

History of Islam up to the Demise of the Prophet (S)



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This book presents the history of Islam and Arabian Peninsula before the advent of Islam and up till the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

It starts giving an overview of the political, social and religious situation Arabian peninsula before the advent of Islam, then it provides an extensive biography of the birth and life of the Prophet Muhammad and the impact of his preaching to the Arab population, the oppositions and wars against the spreading of Islam, the Hijrah (great migration), up till the establishment of Islam as main religion of Arabian Peninsula, and text concludes the narration with the description of the The Farewell Pilgrimage and the political and religious implications of it and the description of the demise of the Prophet.

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In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful

The precious legacy left behind by the Holy Prophet's Household [ahl al-bayt] (may peace be upon them all) and their followers' preservation of this legacy from the menace of extinction is a perfect example of the all-encompassing school [madrasah] that embraces all the different branches of Islamic knowledge. This school has been able to train many talented personalities by quenching them with this gushing fountain.

This school has given scholars to the Muslim ummah who, by following the Holy Prophet's Household (a.s), have done their best in order to clear up the doubts and skepticisms put forth by various creeds and intellectual currents both inside and outside the Muslim society. Throughout the past centuries, they have presented the firmest answers and solutions to these doubts.

Anchored to the responsibilities upon its shoulders, the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s) World Assembly has embarked on defending the sanctity of risalah [message] and its authentic beliefs which have always been opposed by the chiefs and leaders of anti-Islamic sects, religions and trends. In this sacred path, the Assembly regards itself as a follower of the upright pupils of the School of the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s)—those who have always been ready to refute those accusations and calumnies and have tried to be always in the frontline of this struggle on the basis of the expediencies of time and space.

The experiences in this field, contained in the books of the scholars belong to the School of the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s), are unique in their own right. It is because these experiences are based upon knowledge and preeminence of intellect and reasoning, and because they are devoid of blind fanaticism or whims and caprices. These experiences address experts, scholars and thinkers in a manner that appeals to healthy minds and pure human natural disposition [fitrah].

In a bid to assist those who are in quest of truth, the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s) World Assembly has endeavored to enter a new phase of these worthy experiences by doing researches and translating the works of contemporary Shi'ah writers or those who, through divine guidance, have embraced this noble school.

The Assembly is also engaged in the study and publication of the valuable works of pious predecessors and outstanding Shi'ah personalities so that those who search for the truth may quench their thirst from this palatable fountain where they find the truth which the School of the Prophet's Household (a.s) offers to the entire world.

It is hoped that the dear readers will not deprive the Ahl al-Bayt (a.s) World Assembly of their valuable opinions, suggestions, and constructive criticisms in this arena.

We also invite scholars, translators and other institutions to assist us in propagating the pure Muhammadan Islam.

We ask God, the Exalted, to accept this humble effort and give us success to enhance it under the auspices of His vicegerent on earth, al-Mahdi (may Allah, the Exalted, expedite his glorious advent).

It is appropriate here to express our utmost gratitude to Mr. Mahdi Pishva'i for writing the book, to Dr. Farrukh Pey for translating it, to Badr Shahin for editing the translation. We should also like to thank colleagues who took part in accomplishing this task especially the staff of the Translation Office for fulfilling their responsibility.

Cultural Affairs Department

The Ahl al-Bayt (a.s) World Assembly

Chapter One: The Arabian Peninsula; its Geographical, Social and Cultural Status

Chapter Two: Moral Features of the Arabs

Chapter Three: Sects and Religions in the Arabian Peninsula and its Surroundings

Chapter 1: The Arabian Peninsula; its Geographical, Social and Cultural Status

The Arabian Peninsula, located in the south-west of Asia, is the world's largest Peninsula. Extended from the north-west towards southeast, it resembles an irregular trapezoid¹ with an area of three million and two hundred thousand square kilometers². The present Saudi Arabia covers nearly four-fifths of this Peninsula;³ the rest, in accordance with the present political demarcation, is occupied by six political states of Yemen, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Bahrain, and Kuwait.

It borders the Aden Gulf, Bab al-Mandab Strait, the Indian Ocean and the Sea of Oman. It borders the Red Sea on the west, the Gulf of Oman, the Persian Gulf and Iraq on the east; and on the north borders a widespread desert extending to the valley of the Euphrates on one side, and Syria on the other. Since there are no natural borders, such as rivers or mountains, in this Peninsula, geographers have not been able so far to mark its northern border.⁴

The Arabian Peninsula is surrounded by the Persian Gulf, the Sea of Oman, the Red Sea, and the Mediterranean except for its southern sections. Nevertheless, it suffers from severe lack of water and is considered one of the driest and hottest areas of the world. It even lacks a large river or a navigable waterway. Instead, it has lands which are sometimes flooded with rainfalls.

The existence of a mountain range, which starts from the Sinai Peninsula and extends all over the western border of Arabia, acting as a lofty wall, and which winds around the southwest corner of the peninsula to go around the southern and eastern sectors of Arabia as far as the Persian Gulf is the main reason for the extreme dryness of this Peninsula. Thus, Arabia is surrounded, on three sides, with this lofty mountain-wall and this hinders humidity of the seas from entering this land.⁵

On the other hand, the extent of the neighboring water is so insufficient that it could not modify the warmth and dryness of these vast African-Asian lands which are low in receiving humidity. This is worsened by the blowing of the poisoning Monsoon winds inside Arabia which stops the rain-carrying winds from the Indian Ocean coming from the south from entering the Arabian Peninsula.⁶

Divisions of the Arabian Peninsula

Both Arab and non-Arab geographers have divided the Arabian Peninsula on the basis of the natural elements (such as weather) and on the basis of races and tribes.⁷ Some contemporary scientists have divided it into three main sections in the following manner:

The central section, which is called the Arab Desert;

The northern section, which is called Hijaz;

The southern section, which is called Yemen.⁸

Division on the Basis of Natural Conditions (The south and the North)

Besides these divisions, there has been, in recent years, another division proposed for Arabia which fits in well with the purposes of this book. This division is based on the life sustaining conditions which have had a tremendous effect on the lives of people, living things and plants of this region. These conditions have influenced the individual and social traits of these people and have brought forth some changes which were in existence up to the advent of Islam. There exist two drastic conditions in the Arabian Peninsula: either there is water, or there is no water. This parameter has had tremendous effects on life patterns of people: it sets apart the southern section, i.e. Yemen, from the central and northern sections.

Life Conditions in the Southern Section (Yemen)

Looking at the map of this land, we find a triangle-shaped territory in the southwestern part of the Arabian Peninsula. The Arab Sea forms the eastern side of this triangle, while the Red Sea forms the western border. A line drawn from Dhahran (in the west) to Khadhra' Mount (in the east) forms the third side of this triangle. Inside this huge triangle lies a territory, called Yemen since old times.

Due to the abundance of water and the regular rainfall, this region has enjoyed lucrative agriculture and dense population; in this regard, it contrasts with both the north and central part of the Peninsula.

On the other hand, a dense population needs a permanent residence. For this very reason, villages and cities came to existence. The concentration of people in cities and villages creates interaction among people which is unavoidable. These modes of interaction bring forth laws and regulations (even the primitive ones), and, as we know, the establishment of laws causes the creation of government.

For this reason, centuries prior to the birth of Jesus Christ (a.s.), governments had in this region and established some civilizations.⁹ The governments which have been established in this region are:

(1) The Ma'in State: This government was in existence between 1400 and 850 BC and fell with the creation of the Saba' State.

(2) The Hadhramawt State: This state existed between 1020 and 65 BC and fell to the Saba' State.

(3) The Saba' State: This state was in existence between 850 and 115 BC and ended due to the establishment of the Himyari Saba' and Ridan government.

(4) The Qataban State: This state existed between 865 and 540 BC and came to an end with the establishment of the Saba' State.

(5) The States of Saba', Ridan, Hadhramawt and the vicinity of Yemen, whose vocal dynasties were called Tubba' and lived between 115 BC and 523 AD, their capital was ²afar.¹⁰

A Prosperous Civilization in the South of Arabia

Historians have admired the Yemeni bright civilization. An example is Herodotus, the great Greek historian of the fifth century BC, who mentions the civilization of this land which embodied lofty castles in Saba' with doors engraved with precious stones; these castles contained golden-ware and silver-ware and beds made of precious metals.¹¹ Some historians refer to a glorious, twenty-floor castle, called Qur'an in Sana'a, which consisted of one hundred rooms with externally high walls and mirror-decorated ceilings.¹² Strabonn, a famous Roman tourist, paid a visit to this city. Referring to the civilization in this land, he writes:

The city of Ma'rib was a strange city because the ceilings of its castles were made of ivory with gilded scripts and jewels. The elegant Kitchenware made any human being wonder.¹³

Likewise, the Islamic historians and geographers, Mas'udi (died 346 AH), and Ibn Rustah (one of the scholars of the third century AH) talk of the luxurious life of people in this region and of its prosperous life patterns prior to the advent of Islam.¹⁴

Archeological investigations in the 19th and 20th centuries, as well as the research of historians, have all located valid documents concerning the glorious civilization in this ancient land. The remaining ruins in Aden, Sana'a, Ma'rib and Hadhramawt all attest to an Arab civilization in the south, i.e. in Yemen, and the neighboring lands. This civilization had been a rival for the Phoenician and Babylonian civilizations.

One of the features of the ancient civilization in Yemen was a huge dam, called Ma'rib.¹⁵

Being constructed in accordance with rigorous geometrical calculations, this dam attests to a profound knowledge on the part of the engineers and constructors of this dam. This dam could make agriculture prosper in that area.¹⁶

Besides agriculture, the Yemenis were engaged in trade. The Sabaeans were trade agents between the east and the west because in those days the country of Yemen rested among several civilized countries. The Indian traders used to take their merchandise to Yemen and Hadhramawt through the Indian Ocean and then the Yemeni traders used to take them to Ethiopia, Egypt, Phoenicia, Palestine, The cities of Madyan, Adwam, Al-'Amaliqah and the western lands and the Meccan Arabs used to take the same merchandise and carry them over land to the then advanced cities of the world.¹⁷

The Yemenis used to carry out trade with the Far East for a long time.¹⁸ The navigation problems and hardships on the Red Sea had led the Sabaeans follow land routes. For this reason, they used to travel between Yemen and Damascus along the western shore of the Arabian Peninsula. This road, crossing Mecca and Petra, used to divide towards Egypt, Damascus and Iraq.¹⁹

The Destruction of Ma'rib Dam

Due to the spread of corruption among the southerners and because of the internal turmoil, the star of Yemenite civilization gradually declined and the Yemenis and their kings could not repair the Ma'rib Dam which was in terrible need of repair, and then through the destruction of this dam, a devastating flood inundated all the villages and the farms and drought prevailed in the surrounding regions, destroying agriculture. This led people to emigrate from their land²⁰.

The Holy Qur'an refers to the nation of Saba' in two occasions: once, on the occasion of mentioning the Queen of Saba' (Sheba) and Solomon's letter to her:

And he tarried not long, and then said: I comprehend that which you do not comprehend and I have brought to you sure information from Sheba. Surely, I found a woman ruling over them, and she has been given abundance and she has a mighty throne. (27:22-23)"

On another occasion the Qur'an refers to Sheba in connection with the destruction of the Ma'rib Dam and the flow of a devastating flood due to the corruption of that tribe:

Certainly, there was a sign for Saba' in their abode; two gardens on the right and the left; eat of the sustenance of your Lord and give thanks to Him: A good land and a Forgiving lord! But they turned aside, so We sent upon them a torrent of which the rush could not be withstood and in place of their two gardens We gave to them, two gardens yielding bitter fruit and growing tamarisk and a few lute-trees. This We requited them with because they disbelieved; and We do not punish any but the ungrateful. And We made between them and the town which We had

blessed other towns to be easily seen, and We apportioned the journey therein: Travel through them nights and days, secure. And they said: O our lord! Make spaces to be longer between our journeys; and they were unjust to themselves; so We made them stories and scattered them with an utter scattering; most surely there are signs in this for every patient, grateful one. (34: 15–19)

The destruction of this dam is reported by Hamzah Izfahani to have taken place in 400 before Islam.²¹ According to Abu-Rayhan al-Bayruni, it took place 500 years prior to the advent of Islam.²² And Yaqt al-Hamawi mentions the destruction of this dam to be the result of Abyssinian domination. Some historians consider it to have occurred between the years 542 and 570 AH because the Abyssinian's domination was highest during the middle of the sixth century.²³ But the destruction of the dam must have been gradual: it fell apart after several repairs. In the Holy Qur'an, reference is made to the nation of Tubba' and their final days on two occasions:

Are they better or the people of Tubba'²⁴ and those before them? We destroyed them, for surely they were guilty. (44:37)

Others before them rejected prophets: the people of Noah and the dwellers of al-Rass and Thamud, and 'Ad and Pharaoh and Lut's brethren and the dwellers of the grove and the people of Tubba'; all rejected the apostles; so, My threat came to pass. (50: 12–14)

The Effects of the fall of the Southern Civilization on Arabia

The fall of states in the southern sections, the decline of the civilization in this part of the Arabian Peninsula, and the destruction of the Ma'rib dam—all had their effects on the social changes in this region, because the southern section of the Arabian Peninsula lost its glamour and the fields died away due to drought and a group of the dwellers on the vicinity of this dam had to emigrate from their land.

Due to these dispersions, the Tanukh branch of the Yemenite tribe, called Azd, emigrated to Hirah (Iraq) and established the government of Lakhmian there. The branch called Al-Jafnah went to Damascus and established a government at a place to the east of Jordan. They called themselves the Ghassanians.²⁵ The tribe Aws and Khazraj emigrated to Yathrib (Medina), and Khuza'ah went to Mecca and its suburbs; the tribes Bujaylah and Khath'am and some other groups went to the region of Sarawat and dwelt there,²⁶ each initiating a series of events.

The Conditions of the Northern Section of the Arabian Peninsula (Hijaz)

Hijaz is a dry land, receiving only sporadic rains and except for the mountainous terrain and the narrow shore-areas, it has extremely hot weather. These climatic conditions have had tremendous effects over the life-pattern of its dwellers. This is because the Arab residents of this region, contrary to the southerners, due to small numbers of pastures could not keep cattle except for tiny animals and camels which are tolerant beings. They prepared their food and clothing mainly from camels. Because this cattle raising and husbandry was based on wandering life-patterns, the establishment of a stable political

institution seemed to be impossible. For this reason, contrary to the southerners who were city-dwellers and farmers, the dwellers of the north of the Peninsula lacked civilization and were mainly nomadic wanderers, and the cities there (except for Mecca which, for reasons we will present later, was a little advanced at the advent of Islam) did not carry any significance.

Due to these natural hardships and communication problems, the people of Hijaz did not communicate with the civilized world at those days. These natural and geographical hardships caused this land to remain immune against the aggressions of conquerors. This fact attested the lack of interest on the part of Ramses II in the 14th century BC, Alexander of Macedonia in the 4th century BC, and Gallous at the time of August, the Roman Emperor, in the first century AD, to conquer this land nor did the Iranian kings show any interest to conquer this region. For this very reason, the people of Hijaz continued their nomadic life without any external interference.²⁷ Concerning this, a historian writes:

When Demetrius, the Greek army-general (after Alexander) arrived at Petra to conquer it, the Arab desert-dwellers said to him, "O great Prince, why have you come to fight us? We are living on a desert with no comfort of life whatsoever. We have chosen life here to remain our own masters, not to receive orders from anybody. Now accept our gifts and return home from where you have come. If you do so, we shall remain your most devoted friends. However, if you decide to fight us and refuse to accept our peace proposal, you have to destroy your life-comforts. You cannot change our life-modes to which we have grown accustomed since our childhood. You would not benefit, either, to take some of us as prisoners-of-war. This is because those captured ones shall never become your slaves."

Having considered this, Demetrius accepted their gifts and returned home, refusing to partake in a war which did not offer anything except for hardships and nuisances.²⁸

A scientist has observed:

"The Arab Island is a complete example of dependence of man over land. Inside countries such as India, Greece, Italy, England, and the United States, we have always seen some adventurous conquerors who have ventured to defeat the native dwellers and to make them obedient. There has never occurred in the history of Arabia any conqueror who has decided to occupy this land."²⁹

Nomads

Since the major sections of the northern territory of the Arabian Peninsula (Hijaz) consists of deserts, most Arabs were desert-dwellers and nomads prior to the advent of Islam. The nomads, being deprived of assets of life due to the severe conditions under which they lived, continued to live mainly on animal husbandry on a very limited scale. They used to live under tents woven out of goat's hair and camel's wool; they would inhabit anywhere they could locate some water or pastures; and they would move to other regions as soon as they were out of provisions.

The nomadic Arabs could not raise cattle, except for small herds and a few camels at most, due to the

shortage of pastures and plants. There is a maxim to the effect that “in a desert, the nomadic power, camels and dates rule.” If we added the power of sands to these three powers, we would get four main factors which play a significant role in desert life. Shortage of water, extreme heat, difficult roads, and scarcity of foods and supplies, which are man's great enemies under normal conditions, would turn into man's closest friends at times of war.

Thus, when we observe that an Arab and his desert have never bowed to the enemy's power, we would not be amazed that the continuous dryness of the desert had had its permanent effect on the Arab's body and mental abilities. Nomadic Arabs considered it beyond their dignity to be involved in either agriculture or other crafts and industries.³⁰ They would belittle the civilized states and their regulations; they used to prefer desert life to city life.³¹

The desert Arab was the son of nature and the infinite and borderless desert. No building could ever interfere with the clean air of his environment; the sun's everlasting rays fell over him without the hindrance of the clouds. He had erected no dam against rain or torrents. Everything was kept in the form it was created by God. Thus, the desert's son was as free as his environment.

Neither farming nor engagement in any industry could deter him from his freedom; nor could the city crowds bother him in any way. He cared for freedom because he had lived in it. No rules or regulations could mar his freedom. He used to fight with anybody who tried to deprive him of his freedom. He was bound by two things only: the principles of idolatry and its ceremonies on the one hand and his tribal customs on the other. However, his commitment towards his tribal customs had deep roots.³²

La Mense, the Belgian Orientalist, writes:

The Arab was an example of democracy and freedom, but an extreme form which had no limits. The Arab rebellion against any power which intended to limit his freedom (even when this limit was in his favor) reveals the roots of the crimes which fill most of Arab history.³³

The Tribal Order

Prior to the advent of Islam, the Arabs of Hijaz obeyed neither a government nor a political institution. For this reason, their social life differed greatly from that of the Iranians and Romans. This is because in these two countries, i.e. Iran and Rome which bordered Arabia, there were unified central governments which ruled all over the country. However, there was no central power in Hijaz or in any other city (in the north or center of the Arabian Peninsula as a whole).

The tribe was the social unit of the Arabs and the tribal system prevailed everywhere. In such a system, the identity of individuals was determined only through their affiliation with a tribe. The tribal elements could be observed among not only the desert dwellers but also the city-dwellers. In that region, every tribe looked like an independent country and the interrelations among them resembled those among nations in the new world.

Racial Affiliation

In those days, nationality was not based on factors such as unity of religion, language or history. A tribe was defined as a collection of some affiliated families and the bonds which brought relatedness among them were the familial bonds, and the unity of common ancestors. This is because the members of a tribe considered themselves as of the same blood.³⁴

The combination of some families would create a tent and a combination of several tents would bring forth a tribe. Even the composition of big association, such as that of the Jews, was based on consanguinity and common ancestors. These groups would set up their tents in such a way as to form tribes of several thousand people each. Then, they would migrate from one place to another, following their cattle.³⁵

The Tribal Chief

The head or representative of the tribe was called Shaykh.³⁶ This Shaykh was usually the most advanced in age. He had this position because of his personality, experience, bravery, defense of the tribe's interests and sometimes because of the abundance of his wealth.³⁷ In the election of the Shaykh, some traits, such as generosity, bravery, patience, wisdom, humility and eloquence, were taken into consideration.³⁸

The Shaykh did not use force or coercion in judicial, military and other general affairs. He used to consult with the tribal consultative committees. This latter managerial body elected the Shaykh who continued to keep his job as long as his electorates were happy with him.³⁹ However, in accordance with the tribal tradition, everybody had to obey the head of the tribe. When a Shaykh died, either his eldest son or another elderly man who possessed the same traits would be the tribal leader.

