with the yellow buttocks, you will learn which of us is a coward and low. The Quraysh will learn who is the corrupt coward for his people!” He recited:

Was it cowardice, when I commanded my commands?

I will make my announcement of bereavement to the mother of ʿAmr.

Then Abū Jahl wen to ʿĀmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī the brother of the man who was killed at Nakhla, and said, “This is your ally, ʿUtba, and he desires to return with the people

after you have seen your revenge. He weakens the people and takes upon himself the blood of your brother, and claims that you accepted the blood money. Are you not ashamed to accept the blood money when you have power over the killer of your brother? Stand up and plead for your rights.” ‘Āmir b. Ḥaḍramī stood up and was revealed. He scattered dust on his head, [Page 65] then shouted, “Woe is his life!” ‘Utba was insulted by that because he (‘Utba) was his ally from the Quraysh. ‘Āmir had spoiled for the people the opinion to which ‘Utba had invited them. He vowed that he would not return until he killed one of the companions of Muḥammad. He said to ‘Umayr b. Wahb, “Incite the people!” ‘Umayr attacked the Muslims in order to destroy the lines, but the Muslims stood firm and adhered to their rows. Ibn Ḥaḍramī came forward and exerted pressure on the people and war broke out.

Muḥammad related to us, that al-Wāqidī related to us that: ‘Ā’idh b. Yaḥyā related to me from Abū l-Ḥuwayrith from Nāfi’ b. Jubayr from Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām, who said: When Abū Jahl corrupted the opinion of the people ‘Āmir b. al-Ḥaḍramī instigated them and pushed in with his horse. Mihja’, the *mawlā* of ‘Umar, was the first who went out to oppose him, and ‘Āmir killed him. Ḥāritha b. Surāqa was the first to fall in battle and be killed among the Anṣār. Ḥibbān b. al-‘Ariqa killed him; but some said it was ‘Umayr b. al-Ḥumām, and that Khālīd b. al-A‘lam al-‘Uqaylī killed him. Muḥammad related to us saying al-Wāqidī related to us that all the Meccans say it was none other than Ḥibbān b. al-‘Ariqa.

They said: ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb said in the council of his guardianship, “O ‘Umayr b. Wahb, you appraised us for the polytheists on the day of Badr. You ascended to the valley and then you came down such that I saw your horse under you, and you informed the polytheists that we had no ambush or assistance.” He said, “By God, O commander of the faithful!” Another said, “It was I, by God, who instigated the people at that time; but God came with Islam and guided us to it. The polytheism within us was not greater than that.” ‘Umar said, “You speak the truth!”

They said: ‘Utba spoke to Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām and said; “There is no disagreement with anyone but [Page 66] Ibn al-Ḥanzaliyya. Go and say to him: Surely ‘Utba will take the blood of his confederate and the responsibility for the caravan.” Ḥakīm said: I visited Abū Jahl and he was applying perfume, and his coat of mail was in his hands. I said to him: ‘Utba sent me to you. He approached me angrily and said: Could ‘Utba not find anyone other than you to send? I replied: If it was other than him, I would not, by God, do this; but I come to ameliorate between the people, for Abū l-Walīd is the lord of the tribe. Abū Jahl became angry again and said: You say also the lord of the tribe? I said: I say it, and all of the Quraysh say it! So Abū Jahl commanded ‘Āmir to shout out his protection and be revealed. He said, “Indeed ‘Utba is hungry, so satisfy him with barley.” The polytheists began to say, “Indeed ‘Utba is hungry, so satisfy him with barley.” Abū Jahl was delighted by what the polytheists did with ‘Utba.

Ḥakīm said: I went to Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj and said what I said to Abū Jahl, and found him better than Abū Jahl. He said, “Blessed is what you come with, and what ‘Utba invites us to.” I returned to ‘Utba and found him angry over the words of the Quraysh. He alighted from his camel and walked among them in the camp and commanded them to stop fighting, but they refused. So, seething with rage he put on his coat of mail. They searched for a helmet for him, but could not find one among the soldiers to fit his head because his skull was so large. When he saw that, he draped a turban and appeared between his brother Shayba and his son al-Walīd b. ‘Utba. Meanwhile Abū Jahl was in line on a female horse. ‘Utba came beside him and drew his

sword. It was said: By God, he will kill him! 'Utba struck the tendon of Abū Jahl's horse and the horse collapsed. I said, "I have not seen such a day!" They said: 'Utba said, "Get down. This day is not [Page 67] a day of riding. Not all your people are mounted." Abū Jahl got down and 'Utba says, "You will learn which of us is more corrupting of his tribe this morning!" Then 'Utba called for a duel.