Islam fought against the tribal system and did away with it. It did not consider race or clan as significant as it built the newly established Islamic society on the basis of "unity of faith," which is the strongest social bond. In this way, Islam substituted common faith for consanguinity. Islam called all the believers as brethren (the Holy Qur'an, 49:10). In this way, the foundation of the Arab social structure was changed.

Tribal Zeal and Devotion

Extreme zeal was considered as the very soul of the tribe and showed that an individual was devoted to the tribal interests. As a general rule, tribal devotion among the desert-dwellers resembled extreme nationalism in the modern world.⁴⁰ Whatever a civilized man does for his country, religion or race, a nomadic Arab did for his tribe. He would do anything possible for his tribe; he would even sacrifice his own life for it.⁴¹

An Arab used to be over-protective of his family members, such as brothers, nephews and other

relatives. He used to protect his relative be he good or tyrant. In the Arab's ideology, if anybody refrained from helping his brother or nephew, his honor would be marred and damaged. Regarding this, they would say:

Help out your brother whether he is an oppressor or oppressed.

An Arab has written the following poem in this regard:

When a man is asked by his brothers to help them, he would not delay helping them out.⁴²

In this way, if a tribal member was insulted, the whole tribe would feel this insult. Therefore, all tribal members had to participate in obliterating this spot of dishonor.⁴³

Islam has condemned this kind of nonsensical prejudice, dogmatism and harmful zeal and has called it irrational:

When those who disbelieved harbored in their hearts feelings of disdain; distain of the days of ignorance. (48:26)

The Holy Prophet has stated:

“Anybody who invites others to engage in a dogmatic piece of affair or bears prejudice stays out of Islam.”⁴⁴

“Anybody who engages in prejudice or is shown irrational sympathy stays out of religion.”⁴⁵

The Holy Prophet once said, “Help out your brother, whether he is an aggressor or is an oppressed.” People remarked, “It is evident that an oppressed one should be helped out? How should we help out an oppressor?” The Holy Prophet replied, “Stop his aggression.”⁴⁶

Tribal Revenge

Since there was neither central government, nor any judicial system in those days in Arabia to settle people's conflicts and to establish justice anybody who was the victim of an injustice had the right to engage in the act of taking–revenge. If the offender belonged to another tribe, the oppressed had the right to take revenge on any member of the other tribe and this was a common practice with the Arabs of those days.⁴⁷ This was because one member's sin was considered collective, belonging to the whole tribe, and because of the whole clan and consanguinity. The act of taking revenge was carried out first by close relatives, and later on by the whole members of the tribe if it was felt urgent.

If anybody was killed, the act of taking revenge would fall upon the shoulders of the closest relative⁴⁸ and if the murdered one belonged to another tribe, the custom of revenge–taking would be carried out and any one of the murderer’s tribal member was at the risk of losing his life. This was because the

dominating dictum of the desert would say: "Blood is washed off only with blood." No blood-money was accepted.

Once, a nomadic Arab was asked, "Are you ready to let go of anybody who has wronged you?" He replied, "I will take revenge and then go to hell."⁴⁹

Tribal Rivalries and Boastings

Another feature of the Arab's life in those dark days was rivalry and boasting. An Arab would bask in the dominant values of those days which were generally absurd. Besides bravery in the war-fields, other traits, such as generosity, loyalty, wealth, number of children and dependency towards tribal values, were considered significant. The Holy Qur'an re-states their statements, condemning them at the same time:

And they say: we have more wealth and children, and we shall not be punished. Say: surely my Lord amplifies the means of Subsistence for whom He pleases and straitens (for whom He pleases), but most men do not know. And not your wealth nor your children are the things which bring you near Us in station, but whoever believes and does good, these it is for whom is a double reward for what they do, and they shall be secure in the highest places. (34:35-37)

Once, Khosrow, the Iranian king, asked al-Nu'man Ibn al-Mundhir, the king of Hirah, "Is there a tribe among the Arab tribes, which is superior to others in dignity and honor? He answered, "Yes, there is." When he was asked for the reason, al-Nu'man replied, "Anybody who has three of his ancestors as the tribal chiefs consecutively and the fourth chief from his own tribe will have the next chief from his own tribe as well."⁵⁰

The Arabs at the time of ignorance used to boast about the numbers of their tribe members; in this way, they disheartened rival tribes.

One day, there was an argument between two tribes; each enumerated his tribal points of honor and claimed that the number of the dignified persons and the sheer number of the members was superior to that of the rival tribe. They started calling heads of all tribal members. The counting of the living members did not help. So, they went to the cemetery to count the dead.⁵¹ The Holy Qur'an has condemned such ignorant and irrational boastings:

Abundance diverts you, until you come to the graves, Nay! You shall soon know. (102: 1-3)

The Significance of Parentage

Two of the most significant criteria among the Arabs during the period of ignorance were parentage and kinship relations. These were the very basis of many other criteria.⁵² Boasting on one's race was prevalent among the Arab tribes. A typical example was the rivalry between the 'Adnanite Arabs (in the

north) and the Qahtanite Arab (in the south).⁵³ For this very reason, an Arab gave great significance to his parentage. Al-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir said to Khosrow:

The members of other nations do not care about their parentage; if they are asked about their ancestors, they will lack the necessary knowledge. This was completely different in the case of Arabs, who recognized their ancestors fully. The Arabs would not accept foreigners as members of their clans. They would not enter any interaction with strangers. An Arab is not called by any other name than his father's.⁵⁴

Thus, it is not surprising to see the science of genealogy, which was one of the limited sciences in those days, receiving a prominent significance. Genealogists received lots of respect, as well. Alusi, a prominent researcher on Arab issues, writes:

“Arabs in the Age of Ignorance put a lot of emphasis on their parentage because this kind of recognition was one of the means to cooperate with others. They really needed this sort of recognition, because they lived in separate locations and the fire of war was always blazing. Plunder was a common practice. Since they were reluctant to accept anybody's help in order to defeat their enemies, they had to stick to their parentage, because the love and caring for ones' relatives would result in mutual cooperation and would prevent disunity.⁵⁵

Islam, however, rejected any concept of racial superiority. Although the verses of the Holy Qur'an were revealed among the Arabs and the tribe of Quraysh, they were never addressed to any Qurayshite or any Arab. Rather, these sacred verses are addressed to people in general. When Muslims are reminded of their duties, they are referred to as believers. According to the Holy Qur'an, racial differences are natural things. However, it rejects boasting about one's race, and recognizes the criterion of piety as the base for values:

O you men! Surely We have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other, surely the most honorable of you with Allah is the one among you most careful of his duty, surely Allah is Knowing, Aware. (49: 13)⁵⁶

The Holy Prophet emphatically rejected boasting about one's race or parentage. Examples are the following:

(1) On the Conquest of Mecca when the Quraysh's main stronghold fell, people of Quraysh considered themselves superior; hence, the Holy Prophet remarked:

O people: God, through Islam, has strongly rejected taking pride in one's parentage which existed at the age of Ignorance. Remember, you are not at the Age of Ignorance. Remember, you are the offspring of Adam, and Adam was created of dust. The best of God's servants are the most pious. Arabism could not possibly be the father of anybody. But Arabic is an eloquent language. One who is a loser in life could not be saved through racial or ancestral privileges.⁵⁷

(2) During his last pilgrimage (hijjat al-wada'; Farewell Pilgrimage) and through a detailed discourse, the Holy Prophet warned the attendants, saying:

"No Arab has any superiority over any non-Arab except for piety."⁵⁸

While confirming Salman in his discussion with Quraysh and his condemnation of the Arab's wrong ideology in believing in racism, the Holy Prophet (S), said:

"O People of Quraysh; one's honor rests on one's religion; one's manhood and honor rest on one's behavior; one's true origin is one's wisdom and understanding."⁵⁹

Tribal Wars

If a murder occurred among the Arabs, the murderer's closest relative would be responsible; and since the murderer's family used to support him, a bloody war would be inevitable. These wars would start over minor things and usually lasted for years. An example was the Basus War between the two tribes of Banu-Bakr and Banu-Taghlib both of whom belonged to Rabi'ah. This war lasted for forty years. The source of the conflict was the arrival of a camel of the former tribe into the reserved pastureland of the other tribe who slaughtered it. The camel owner, a lady named Basus, belonged to the former tribe.⁶⁰

Another war of the same nature broke out between Qays ibn Zuhayr, the chief of Banu-Fazarah over a horse race. Dahis and al-Ghabra' were the names of two horses which took part in this competition. The former belonged to Qays and the latter to Hudhayfah. Both Qays and Hudhayfah claimed that their horses won. This minor event culminated in a disaster in which many lives were lost.⁶¹ These kinds of calamities have been termed Ayyam al-'Arab on which numerous books have been written.

Of course, on some occasions, camels would be paid to the family of the diseased one as blood money. In every tribe, it was up to the elderly people to solve such conflicts. Solutions were offered, but not imposed and the tribes would accept such peaceful solutions due to their involvement in the tiring wars. If the murderer's tribe submitted the murderer to the other tribe who had lost a member, wars could be prevented. However, such submission was not honorable. Therefore, they preferred to punish the wrongdoer. In the conceptualization of the desert dweller, keeping one's face was the very essence of ethics.

These desert rules and regulations were carried out in the cities of Hijaz, i.e. Ta'if, Mecca and Medina. This is because these citizens resembled the desert dwellers in many ways: they were independent and free, as they obeyed nobody whatsoever. However, these prestige-keeping behaviors which manifested themselves in extremity within the desert were somehow moderated in Mecca due to the respect that they showed towards the Kaaba and because of the trade, contracts which were held in that holy place.⁶²

The Holy Qur'an has condemned this sort of revenge-taking and stipulated justice as the basis for the

protection of people. It emphasized the fact that Muslims should maintain justice even if this justice might endanger themselves or their parents.

O You who believe! Be maintainers and justify bearers of witness of Allah's sake, though it may be against your own selves or your parents or near relatives; if he be rich or poor, Allah is nearer to them both in compassion; therefore do not follow your low desires, lest you deviate; and if you swerve or turn aside, then surely Allah is aware of what you do. (4: 135)

Manslaughter and Plunder

The desert-dwelling Arab did not show any love or sympathy towards anybody outside his own tribe. This kind of affection did not go beyond one's own family and tribe the members of which were close relatives. An Arab's field of thinking and understanding was within the narrow range of the tribe. The desert-dwelling Arab, like extremist nationalists of our time, cared for his own interests and those of his close relatives. This behavior was manifested by one Arab, who was still under the influence of his previous culture after the advent of Islam and said at the time of praying, "O God, bless me and bless Muhammad; but do not bless anybody else."⁶³

The deprivation imposed by the severe conditions of the desert on the desert-dwelling Arabs forced them to engage in plundering. This was due to the fact that their land lacked the common assets of other lands. They used to compensate for this deprivation through plundering. They considered engagement in plundering the caravans a kind of bravery and honor in the same way that capture and besiegement of a city is considered honorable at our own time.⁶⁴

Of course, one of the causes for plundering and wars was rivalry among tribes to capture the pastures. At times, bloody conflicts occurred for the attainment of chief ship. For instance, at the time of the death of an elder brother who used to be the chief, the younger brothers desired for that position, and the deceased chief's sons, too, wanted to get their father's position. Under such conditions, fight and struggles for power were inevitable. In such moments, poets also agitated people to be involved for more bloodshed. They chanted tribal prides, criticized other rival tribes and mobilized people to take revenge. Minor issues were the usual causes for such bloody conflicts, it was then up to the two antagonistic tribes to annihilate one another mercilessly.⁶⁵ Savagery and avoidance of civilized ways was among the reasons for their plundering. In the opinion of Ibn Khaldun, this nation was savage. Plundering and savagery were embedded in their very morale. For instance, when they needed stones to build a fireplace, they used to destroy buildings; they used to destroy buildings and castles in order to prepare woods required for erecting tents. They got their sustenance by means of swords; they would not be satisfied easily; they showed greed for plunder; they would grab any piece of wealth they could put their hands on.⁶⁶

Plundering was one of their sources of income. When they attacked a tribe, they would confiscate their camels and enslave their wives and children. Still another tribe would carry out the same pernicious acts

in a later time. When they could not locate an enemy, they would destroy one another. This is made clear through the poem of al-Qattami, a poet in the reign of the Umayyad rulers, who composed:

“It is our job to attack our neighbors and our enemies, and in those moments when we cannot locate anybody else except for our brother, we will attack him.”⁶⁷

The revenge-based wars between the two tribes of Aws and Khazraj in Yathrib (Medina) were so severe and widespread that nobody dared to leave his home. These wars had destroyed the lives of the Arabs. God mentions in the Holy Qur'an their catastrophic condition and emphasizes the brotherhood among people which was the result of Islam:

Remember the favor of Allah on you when you were enemies, then He united your hearts so by His favor you became brethren; and you were on the brink of a pit of fire, then he saved you from it; thus does Allah make clear to you His communications that you may follow the right way.
(3: 103)

The Forbidden Months

A ceasefire (called sacred peace) was held among Arabs only during the Sacred Months (i.e. Dhu'l-Qa'dah, Dhu'l-Hijjah, Muharram, and Rajab) out of their respect for a tradition left from the time of Prophet Abraham and Prophet Ishmael.⁶⁸ During these tranquil times, Arabs could have peace of mind and engage in trades or pilgrimage.⁶⁹

If any war occurred during these sacred months, they would be called Harb al-Fujjar or a sinful fight. (The Holy Qur'an 9:37)

Women in the Arab Society

Arabs' outlook towards women was one of the manifestations and outcomes of ignorance during the period of Jahiliyyah (pre-Islamic ignorance). Women were denied their human rights and independence. The very existence of women and girls at home was a sign of inferiority and shame for a family.⁷⁰ They would deprive girls of inheritance and believed those who defend their tribes (i.e. boys) who use their swords are entitled to inheritance.⁷¹ In accordance with a narration, women were considered as merchandise. Upon her husband's death, the wife, if she did not have a son, would be transferred, along with the husband's other commodities, to the son of her husband from other wives.⁷²

In accordance with some pieces of evidence, upon the death of one's husband, a woman would become the wife of her eldest son who would draw a piece of cloth on her step-mother's face and consider her item of inheritance and would marry her without any dowry. If he was reluctant to marry his stepmother, he would then ask another man to marry her and make use of her dowry for himself. If he preferred, he could deprive her stepmother of any future marriages so that after her death he could possess her wealth.

Thus, at the time of Arab Ignorance, marrying one's stepmother was not illegal. For this reason, the Holy Qur'an has prohibited it.⁷³ According to some interpreters, when a man called Abu-Qays ibn al-Aslat died and his eldest son wanted to marry his mother, the following verse was revealed:

It is not lawful for you that you should take women as heritage against their will. (4:22)⁷⁴

In those dark days, polygamy was very prevalent.⁷⁵

The Tragedy of Women

As it is well-known, one of the Arabs' worst habits at the time of Ignorance was the practice of burying daughters alive. They would bury their daughters alive because they were thought to be unable to defend the tribal interests. Such men also feared that their daughters could be enslaved by their enemies, be married to them and give birth to children. This, they assumed, would be a sign of shame for them.⁷⁶ Some others buried their daughters alive due to severe poverty and wretchedness. (6:151)⁷⁷ as a whole, daughters were received as nasty beings. They were held as a sign of disgrace. The Holy Qur'an describes them in the following manner:

And when a daughter is announced to one of them, his face becomes black and he is full of wrath. He hides himself from the people because of the evil of that which is announced to him. Shall he keep it with disgrace or bury it alive in the dust? Now surely evil is what they judge. (16:58-59)

Women's deprivation and conviction are reflected amply in the Arab literature of those days. It was a custom for the Arab men to sympathize with a man who became a father to a daughter. They would tell him, "May God keeps you from her disgrace. May God provide you with the expenses that she would create for you. May God turn her bridegroom's house into grave."

Regarding this, an Arab poet has written the following poem:

"For any father who has a daughter and wishes to keep her, there are three kinds of bridegrooms: A house where she can shelter; a husband who can keep her, and a grave to protect her; but the best the grave."

A story is told that a man, called Abu-Hamzah, stayed with the neighbors because his wife had given birth to a girl. His wife playfully said the following piece of poetry for her child:

"What has happened to Abu-Hamzah who has left us, living with the neighbors. He is angry because I have not given birth to a son. By God I swear, it is not upon us to decide on the sex of the child. We will receive what we are given."

This mother's speech is in fact a revolt against the tyrant social conditions prevailing over the Arab community in those days, and depicts the tragedy of women then. The first tribe to establish such a

nasty institution was the tribe of Banu–Tamim. It is said that upon their refusal to pay tribunes to al–Nu'man ibn al–Mundhir, there broke out a severe war in which the women and girls of Tamim were taken prisoners. When Tamim's representatives went to al–Nu'man's court to receive the prisoners, the women were given option to either stay at al–Hirah or return home among the Tamimi people. The daughter of Qays ibn 'Azim, the chief of the tribe, who was among the prisoners and had married a courtier, chose to stay at the court. Qays became utterly upset and decided to kill his daughters from then on.⁷⁸ This custom gradually became widespread and it is said that the tribes Qays, Asad, Hudhayl, and Bakr ibn Wa'il committed this crime from then on.⁷⁹ Of course, not everybody or tribe performed such nasty crimes. Some tribes and dignified people, such as 'Abd al–Muttalib, the Holy Prophet's grandfather, opposed it.⁸⁰ Individuals such as Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl and Sa'za'ah ibn Najiyah would take those girls who were supposed to be buried alive due to their parents' poverty and keep them safe.⁸¹ Sometimes, they provided their parents with some camels.⁸² However, there is a lot of evidence which indicates that this keeping of such girls was common:

1. Sa'za'ah ibn Najiyah once told the Holy Prophet that he had saved 280 girls from being buried alive.⁸³
2. Qays ibn 'Azim killed twelve or thirteen of his daughters after he had taken the decision to do so.⁸⁴
3. In the first treaty at al–'Aqabah (12 years after the Holy Prophet's Divine Mission) which the Holy Prophet held with some groups of Yathrib, one paragraph concerned the avoidance of burying daughters alive.⁸⁵
4. After the Conquest of Mecca, one of the items of the treaty with the women of this city stipulated that they should refrain from killing their children.
5. The Holy Qur'an has condemned the practice of burying daughters alive on several occasions:

And do not kill your children for fear of poverty; We give them sustenance and yourselves too; surely to kill them is a great wrong. (17:31)

And thus their associates have made fair seeming to most of the polytheists the killing of their children, that they may cause them to perish and obscure for them their religion. (6: 137)

They are lost indeed who kill their children foolishly without knowledge, and forbid what Allah has given to them, forging a lie against Allah. (6: 140)

And do not slay your children for fear of poverty–We provide for you and for them. (6: 151)

And when the female infant buried alive is asked for what sin she was killed. (81:8–9)

Chapter 2: Moral Features of the Arabs

Opposing Traits

Despite the savage nature and plundering inclinations, the nomadic Arab possessed some good traits such as generosity, hospitality and bravery. He strongly stuck to his promises and kept his word so much so that at times he even endangered his wellbeing to keep his promises; and this loyalty to his promises was his most distinguishing feature. The presence of such differing traits in the nomadic Arabs makes us wonder.

If the Arabs had not lived in such a hostile land, it would have been difficult for us to know the reason for such contrasts. The same Arab who desired for plundering and did not hesitate to commit the most vicious crimes showed sympathy, emotions and hospitality inside his tent. If a needy person referred to him for help, he would assist him generously and at times would endanger his own life for their wellbeing.⁸⁶ A nomadic Arab considered it the highest point of honor and dignity to show bravery on the battlefield, to be extremely generous, to be loyal to his tribal interests, and to be harsh in taking revenge against those who have wronged him or his relatives or tribe.⁸⁷

The Roots for the Arab's Good Manners

Despite the fact that Arabs were most often engaged in bloody fights over the possession of pastures, they had come to understand this truism that they should engage in the highest form of hospitality towards others since they lived in a hostile land in which resting-places or hotels were not available to provide travelers with shelters. Poets at the Ignorance Era, who acted like journalists of our time, used to emphasize the notion of hospitality and admire this human trait more than other human traits.⁸⁸

It should be however noted that the roots of most of their good traits, such as bravery, hospitality, generosity, and protecting the needy, did not rest in their human and spiritual values; rather, these traits had their roots in the culture of the Ignorance Era. They performed these human traits out of their rivalry and competition with other members of society. This is because that harsh environment called for bravery and audacity. Love for a good name and leadership and fear of poets' criticism and wish to avoid being called misers and mean persons led Arabs to show great signs of generosity and protection towards those in trouble.⁸⁹

Ignorance and Superstition

The nomadic Arab of Hijaz who lived mostly in the desert lacked true civilization; he was dominated by extreme fanatics and incapable of comprehending the relations of nature. He could not analyze the phenomena in nature critically and was unable to understand cause and effect relations. When a sick man received some drugs, he was incapable of analyzing critically the relationship between pain and disease. The only thing he knew was the fact that his clan-mates used to take this medicine under

similar conditions. For instance, he naively accepted that the tribal chief's blood would remedy the disease of rabies, which was the result of a dog's bite. In the same way, he was under the illusion that the cause of sickness was a malicious spirit which entered the sick man's body.

For this reason, attempts were made to expel this intruder from the sick man's body. In the case of mental sickness, they used to put the dead men's stones over the ill person's body so that illness might be cured. They strongly believed in spirits; they believed these creatures loomed in deserted places at night or they trouble travelers at night. When cows were taken to the river to drink water and a cow refused to drink, they thought the reason for her refusal was the presence of a devil inside the bull's horns. In order to drive the devil away, they used to strike the head of the bull.⁹⁰ Such funny events were very common among them.

The Arabs would not show any sign of doubt regarding these superstitious acts so far as they were carried out by others, because the source of doubt and skepticism lies in one's critical thinking. They lacked such sophistications in those days. Of course, at times some bright signs of clear thinking and bright ideas could be observed in their poems, proverbs and tales. However, even these lacked deep thought or analytic aspects. This inability of analysis of phenomena was the root of all sorts of superstitions in which they strongly believed and books of the history of the Arabs contain a lot of them.⁹¹

Arab Sciences and Arts

Some scholars have tried to prove that the nomadic Arabs were in command of such sciences as medicine, astronomy and physiognomy.⁹² However, this is an exaggeration. The Arab's knowledge in these domains was sporadic, unorganized and mostly based on lucky guesses. This sort of knowledge came down to them through elderly women and men of the tribe. It could not be termed science. For instance, the Arabs' knowledge of astronomy was limited to the recognition of some stars and the time of their rising and setting. This kind of knowledge was necessary for the navigation of their camels on the vast expanses of the deserts or the recognition of the time for prayers. Ibn Khaldun states,

Their knowledge of medicine was based, most often, on short-lived and narrow experiences. This sort of medicine was inherited from elderly men and women from one generation to another. Some sick people might haphazardly be cured, but these treatments were not based on any laws.⁹³

The medical treatment of some physicians such as Harith ibn Kildah was of this sort.

An illiterate nation

In the interpretation of the Holy Qur'an, people of Hijaz were illiterate. They had remained as illiterate as when they were born. They could neither write nor read. Al-Buladhari states:

At the advent of Islam, only seventeen persons in Quraysh and Yathrib and eleven others from the tribes

of Aws and Khazraj could read or write.⁹⁴

This situation existed in spite of the fact that people of Quraysh were affluent in Mecca and business and trade naturally asked for a trader to be literate. Thus, how is it possible for such an advanced stage of science?

Poetry

At the Ignorance Era, the only privilege the nomadic Arabs possessed was their skill in poetry and rhetoric. Poetry, in particular, had reached its climax. Poets played the roles of historians, genealogists, satirists, moralists, journalists, fortune-tellers and war-announcers.⁹⁵ In those days, the great Arab poets used to present their poems at season-bazaars, such as the bazaar of 'Uka', Dhi'l-Majaz, and al-Majannah,⁹⁶ which were held in the form of trade, literary and general exhibitions. The selection of any poem as a masterpiece was a great sign for the poet and his tribe and his poem was hung on the Kaaba's walls.⁹⁷ For this reason, they were called al-Mu'allaqat (the suspensions). Arab poems, despite their superficial eloquence, lacked sublime thoughts and richness due to the fact that this nation lacked proper culture and civilization. The contents of this poetry relied heavily on the topics of love, wine, women, epics, and tribal issues and their beauty lay in the superficial glamour of language and literary subtleties.

Arabs and the Neighboring Civilizations

When we study Arab sciences and arts, we may ask the following question: Did the Arabs of the Ignorance Era benefit from the two civilized nations of those days: namely, Iran and Rome? Did their trade transactions with these two states change their way of life in any way? To answer these questions, we should be reminded that people of Hijaz, due to their geopolitical status, were not only away from the political domination of the neighboring lands but also stayed away from their cultural influences. Arabs could have the influences of the neighboring civilizations and cultures only in three ways: trade, the Iranians, and the Jews and Christians.

We should however see to what degree this influence was active. Some remarks made by certain historians considering this topic have been exaggerative. For instance, some say:

The relations of the Arab tribes with both Iran and Rome to a certain degree made them familiar with these two civilizations: Those Arabs who traveled between Iran and Rome for trade purposes observed the manifestations of civilization in these two centers. These influences could be vividly observed in the poems left from the Ignorance Era. Furthermore, many travelers and traders took with them many words and stories from Iran and Rome to the Arabian Peninsula; in this way, some of the ideologies of Iranians and Romans entered Arab culture.⁹⁸

However, it should be noted that these trade transactions between traders of Hijaz and the Iranian or Roman merchants did not have any significant influence over the cultural or intellectual advancement of

these people. This is because information was hard to pass through mental sieves of these nomads. Most often, what they passed on to others contained a lot of distortions. This is shown in many Arab axioms whose sources are either Solomon's tales or Iranian stories. In general, the Arabs in those days did not receive science from others systematically. The obstacles in the way of such receptions were the following:

- (1) Natural barriers, such as mountains, seas, and deserts; these barriers created problems for Arab's connection with the outside world.
- (2) Huge mental, intellectual and social differences between the Romans and Iranians on one hand and the Arabs on the other hand.
- (3) Illiteracy among the Arabs had caused those who came in contact with both Iranians and Romans to memorize and narrate the axioms or the tales in such a way as to be comprehensible to ordinary people.

Thus, it could be concluded that the Arab's relationships with the neighboring lands had effects only on their financial, material and literary life.⁹⁹

On the Jews' influences too, it is said that they emigrated to Hijaz since the time of Prophet Moses due to the Romans' aggressions after the destruction of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁰ The arrival of Jews in Hijaz had a tremendous effect on the social life of the whole region and the stories of the Old Testament and Talmud became known to the Arabs of Hijaz.¹⁰¹

Of course, the influence of Jewish culture on the people of the Arabian Peninsula cannot be denied and there are documents revealing the fact that the Jews were superior to the Arabs in the intellectual and religious domains. Even after the advent of Islam, many Muslims used to ask them religious questions.¹⁰² Since Judaism, like Christianity, had been severely distorted, the thoughts that the Arabs received from the Jews were extremely disturbed and distorted. Not only were Jewish instructions unhelpful but also they added to the Arabs' confusion.

The Arab's Inferiority vis-à-vis Iran and Rome

As we have already noted, people of Hijaz used to have a tribal life in the desert, lacking central government to unite them. They were mostly involved in tribal conflicts. For this reason, they were wretched and backward and were not noticed by the people of the world.

The Arabs were so entangled in the narrow sphere of their tribal atmosphere and were so involved in the prejudices and dogmas. They were also so deprived and disorganized that they could never think about affairs occurring outside their immediate surroundings. They could never think of defeating their neighboring powerful states of Iran and Rome; rather, they felt extremely powerless, wretched and inferior towards these two civilizations. An Arab person, namely Qatadah, introduced the Arabs of those days as the most miserable, wretched, backward, misguided, begging and hungry people in the world.

He says,

“The Arabs were caught between two lions, from both of whom they feared.”¹⁰³

A piece of evidence for this feeling of inferiority comes from the Holy Prophet's dialogue with the Arabs in Mecca. When he was trying to spread his ideologies among the Arabs, he encountered a group of distinguished Arab individuals. He recited to them some of the verses of the Holy Qur'an which were concerned with native and ethical instructions. All of them were highly moved; they began to admire the verses. However, their chief, al-Muthanna ibn Harithah, remarked:

“We are caught between two stretches of water. On one side lie the Arab shores; on the other lie Iran and Khosrow rivers. We have pledged to Khosrow not to create any problem and not to protect or shelter any wrongdoer. Perhaps your ideologies are not palatable to the kings. If we do anything wrong here, it would be pardoned, but such mistakes and errors in the Iranian borders are not pardonable by Khosrow, the king of Iran.¹⁰⁴

Imaginary Pride

Regarding the Arab inferiority complex, historians have written:

The Tamim tribe faced a drought, but Khosrow did not allow them to make use of the fertile lands of Iraq. Then, one of their noblemen, named Hajib ibn Zurarah, came to Khosrow's court as a representative of his tribe. Khosrow said, “You, Arabs, are traitors. If I let you use these fertile lands, you will agitate and excite people against me and make me worried.” Hajib replied, “I assure you such a thing would never happen.” Khosrow then asked, “How would you guarantee this?” Hajib answered, “I pledge my bow with you.” Khosrow accepted. Thus, Hajib's bow was kept by Khosrow as a pledge (Hajib's bow was a symbol of his bravery, chivalry and manhood). After Hajib's death, his son 'Utarad received his father's bow from Khosrow.¹⁰⁵ After this event and for a long time, people of the Tamim tribe considered this pledge high point of honor.¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, since the Banu-Shayban, with the assistance of Banu-'Ujal and Banu-Yashkur, had overcome Khosrow Parviz in the Battle of Dhi-Qar,¹⁰⁷ this victory was a point of honor for them; they looked at it unbelievably. Whenever they remembered it, they would take pride in it. They did not dare to call it the victory of Arabs over the Persians; they considered it an accident, but not as point of honor. They would recognize it as the pride of three Arab tribes and not just one. Their self-admiration reached such a point that Abu-Tammam, a poet, composed a poem in the honor of Abu-Dulaf al-'Ajali in spite of the fact that the Tamim tribe had one day taken pride in having asked Khosrow to accept Hajib's bow as a sign of his pledge for loyalty:

Once Tamim took honor in having pledged his bow and considered this as a point of honor;

However, your swords at the war of Dhi-Qar overthrew the thrones of those who had taken Hajib's bow

as a pledge.¹⁰⁸

The Ignorance Era

In our discussions so far, we have referred to the people of the Arabian Peninsula prior to the advent of Islam as an ignorant people, living in an era of ignorance. There are documents showing that this idiomatic expression was taken from the Holy Qur'an and was used by Muslims to describe this specific era and had taken on a special meaning and flavor.¹⁰⁹ Some contemporary historians estimate the time interval of 150–200 years prior to Prophet Muhammad's prophethood for the existence of the Ignorance Era.¹¹⁰

Although the word Jahiliyyah is taken from Jahl (meaning ignorance), the word Jahl here is not taken to be the opposite of science or knowledge; rather, it the opposite of wisdom and logic.

Having lacked knowledge, the people of the Arabian Peninsula were illiterate at that time. They were given the name ignorant not due to their lack of knowledge, but because of their wrong and negative attitudes and illogical thinking and because of their prejudice, selfishness, false pride and vengeful attitude. Islam, however, strongly opposed these negative and destructive inclinations.¹¹¹ Perhaps, under such conditions, jahl connotes the meaning of being stupid, which is not based on illiteracy.¹¹²

In the Holy Qur'an, the word ignorance or Jahiliyyah has been used with the meanings we have already referred to. Some of those cases are referred to below:

(1) The unfounded expectations of some superficial believers who wanted the Holy Prophet to do things in accordance with their whimsical wishes were termed Ignorant. (Qur'an 5: 50)

(2) God has referred to the blind tribal prejudices of the idol-worshipping Arab as ignorance. (Qur'an 48: 26)

(3) The Holy Prophet's wives were warned not to appear among community with the ornaments of the women of the earlier times. (Qur'an 33:33)

(4) God refers to the feeble-minded who, after the defeat of Muslims in the Battle of Uhud, had lost their faith and their morale as ignorant. (Qur'an 3: 154)

(5) God tells the story of the nation of Prophet Moses who had refused his orders to sacrifice a cow by replying, "Do you make fun of us?" Then, Prophet Moses remarked, "I take shelter in God not to be one of the ignorant ones." (Qur'an 2: 67)

Depicting the miserable life of the idol-worshipping Arabs, Imam 'Ali (a.s) refers to their stupidity.¹¹³

Chapter 3: Sects and Religions in the Arabian Peninsula and its Surroundings

Despite the fact that at the advent of Islam the prevailing belief of the Arabs involved idol-worshipping, there were different religions, such as Christianity, Judaism, Hanifiyyah, Manawiyyah, Sabian and other schools practiced in different localities of Arabia. Thus, the Arabs did not follow a specific sect. For this reason, there was a sort of fatigue and delusion among the followers of these sects. We will hereinafter deal with each of these sects, yet briefly:

Monotheists

Monotheists or Hanifiyyah¹¹⁴ were those who, despite the infidels and atheists, believed in One and Only God and probably believed in the punishment of the Doomsday. Some members of this group believed in Christianity; but historians have included them with the Hanifiyyah. Among the Hanifiyyah are the following individuals: Waraqah ibn Nawfal, 'Ubaydullah ibn Jahsh, 'Uthman ibn Huwayrith, Zayd ibn 'Amr ibn Nufayl,¹¹⁵ al-Nabighah al-Ja'di (Qays ibn 'Abdullah), Umayyah ibn Abil-Salt, Qiss ibn Sa'idah al-Iyadi, Abu-Qays Surmah ibn Abi-Anas, Zuhayr ibn Abi-Sulma, Abu-'Amir al-Awsi ('Abd 'Amr ibn Sayfi), 'Addas (the servant of 'Utbah ibn Rabi'ah), Ri'ab al-Shanni, and Bahira the monk.¹¹⁶ Some of these people were among the distinguished philosophers or poets.

Of course, the secret behind their inclinations towards monotheism lay in their pure and clean human nature and their bright thoughts. The prevalent ill-ominous sects of those days could not satisfy their spiritual needs. These distinguished individuals deeply believed in Almighty God and refrained from following an illogical set of beliefs such as those of idol-worshippers. Christianity and Judaism, too, had lost their vigor and spirituality with the passage of time and could not offer any means of tranquility to those men. For this reason, we observe that some of these God-seekers suffered the pains of journeys to find the truth. They had long discussions with Christian and Jewish scholars.¹¹⁷ They impatiently looked for the signs of prophethood of the Holy Prophet to which there were numerous references in the Holy Books. Since they could not reach any accomplishment, they accepted the very first principle of monotheism. However, we do not know anything about the way they carried out their religious ceremonies.

It should be noted, however, that contrary to the view of some scholars, Hanifiyyah did not play any role in guiding the Arab society towards monotheism; rather, as some other historians have stated, they spent their lives in seclusion. They spent their time in deliberation and contemplation, as they were never well-organized. They did not possess any sect with preset commandments or principles. What they were fond of was their seclusion and staying away from the population and refraining from worshipping idols. They were convinced that the prevalent ideology was a corrupt one. They did not give themselves the trouble of propagating their right ideas. For this very reason, they did not have any conflict with people of their own time.¹¹⁸

Christianity

There were some followers of Christianity, too, at some locations of Arabia. This religion had entered Arabia from the south via Ethiopia, and from the north via Syria (The dominated areas by Byzantine) and also from the Sinai Peninsula. However, Christianity achieved no progress in that land.¹¹⁹ In the northern parts of the Arabian Peninsula, Christianity had found its way among the members of the tribe of Taghlib (a branch of the tribe of Rabi'ah), Ghassan and some members of the tribe of Qudha'ah.¹²⁰ Qiss ibn Sa'idah, Han'alah al-Ta'i and Umayyah ibn al-Salt have been enumerated as Christians. Some of these had left their cities and communities and joined monasteries in the deserts.¹²¹

Christianity in Yemen

Christianity entered Yemen during the fourth century AD. Phillip Hatti, a Christian author, writes:

The first Christian missionary headed by Theofilus Endus Erius who arrived at southern Arabia was the one sent by Emperor Constantius in 356 AD. The dispatch of the abovementioned missionary was motivated by the world diplomacy of those days and the rivalry between Iran and Rome over the domination of territories in southern Arabia. Theofilus established a church¹²² in Aden and two in the country of Himyar. The people of Najran accepted the new religion in 500 AD.

At the dawn of Islam, Christianity was prevalent in the tribes of Tayy, Majhadh, Bahra', Sulayh, Tanukh, Ghassan, Lakhm and Yemen.¹²³ The most important center for Christianity in Yemen was Najran, an advanced city. People used to engage in farming, weaving silky cloth, trading hides and weapon making, this city was located at the trade route which extended up to Hirah.¹²⁴

Christianity was prevalent in Yemen until the reign of Dhu-Nuwas who came to power and forced people to put aside their religion. When Christians refused to do so, they were put in fire-pits and burned alive.¹²⁵ Finally, Dhu-Nuwas was defeated in 525 AD by the intervention of Ethiopia and Christians came to power once again.

Christianity in Hirah

Another city where Christianity was prevalent was Hirah, to the east of Arabia. This religion had entered the region through Roman slaves. Since the time of Hormoz I, the government of Iran had built some colonies the inhabitants of which were Roman slaves. Some of them lived in Hirah. In the view of many, the source of Christian influence in this area was these slaves. Christian missionaries used to live in Hirah, promulgating Christianity. They started propagating and spreading Christianity in the Arab markets, discussing the issues of heaven, hell and chastisement. Due to their efforts, some accepted this religion; even Hind, the wife of al-Nu'man X, accepted this religion, building a monastery called Hind's convent. This building was in existence up to the time of al-Tabari. Han'alah al-Ta'i, Qiss ibn Sa'idah and Umayyah ibn al-Salt were from Hirah.¹²⁶ Al-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir, the king of Hirah, due to the encouragement of 'Adi ibn Zayd, accepted Christianity.¹²⁷

Numerous Qur'anic verses deal with Christian ideas and the weak points in their beliefs and actions, especially their assumptions concerning Christ's divinity.¹²⁸ This is the best piece of evidence for the existence of this religion in the Arabian Peninsula at the time of the revelation of the Holy Qur'an. The issue of Mubalahah; mutual cursing, which is well-known in the history of Islam, took place with the Najran priests.¹²⁹

However, Christianity had lost its spirituality and authenticity and had been subject to a lot of distortions. Thus, it could not fill the intellectual and religious vacuum which existed in the mind of people in those days nor could it give any peace of mind anymore.

Judaism

Many centuries prior to the advent of Islam, Judaism had entered certain regions of Arabia. Yathrib was one of the most famous of these regions, which later came to be called Medina. There were Jewish communities in Tayma',¹³⁰ Fadak¹³¹, and Khaybar.¹³² The Jews of Yathrib belonged to three tribes: Banu- Nadhir, Banu-Qaynuqa' and Banu-Quray'ah.¹³³

Besides these three Jewish settlements, there were in Medina two other Jewish tribes; Aws and Khazaraj, during the third century AD. Upon the establishment of the Jews in Yathrib, these two tribes came from Yemen to live in this city. They were originally idolaters and due to their association with the Jews, some of them embraced Judaism. It is said that there were some Jews living in Ta'if who had been driven out of Yemen and Yathrib by force and they started their engagement in trade.¹³⁴

Wherever they lived in Arabia, the Jews were well-known for farming due to their skills in this activity. In Medina too, they were famous due to their skills in blacksmithing, dyeing, and weaponry.¹³⁵ Judaism had some followers among the tribes of Himyar, Banu- Kinanah, Banu-Harith ibn Ka'b, Kindah,¹³⁶ Ghassan and Judham.¹³⁷

Jews in Yemen

Any region in which Jews lived; they propagated the Law of Moses. Yemen, too, was under the influence of the Jews for some time, and Dhu-Nuwas, the king of Yemen, who had accepted Judaism, started suppressing Christians and announced Judaism as the official religion.