The Messenger of God was in the booth and his companions were lined up. While lying down, sleep had overcome the Prophet. He said, "Do not fight until I command you. If they draw near, aim at them with arrows but do not draw your swords until they overpower you." Abū Bakr said, "O Prophet, the people draw near and they attack us." Now, the Prophet awoke for God had shown them to him a little in his sleep. Some of it appeared little in the eyes of others. The Prophet became fearful and raised his hands and begged God for the help He had promised him, saying, "O God, if this group perseveres over me, polytheism will prevail and your religion will not stand." Abū Bakr says, "God will surely help you and bring you happiness." Ibn Rawāḥa said, "O Messenger of God, I will counsel you. The Messenger of God is more wise and knowledgeable about God than he who advises him. Indeed God is most exalted and most knowledgeable about that which you implore Him and His promise." The Messenger of God said, "O Ibn Rawāḥa, did I not beseech God for His promise? Surely God will not fail in His promise."

'Utba approached intending to fight. Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām said to him, "Abū l-Walīd, hold back, hold back. You have forbidden something and you are the first to it!" Khufāf b. Īmā' said: I saw the companions of the Prophet on the day of Badr. The people marched in close rank. I saw that the companions of the Prophet did not draw the sword, but strummed the bow. Some of them shielded others with rows arranged so close that there was no gap between them. Still others drew their swords when they appeared. I marveled at that and I asked a man from the Muhajirūn about that later. He said: The Messenger of God commanded us not to draw our [Page 68] swords until we were overwhelmed.

They said: When the people of the two armies came closer to each other, al-Aswad b. 'Abd al-Asad al-Makhzūmī said, when he drew near to the cistern, "By God, I promise, I shall drink from their cistern or destroy it, or I shall die in the attempt." Aswad b. 'Abd al-Asad ran until he was close to the cistern, and Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib approached him and struck him and cut his foot. When he fell, al-Aswad crawled until he fell into the cistern, broke it with his healthy foot, and drank from it. Ḥamza followed him and struck him in the cistern and killed him. The polytheists observing their lines thought that they were victorious. Some of the people approached others for a duel. 'Utba, Shayba and al-Walīd went out until they were separated from the line. Then they called for a duel. Three youths from the Anṣār went out to them; they were the sons of 'Afrā': Mu'ādh, Mu'awwidh and 'Awf, the Banū al-Ḥārith—though some say the third was 'Abdullah b. Rawāḥa. It is confirmed with us that they were the sons of 'Afrā'.

The Messenger of God was ashamed of that. He hated that the first battle in which the Muslims met the polytheists was with the Anṣār. He wanted the affective force to be from the sons of his uncle and his people. He commanded them and they returned to their lines. He said to them, "Well done!" Then a herald from the polytheists called out, "O Muḥammad, send our equals from our people out to us." The Messenger of God said to them, "O Banū Hāshim, stand and fight for the rights that God sent with your prophet for they have brought their evil to extinguish the light of God." Ḥamza b. 'Abd

al-Muṭṭalib, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. ʿAbdManāf stood up, and walked up to them. ʿUtba said, “Speak that we may recognize you—for they were wearing helmets that hid their faces—and if you are a match we will fight you.” Ḥamza said, “I am Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, the lion of God and the lion of His Prophet.” ʿUtba said, “A gracious match.” Then ʿUtba said, “I am the lion of the confederates/forest. And who are these with you?” Ḥamza said, [Page 69] “ʿĀlī b. Abī Ṭālib, and ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith.” He responded, “Two gracious equals.”

Ibn Abī l-Zinād said from his father: I have not heard a word from ʿUtba so feeble as his words, “I am the lion of the forest,” for *al-Ḥalfā* means the confederates/forest. Then ʿUtba said to his son, “Stand, O Walīd,” and al-Walīd stood up. And ʿAlī stood up to him. Walīd was the youngest of the group and ʿAlī killed him. Then ʿUtba came forward, and Ḥamza stood up to him. The two of them exchanged blows and Ḥamza killed him. Then Shayba stood up, and ʿUbayda b. al-Ḥārith stood up to him—he was at that time the oldest companion of the Prophet—and Shayba struck ʿUbayda with the edge of his sword. Then he reached out to the muscles of his leg and cut them. Ḥamza and ʿAlī turned upon Shayba and killed him. They carried ʿUbayda and returned him to the line. The marrow of his leg oozed out, and ʿUbayda said, “O Messenger of God, am I not a martyr?” He replied, “But of course.” ʿUbayda said, “By God, if Abū Ṭālib were alive he will know that I am more trustworthy about what he said about it,” He said:

[Page 70] You lied, by the house of God, when you said: We will give Muḥammad up without a thrust in his defense.

We are committed to him until we lie dead around him, unmindful of our children and wives.

A Qurʾān verse was revealed: *These two antagonists dispute about their lord* (Q. 22:19).

Ḥamza was older than the Prophet by four years, and al-ʿAbbās was older than the Prophet by three years. They said: When ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa called for the duel, his son came up to him and challenged him. The Messenger of God said to him, “Sit down!” When the group stood up to him Abū Ḥudhayfa b. ʿUtba helped with blows against his father. Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us that: Ibn Abī Zinād related to us from his father that: Shayba was older than ʿUtba by three years.

Muḥammad related to us saying, al-Wāqidī related to us that: Maʿmar b. Rāshid related to me from al-Zuhrī, from ʿAbdullah b. Thaʿlaba b. Ṣuʿayr, who said: Abū Jahl implored God for victory on the day of Badr. He said, “O God, he cut us off from our relatives, and brought us the unknown. So destroy him today.” God revealed in his graciousness. *If you ask your lord for victory the conquest comes to you. If you desist (from wrong) it is better for you* (Q. 8:19).

ʿUmar b. ʿUqba related to me from Shuʿba, the *mawlā* of Ibn ʿAbbās, saying: I heard Ibn ʿAbbās say: When the people stood up, the Prophet fell down in a faint for an hour. Then he was lifted from it and he proclaimed to the believers that Gabriel was with an army of angels to the right of the [Page 71] people, Mīkāʾīl was with an army on the left of the Messenger of God, and Isrāfīl was with another army of a thousand.

Satan, who had taken the form of Surāqa b. Juʿsham al-Mudlijī, incited the polytheists informing them that none of the people could defeat them. When the enemy of God perceived the angels, he retreated. He said: Indeed I am free of you, for I saw what you did not see. Ḥārith b. Hishām stayed with him for he thought that it was Surāqa because

of what he heard him say. But he struck al-Ḥārith in the chest and al-Ḥārith fell. Then Satan rushed away and was not seen until he fell into the sea, and raised his two hands crying, “O lord, keep the appointment that you promised me.”

Abū Jahl approached his companions and urged them to fight, saying, “Do not be deceived by the withdrawal of Surāqa b. Ju’shum. Indeed, he was on an appointment with Muḥammad and his companions. He will learn when we return to Qudayd what we will do to his people. Do not be disturbed by the death of ‘Utba and Shayba and al-Walīd. Surely they were hasty and reckless when they went to battle. I swear by God, we will not return today until we bind Muḥammad and his companions with ropes. Not one among you shall kill one of them, but rather, take them captive. We will teach them a lesson for their withdrawal from your religion and their detestation of what your fathers’ worshipped.”

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī said: Ibn Abī Ḥabība related to me from Dāwud b. al-Ḥuṣayn from ‘Urwa from ‘Ā’isha, who said: The Prophet made a secret code “O Banū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān,” for the Muhajirūn on the day of Badr. The secret code for the Khazraj was “O Banū ‘Abdullah.” And the secret code for the Aws was “O Banū ‘Ubaydullāh.” Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us that: ‘Abdullah b. [Page 72] Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. ‘Alī related to me from Ishāq b. Sālim from Zayd b. ‘Alī that the code of the Prophet on the day of Badr was “O Manṣūr, kill!”