In view of some researchers and historians, Dhu-Nuwas had some national and patriotic motives rather than religious sentiments, in announcing Judaism as an official religion; that is to say, Christians in Najran had friendly relations with Ethiopia and its government. Relying heavily on Najran's Christians, they tried to interfere with the internal affairs of Yemen to achieve political objectives. For this reason, by suppressing the Christians, Dhu-Nuwas and his supporters tried to deprive Ethiopia of this stronghold. After the massacre of Najran's Christians, one of them escaped to Ethiopia and begged the Ethiopian emperor for help. This led to a war between two countries in which Dhu-Nuwas was easily defeated in 525 AD and Najran continued to remain an important center for Christianity up to the Holy Prophet

The Sabians

Historians believe that this sect came into being at the time of the kingdom of Tahmurath by Budhasif as its founder. After introducing the history of this sect, Abu-Rayhan al-Bayruni (360–440 AH) writes:

We do not know much about them except for the fact that in their opinion, God has no associate and is void of inappropriate epithets (negative attributes). For instance, they declare: God is not limited; He cannot be seen nor does He engage in injustice. They think the universe is managed by the heavens and that celestial bodies have influence upon us. They believe in life, speech, hearing and sight of the heavenly bodies that have control over rays. Believing in the great influences of the stars and their movement on the earthly creatures, Sabians used to keep the statues of these heavenly bodies in their temples. Examples are the statue of the sun in Baalbek, the statue of the moon in Harran and the statue of Venus in a village.¹³⁹

The center of Sabian activities was the city of Harran.¹⁴⁰ This sect used to have followers in Rome, Greece, Babel and other places of the world.¹⁴¹ The Holy Qur'an refers to them on three occasions.¹⁴² This sect is now disintegrating and only a few of them live in Khuzestan¹⁴³ and Iraq.¹⁴⁴

Manichaeism

The sects of Zoroastrianism, Mazdak and Manichaeism all originated in Iran. However, there is no consensus of opinion concerning the influences of these sects over Hijaz prior to Islam. Some contemporary historians believe these sects were present in Arabia in those years. Historical documents attest to the presence of Manichaeism in Arabia in those days. Ya'qubi writes:

Some Arabs adopted Judaism as their religion, others accepted Christianity, and some others became heretic and believed in dualism.¹⁴⁵ Although the word zindiq (miscreant) originally refers to atheist and denier of God, in the opinion of the scholars, this was used for a group of believers in Manichaeism and gradually included all followers of this sect. Later on, it included infidels and atheists in general. Thus, in the ancient sources, the word zindiq was used to include the followers of Manichaeism.¹⁴⁶ Now we know that Manichaeism is a combination of Christianity and Zoroastrianism.¹⁴⁷

A group of historians have confirmed that heresy or Manichean heresy was prevalent among the people of Quraysh who had received it from the people of Hirah.¹⁴⁸ This clarifies the fact that by heresy, we mean dualism, because Hirah used to be a protégé and neighbor of Iran and Iranian sects which were based on dualism.

Star Worshipping

During the Ignorance Era, a group of the people of the Arabian Peninsula, like many of other areas,

worshipped celestial bodies, such as the moon and some stars. They believed in a special power embedded in these bodies which could exert energy over the population of the world, controlling their destiny in this way. For instance, the tribes of Khuza'ah and Himyar worshipped a star called Shi'ra, which is one of the stationary stars. Abu-Kabshah, one of the maternal ancestors of the Holy Prophet, was one of the worshippers of this star.¹⁴⁹ A group of Tayy tribe used to worship a star called Thurayya or the Pleiades.¹⁵⁰ The worship of skies and stars was so prevalent that its repercussions are visible in the Arab literature, romance and superstitions.¹⁵¹ Besides the Sebiens who worshipped the sun and the moon, these two heavenly bodies were sanctified and worshipped by all idolaters in general.¹⁵²

Prohibiting and condemning the worshipping of celestial bodies, the Holy Qur'an considers this limited group of celestial bodies creations of God that are dominated by His power and worshipping Him. Thus, they could be regarded as guides for man and directors towards God, the All-great. This is because these heavenly bodies are just signs for His power:

And He has made subservient for you the night, the day, the sun, and the moon and the stars are made subservient by His commandment; most surely, there are signs in this for a people who ponder. (16: 12)

And among His signs are the night and the day and the sun and the moon; do not make obeisance to the sun nor to the moon; and make obeisance to Allah who created them, if Him it is that you serve. (41:37)

And that He is the Lord of the Sirius. (53:49)

These sacred verses depict the fact that at the time of the Holy Prophet, the worshipping of these celestial bodies was a common practice.

The Worshipping of Jinn and Angels

Besides the abovementioned sects, some people of Arabia used to worship Jinn and angels. 'Abdullah ibn al-Zuba'ri, a tribal chief in Mecca, used to say, "We are the worshippers of the angels; the Jews worship Ezra, and the Christians worship the Christ! Now ask Muhammad: Would we go to hell when we worship so many beloved ones?"¹⁵³

Banu-Malih, a branch of the Khuza'ah tribe, used to worship Jinn.¹⁵⁴ It is said that the first people who started worshipping jinn were a group of Yemenis; then it was the Banu-Hanifah tribe; then it was spread among the Arabs.¹⁵⁵ In the words of interpreters, some people believed that God has married the Jinn and the angels are the offspring of such a marriage.¹⁵⁶ In the Holy Qur'an, God has condemned the worshipping of Jinn and angels and the wrong assumptions about them:

And they made the jinn associates with Allah, while He created them, and they falsely attributed to Him, and highly exalted is He above what they ascribe to Him. (6: 100)

And on the day when He will gather them all together, and then He will say to the angels: Did these worship you? They shall say: Glory be to Thee! Thou art our Guardian, not they; nay! The worshippers become abashed. (34:41)

It also becomes clear through the answers offered by the angels that they are not satisfied with people who worship them. (34:41)

It is evident that this question is not asking for any information; neither does it unveil any ambiguity. This is because God is All-knowing. God intends that the angels reveal the truth so that their worshippers become abased. However, the jinn were content in this respect.

Thus, the worshipping of these two sets of invisible creatures on the part of some worshippers was not unlike the dualism-bided sect, because the worshipper considered the jinn as the source of light, benevolence and abundance. When entering a valley at night, some Arabs used to say, "I ask the protection of the chief of the ignorant ones in order to be safe against those ignorant ones who live in this land."¹⁵⁷ By chanting such slogans, they believed the jinn would protect them for the truth of this claim comes from the Holy Qur'an:

And persons from among men used to seek refuge with persons from among jinn, so they increased them in wrongdoing. (72:6)

The Appearance of Mecca

The building of Mecca goes back to the time of Prophet Abraham who was ordered by God to bring his wife Hajar and his infant Isma'il from Syria to live in a dry climate. (14:37)

Upon the appearance of Zamzam by God to water these two,¹⁵⁸ Jurhum, a southern tribe whose individuals had moved towards the north due to famine and drought, came to settle there.¹⁵⁹ Reaching the age of adulthood, Isma'il married a girl from this tribe.¹⁶⁰

Prophet Abraham was commanded by Allah to build up the Kaaba with the assistance of his son, Isma'il. (2: 127)

When it was built, the city of Mecca came into being and Isma'il's offspring gradually settled therein.

The Remnants of Abraham's Religion: Hanifiyyah

‘Adnan was the great ancestor of the ‘Adnani Arabs and the twentieth ancestor of the Holy Prophet from Isma'il's generation. Living in Hijaz, Najd, and Tihamah,¹⁶¹ the ‘Adnanis followed Prophet Abraham's religion. In the words of Ya'qubi:

"Quraysh and ‘Adnan's children in general believed in some principles of Prophet Abraham's religion. They used to perform their pious pilgrimage; they observed the Hajj ceremonies; they were hospitable;

they observed the prohibited months; they abhorred nasty deeds, the severing of relations with relatives and injustice or tyranny; they used to punish the wrongdoers. 162

The remnants of Prophet Abraham's traditions, such as belief in God, avoidance of marrying one's mother or daughter, ceremonies of Hajj and Sacrifice, nocturnal pollution, 163 circumcision, and shrouding and burying the dead 164 were all carried out up to the advent of Islam: they carried the ten rules of cleansing the body and removing the unwanted hairs and the like. 165 They believed, as well, in the prohibitions imposed on the four months which was one of Prophet Abraham's traditions. 166 If for any reason, there occurred a fight among them; they called it a sinful and obnoxious war. 167 Thus, monotheism had a long history with the Arabs of that region and their idolatry entered there only later and drove them astray from monotheism.

The Beginning of Idolatry among Arabs

In accordance with numerous documents, two factors have been effective in the propagation of idolatry among Arabs:

First: 'Amr ibn Luhayy, the chief of Khuza'ah, an influential man and custodian of the Kaaba, 168 made a trip to Syria where he could visit a group at 'Amaliqah 169 who were engaged in idolatry. When he asked why they worshipped those idols, they replied, "They cause the rain to fall and help us in many ways." He asked them for an idol, and they gave him an idol called Hubal. Later, he took it to the Kaaba and stuck it on it asking people to worship it. 170 Besides this, there are two other idols next to the Kaaba: Asaf and Na'ilah. 171 These two were also worshipped upon his recommendation. In this way, he laid the foundation of idolatry. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said:

'Amr ibn Luhayy was the one who transformed Isma'il's religion and laid the foundation of idolatry. I have seen him in the fire of Hell. 172

Second: When Isma'il's children grew in numbers in Mecca, they decided to go to different cities and locations to continue with their life. Due to their extreme respect and love for Mecca, everybody used to take away a piece of stone and put it on the ground wherever they went and started going around it like the ceremony around the Kaaba. Little by little, the motive behind this practice was forgotten and each stone transformed into an idol. People then would worship any stone they liked. In this way, they completely forgot their precious customs and religion: they transformed the religion of Prophet Abraham and Prophet Isma'il, accepting idolatry. 173

Of course, these two factors were the basic reasons for the spread of idolatry. Naturally, there were other factors in this process, such as ignorance, human fondness of sensation (according to which man prefers God to be tangible), zeal for being the chief or among the prominent figures of the tribe who preferred people to be stuck in ignorance so that they could carry on with their domination, and imitating their ancestors that caused the spread of idolatry in different forms. 174 The number of idols gradually

increased to such an extent that there was an idol in every home. On their trips, they used to caress it with their hands and ask for blessing.¹⁷⁵ At the time of the conquest of Mecca, there were three hundred and sixty idols in this city.¹⁷⁶

Did Idolaters Believe in Allah?

The idolaters did not deny the existence of Allah; they considered Him as the Creator of the skies, the earth and the universe—a fact established in the Holy Qur'an.¹⁷⁷ However, they committed two huge mistakes which were the very root of their misleading.

(1) A false recognition of Allah and His Attributes; they had puzzling attitudes towards Allah. This is witnessed by the fact that they assumed a wife and children for God. They thought that angels were Allah's daughters. They erroneously assumed that Allah was like men and other creatures that had the power of sexual reproduction. However, in different verses, God has reprimanded them for these attitudes:

And he made the angels – those who are the servants of the Beneficent God – female divinities.

What! Did they witness their creation? Their evidence shall be written down and they shall be questioned. (43: 19)

Most surely, they who do not believe in the hereafter name the angels with female names. (53:27)

And they say: The Beneficent God has taken to Himself a son. Glory be to Him. Nay! They are honored servants. (21: 16)

And they made the Jinn Associates with Allah, while He created them, and they falsely attributed to Him sons and daughters without knowledge; glory be to Him, and Highly exalted is He above what they ascribe to Him. And that He – exalted be the majesty of our Lord – has not taken a consort, or a son. (6: 100–101)

In different verses, God has reprimanded the disbelievers for their ascribing to God the existence of girls, which were considered to be evil, while ascribing boys to themselves:

Or has He daughters while you have sons. (52:39)

Then ask them whether your Lord has daughters and they have sons. Or did we create the angels females while they were witnesses. (37: 149–150)

Have you then considered Lat, 'Uzza, and Manat the third, the last? What! For you the males. And for Him the females! This indeed is an unjust division! They are naught but names which you have named, you and your fathers; Allah has not sent for them any authority. They follow naught but conjecture and the low desires which their souls incline to; and certainly, the guidance has

come to them from their Lord. (37: 149–150)

What! Has He taken daughters to Himself of what He himself creates and chosen you to have sons? (43: 16)

And they assert a relationship between Him and the jinn; and certainly, the jinn do know that they shall surely be brought up. Glory be to Allah for freedom from what they describe. (37: 158–159)

In accordance with an interpretation, by the relation of God to Jinn was meant to be their assumption of God's relation with Jinn, the consequence of which was the angels.¹⁷⁸

2. They used to think of the idols as petty Gods, intermediate between themselves and Allah. Worshipping these petty Gods was supposed to satisfy Him. This assumption was irrational since worship belongs to Allah alone.

Despite the fact that these small gods were not supposed to be the creators of the world, their worshippers assumed some divine roles for them, considering them influential on man's fate and future. ***They looked for these Gods' assistance to solve their worldly problems. However, in Islam, Allah is considered to be both the Creator of the universe and it's Manager. (17: 111)***

The idols are lifeless entities, lacking perception. The Holy Qur'an depicts their baseless assumptions in the following manner:

And they serve beside Allah what can neither harm them nor profit them, and they say: These are our intercessors with Allah. Say: Do you presume to inform Allah of what He knows not in the heavens and the earth? Glory be to Him, and supremely exalted is He above what they set up with Him. (10: 18)

Now, surely, sincere obedience is due to Allah alone and as for those who take guardians besides Him, saying, We do not serve them save that they may make us nearer to Allah, Surely Allah will judge between them in that about which they differ; Surely Allah does not guide him aright who is a liar, ungrateful. (39:3)

And they have taken Gods besides Allah that they should be to them a source of strength. (19:81)

And they have taken Gods besides Allah that they may be helped. (36:74)

The Holy Qur'an calls the idolaters liars and ungrateful ones because they considered the idols as helpers to Allah in the management of worldly affairs.

The Chaotic State of Religion

When Islam appeared, idolatry had distorted and transformed the Hanifiyyah through its widespread

customs and ceremonies. The disbelievers were in a state of chaos regarding religion. They severely adhered to their idolatry and carried out its customs. They carried out Prophet Abraham's ceremonies, such as Hajj and sacrifice in a defective, distorted way, and mingled it with superstitions. For instance, besides bowing to and worshipping the Kaaba, they had built other temples around which they performed their ceremonies. They even took sacrifices to those temples, slaughtering them on the spot.¹⁷⁹

Their prayers beside the Kaaba were nothing more than whistling and hand-clapping. During Hajj time and at the time of uttering the expression at Thy service, they used to call the names of their idols besides Allah's name.¹⁸⁰ In this way, they mingled the Hajj of Prophet Abraham, which is one of the most sublime manifestations of monotheism, with polytheism. The two tribes, Aws and Khazraj, instead of head-shaving at the land of Mina, carried out this ceremony on their way back to Medina at the foot of Manat (an idol), which was at the seashore¹⁸¹ on the route between Mecca and Yathrib.¹⁸²

The disbelievers, both men and women, used to circumambulate the Kaaba naked;¹⁸³ it is apparent what a horrible scene could be seen around the Kaaba!

People of Quraysh used to put musk and ambergris on their idols next to the Kaaba and bow to them; they used to gather around them uttering at Thy service.¹⁸⁴ Although they believed in the reverence of those four sacred months not to be involved in wars, they used to change the names of the month and postpone the sacred months so that they could be involved in wars.¹⁸⁵

Drastic Changes in the Light of the Appearance of Islam

The advent of Islam brought forth drastic changes in the lifestyle of the people of Hijaz; a complete revolution took place the effects of which could be observed in the entirety of the Arabian Peninsula. With a resolute and strong struggle against idolatry, the Holy Prophet rooted out idolatry, replacing it with the principle of monotheism. Islam demolished the system of tribal life and its wrong and hazardous customs. It annulled the tribal prejudices and established a zeal for justice in society. Islam changed vengeance, plunder and homicide into peace and tranquility. It called all Muslims brethren of one another. It rescued women from misery and gave them sublime human dignity. Islam turned an ignorant nation into a knowing one. It established the systems of ummah (community) and imamate to replace tribal systems. It made a unified nation out of the scattered tribes. Islam prepared them for a universal government transcending the limited tribal life. Due to Islam, the Arab nation became so powerful that it could overthrow the great empires of those days, namely Iran and Rome. This point is so obvious that even non-Muslim scholars have witnessed to its authenticity. As some examples, we will present the views of three of them.

Dr. Eustan Le Bon, a French author, says:

"It was the great miracle of the Prophet of Islam to unite all the wandering Arabs into a nation prior to his

demise. He made every Muslim obedient to one leader. Without doubt, Prophet Muhammad had some tangible results that none of the previous religions, such as Judaism and Christianity, could have achieved. For this, the Arab nation owes him a lot. If we desire to evaluate people with their feats and deeds, definitely Muhammad is the greatest man in the history of mankind. We consider the religion which he brought for mankind as a great Divine asset.”¹⁸⁶

Thomas Carlyle, an English author, writes:

“Through Islam, God led the Arabs from darkness into light. Islam enlivened the dead and silenced Arabs. From the very beginning of man's life, Arabs were nothing but wandering desert-dwelling groups of people. They had nothing to present to the world. Through the prophet hood of a great Prophet, God changed the unknown Arab people into a well-known nation, a wandering nation into a settled one, a miserable nation into a prosperous one, a weak nation into a powerful one, and a spark into a great fire. The Prophet's rays spread everywhere; his light scattered at every corner of the earth, the south, the east and the west so much so that only one century after its advent, the Islamic government could establish its power from India to Andalusia.”¹⁸⁷

Will Durant writes:

“In those days, nobody could dream and believe that wandering desert-dwelling people could, after only one century, capture half of the Roman territories in Asia, the whole territory of Iran and Egypt and most of the northern territories of Africa, and be on its way towards Spain. This historic event which started from Arabia and through which the Arabs could capture half of the Mediterranean territories and could establish Islam is no doubt the strangest historical event in the Middle Ages.”¹⁸⁸

The Development and Significance of Mecca

The majority of the Arabian Peninsula people during the Ignorance Era were desert-dwellers living in tents. Civil life did not exist in the territory of Hijaz. What is referred to as a city was in fact minor villages with small populations. Some historians have estimated that only one-sixth of the population was city-dwellers; some have estimated that seventeen percent of the whole population was living in cities.¹⁸⁹ The basis for these estimations is not clear. The percentage of city dwellers was small. Being located eighty-three kilometers away from the Red Sea, the city of Mecca, in the south of Hijaz, was the most important in the region; it had attracted a lot of settlers some decades prior to the advent of Islam. There were two reasons for the development of Mecca:

The commercial position

Located in a rough and dry territory, the city of Mecca lacked agricultural or other productive means of life. In order to survive, its people had to engage in trades, yet extremely limited.¹⁹⁰ Non-Arab merchants used to carry their merchandise to either buy or sell inside the city or in the seasonal markets of the Arabian Peninsula. This continued until the reign of Hashim, the Holy Prophet's great grandfather,

who entered into a treaty with the Roman Empire, according to which the Meccan traders could freely enter this country.¹⁹¹

He had a contract with the tribes on the way to Damascus to protect the Meccan merchants on their journey.¹⁹² In return, he had to carry their merchandise to Damascus free of charge.¹⁹³ His brothers, ‘Abd Shams, Nawfal, and al-Muttalib, had similar contracts with the governor of Ethiopia and the kings of Iran¹⁹⁴ and Yemen.¹⁹⁵

Upon achieving the security of routes, Hashim established the trade route between Yemen and Damascus¹⁹⁶ passing through Mecca which was between these two trade-centers.¹⁹⁷ In this way, the trade of Quraysh outside the country was established.¹⁹⁸ Since then, Meccan merchants, besides partaking in seasonal markets, such as ‘Uka’, Dhu’l-Majaz, and al-Majannah, made their journey to Yemen and Ethiopia in winter and to Damascus and Gaza in summer. In this way, they could buy silky cloths, hides and other merchandise which had come from India or China into Yemen and take them to Mecca through the Arabian lands parallel to the Red Sea¹⁹⁹ to take them again to Gaza, Jerusalem, Damascus and the ports on the Mediterranean. They could then buy wheat, oil, olives, wood and other produce from Damascus. They could also enter Ethiopia, through the Red Sea and Jeddah Port, which is located eight hundred kilometers away from Mecca. In this way, they could take their local merchandise from one place to another.²⁰⁰

The establishment of such a merchant route changed the city of Mecca into a lucrative center for trade and had a tremendous effect on the life of its people. God mentions this route as a means for prosperity for the people of Quraysh:

For the protection of the Quraysh—their protection during their trading caravans in the winter and the summer; so, let them serve the Lord to this house, Who feeds them against hunger and gives them security against fear. (106: 1–4)

The Holy Kaaba

The very existence of the Kaaba was considered a significant factor for the development of the city and for the prosperity of its people. This is because the Arabs used to arrive to this city twice for the observance of Hajj ceremonies. People of Quraysh, being responsible sponsors for the Kaaba’s affairs, provided the pilgrims with water and food. Trade transactions were carried out between the pilgrims and the Meccan merchants during the Hajj ceremonies.²⁰¹ These two factors played major roles in the trade prosperity of the city.