They said: Seven youths from the Quraysh converted, so their fathers detained them. Those who went out with them to Badr in a state of doubt and indecision were: Qays b. al-Walīd b. al-Mughīra, Abū Qays b. al-Fākih b. al-Mughīra, al-Ḥārith b. Zama’a, ‘Alī b. Umayya b. Khalaf, and al-‘Āṣ b. Munabbih b. al-Ḥajjāj. When they arrived in Badr and saw the small number of the companions of the Prophet, they said: Their religion has misled these. God most high says: *Who puts his trust in God, surely God is most exalted in might* (Q. 8:49). And they are killed now. God most high says: *When the Hypocrites say those who in their hearts have a disease, those misled by their religion* (Q. 8:49). Then God mentions those who disbelieve with an evil mentioning, saying: *For the worst of beasts in the sight of God are those who reject Him and will not believe. They are those with whom you did make a covenant every time, and they have not the fear of God* (Q. 8:55–56) . . . until His saying: *Disperse with them, those who follow them, that they may remember* (Q. 8:57). He says: He will approach to punish those who are behind them from the Arabs, all of them. *And if the enemy incline towards peace do thou incline also towards peace and trust in God, for He is the one who hears and knows all things* (Q. 8:61). He says: If they said, “We have converted,” aloud, then accept it from them. *And if they desire (in their hearts) to deceive you, verily God is sufficient for you. He it is that has strengthened you with his aid and with the company of the believers. And moreover He has put affection between their hearts* (Q. 8:62–63). They say he placed affection between their hearts in accordance with Islam. *Not if you had spent all that is in the earth, could you have produced that affection, but God has done it, for he is exalted in might, wise* (Q. 8:63).

[Page 73] Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us that: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Rijjāl related to me from ‘Amr b. ‘Abdullah, from Muḥammad b. Ka’b al-Quraẓī, who said: God put power in the hands of the believers on the day of Badr such that twenty, if they were forbearing, could conquer two hundred. He bestowed on them two thousand Angels, and when he knew that they were weak he relieved them. God most high revealed the return of His Prophet from Badr. With those

who were taken in Badr were those who claimed to be Muslims, but were doubting, and were killed with the polytheists at that time.

There were seven individuals whom their fathers detained, as in the tradition of Ibn Abī Ḥabība—with them was al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa who was among those who stayed in Mecca and were not able to go out. He said: *Those whose lives the angels take [while] in a state of wrong-doing to their own souls* (Q. 16:28), to the last three verses. He said: The Muḥājirūn wrote about this to those who were Muslims in Mecca. Jundub b. Ḍamra al-Junduʿiyyu said, “I have no excuse or justification for my stay in Mecca.” But he was sick, and he said to his family, “Leave with me and perhaps I will find a change.” They said, “Which direction is most desirable to you?” He replied, “Towards al-Tanʿīm.” He said: They went out with him to al-Tanʿīm: between al-Tanʿīm and Mecca are four miles on the Medinan road. He said: O God, I am coming out to you an emigrant! God most high revealed about it: *He who forsakes his home in the way of God and His Messenger . . .* to the end of the verse (Q. 4:100). When those who were in Mecca among those who were able to leave saw that, they too went out. But Abū Sufyān and men from the polytheists went in search of them and brought them back and imprisoned them. The people were tempted and left Islam. There were those who were tempted when they were tortured. God most high revealed: [Page 74] *And among people are such as say: We believe in God; but when they suffer affliction in the cause of God, they treat men’s oppression as if it were the wrath of God . . .* to the end of the verse, and the two verses after (Q. 29:10). The Muḥājirūn wrote about it to those who were Muslims in Mecca, and when the Book came to them about what was revealed about them, they said: O God surely you are watching over us and if we escape we will turn to you alone! They went out a second time. Abū Sufyān and the polytheists looked for them again, but they escaped them by fleeing into the mountains until they arrived in Medina.