Of course, the sanctity of Mecca which brought forth the required security for the trade transactions was of utmost importance for the trade prosperity of Mecca. This fact is mentioned by Allah:

And they say: If we follow the guidance with you, we shall be carried off from our country. What! Have We not settled them in a safe, sacred territory to which fruits of every kind shall be drawn—

sustenance from Us? But most of them do not know. (38:57)

Upon the settlement of his wife and child beside the Kaaba, Prophet Abraham asked his God for such an asset:

O Our Lord! Surely, I have settled a part of my offspring in a valley unproductive of fruit near Thy Sacred House, our Lord! That they may keep up prayer; therefore make the hearts of some people yearn towards them and provide them either fruits; haply they may be grateful. (14:37)

My Lord, make it a secure town and provide its people with fruits, such of them as believe in Allah and the last day. (2:126)

Trade and Custodianship of Quraysh

The two factors of trade and the existence of the Kaaba, which had played their roles in the prosperity of Mecca, had their role in increasing the power of the people of Quraysh in Mecca, because they had the trade and religious initiatives in their hands:

(1) People of Quraysh could amass tremendous amounts of wealth thorough trade. The share of one of these traders in one caravan was more than thirty thousand Dinars.²⁰² The Quraysh nobles had a lot of gardens.²⁰³ in the summer quarters of Ta'if, which, in good weather, was called a part of Damascus.²⁰⁴ Al-'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib had a vineyard in Ta'if the produce of which was carried to Mecca to be made wine.²⁰⁵ He was one of the great usurers of Mecca.²⁰⁶ Upon his death, his body was enshrouded in two pieces of Yemeni cloth which cost the value of five thousand grams of gold.²⁰⁷ It is said his daughter, Hind, manumitted forty slaves in one day.²⁰⁸ Al-Walid ibn Mughirah, the elder chief of the Banu-Makhzum, had a great wealth and a great number of children; he was quite famous²⁰⁹ and later reprimanded by the Holy Qur'an because of his false pride and ambition.²¹⁰ The wealth of 'Abdullah ibn Jad'an Tamimi and his luxurious parties were considered fabulous.²¹¹ Poets composed eulogies to receive prizes.²¹² A poet likened him to Caesar.²¹³ It is said that at one tribal war, he gave a thousand camels to a thousand warriors²¹⁴ and armed a hundred warriors at his cost.²¹⁵ He was the custodian and seller of female slaves.²¹⁶ He used to drink out of golden ware.²¹⁷ Upon the seizure of Mecca and when he was on the way to the Battle of Hunayn, the Holy Prophets borrowed one hundred sets of shields and the required ammunicions from Safwan ibn Umayyah, one of the infidels of Mecca.²¹⁸

(2) Quraysh, who had taken away the position of the Kaaba's custodianship from Qudha'ah²¹⁹ since the time of Quzayy, the fourth generation away from the Holy Prophet, had distributed among the chiefs of the different Quraysh clans the different responsibilities related to the Kaaba, such as watering the pilgrims, guest-affairs, curtain-management and services of the Kaaba; they had in this way secured a religious position for itself. Besides, the Quraysh had distributed among the heads of its different branches the municipal affairs, such as the control of the reception of blood-money and the like.²²⁰

Quraysh's Power and Influences

Quraysh, who was a small, insignificant and impoverished tribe at the southern part of Hijaz and later became a strong and famous tribe due to its religious and economic power, turned out to be superior to other tribes in honesty, decency and creditability. In the words of contemporary historians, the Quraysh had some special privileges among other Arab tribes in the same way that priests had special privileges among Christians on those days.²²¹

After the event of the Elephant Army and the defeat of Abrahah, the significance of the people of Quraysh raised drastically among the other tribes.²²² This was due to the fact that its members were the custodians of the Kaaba. They took advantage of this event in their own benefit and called themselves al-Allah (Family of Allah), jiran allah (the neighbors of Allah) and sukkan haram allah (Inhabitants of Allah's Precinct).²²³ In this way, they could strengthen their religious basis and due to their power, they showed inclination towards corruption and monopoly.²²⁴ This sense of power caused them to impose some new regulations over other tribes.

Quraysh had the special privilege of marrying any daughter from other tribes with the condition that they should accept the religious innovations that they had fabricated concerning the special Hajj ceremonies.²²⁵ They received taxes from the pilgrims who would enter Mecca,²²⁶ and called such tributes as special privileges of Quraysh.²²⁷ They had monopolized the management of the Hajj ceremonies and forced the pilgrims to follow their regulations. This was so severe that the pilgrims' movement from Mina or participation in stone-throwing was authorized by special order of Quraysh.²²⁸ Quraysh even forced non-Meccan pilgrims to either buy their costumes or carry out the ceremonies naked. These pilgrims had to throw away their costumes if they refused to buy them from the Quraysh.²²⁹ This would force them to buy their costumes from the Quraysh, anyhow.²³⁰ In the ninth year of Hegira, in which the Holy Prophet sent Imam 'Ali to Mecca to take part in the ceremony of acquaintance, one of the items of 'Ali's resolution was the prohibition of performing Hajj naked.²³¹

Recognition of the Quraysh's power and influence is necessary in order to find out the problems that the Holy Prophet had to face and what powerful enemy he had to confront. With few sources of power that the Holy Prophet had at his disposal, he had to struggle against a powerful opponent.

1. Husayn Qarachanlu, *Haramayn Sharifayn*, pp. 9.
2. This equals one third of Europe, six times the area of France, nine times the total areas of west Germany and East Germany put together, ten times the area of Italy, eighty times the area of Switzerland, and twice the area of Iran.
3. Cosmological Institution, *the cosmology of countries*, pp. 205.
4. Phillip Khalil Hitti, *History of the Arabs*.
5. 'Ali Akbar Fayyadh, *Tarikh Islam*, pp. 2; Alber Male and Joel Isaac, *History of the Middle Ages up to the One-Hundred Year War*, pp. 95.
6. Phillip Hitti, *Op cit*, pp. 24.
7. Al-Maqdisi, a Muslim scientist of the fourth century, considers the Arabian Peninsula to contain four large sections: Hijaz, Yemen, Oman and Hajr; see Ahsan al-Ta'asim fi Ma'rifat al-Aqalim, pp. 102. However, others state that it includes five sections: Tihamah, Hijaz, Najd, Yemen and 'Arudh; see Abu'l-Fida, *Taqwim al-Buldan*, pp. 104; Yaqt al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam*

al-Buldan, pp. 101 & 214; Shukri al-Alusi al-Baghdadi, *Bulugh al-Irab fi Ma'rifat Ahwal al-'Arab*, 1:187; Jawad 'Ali, al-Mufazzal fi Tarikh al-'Arab Qabl al-Islam, 1:167.

There are other subdivisions, the descriptions of which are not useful now; see Gustav Le Bon: *The Civilization of Islam and Arabs*, pp. 31.

8. Yahya Nuri, *Islam wa 'Aqa'id wa Ara' Bashari* (Islam, Doctrines and Human Beliefs), pp. 231–234.
9. Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi, *Tarikh Tahlili Islam*, pp. 3.
10. Ahmad Husayn Sharaf al-Din, al-Yaman 'Ibr al-Tarikh (The Yemen in History), pp. 53.
11. Gustav Le Bon: *The Civilization Of Islam And Arabs*, pp. 92.
12. Mahmud Shukri Al-Alusi al-Baghdadi, *Bulugh al-Irab fi Ma'rifat Ahwal al-'Arab*, 1:204.
13. Georgi Zaydan, *the History of the Islamic Civilization*, pp. 3.
14. Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Jawhar*, 2:89, pp. 132.
15. The Ma'rib Dam is located 192 Kilometers on the eastern section of Sana'a, the present capital of Yemen.
16. For further knowledge concerning the features of the scientific plan for this dam, see *Dictionary of the Qur'anic Tales* by Sadr Balaghi, pp. 82–88; Ahmad Husayn Sharaf al-Din, al-Yaman 'Ibr al-Tarikh, pp. 122–132.
17. Georgie Zaydan, *the History of the Islamic Civilization*, 1:11.
18. Will Durant, *the History of Civilization*, 1: 341.
19. Phillip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 64; Gustav Le Bon, *The Civilization of Islam and the Arabs*, pp. 94; Ahmad Husayn Sharaf al-Din, al-Yaman 'Ibr al-Tarikh, pp. 105; al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab*, 1:203.
20. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *The Political History of Islam* 1:32.
21. Hamzah Izfahani, *Tarikh Muluk al-Ardh wa'l-Anbiya'* (the History of the Prophets and the Kings), pp. 120 & 132.
22. Abu-Rayhan al-Bayruni: *Al-Athar al-Baqiyah*, pp. 181.
23. *Mu'jam al-Buldan* 7:355.
24. Tubba' (plural of which is Tababi'ah) was the title of the Himyarite Kings in Yemen. These were two classes: the first class included the kings of Saba and Ridan who rules from 115 BC to 275 AD. The second class included the kings of Saba, Ridan, Hadhramawt and Shahr who ruled from 275 to 533 AD: Ahmad Husayn Sharaf al-Din, *Al-Yaman 'Ibr al-Tarikh*, pp. 90–97.
25. Hamzah Izfahani, *The History of the Prophets and Kings*, pp. 99, 119; Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *the Political History of Islam*, pp. 44; Abu-Rayhan al-Bayruni, *al-Athar al-Baqiyah*, pp. 181, 183.
26. Carl Brockelman, *the History of Nations and Islamic States*, pp. 5.
27. Georgie Zaydan, *History Of The Islamic Civilization* 1:15.
28. Gustav Le Bon, *History Of The Islamic Civilization* 1:88.
29. Phillip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 14.
30. Phillip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 33–35.
31. Gustav Le Bon, *History Of The Islamic Civilization* 1:65; Will Durant, *The Story Of Civilization; The Age of Faith* 4:201.
32. Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al-Islam*, pp. 46.
33. Ibid, pp. 33–34. al-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir, king of al-Hirah, in reply to Khosrow the Persian king who asked him why the Arab nation does not live under a unified governmental system, answered, "Other nations who feel weak and fear the enemy's attacks submit their control under one family, submitting to them their affairs. But all the Arabs want to be kings and hate paying taxes or tributes." See al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab*... 1:150.
34. Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al-Islam*, pp. 225; 'Abd al-Mun'im Majid: *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi li'l-Dawlah al-'Arabiyyah* (Political History of the Arab State), pp. 48.
35. Karl Brockelman, *History of The Islamic States and Peoples*.
36. He was also called ra'is (chief), amir (prince), and sayyid (master). See 'Abd al-Mun'im Majid, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi li'l-Dawlah al-'Arabiyyah*, pp. 49.
37. 'Abd al-Mun'im Majid, *al-Tarikh al-Siyasi li'l-Dawlah al-'Arabiyyah*, pp. 49.
38. Al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab*... 1:187.
39. Phillip Hitti, *The Arab History*, pp. 39.
40. Phillip Hitti, *The Arab History*, pp. 38.

41. Will Durant, *Op cit*, 4:200.
42. Ahmad Amin, *Op cit*, pp. 10.
43. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *The Political History of Islam* 1:37–8.
44. Shaykh al-Saduq, *Thawab al-A'mal wa 'Iqab al-A'mal*, pp. 263; Shaykh al-Kulayni, *al-Uzul min al-Kafi*, 2:308.
45. Sunan Abi-Dawud, Ch. Al-Adab, S. fi al-'Azabiyyah, pp. 332, H. 512.
46. Sahih al-Bukhari, Ch. Al-Ma'alim, 2:66; Musnad Ahmad, 3:201.
47. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *the Political History of Islam*, pp. 39.
48. Brockleman, *op cit*, pp. 6–7.
49. Al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-Irab fi Funun al-Adab* 6:67.
50. Al-Alusi, *op cit*, 1:281.
51. Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i, *al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* 30:353; al-Alusi, *op cit*, 1:279.
52. For instance, if one's father was Arab, but his mother was non-Arab, he was insultingly referred to as hajin, which indicated the concept of inferiority; in the reverse situation, he used to be called mudharra'. Hajin was deprived of inheritance. See Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Andalusi, *al-'Iqd al-Farid* 6:129. A hajin male had to marry a woman of his own standing. See Muhammad ibn Habib, *al-Muhabbar*, pp. 310; al-Shahristani, *al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*, pp. 254. In Islam, when he was asked about the blood-money of a hajin, the Holy Prophet replied, "The blood money of all followers of Islam is the same." See Ibn Shahrashub, *al-Manaqib* 1:113.
53. Jawad 'Ali, *al-Mufazzal fi Tarikh al-'Arab Qabl al-Islam* 1:493; Shawqi 'ayf, *Tarikh al-Adab al-'Arabi*, al-'Azr al-Jahili, pp. 55.
54. Al-Alusi, *op cit*, 1:149. At the beginning of Islam, 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab, who was strongly influenced by this kind of thinking, and who showed his dissatisfaction towards the Iraqi Nabataean who used to refer to their locations in their names, told them: Always remember your familial bonds and parentage and stop being like the Iraqi Nabataean who, when asked about their families, would refer to their place of birth or to the location of their residence. See Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun, pp. 162; Al-Andalusi, *op cit*, 3:312.
55. Bulugh al-Irab... 3:182; also refer to al-Mufazzal fi Tarikh al-'Arab Qabl al-Islam 1:466–4667.
56. On the word of a narration reported from Imam al-Sadiq (a.s) and some books of exegesis of the Holy Qur'an, the Arabic word qaba'il mentioned in the aforementioned holy verse refers to the Arab tribes, while the word shu'ub refers to the non-Arabs. (See al-Tabrisi, *Majma' al-Bayan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*, Exegesis of Surah al-Hujurat, verse 13)
57. Shaykh al-Kulayni, *al-Rawdhah min al-Kafi*, pp. 246; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 21:137–8; Sirat Ibn Husham 4:54.
58. Ibn Shu'bah al-Harrani: *Tuhaf al-'Uqul*, pp. 34.
59. Shaykh al-Kulayni, *op cit*, p. 181.
60. Muhammad Ahmad Jad al-Mawla Bek, 'Ali Muhammad al-Bajjawi, Muhammad Abu'l-Fadhl Ibrahim: *Ayyam al-'Arab fi al-Jahiliyyah*, pp. 142–168; Ibn al-Athir: *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 1:523–539.
61. Ibn Husham: *Sirat al-Nabi* 1:307; Yaqt al-Hamawi: *Mu'jam al-Buldan* 1:268. Ibn al-Athir (in *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 1:566–582) and Jad al-Mawla Beck (in *Ayyam al-'Arab* pp. 246–277) consider the owner of the two horses to be one person namely, Qays.
62. Brockleman, *op cit*, pp. 8.
63. Sahih al-Bukhari 8:327–8, H. 893. Similar to this is mentioned in Sunan Abi-Dawud 4:271.
64. Gustav Le Bon, *op cit*, pp. 63,
65. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *op cit*, 1:38.
66. Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun 1:285–286.
67. Ahmad Amin, *op cit*, pp. 9; Phillip Hitti, *op cit*, pp. 35; Hamasat Abi-Tammam, pp. 32, Calcutta: Leisi Publishing House, 1895 AD.
68. Tabataba'i: *al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* 9:272.
69. By exchanging the names of the months and through postponing and procrastinating the forbidden months, the Arabs were engaged in wars during these months. For this very reason, God said:

"Postponing of the sacred month is only an addition in unbelief, where with those who disbelieve are led astray, violating it one year and keeping it sacred another, that they may agree in numb of months that Allah has made sacred, and thus

violate what Allah has made sacred; the evil of their doings is made fair-seeming to them; and Allah does not guide the unbelieving people.”(9:37)

70. Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i, *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*, 2:267.

71. Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mubarrad: *al-Kamil fi al-Lughah wa'l-Adab* 1:393. Muhammad ibn Habib, *al-Muhabbar*, pp. 324.

72. Shaykh al-Kulayni, *al-Furu' min al-Kafi* 6:406.

73. Tabataba'i, op cit 4:254–258; al-Suyuti, *al-Durr al-Manthur* 2:131–132; al-Shahristani, *al-Milal wa'l-Nihal* 2:254;

Hasan, *Women's Rights in Islam and Europe*, pp. 34. The one who married his stepmother after his father's death was named 'ayzan. (Muhammad ibn Habib, *al-Muhabbar*, pp. 325) Ibn Qutaybah *al-Daynawari* has named some these women who married their stepsons upon their husbands' death (*al-Ma'arif*, p112.)

74. Tabataba'i, op cit, 4:258; *Tafsir al-Tabari* 4:207.

75. Tabataba'i, op cit, 2: 267.

76. Shaykh 'Abbas al-Qummi, *Safinat al-Bihar* 1:197; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah* 13:174; Shaykh al-Kulayni, *al-Uzul min al-Kafi* 18:163; al-Qurtubi, *Tafsir Jami' al-Ahkam* 19:232.

77. Al-Qurtubi, op cit pp. 232.

78. Al-Mubarrad, op cit, 1:392; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid op cit, 13:179.

79. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 13:174.

80. Al-Alusi, op cit, 1:324; *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi*, 2:10.

81. Al-Alusi, op cit, 3:45; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah*, 1:240.

82. Muhammad Abu'l-Fadhl Ibrahim, et al, *Qizaz al-'Arab* 2:31, Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mubarrad, op cit, pp. 394.

Al-Farazdaq, a Muslim poet, took pride in his grandfather, Sa'za'ah, for he had objected to burying newborn girls alive. See al-Qurtubi, *Tafsir Jami' al-Ahkam*, 19:232.

83. Abu'l-'Abbas al-Mubarrad, op cit, 1:394.

84. Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah*, 4:220.

It is narrated that Qays ibn 'Azim converted to Islam and came to the Prophet, saying, "Before Islam, I buried eight of my daughters alive. How could I make up for it now?" The Prophet replied, "Free eight slaves for what you have done." He said, "I have many camels." The Prophet replied, "If you wish, you may slaughter eight camels." See al-Qurtubi, *Tafsir Jami' al-Ahkam* 19:233.

85. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:75.

86. Gustav le Bon, *the civilization of Islam and the Arabs*, pp. 64–65. Will Durant writes concerning this topic, "The nomad was kind, generous and savage; he was Jealous, miser and traitor; he was and dissolute and conservative. Despite his poverty, he was generous; he faced the world with elegance." See *The Story of Civilization* 4:201.

87. Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al-Islam*, pp. 76.

88. Phillip Hitti, *the Arab History*, pp. 33–35.

89. Murtadha al-'Amili, *al-Sahih mi Sirat al-Rasul al-A'm*, 1:50–54.

90. Mahmud Shukri al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab* 2:303.

91. For further information for the superstitions of the Arabs before Islam, see *Bulugh al-Irab* 2:303–367; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah* 19:382–429.

92. al-Alusi, op cit, 3:182, 223, 261, and 327.

93. *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldun* 2:1034.

94. *Futuh al-Buldan*, pp. 457–454.

95. Will Durant, *the Story of Civilization* 4:202.

96. *Al-Mu'allaqat al-Sab'ah*.