The trial was severe against those Muslims who were returned. They hit them and molested them. They compelled them to leave Islam. Ibn Abī Sarḥ returned and said to the Quraysh: It was only Ibn Qammaṭa, the Christian slave, who informed Muḥammad. I used to write for him [Muḥammad] and I changed whatever I wished. God most high revealed about that: *We know indeed that they say that it is a man that teaches him. The tongue of him they wickedly point to is notably foreign, while this is Arabic pure and clear* (Q. 16:103). God revealed about those whom Abū Sufyān and his companions returned from those who were tortured. *Except under compulsion his heart remaining firm in faith* (Q. 16:106), and three verses after. And among those whose hearts were opened to disbelief was Ibn Abī Sarḥ. Then God most high revealed about those who fled from Abū Sufyān to the Prophet, who were patient about the pain after the temptation: *But verily thy Lord—to those who leave their homes after trials and persecutions* (Q. 16:110), to the end of the verse.

Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Wahāb b. Abī Ḥayya, informed us saying: Muḥammad b. Shujāʿ al-Thaljī related to us that: Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Wāqidī related to us, saying: Abū Ishāq b. Muḥammad related to me from Ishāq b. ʿAbdullah from ʿUmar b. al-Ḥakam, who said: At that time Nawfal b. Khuwaylid b. al-ʿAdawiyya called out: O People of the Quraysh, [Page 75] indeed you knew Surāqa and his people and their desertion of you in every place, so advance boldly and strike the people. Indeed, I know that the two sons of Rabīʿa rushed to duel their (duelling) opponents.

Al-Wāqidī informed us saying: ʿUbayd b. Yaḥyā informed me from Muʿādh b. Rifāʿa b. Rāfiʿ from his father, who said: Indeed we heard Satan moo, calling for destruction

and affliction. He took the form of Surāqa b. Juʿshum until he fled and plunged into the sea, with his hands raised and extended, saying, “O Lord, grant me what you promised me!” The Quraysh used to reproach Surāqa about what he did at that time, and he replied, “By God, I did not do any of it.”

Muḥammad related to us that, al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Abū Ishāq al-Aslamī related to me from al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbaydullah b. Ḥunayn, freedman of the Banū ʿAbbās, from ʿUmāra b. Ukayma al-Laythī, who said: An old man of ʿArrāk related to me—ʿArrāk means a fisherman from the clan—he was at that time on the coast looking down at the sea, and he said: I heard a shout, “Woe unto me!” It filled the valley. “O what sorrow!” So I looked, and lo and behold, it was Surāqa b. Juʿshum. I went close to him and said, “Would I not ransom my father and mother for you?” He did not reply. Then I saw him plunge into the sea, his hands outstretched, saying: “O Lord, did you not promise me!” I said to myself, “By the house of God, Surāqa has gone mad!” That was when the sun declined from the meridian. That was with their defeat on the day of Badr.

They said: The mark of the angels was turbans that dropped to their shoulders, green, yellow, and red, of light. The wool was in the forelocks of their horses. Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī related to me from ʿĀṣim b. ʿUmar from Maḥmūd b. Labīd, who said: The Messenger of God said, “Indeed the angels were marked. The wool in their helmets and their headgear distinguished them.”

Al-Wāqidī informed us that: Mūsā b. Muḥammad informed me from his father, who said: Four companions of the Prophet were distinguished in the march: Ḥamza b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib was marked on the day of Badr by an Ostrich feather; ʿAlī, by white wool; al-Zubayr, by a yellow head cloth—al-Zubayr related that the angels alighted on the day of Badr riding dappled horses, and wearing yellow turbans—and, Abū Dujāna, by a red band.

Al-Wāqidī related to us that ʿAbdullah b. Mūsā b. Umayya b. ʿAbdullah b. Abī Umayya related to me from Muṣʿab b. ʿAbdullah from the freedman of Suhayl, who said: I heard Suhayl b. ʿAmr say, “On the day of Badr, I saw white men on dappled horses between the heavens and the earth. They were distinguished, killing and taking prisoners.” Abū Usayd al-Sāʿidī said after his sight had left him, “If I was with you now, at Badr, and I had my sight, I would show you the mountain path al-Malṣ—a specific place—which the angels left from.” I did not doubt it nor contest it. He used to relate from a man from the Banū Ghifār who related to him, saying: I, and the son of my uncle went forward, on the day of Badr, until we ascended a mountain. We were two polytheists on one of two sand hills at Badr, the sand hill of al-Shām and the sand hill of Raml. We waited to fall on those whose turn it was in order to plunder with those who were plundering, when all of a sudden I saw the clouds draw near us, and I heard, in them, the sounds of horses and their iron bits. I heard someone say, [Page 77] “Advance, O Ḥayzūm!” As for my cousin, the veil from his heart was lifted and he died of fear. As for myself, I was almost destroyed. I held myself together and followed with my eyes where the cloud went. It went to the Prophet and his companions. Then it [the cloud] returned and I heard nothing from it.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī said: Khārīja b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Thābit b. Qays b. Shammās related to me, from his father, who said: The Messenger of God asked Gabriel, “Who was it, who said on the day of Badr, ‘Advance, O Ḥayzūm!’” Gabriel replied, “O Muḥammad, I do not know all the people of the heavens.”