97. Concerning these marts, see *Bulugh al-Irab* 2:264–270.

98. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *the political History of Islam* 1:24.

99. *Fajr al-Islam*, pp. 29.

100. The Jews mostly lived in Yathrib, Fadak and Tayma. A few of them lived in Ta'if. However, there is no indication of any Jew population in Mecca.

101. Georgi Zaydan, *the History of the Islamic civilization*, 1:16.

102. Sahih al-Bukhari 9:136.
 103. Tafsir al-Tabari 4:25; Zahiyyah Qaddurah, *Al-Shu'ubiyyah*, pp. 24; Ahmad Amin, *ʿuhr al-Islam* 1:18.
 104. Qizaz al-'Arab 2:358; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 3:144.
 105. al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab* 1:311-313; Muhammad Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farid* 2:20; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'arif*, 608.
 106. Ahmad Amin, *ʿuhr al-Islam* 1:19.
 107. The direct reason for this war was the following: Khosrow willed to marry the daughter of al-Nu'man ibn al-Mundhir, the king of al-Hirah. Upon his refusal, he was called to the Iranian court and was put in prison where he died. Khosrow ordered Hani ibn Mas'ud al-Shaybani to submit al-Nu'man's wealth to him. He, however, refused to do so. Later, Khosrow dispatched an army to fight Banu-Shayban. Khosrow lost that war. See Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 1:485-484; al-Maqdisi: *al-Bad' wa'l-Tarikh* 3:26.
 108. Ahmad Amin, *ʿuhr al-Islam* 1:19; Mas'udi, *al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf*, pp. 209; Jalal al-Din Homayi, *Shu'ubiyyah*, pp. 11-12.
 109. Jawad 'Ali, *al-Mufazzal* 1:41-42.
 110. 'Umar Farrukh, *Sadr al-Islam wa'l-Dawlah al-Umawiyyah*, pp. 39.
 111. Tabataba'i, *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* 4:151-155; Ahmad Amin, *Fajr al-Islam*, pp. 74-78; al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab* 1:15-18; Shawqi 'ayf, *Tarikh al-Adab al-'Arabi* 1:39.
- Confirming this piece of information, *jahl* is the opposite of *hikmah* (wisdom) according to some narrations reported in reliable reference books like al-Kafi.
112. Jawad 'Ali says: "In my view, *jahiliyyah* is stemmed from stupidity, pride, anger, arrogance and stubbornness towards God's commands. These features are strongly condemned by Islam. In our days, we rebuke a stupid person who utters taboo or nasty words by the following expression: Go away, you ignorant and silly one. This does not mean that he is illiterate." See al-Mufazzal, 1:40.
 113. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, Sermon 95.
 114. Hanif (pl. Hunafa') is one following the religion of Prophet Abraham. See Tabarsi, *Majma' al-Bayan* 1:216.
 115. Muhammad Ibn Habib, *al-Muhabbar*, pp. 171.
 116. Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab* 1:60-68; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:237; Ibn Kathir, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:122-165; Muhammad Ibn Ishaq, *al-Maghazi*, pp. 115-116; Muhammad Ibn Habib, *al-Munammaq fi Akhbar Quraysh*, pp. 152-153; Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, *the History of the Prophet of Islam*, pp. 13-19.
 117. Ibn Kathir, *op cit*, pp. 156; Qizaz al-'Arab 1:72.
 118. Jawad 'Ali, *al-Mufazzal* 6:449. Husayn Tabataba'i, *Committing Treasons In Preparing Historical Accounts* 1:120; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:237.
 119. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, *The Political History Of Islam* 1:64.
- 2 Ibid, pp. 64; Shihab al-Din al-Abshahi, *al-Mustatrafi fi kulli fannin Musta'raf* 2:88; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'arif*, pp. 621; al-Himyari, *al-Hur al-'In*, pp. 136.
120. 'Uthman ibn Huwayrith and Waraqah ibn Nawfal, belonging to the tribe of Banu-Asad, were following Hanifiyyah. See *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 1:225.
 121. Ahmad Amin, *Fajr Al-Islam*, pp. 27.
 122. *Tarikh al-'Arab*, pp. 78. Some historians ascribe the indoctrination and introduction of Christianity into Yemen to a Syrian saint called Faymiyyin. See Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 1:32-35; Yaqut al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* 5:266. However, this seems to be a myth since it is not in agreement with what is narrated by Hetti.
 123. *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 1:224.
 124. Ahmad Amin, *op cit*, pp. 26.
 125. Some exegetes of the Holy Qur'an say that the verses 4-9 of Surah al-Buruj were revealed in connection with the slaughter of the Christians. This might be a referent of those verses. See al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an 20:251-257: Cursed be the makers of the pit, of the fire kept burning with fuel, when they sat by it. And they were witnesses of what they did with the believers. And they did not take vengeance on them for aught except that they believed in Allah, the Mighty, the praised. Whose is the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth, and Allah is a Witness of all things (Qur'an 85: 8-9).
 126. Ahmad Amin, *op cit*, pp. 18,25, 26, 28.

127. Qizaz al-'Arab 1:73; Ahmad Amin, op cit, pp. 27.
 128. Qur'an 5: 18, 72, 73; 4: 171; 9:30; 5:82.
 129. Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an 3:228, 233.
 130. In the words of Yaqut al-Hamawi, Tayma' was a small city between Syria and Wadi al-Qura. See Mu'jam al-Buldan 2:67. Wadi al-Qura is situated between Medina and Syria; it was one of the provinces of Medina. Thus, Tayma' was located between Medina and Syria. Al-Maqdisi, a scholar of the fourth century, writes: "Tayma' is an ancient city located in a wide-spread land, full of palm trees, with a lot of orchards and numerous rivers, with a spring of limpid water, which runs from an iron-grid into the pond and then runs into the orchards. There are some fresh water wells therein. However, most of them are ruined." See Ahsan al-Ta'asim.
 131. Fadak is a village of two or three day distance away from Medina. Mu'jam al-Buldan 4:238.
 132. Khaybar is a region 96 miles north of Medina; it included seven strongholds with numerous farmlands and palm-groves. (Mu'jam al-Buldan 2:404). The distance between Khaybar and Medina is recorded with different numbers. (Taqwim al-Buldan, pp. 123).
 133. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, op cit, pp. 64.
 134. al-Buladhari, Futuh al-Buldan, pp. 67.
 135. Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islam, pp. 24.
 136. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Ma'arif, pp. 621; al-Hur al-'n, pp. 136.
 137. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 1:257.
 138. Ahmad Amin, op cot, pp. 23, 24, 37; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:37. Yaqut al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan 5:266.
 139. Al-Athar al-Baqiyah, pp. 294-295.
 140. Harran was a big city between the Tigris and Euphrates; today, it is a ruined village. At the Advent of Islam, it was a prosperous city in which famous scientists used to live. See Mu'jam al-Buldan 3:235-236; Taqwim al-Buldan, pp. 303, 307, 309; Muhammad Mu'in, Farhang Farsi 5:457.
 141. Tabataba'i, Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an 10:279.
 142. Qur'an 2:62; 5:69; 22:17.
 143. They live at the shores of the Karun River, Ahwaz, Khorramshahr, Abadan, Shadigan, and Dasht Mishan.
 144. They live at the shores of the Tigris and Euphrates in Baghdad, Hillah, Naziriyah, 'Imarah, Kut, Diyala, Kirkuk, Mosul, Ramadi, Sulaymaniyyah and Karbala'. For the derivation of the word zabi'i, whether it is Arabic or Hebrew, and for its meaning, see al-Alusi, Bulugh al-Irab 2:223-228; Yahya Nuri, Islam And Human Ideas, pp. 431-432; Shahrastani, al-Milal wa'l-Nihal 1:230, 2:5.
 145. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 1:226.
 146. Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islam, pp. 108; Dawud Ilhami, Iran and Islam, pp. 392. Having referred to the fact that Manicheans came to be called zanadiqah due to their following of zand, al-Bayruni writes: "The Manicheans and the Batiniyyah (Esotericists) are figuratively termed zanadiqah in Islam. This is because these two groups are similar to Mazdakids in ascribing certain traits and features to God." See al-Athar al-Baqiyah, pp. 312. About this topic, 'Abd al-Husayn Zarrinkub writes, "The word zandiq is derived from the Pahlavi word zandic. At this era, this word was used for the Manicheans and for those who believed in atheism of some sort.
 147. Shahrastani, op cit, pp. 244. An Orientalist says, "If we consider Manichaeism as Zoroastrianism mixed with Christianity, we are closer to the truth than considering Christianity mixed with Zoroastrianism." See Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islam, pp. 104. Concerning Mani and his sect, Manichaeism, see 'Abd al-Husayn Zarrinkub, Neither Eastern nor Western but Human, pp. 72-76.
 148. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Ma'arif, pp. 621; Al-Abshahi, al-Mustatrah 2:88; Ibn Rustah, al-A'laq al-Al-Nafisah, pp. 264; Ahmad Amin, Fajr al-Islam, pp. 108.
- Muhammad ibn Habib al-Baghdadi states that the following individuals from Quraysh belonged to this group: Abu-Sufyan, 'Aqabah ibn Abi-Mu'it, Ubay ibn Abi-Khalaf, Abu-'Azzah, al-Nadhr ibn Harith, Nubayh and Munabbih, sons of al-Hajjaj ibn Amir al-Sahmi, al-'Az ibn Wa'il, and al-Walid ibn al-Mughirah al-Makhzumi. See al-Muhabbat, pp. 161.
- However, the speeches and sessions held by these individuals carry no single indication of this point. Rather, documents

prove that they were idol-worshippers. In his discussions on heresy, ‘Abd al-Husayn Zarrinkub remarks that the word *zandaqah* included Materialists as well. This latter group refrained from attributing the events of this world to a Creator. The *zanadiqah* of Quraysh, among whom were Abu-Sufyan, Ibn Abi-Mu‘it, al-Nadhr ibn Harith, and al-Walid ibn Mughirah, were Materialists. It is understood from the news and poems related to the chiefs of Quraysh that their heresy stood for rejection of the Creator and disbelief in Resurrection”

149. al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab* 2:240.

150. *Tabataba‘i*, *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur‘an* 19:49.

151. *Ibid*, pp. 215, 220, 230, 237, 239 and 240; *Islam And Man's Ideologies*, pp. 295–247.

152. *Tabataba‘i* op cit 17:393.

153. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:385.

154. Husham Ibn Muhammad Kalbi, *Kitab al-Aznam*, pp. 42.

155. *Tabataba‘i*, op cit, 2:42.

156. Tabarsi, *Majma‘ al-Bayan* 8:46.

157. al-Alusi, op cit, 2:232.

158. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:55, 116; al-Azraqi, *The History of Mecca* 1:55; *Tarikh al-Ya‘qubi* 1:18; Ibn Rustah, *al-A‘laq al-Nafisah*, pp. 51.

159. Azraqi, op cit. pp. 57; Mas‘udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab* 2:20.

160. *Tarikh al-Ya‘qubi* 1:19, 193; al-Azraqi, op cit, pp. 57.

161. An exegesis of the Holy Qur‘an states that the holy verse, (...and the faith of your father Abraham,) refers to this meaning. See Tabarsi, *Majma‘ al-Bayan* 7:97.

162. *Tarikh al-Ya‘qubi* 1:224.

163. al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 15:170; Husham Kalbi, *al-Aznam*, pp. 6.

164. Al-Hurr al-‘Amili, *Wasa‘il al-Shi‘ah*: 1465; Tabarsi, *al-Ihtijaj*, pp. 189.

165. Shahristani, *al-Milal wa‘l-Nihal* 2:257.

166. *Tabataba‘i*, *al-Mizan* 9:272.

167. Shahristani, op cit, pp. 255; *Tarikh al-Ya‘qubi* 2:12

168. al-Azraqi, op cit, 1:88, 100, 101; Mahmud al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab* 2:200; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:16.

169. Al-‘amaliqah were the children of Prophet Noah. Their grandfather was named ‘imlaq or ‘imliq. See Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2:188; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:17.

170. al-Alusi, op cit, 2:201; al-Shahristani, op cit, pp. 243; al-Halabi, op cit, pp. 17; *Tarikh al-Ya‘qubi* 2:224; al-Abshahi, *al-Mustatraf* 2:29; Kalbi, *al-Aznam*, pp. 6; Muhammad Ibn Habib, *al-Munammaq*, pp. 328.

In some records, it is said that he brought Hubal from Iraq. See al-Azraqi, *Akhbar Makkah* 1:79; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa‘l-Nihayah* 2:188.

A report says that the stone of the idol is one of the stones of Ma‘zamayn. For this reason, when the Prophet crossed that place, he showed hatred. See *Wasa‘il al-Shi‘ah* by al-Hurr al-‘Amili 10:36.

171. al-Azraqi, op cit, 1:88; Shahristani, op cit, 2:242, 347.

172. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 79; al-Halabi, op cit, pp. 17; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Isti‘ab* 1:120; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah* 4:390; al-Tustari, *al-Awa‘il*, pp. 217; Ibn Kathir, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:65; al-Azraqi, op cit, pp. 116.

173. al-Alusi, op cit, 2:200.

174. *Tabataba‘i*, op cit, 1:272.

175. Kalbi, op cit, pp. 32.

176. Shaykh al-Tusi, *al-Amali*, pp. 336; al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab* 2:211; al-Azraqi, op cit, 1:21; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:30; al-Mizan 26: 271, based on a narration by Imam al-Ridha.

177. Qur‘an 31:25; 39:38; 43:9; 43:87; 10:3.

178. Al-Suyuti, *al-Durr al-Manthur* 4:23; Tabarsi, *Majma‘ al-Bayan* 8:460.

179. Ibn Kathir, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:7. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:85.

180. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 80; Ibn Kathir, op cit, pp. 63; al-Shahristani, *al-Milal wa‘l-Nihal* 2:247. Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa‘l-Nihayah* 2:88.

181. Kalbi, al-Aznam, pp. 13; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:8; al-Alusi, Bulugh al-Irab 2:202.
 182. Kalbi, op cit, pp. 14.
 183. al-Azraqi, Akhbar Makkah 1:178, 182; al-Alusi, op cit, 1:244; Sahih Muslim 18:162.
 184. Tabataba'i, Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an 14:414.
 185. Azraqi, Akhbar Makkah 1:183; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:45.
 186. The Civilization Of Islam And Arab, pp. 138–130.
 187. Muhammad al-Siba'i, al-Abtal, pp. 9.
 188. Will Durant, the Story of Civilization 4:197.
 189. Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 1:215.
 190. Muhammad Ibn Habib al-Baghdadi, al-Munammaq, pp. 42.
 191. Ibn Wadhih, Ibid, 1:214.
 192. Op cit, pp. 213.
 193. Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:78.
 194. Ibn Wadhih, Ibid 1:215.
 195. Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 2:180; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:16.
 196. Tabari, op cit, pp. 180; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah, 1:143.
 197. Ahmad Amin, Fajr Al-Islam, pp. 13–14; Shawqi @ayf, Tarikh al-Adab al-'Arabi 1:49.
 198. Tabari, op cit, 2:180; Ibn al-Athir, op cit, pp. 16.
 199. Ahmad Amin, op cit, pp. 12; 'Abd al-Mun'im Majid, al-Tarikh al-Siyasi li'l-Dawlah al-'Arabiyyah, pp. 79.
 200. Hasan Ibrahim Hasan, The Political History Of Islam, pp. 56.
 201. 'Abbas Ziryab, Sirat Rasulillah, pp. 66–67.
 202. Jawad 'Ali, al-Mufazzal 1:114.
- Probably, reference is made to Sa'id ibn al-'Az (Abu-Uhayyah) who had the largest share of the caravan of Quraysh that had to encounter the Muslim troops at Well Badr during their return from Damascus. However, al-Waqidi (in al-Maghazi 1:27) does not say it explicitly.
203. Phillip Hitti, op cit, pp. 130.
 204. Tabari, op cit 2:221; al-Buladhari, Futuh al-Buldan, pp. 68.
 205. al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 68.
 206. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah, pp. 25.
 207. Ibn Wadhih, op cit, 1:10.
 208. Shawqi @ayf, op cit, pp. 51, al-Jahii, al-Mahasin wa'l-Adhdad, pp. 62.
 209. An exegete of the Holy Qur'an states that the two great personalities mentioned in the holy verse (43:31) are al-Walid ibn al-Mughirah in Mecca and 'Urwah ibn Mas'ud al-Thaqafi in Ta'if. Because of their great wealth, they had been expected to be the promised prophet.
 210. Tabataba'i, Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an 2:43; Ibn Kathir, Tafsir 4:442.
 211. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 2:229; al-Alusi, op cit, 1:89; Muhammad Ahmad Jad al-Mawla Beck et al, Ayyam al-'Arab fi'l-Jahiliyyah, pp. 248.
 212. al-Alusi, op cit, pp. 87; Ibn Kathir, op cit, pp. 220.
 213. Bakri, Mu'jam mastu'jim 2:444.
 214. Jad al-Mawla, op cit, pp. 334.
 215. Op cit, pp. 324.
 216. Ibn Qutaybah, al-Ma'arif, pp. 576; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:284; Jawad 'Ali, op cit, pp. 96.
 217. al-Alusi, op cit, pp. 87.
 218. Ibn Husham, op cit, 4:83; al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 3:890; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:150; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:63.
- The Holy Prophet borrowed three thousand spears from his cousin, Nawfal ibn al-Harith ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib. (Halabi, op cit)
219. al-Azraqi, Akhbar Makkah 1:107; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:130.

220. Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *al-‘Iqd al-Farid* 3:314; Ahmad Amin, *op cit*, pp. 237; al-Alusi, *op cit*, 1:145–150.

These institutes and organizations were not in the form of modern times as some historians, such as Georgie Zaydan and Lamens, had assumed; rather, they were very primitive and tribal.

221. Phillip Hatti, *op cit*, pp. 17.

222. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 1:59; al-Azraqi, *op cit*, pp. 176.

223. Ibn ‘Abd-Rabbih, *op cit*, 3:313; al-Azraqi, *op cit*, pp. 176.

224. al-Azraqi, *op cit*, 1:70.

225. *Op cit*, pp. 174; al-Alusi, *op cit*, 1:242.

226. Ibn Sa’d, *op cit*, 1:70.

227. Jawad ‘Ali, *op cit*, 4:21.

228. Ibn Sa’d, *op cit*, pp. 69; Ibn Husham, *op cit*, pp. 125, 130; Ibn Athir, *al-Kamil fi’l-Tarikh* 2:20; al-Azraqi, *op cit*, pp. 189.

229. Ibn Sa’d, *op cit*, pp. 72; al-Azraqi, *op cit*, pp. 178, 182. It was because of Quraysh’s power and control over these ceremonies, people used to circumambulate the Kaaba naked. In this respect, there is a story about a naked woman who performed the Hajj ceremony composing a shameful verse of poetry. See al-Azraqi, *op cit*, 1:178, 182; Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 4:190; al-Alusi, *op cit*, 1:244; *Sahih Muslim* 18:162.

230. Al-Azraqi, *op cit*, pp. 177.

231. Ibn Husham 4:190.

Chapter One: The Ancestors of the Holy Prophet

Chapter Two: The Holy Prophet’s Childhood and Adolescence

Chapter Three: The Holy Prophet’s Youth

Chapter 1: the Holy Prophet’s Ancestors

Muhammad's Lineage

The Holy Prophet’s ancestors up to the twentieth before his father included: Abd al-Muttalib, ‘Abd Manaf, Quzay, Kilab, Murrah, Ka’b, Lu’ay, Ghalib, Fihr, Malik, al-Nadhr, Kinanah, Khuzaymah, Mudrikah, Ilyas, Mudhar, Nizar, Ma’ad, and ‘Andan.¹ However, there is no agreement concerning his other ancestors up to Prophet Ishmael, Prophet Abraham’s son.² It is narrated that when the Holy Prophet enumerated his ancestors, he refused to call any other ancestor prior to ‘Adnan,³ and recommended others to do so.⁴ Regarding the work of genealogists concerning his lineage and the names of his other ancestors between ‘Adnan and Isma’il, the Holy Prophet used to say, “Genealogists lied.”⁵

The Arab tribes are divided into Qahtani and ‘Adnani groups. Quraysh, due to its relation with ‘Adnan (the Holy Prophet’s twentieth ancestor) belongs to ‘Adnan. All clans whose lineage leads to al-Nadhr ibn Kinanah are called qurayshi, since Quraysh was their nickname.⁶ The tribe of Quraysh is of different branches,⁷ such as Banu-Makhzum, Banu-Zuhrah, Banu-Umayyah, Banu-Sahm, Banu-Asad and Banu-Hashim⁸ to which the Holy Prophet belongs.

‘Abd al-Muttalib’s Personality

Among the Holy Prophet’s ancestors, we have a lot of information about ‘Abd al-Muttalib, the first ancestor, since he lived at a time close to the Islamic era. ‘Abd al-Muttalib was a beloved, generous, wise and unique personality.⁹ He, like all great divine personalities, was the chief of his time. Despite his long life, he never took on the corrupt traits prevalent in the society of Mecca. In those days, nobody in Mecca believed in the Resurrection; and even if this belief existed, it was not strong. Not only did ‘Abd al-Muttalib believe in the Resurrection but also emphasized the chastisement of that Day; he used to remark:

“There is a world after this one in which good-wishers will get their rewards and evildoers their punishment.”¹⁰

Although a tribal dogmatism prevailed in the Arabian Peninsula in those dark days and everybody defended the rights of his relatives without considering justice, ‘Abd al-Muttalib was not such a person. He put a lot of pressure on one of his relatives, called Harb ibn Umayyah, to pay the blood money of a Jew who had been killed under instigation and persuasion.¹¹ He used to encourage his children to stay away from the nasty deeds of this world and engage themselves in good deeds.¹²

‘Abd al-Muttalib believed in a number of traditions which were approved of in Islam; among them we may refer to the prohibition of drinking wine, the prohibition of adultery, the punishment of adulterers; the cutting of the thief’s hand, the banishment of ill-named Meccan women, the prohibition of burying daughters alive, the prohibition of marriage with intimates, the prohibition of being naked in circumambulating the Kaaba, carrying out one’s vows and obligations, the observance of the sacred months, and finally engaging in mutual cursing (mubahalah).¹³ It is narrated that ‘Abd al-Muttalib was the evidence of God and Abu-Talib God’s Representative.¹⁴

The Household of Monotheism

Prophet Muhammad’s household was a household of monotheism. According to the beliefs of researchers who believed in Imamate, Prophet Muhammad’s father and his ancestors from Adam to ‘Abdullah were all monotheists. There was no atheist among them—a fact asserted by many Qur’anic verses and narrations. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said,

“God led me from the clean men’s loins into the clean women’s wombs and put me into your world and never let me be mingled with the corruptions of the Ignorance Era.”¹⁵

We know that no dirt is worse than atheism or disbelief. If ever there were an atheist or disbeliever among the progeny or progenitors of anybody, he would not be considered clean. The Twelver Imamiyyah scholars believe that Abu-Talib and Aminah bint (daughter of) Wahab—the Holy Prophet’s mother—were monotheists.¹⁶ In this regard, Imam ‘Ali (a.s) has stated:

“I swear to God that my father and ancestors, ‘Abd al-Muttalib, Hashim and ‘Abd Manaf, did not believe in any form of idolatry. They were true followers of Prophet Abraham’s religion and used to perform prayers to God at the Kaaba.”¹⁷

Chapter 2: The Holy Prophet’s Childhood and Adolescence

The Birth

The Arabs at the Ignorance Era did not have any constant historical starting point; rather, they considered some significant local events, such as the death of a distinguished man or a bloody war between two tribes as a temporary historical point of reference.¹⁸ No such historical point existed among all Arab tribes either. Rather, each tribe used a specific historical point of reference of its own.¹⁹

When the army of elephants, under the leadership of Abrahah, the Ethiopian commander, came to Mecca to destroy God's House,²⁰ it was severely defeated through God's hidden power. This event overpassed all other events and that year became the historical point of reference for many years to come.²¹ On that same year, Prophet Muhammad (S) was born in Mecca.²² This event, with regards to some pieces of evidence such as the emigration (Hegira) in 622 AD and the Holy Prophet’s demise in 632 AD at the age of 60–63 years must have occurred in the years 569–570 AD.²³

Infancy and Childhood

When Prophet Muhammad (S) became two years old,²⁴ his father, ‘Abdullah, on his mercantile journey from Damascus, passed away in Yathrib, where he was buried.²⁵ Referring to the orphanage of the Holy Prophet, the Holy Qur'an states:

Did He not find you an orphan and give you shelter; and find you lost (i.e. unrecognized by men) and guide them to you; and find you in want and make you to be free from want? (93:6–8)

Aminah's infant was breast-fed by his mother for the first days of his birth;²⁶ he was then breastfed by Thuwaybah, a female servant freed by Abu-Lahab.²⁷ According to Arab customs,²⁸ he was submitted to a nurse, named Halimah al-Sa'diyyah, from the tribe of Banu-Sa'd ibn Bakr who used to live in the desert.²⁹ Halimah breastfed the Holy Prophet³⁰ for two years, cared for him for five years and finally submitted him to his family.³¹

Most probably, they put the keeping of the Holy Prophet in the hands of a desert-dwelling nurse because his wanted him to nourish in the clean air of the desert and to stay away from the disease of cholera epidemic in Mecca.³² Another reason was that they wanted him to learn the eloquent Arabic from the nomadic tribes. Some historians have referred to this factor.³³ Attesting this fact, the Holy Prophet is reported to have said,

“I am more eloquent than all of you because I am both a Qurayshite and have been breastfed among

the tribe of Banu–Sa’d ibn Bakr.”³⁴

Concerning the adoption of Halimah as the special nurse for Muhammad (S), there are some accounts in historical documents to the effect that since Muhammad (S) was an orphan, nobody would accept to take care of him. This was because a nurse would receive some money from the child's parents and such a means was not available to Muhammad (S). Halimah had to accept him since there was no other option for her to be busy.³⁵ Lack of acceptance of Muhammad (S) on the part of nurses due to his orphanage does not seem accurate for the following reasons:

As we have already said, ‘Abdullah passed away several months after Muhammad's birth; thus, at that time, he was not yet an orphan.

Due to ‘Abd al–Muttalib's privileges in Mecca and because of his high socio–economic status, nurses and caretakers would not refrain from taking care of him; rather, they were extremely zealous to take care of such a family.

This topic has not been discussed in many historical documents.³⁶

His Mother's Demise and ‘Abd al–Muttalib's Guardianship

Upon receiving her child from Halimah, Aminah, together with her child and Umm–Ayman, ‘Abdullah's bondwoman, made a journey to Yathrib with a caravan in order to pay a visit to his maternal uncles.³⁷ After a stay of one month in Yathrib and on her way back to Mecca, she passed away at a house called Abwa, where she was buried. At that time, Muhammad (S) was six years old.³⁸ Umm–Ayman took him to Mecca with the caravan and submitted him to ‘Abd al–Muttalib³⁹ who then resumed Muhammad's guardianship and took good care of him as long as he was alive. He used to say, “Muhammad will definitely have a high status.”⁴⁰

‘Abd al–Muttalib's Demise and Abu–Talib's Guardianship

When Muhammad (S) was eight years old, ‘Abd al–Muttalib died and Abu–Talib, his full uncle, resumed his guardianship.⁴¹ From then on, Abu–Talib, a generous and respectful dignitary, became Muhammad's guardian⁴² although he was extremely poor.⁴³ He was a man of high self–esteem among Quraysh.⁴⁴ He was fond of THE Holy Prophet Muhammad (S) whom he loved more than his children.⁴⁵

Abu–Talib's wife, Fatimah bint Asad, had a significant role in the education of Muhammad (S). She did her best in this regard. She loved him like a genuine mother and preferred him to her own children. Never did Muhammad (S) forget her care; he always referred to her as his genuine and natural mother.⁴⁶

Journey to Damascus and the Monk's Prediction

On his journey to Damascus for trade, Abu-Talib accompanied Muhammad with him according to his request while he was 8, 9, 12 or 13 years of age, according to different documents. When the caravan reached Buzr,⁴⁷ they rested next to a hermitage in which there was a monk, called Bahira, who was a well-known Christian priest. Among the crowd, the monk paid a special attention to Muhammad in whom he could see some signs of the expected Prophet. Talking with Muhammad (S) for a short time and asking him some questions, the monk predicted his prophethood and advised Abu-Talib to take good care of and protect him against the Jews' danger molestations.⁴⁸ However, the following points should be taken into consideration concerning this event:

(1) This event is referred to in some historical records briefly; while in others, it is dealt with in more details. The essence of the event is not doubtful, because in several verses of the Holy Qur'an, the predictions of previous Prophets about Prophet Muhammad have been stated.⁴⁹

(2) The signs that the religious scholars had about Muhammad (S) were of two kinds: indicative of his personal life and body features (for instance, his orphanage, facial features and his name) and others related to his family background (such as his being an Arab and his marriage). One of the most distinguished signs on his body was a speckle (birthmark) between his shoulders, which is called the Prophet's speckle or the Prophet's seal.⁵⁰

(3) Bahira's prediction was only new to the people of the caravan because Abu-Talib and Muhammad's other close relatives had already been aware of his bright future.⁵¹

Historical Distortions by the Christians

Some Orientalists have distorted the event of Muhammad's encounter with Bahira, claiming that during this visit, Muhammad learned the teachings of the Torah and the Gospel.⁵² Will Durant, rather subtly, refers to this event:

“When Muhammad was twelve years old, his uncle Abu-Talib took him with a caravan to Buzr, a city in Damascus. He probably learned some aspects of Judaism and Christianity during this journey.”⁵³

To answer these irrational claims and distortions, the following points should be considered:

(1) Historians unanimously acknowledge that Muhammad (S) was illiterate.

(2) At that time, he was less than thirteen years old.

(3) The interval between this visit and his prophethood was a long time.

(4) His meeting with Bahira was rather short; it included the monk's questions and Muhammad's replies. How would it be possible to imagine that an illiterate boy within a short period of time could have learned

the aspects of Judaism and Christianity so well that he could have presented it as a complete religion at the age of forty?

(5) Had Muhammad (S) learnt anything from the monk, the aggressive and excuse-seeking Quraysh would have used it against him. However, there is no sign of this aggression against him in the history of Islam. Quoting Quraysh's accusations and answering them, the Qur'an does not make any reference to such an event.

(6) If such a thing were correct, how come those people on the caravan did not refer to it?

(7) If such an account were correct, why did Christian natives of Damascus not claim at that time that they had been Muhammad's instructors?

(8) If this claim were correct, Islamic teachings would be the same as those of the Torah and the Gospel. However, these teachings are not only contradictory, but also most of the Jewish and Christian ideas and teachings of the Torah and the Gospel have been rejected by the Holy Qur'an.⁵⁴ Once, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab asked the Holy Prophet to let him write down the narrations which he had heard from the Jews. The Holy Prophet remarked,

"Are you confused in your own religion like the Jews and the Christians? I have brought you this holy and luminous religion. If Moses were alive, he would follow my way now."⁵⁵

In Medina, where a great number of Jews used to live, Muhammad (S) used to show his disagreements in many religious plans and orders with the Jews⁵⁶ so much so that they used to say "This man wants to disagree with us in all of our programs."⁵⁷

Constan Virgil Giorgio, a Christian who desired to spread lies against Islam, has narrated the event with so many distortions and illogical details that his account is not only contrary to any standard of thinking but also in disharmony with the claims of the Christians themselves. He writes:

"Ibn Husham, an Arab narrator, writes: Contrary to people's beliefs, Bahira was not Christian; he was Manichean, a follower of a man called Mani who claimed prophethood at the time of the Sasanids. Bahram I, the Sasanid King, ordered him to be crucified across the entrance of Gondi Shapur in Khuzestan in 276 AD. Mani and his followers, including Bahira, believed that God is not in the monopoly of a specific nation; rather, he belonged to men all over the world. This is because all the world nations belong to Him and God will send a prophet to a nation to speak with the people in their own language whenever He wishes so."⁵⁸

By the name Ibn Husham, the writer most probably refers to 'Abd al-Malik ibn Husham (213 AH), the author of the famous book al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah, one of the significant documents of the history of Islam. However, there is neither any mention of the word Manichean relating to this issue in Ibn Husham's book nor in any older Islamic sources. This man is introduced as either Christian or even

rarely Jew. Now the question is: How did Giorgio get this information?

Furthermore, Manichaeism did not have any follower in Damascus; the center for Manichaeism was Iran. In the word of a scholar, Manichaeism is ascribed to Bahira for purpose of establishing that Islam has imitated the uniqueness of God and the universalism of Islam from Manichaeism. During the last centuries, Islam has been confronted with similar issues. It is not important for the accusers to ascribe the most advanced form of thoughts to the weakened religions because these old religions do not have genuine followers to be proud of. Islam stands so high that the world of Christianity even centuries after the Crusade campaigns, still worries about the expansion of Islam and tries helplessly to de-emphasize Islam's glories.⁵⁹

Chapter 3: The Holy Prophet's Youth

Hilf al-Fudhul

Hilf al-Fudhul,⁶⁰ the most important Qurayshi treaty,⁶¹ was held among some branches of Quraysh tribe, because one of the Banu-Zubayd tribe had entered Mecca and sold some goods to al-'Az ibn Wa'il of Banu-Sahm. The goods were delivered to al-'Az ibn Wa'il who refused to pay the price to the seller. A man from Banu-Zubayd then came to Wa'il to receive his money, but he received nothing. There was a strong tribal system in Arabia in those days and every tribe tried to defend its own interests and those of its members. If a foreigner was wronged, there was nobody to help or protect him. The Zubaydi man had to climb Abu-Qubays Mount and say passionate poems to let the leaders of Quraysh hear what injustice he had suffered.

At that time, these leaders had gathered below the mountain to have a meeting. Having heard the man's call for justice, Zubayr ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib encouraged the leaders of Banu-Hashim, i.e. 'Abd al-Muttalib, Banu-Zuhrah, Banu-Tamim and Banu-Harith (who were among the prominent clans of Quraysh) to gather at the home of 'Abdullah ibn Jad'an al-Taymi. They convened a treaty according to which nobody, either weak or poor, was to be the subject of any act of injustice. Then they went to the home of al-'Az and received the money for the Zubaydi man.⁶² At that time, Muhammad (S) was twenty years old.⁶³

The participation of Muhammad (S) in this treaty was a brave act. It is interpreted now as a symbolic act of protection of human rights in that backward and ignorant society. His brave and just act is appreciated when we notice that the youngsters of his age in those days were participating in pleasure-seeking parties and did not have any concept of protecting the oppressed or carrying out justice. After prophethood, he used to remember his participation in that treaty with a lot of joy. He said:

"I took part in a treaty at the home of 'Abdullah ibn Jad'an which made me even more delighted than receiving red-haired camels. If at this era of Islam I am invited to such a pact, I will joyfully accept it."⁶⁴

Since this pact was superior to any other treaty, it had the name of Hilf al-Fudhul.⁶⁵ This pact was a stronghold for the homeless and the miserable. Later on, it was repeatedly used to protect the oppressed ones in Mecca against tyrants and oppressors.⁶⁶

Second Journey to Damascus

Khadijah, daughter of Khuwaylid, was a rich, honorable and dignified trader who used to employ men for trade purposes, provide them with capital and pay them wages in return.⁶⁷ When Muhammad (S) was twenty-five years old,⁶⁸ Abu-Talib said to him, "I have become broke and empty-handed. Now a caravan is on its way to Damascus. I wish you to go to Khadijah and ask for a job."

At this time, Khadijah had become aware of Muhammad's traits of honesty and good manners. She sent an errand to him saying, "If you accept the supervision of my caravan, I will pay you more than others and I would send my special servant, Maysarah, to help you." Muhammad (S) accepted this offer⁶⁹ and accompanied the caravan to Damascus accompanied by Maysarah.⁷⁰ He could make more money than others.⁷¹

Maysarah observed such feats of magnanimity in Muhammad (S) that he was surprised. During this trip, Nustur the monk predicted his prophethood. He observed that Muhammad (S) had some arguments with a man over trade. That man said, "You should swear to Lat and 'Uzza so that I could accept your statement." Muhammad (S) replied, "I have never sworn to Lat and 'Uzza in my whole life."⁷² On his return to Mecca, Maysarah told Khadijah what he had seen in Muhammad (S).⁷³

Marrying Khadijah

Khadijah was a farsighted, provident, honorable and dignified woman of noble lineage. She was superior to all women of Quraysh.⁷⁴ Due to her high moral standards, she was nicknamed Tahirah (immaculate)⁷⁵ and Sayyidah (doyenne) of Quraysh.⁷⁶ She is said to have married twice but her previous husbands had died.⁷⁷ Every Qurayshi nobleman desired to marry her.⁷⁸ Some well-known persons such as 'Uqbah ibn Abi-Mu'it, Abu-Jahl, and Abu-Sufyan had asked her for marriage but she always turned them down.⁷⁹

On the other hand, Khadijah was a relative of Muhammad (S) and both of them had the common ancestor of Quzay. She had recognized the bright future for Muhammad (S),⁸⁰ and was pleased to accept him as her spouse.⁸¹ She made an offer of marriage and he consulted with his uncles who accepted this marriage, which took place in a family gathering.⁸² It is said that at that time, Khadijah was forty years old and Muhammad (S) was twenty-five.⁸³ She was his first wife.⁸⁴

Installation of the Black Stone

Muhammad's excellent manners, honesty and decency had attracted the Meccan people so much that everybody called him amin meaning trustworthy.⁸⁵ He was so reliable that they decided to use his good

judgment in the installation of the Black Stone.⁸⁶ He resolved their problem through high prudence and discretion. Due to the flood which descended from the mountains of Mecca, the walls of the Kaaba had broken on several sides. This event took place when he was thirty-five years old. Up to that day, the Kaaba had no ceiling and its walls were low. For this reason, its internal treasures were unprotected. People of Quraysh decided to build a roof; however, they were not able to carry out their plan. After the event of the flood, the leaders of the Meccan tribes decided to destroy the building to reconstruct it with a roof over it. At the time of the reconstruction, there were disagreements among the tribes over the location of the Black Stone. Once again, competitions and resorting to tribal pride surfaced. Each tribe desperately tried to have the honor of installing the stone. Some tribes, by thrusting their hands into a vessel full of blood, vowed not to let any other tribe have the honor of the installation.

Finally, upon the suggestion made by the eldest man of Quraysh, they decided to follow the opinion of the first person who would enter the Mosque from the entrance called Bab al-Safa. Suddenly, Muhammad (S) entered the mosque from that direction. Everybody declared that Muhammad (S) was trustworthy and they would listen to his judgment. A piece of cloth was brought in by the order of the trustworthy man of Quraysh i.e. Muhammad (S). He spread the piece of cloth, wrapped the stone inside it and asked the Qurayshi leaders to take each corner of it and collectively carry it to the wall. As soon as the stone was taken to the wall, Muhammad (S) installed it in its original location.⁸⁷

With his delicate discretion and prudence, he solved their problem stopping a potentially huge amount of bloodshed.