He said: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith related to me from his father from his grand father ‘Ubayd b. Abī ‘Ubayd from Abū Ruhm al-Ghifārī from the son of an uncle of his, who said: While I and the son of my uncle were at Mā’ Badr, we saw how few were with Muḥammad and how many were with the Quraysh and we said, “When the two factions meet we will aim for the army of the Prophet and his companions,” and we departed towards the left wing of the companions of Muḥammad. We were saying, “These are a quarter of the Quraysh!” while we walked on the left side, when a cloud came and overwhelmed us. We raised our eyes to it and we heard the sounds of men and weapons. We heard a man say to his horse, “Advance, O Ḥayzūm!” And we heard them say, “Slow down, wait for those behind you.” They alighted on the right side of the Messenger of God. Then another like that arrived. It stayed with the Prophet. We saw the Prophet and his companions and all of a sudden they were double the number of Quraysh. My cousin died. As for myself, I remained calm and informed the Prophet.” Later he converted and his Islam was beautiful.

They said: The Messenger of God said: Satan was not seen on any day to be smaller, more despicable or as hateful as he was on the day of ‘Arafa. And that was only because of what he saw of the coming down of compassion. God overlooked the great sins except what he saw on the day of Badr. It was said: What did he see on the day of Badr? He said: Did he not see Gabriel direct the angels? They said: The Messenger of God said at that time, “This is Gabriel driving the wind as Dihya al-Kalbī. Indeed I was helped by the East wind just as the ‘Ād was destroyed by the West wind.”

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us: Abū Ishāq b. Abī ‘Abdullah related to me from ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Abī ‘Awn from Ṣāliḥ b. Ibrāhīm, who said: ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf says: I saw two men on the day of Badr: One of them was on the right side of the Prophet, and the other on the left side of the Prophet. The two of them fought the strongest battle. Then a third appeared behind him and a fourth, in front of him.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us saying: Abū Ishāq b. Abī ‘Abdullah related to me from ‘Abd al-Wāhid b. Abī ‘Awn from Ziyād, *mawla* of Sa’d, from Sa’d, who said: I saw two men on the day of Badr, fighting with the Messenger of God, one on his right and the other on his left. I saw him look once at one and once at the other, happy for the assistance that God most high granted him.

Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us that Ishāq b. Yaḥyā related to me from Ḥamza b. Ṣuhayb from his father, who said: I do not know how many cut hands and deep strokes I saw that did not bleed on the day of Badr. Muḥammad related to us that al-Wāqidī related to us: Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā related to me from Abū ‘Ufayr from Rāfi’ b. Khadīj from Abū Burda b. Niyār, who said: I came [Page 79] on the day of Badr with three heads and placed them before the Messenger of God, and said, “O, Messenger of God, I killed two heads. As for the third, I saw a tall white man strike it and it rolled before him, and I picked it up.” The Messenger of God said, “That was one of the angels.” Ibn ‘Abbas used to say: The angels fought only on the day of Badr.

Ibn Abī Ḥabība related to me from Dāwud b. al-Ḥuṣayn from ‘Ikrima from Ibn ‘Abbās, who said: The angels took the form of those known among the people to motivate them. He said: Indeed I went close to them [the people] and I heard them say, “If they attack us we will not stay. They are nothing.” That is the saying of God most high: *When thy Lord inspired the angels that I am with you to give firmness to the Believers . . .* (Q. 8:12) to the end of the verse.