‘Ali in the School of Muhammad

A devastating famine occurred in Mecca after the reconstruction of the Kaaba and several years before Muhammad's prophethood. Abu-Talib, the Holy Prophet's uncle, was insolvent. Muhammad made the proposal to his other uncle ‘Abbas who was one of the richest members of Quraysh that each one of them would take one of Abu-Talib's children to his home to protect them against famine. ‘Abbas accepted this proposal. Both of them went to Abu-Talib and offered so. Thus, ‘Abbas took Ja’far, and Muhammad (S) took ‘Ali home to protect and educate. ‘Ali stayed at Muhammad's home until he was promoted to the status of prophethood. Then, ‘Ali confirmed and followed him.⁸⁸ At that time, ‘Ali (a.s) was six years old and his personality was in the making.⁸⁹ Muhammad (S) wanted to compensate for the hardships Abu-Talib and his wife, Fatimah bint Asad, had gone through when he was young by adopting one of his children, namely ‘Ali. He saw ‘Ali as the most competent of Abu-Talib's children. This is evident by Muhammad's remark after he had adopted ‘Ali, “I have selected the one who has been selected by God to help me.”⁹⁰ Muhammad (S) showed a lot of respect and affection to ‘Ali (a.s) and did everything possible to educate him well. Fadhl ibn ‘Abbas, one of ‘Ali's cousins, says:

I asked my father, “Which one of his children did the Prophet love the most?” He replied, “‘Ali ibn Abi-Talib.” I said, “I have asked you of the Prophet's sons.” He replied, “The Prophet loves ‘Ali more than any of his sons and showed affection towards him more than others. The Prophet would never let go of

‘Ali except for those days when he attended Khadijah's caravan. We have never seen a father more affectionate towards his son than the Prophet and we have never seen a son more obedient to his father than ‘Ali to the Prophet.”⁹¹

After his prophethood, Muhammad (S) had so much emphasis over ‘Ali's education in the Islamic issues that if he received a Divine revelation at night, he would teach it to ‘Ali before dawn. If he received Divine revelation during the day, he would inform ‘Ali of it before sunset.⁹² Once, ‘Ali (a.s) was asked, “How come you learned more narrations from the Prophet than his other followers?” He answered, “Whenever I asked the Prophet anything, he would answer; and whenever I was silent, he used to start telling me a narration.”⁹³

When ‘Ali (a.s) was the caliph, he referred to his religious education with the following remarks:

“You, followers of the Prophet, are well aware of my close relationship with him; and you know that when I was a small boy, he used to embrace me close to his breast and let me sleep in his bed in such a way that I could touch his body and feel his smell; he even used to put food into my mouth. I used to follow the Prophet like a child going after his mother. He used to teach me one of his ethical virtues each day and ordered me to adopt that virtue. Each year, he used to pray God at the Hara' Mountain; I was the only person to be with him. When he received the Divine revelation, I could vividly hear Satan's voice. I asked the Prophet what that noise was. He answered that it was Satan's noise and that it had a terrible sensation for not being obedient on the earth. He says that I could hear what he heard and see what he saw; the difference was that he was the Prophet and I was not; I was his vizier and representative for doing good on the earth.”⁹⁴

This discourse might just refer to the Prophet's prayer at Hara' after his prophethood, but since most of the Prophet's prayers were done at Hara' prior to his prophethood, we can be sure that this issue is related to the era prior to his prophethood and Satan's noise of discomfort is related to the descent of the first revelations. Anyway, ‘Ali's spirit and continuous education from the Prophet prepared him to see and hear things which were not possible for ordinary people to hear or see. These were due to his sensitive mind, piercing eyes, sensitive ears and specific insight.

1. Tarikh al-Tabari 2: 191; Ibn al-Athir, *Usd al-Ghabah* 1: 13; Tabarsi, *I'lam al-Wara*, pp. 5-6.

2. Ibn al-Athir, op cit, pp. 13; al-Bayhaqi, *Dala'il al-Nubuwwah*, pp. 118; Mas'udi, *al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf*, pp. 195-196; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:33; Ibn 'Anbah, *'Umdat al-Talib*, pp. 28.

3. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 1:56; Al-Kalbi, *Jamharat al-Nasab*, pp. 17.

4. Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:155; Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 6; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 15:105.

5. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, pp. 155; Ibn 'Anbah, op cit, p28.

6. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, pp. 154; Ibn 'Anbah, op cit, pp. 26; Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 6; Ibn Qutaybah, *al-Ma'arif*, pp. 67; Tabarsi, *Majma' al-Bayan* 10:546; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:96; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-'Iqd al-Farid* 3:312; Ibn Kathir, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:84; Muhammad Amin al-Baghdadi, *Saba'ik al-Dhahab*, pp. 62, Ibn Wadhih, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 1:204.

Some genealogists have considered the children of Fihri ibn Malik ibn Nizar as part of Quraysh. See Kalbi, op cit, pp. 21; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, p55; Ibn Anbah, op cit, pp. 26; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 96; Muhammad Amin al-Baghdadi, op cit, pp. 62;

Ibn Wadhih, op cit, pp. 204; Ibn Hazm, Jamharat Ansab al-'Arab, pp. 12; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:25-26.

There are some other statements regarding this issue. See al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:27.

7. The Arab groups and tribes are given different names, such as sha'b, qabilah, 'imarah, batn, fadkhdh and fazilah in accordance with their extension and size. For instance, Khuzaymah was a sha'b; Kinanah qabilah, Quraysh 'imarah, Quzay batn, Hashim fakhdh, and 'Abbas fazilah. See Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, al-'Iqd al-Farid 3:330; Husayn Mu'nis, the History of Quraysh.

On the basis of this typology, some researchers have attributed Quraysh to qabilah and some to 'imarah. But the very nature of this typology is a suspect; some researchers would not accept it as such. See The History of Quraysh, pp. 215-216. Here, we will refer to Quraysh as a qabilah (tribe).

8. Mas'udi states that the tribe of Quraysh had twenty-five branches and he mentions them by names. See Muruj al-Dhahab 2:269.

9. Halabi, op cit, pp. 6.

10. op cit, p6; Shukri al-Alusi; Bulugh al-Irab 1:324.

11. Halabi, op cit, pp. 6, al-Alusi, op cit, pp. 323; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2: 15, al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:73.

12. Halabi, op cit, pp. 7; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2: 109.

13. al-Alusi, op cit, pp. 324, Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:7; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:7; Shaykh al-Saduq, al-Khizal 2:312-313.

14. Saduq, al-I'tiqadat, pp. 135; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 15:117; Uzul al-Kafi 1:445.

Among the issues concerning 'Abd al-Muttalib is his vow to sacrifice one of his children for God. The report on this vow, despite its fame, suffers some documental considerations and needs further clarifications. See 'Ali Dawani, The History Of Islam From The Start To Hegira, pp. 54-59; Shaykh al-Saduq, Man-La-Yahdhuru'hi'l-Faqih 3:89.

15. Saduq, op cit, pp. 135; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 117; Mufid, Awa'il al-Maqalat, pp. 12; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 4:322.

Some researchers have interpreted this narration in the form of the cleanliness of the progenitor. See Sayyid Hashim Rasuli Mahallati, Some Lectures On The Analytic History Of Islam 1:64.

16. Mufid, op cit, Saduq, op cit.

Some Sunni distinguished scholars, such as al-Fakhr al-Razi and al-Suyuti, believe the same thing in this regard as the Twelver Shi'ah. See Bihar al-Anwar 15:118-122.

17. Saduq, Kamal al-Din, pp. 175; al-Ghadir 7:387.

18. For further information regarding these events, see Mas'udi, al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 172-181; Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, The History Of The Prophet Of Islam, pp. 26-27.

19. Mas'udi, op cit, pp. 27.

20. Shaykh al-Tusi, al-Amali, pp. 80-82; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 94-97; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 44-55; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 67-69; Muhammad Ibn Habib, al-Munammaq, pp. 70-77.

21. Prior to the event of the Elephant Army, Quraysh had appointed the death of Quzay as a historical point of reference. See Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:4.

22. Shaykh al-Kulayni, Uzul al-Kafi 1:439; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:4; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:274; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 15:250-252; Halabi, op cit, pp. 95; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 72-73; Ibn Kathir, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:201; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:101; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 1:14; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nubawiyyah 1:167; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, The Clarification Of The History Of Damascus; Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wal-Maghazi, pp. 61.

23. 'Ali Akbar Fayyadh, the History of Islam, pp. 62; 'Abbas Ziryab, Sirat Rasulillah, pp. 86-87; Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi, Tarikh Tahlili Islam ta Payan Umawiyyan, pp. 37.

Concerning the exact date of the Holy Prophet's birthday, whether it occurred in the Elephant Year or prior or after it, the matter is not clear. For Further information, see Muhammad The Last Of The Prophets 1:176-177; the article of Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi in Rasuli Mahallati's Lessons from the Analytical History of Islam 1:107; Ibn Kathir, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:203; Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:281-282; Sayyid Hasan Taqizadah, From Parviz to Genghis, pp. 153; Husayn Mu'nis, the History of Quraysh, pp. 153-159.

Furthermore, some European historians explained the motive behind Abraha's military campaign to be an ambition for territorial expansion against Iran via the northern part of Arabia, which took place due to the Roman instigations. In Muslim

reference books, the motive is said to be religious due to the competition between the Church in Yemen and the Kaaba in Hijaz. See Fayyadh, op cit, pp. 62; Abu'l-Qasim Payandeh, introduction of the translation of Qur'an into Persian.

24. Shaykh al-Kulayni, op cit, pp. 439; Ibn Wadhih, op cit, pp. 6. al-Karajaki, Kanz al-Fawa'id 2:167.

The age of the Holy Prophet at his father's death is also recorded as eleven months and twenty-eight days. See Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:100.

25. Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 17:282; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:99; Mas'udi, al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 196; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 2:176; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:10.

26. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:6; Halabi, op cit, 1:143.

27. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:6; l'lam al-Wara, pp. 6; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 110; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 1:15; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 15:384.

28. Halabi, op cit, 1:146.

29. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:7; Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:171; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 110; Mas'udi, al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 196, Muruj al-Dhahab, 2:274; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 6; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 101-102; Ibn Kathir, al-Siyar wal-Maghazi, pp. 49.

30. Al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:94; al-Maqdisi, al-Bad' wal-Tarikh 4:131; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 15:401; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:112.

31. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:7; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:33; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 44; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:275.

32. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 13:203; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 401.

33. Ja'far Subhani, Forugh Abadiyyat 1:159; Sayyid Ja'far Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'm 1:81.

34. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah, 1:176; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 113; Halabi, op cit, pp. 146; Khargushi, Sharaf al-Nabi, pp. 146.

It is said while the Holy Prophet was living with Halimah al-Sa'diyyah in the desert when the case of opening his chest took place. However, experts in the history of Islam regard this as invented and false for many reason. See Sayyid Ja'far Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'm 1:82; Sayyid Hashim Rasuli Mahallati, Lessons From The Analytical History Of Islam 1:189, 204; Sheikh Muhmud Abu-Rayyah, Adhwa'un 'Ala al-Sunnah al-Muhammadiyyah 1:175-177.

35. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:171-172; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 93, Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 110-111.

36. Ibn Shahrashub, a distinguished narrator, has dealt with this issue but has not dealt with the Holy Prophet's orphanage. See al-Manaqib 1:33.

37. Salma, the mother of 'Abd al-Muttalib was from Yathrib and from Banu'l-Najjar. See al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 1:121.

38. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, p65; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 94 Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 116; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 177; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, p121; Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 9; Saduq, Kamal al-Din 1:172; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:7; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:223.

39. Halabi, op cit, 1:172.

40. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:178; Saduq, op cit, pp. 171; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 406; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:9.

41. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 189; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 406; Tabari, op cit, 2:194.

42. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, pp. 1; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:119; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 407; al-Suhayli, al-Rawdh al-Anif 1:193.

43. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:11; Jawad 'Ali, al-Mufazzal 4:82.

44. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 15:219.

45. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:119; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:36; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 407; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:285.

46. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:11; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 1:14; Uzul al-Kafi 1:453.

47. A village in Hawran, a province of Damascus. See Yaqut al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan 1:441.

48. This issue is brought up by the following Muslim historians and narrators: Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:191-193; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 2:195; Sunan al-Tirmidhi 5:90, h. 2620; Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi, pp. 73; Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:121; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:286; Saduq, Kamal al-Din 1:182-186; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:96; al-Bayhaqi, Dala'il al-Nubuwwah 1:195; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 17-18; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:15; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:270, 354; Ibn Kathir, Sirat al-Nabi 1:243-249,

al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 2:229-230; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:141; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 15:409.

49. Qur'an 2:41, 42, 89, 146; 7:157; 6: 20; 61: 6.

50. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1: 193; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 195; Sunan al-Tirmidhi 5:590; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:278; Ibn Kathir, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:245; Saih al-Bukhari 5:28.

51. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2: 11; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:81; Uzul al-Kafi 1:447.

52. Gustav Le Bon, The Islamic And Arab Civilization, pp. 101, Ignáz Goldziher, Doctrine and Law in Islam, pp. 25; Muhammad Ghazzali, Trial of Goldziher the Zionist, pp. 47; Karl Brockleman, History of Muslim Peoples, pp. 34; Treason in Historical Accounts 1:220-225

53. Will Durant, The Story of Civilization, pp. 207.

54. Qur'an 4:47,51,171; 5:72-73; 9:630.

55. Shaykh 'Abbas al-Qummi, Safinat al-Bihar 2:727; Ibn al-Athir, al-Nihayah fi Gharib al-hadith wa'l-Athar 5:282.

56. Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih mi Sirat al-Rasul al-A'm, pp. 106.

57. Halabi, op cit, 2:332.

58. Muhammad, a prophet who should be re-evaluated, pp. 5. This book includes weak points, errors and distortions which decrease the scientific value of its content. The style of the translator, too, is quite peculiar; see Nashr Danish Magazine, eighth year, Issue, 2, pp. 52, Article: a phenomenon called Zabihollah Mansuri, written by Karim Emami.

59. Muhammad, the last of the prophets 1:188, the article of Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi. Some contemporary Iranian historians have raised some doubts on the issue of the Holy Prophet's visit to Bahira, such doubts and disturbances should be taken care of. We shouldn't that even if we superficially believe that this visit has not taken place, nothing is taken away from the grandeur of the Holy Prophet, because there were numerous other predictions of the coming prophet beside Bahira. The reason why we have brought up the claims of the Orientalists here is to show that they have used this issue to make some distortions in the history of Islam.

60. One of the events in which the Holy Prophet is said to have participated in while he was young was the war of al-Fujjar. It is said that this war had taken place prior to Hilf al-Fudhul when the Holy Prophet was 14-20 years old. However, since his participation in this war is doubtful, we will not follow it up here. See al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'm 1:95-97; Some analytical lessons of the history of Islam 1:303-503.

61. Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:128; Muhammad Ibn Habib, al-Munammaq, pp. 52.

62. Muhammad Ibn Habib, op cit, pp. 52-53; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 128; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:13; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:142; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 2:12.

63. Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, op cit. It is recorded that the age of the Holy Prophet was even older at this time. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:13; al-Munammaq, pp. 53; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 15:225.

64. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 142; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, op cit, pp. 13; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 16; Muhammad Ibn Habib, op cit, pp. 188.

65. Muhammad Ibn Habib, op cit, pp. 54-55

66. al-Buladhari 2:13. The memory of this treaty was still fresh at the start of Islam. For instance, during the reign of Mu'awiyah al-Walid ibn 'Utbah ibn Abi-Sufyan was the governor of Medina. He quarreled with Imam al-Husayn on a financial issue about the grove of Dhu'l-Marwah. Imam al-Husayn said, "Is al-Walid acting arrogantly against me because he has ruling authority? I swear by Allah, if he does not give me my due, I shall take my sword and stand in the Mosque of Allah calling by the name of Hilf al-Fudhul." When his word was conveyed to 'Abdullah ibn al-Zubayr, he cried out, "By Allah I swear, if al-Husayn calls by the name of Hilf al-Fudhul, I shall certainly take my sword and support him; and then, either he will be given his due or we die altogether." When al-Walid was informed of these situation, he had to give al-Husayn his due until he pleased him. See Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:142; al-Buladhari, op cit, 2:14; Halabi, op cit, 1:215; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 15:226; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:42.

67. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:199; Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi, pp. 81. Sibte ibn al-Jawzi, in Tadhkirat al-Khawazz pp. 301, says "Khadijah used to employ them in the form of limited partnership." Ibn al-Athir, in Usd al-Ghabah 1:16, says: "She used to employ either in the form of limited partnership or on a wage-system."

68. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:129.

69. There are some pieces of evidence which show that the Holy Prophet's job was in the form of limited participation and

not on the basis of wage-earning system. See al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'`am 1:112.

70. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 199; Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 81.

71. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 130.

72. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 130.

73. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 82; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, p131; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:39; Tarikh al-Tabari 2:196; al-Bayhaqi, Dala'il al-Nubuwwah 1:215; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 5:435; al-Dulabi, al-Dhurriyyah al-Tahirah, pp. 45-46.

74. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:200-201; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:131; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 1:215; al-Dulabi, op cit, pp. 46; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:39.

75. Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 5:434; Halabi, op cit, 1:224; 'Asqalani, al-Izabah fi Tamyiz al-Sahabah 4:281; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 4:279.

76. Halabi, op cit, 1:224.

77. Her previous husbands were 'Utayq ibn 'A'idh and Abu-Halah Hind ibn Nabbash. See Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 5:434; Ibn Hajar, op cit, pp. 281; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op cit, pp. 280; Halabi, op cit, 1:229; Khargushi, Sharaf Al-Nabi, pp. 201; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:302.

According to some documents, Lady Khadijah had never married before the Holy Prophet who, accordingly, was her first and last husband. Some contemporary experts emphasize this point. Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'`am 1:121.

78. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 215; Tabari, op cit, 2:197; Halabi, op cit, Ibn al-Athir, op cit, Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:40.

79. al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 16:22.

80. al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 20-21; Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:203; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:41.

81. al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 21-23.

82. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 82; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:98; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:16; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:40; Dulabi, op cit, pp. 46; Halabi, op cit, pp. 227; al-Majlisi, op cit, 16:19.

83. al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 98; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:132; Tabari, op cit, 2:196; Halabi, op cit, pp. 228; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 4:280; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 5:435; al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:39.

Regarding Lady Khadijah's age, there are various statements and records. See Amir Muhanna al-Khayyami, Zawjat al-Nabi wa-Awladuhu, pp. 53-54.

84. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:201; Dulabi, op cit, pp. 49; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 1:216; Khargushi, op cit, pp. 201; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:302; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 5:434.

85. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:121; Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:210; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 1:211; al-Majlisi, op cit, 15:369.

86. This stone, being the most sacred component of the Kaaba, is introduced as a heavenly stone which became a component of Kaaba by Prophet Abraham due to God's command. See al-Majlisi, op cit, 12:84, 99; al-Azraqi, Akhbar Makkah 1:62-63. Al-Hajar al-Aswad is a reddish-black, oval piece of stone set in the eastern side of the Kaaba at a height of one meter and a half from the ground. It is the center of circumambulation.

87. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:145-146, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:14-15; al-Majlisi, op cit, 15:337-338; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:99-100; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:271-272. Some historians have given other reasons for the reconstruction of the Kaaba.

However, every historian has referred to the Holy Prophet's Judgment. See Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wal-Maghazi, pp. 103; Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:205; al-Bayhaqi, Dala'il al-Nubuwwah.

88. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:262; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 2:213; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:58; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 2:90; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 13:119, and 1:15.

89. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 1:15; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib, 2:180.

90. Abu'l-Faraj al-Izafhani, Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp. 15.

91. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, pp. 13, pp. 200.

92. Shaykh al-Tusi, al-Amali, pp. 624.

93. Al-Suyuti, Tarikh al-Khulafa', pp. 170.

94. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 192.

Chapter One: Prophethood and Promulgation of the Religion

Chapter Two: The Public Propagation and the Start of Oppositions

Chapter Three: The Consequences and Reactions of Opposition to the Qur'an

Chapter 1: Prophethood and promulgation of the Religion

On the Threshold of Prophethood

The Holy Prophet's ancestors were all monotheists and his household was pure. Beside the sincerity and purity of his ancestors and household, he enjoyed pure and high education and always stayed away from the unseemliness and abomination of idolatry practiced by the Meccan people.¹ Referring to the period of the Holy Prophet's training and education, Imam 'Ali (a.s) states:

From the time of Muhammad's nursing days, God provided him with His most elegant angels to guide him towards the most appropriate virtues.²

Imam al-Baqir (s) has said,

From the time the Holy Prophet stopped suckling, God appointed him an elegant angel to teach and train him good manners and appropriate behavior. It was the same angel who, prior to his prophethood, called him saying "Blessings be to you, Prophet Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah." However, the Holy Prophet thought that the voice was coming from the stones and the ground; and the more he paid attention the less he could observe anything.³

Approaching his prophethood, Muhammad (S) had reached the highest point in rational thinking; he could not tolerate corrupted surroundings anymore and preferred seclusion.⁴

From the time he was thirty-seven years old, he was dominated by some specific spiritual conditions. He felt there was a window open to him from the unknown world. Whatever he had heard from Bahira, Nustur and others was taking place, because he was observing a new light and exposed to some secrets: he repeatedly received some messages from Gabriel, but he could not identify the sender.⁵ For a time during his sleep, he was addressed as the Prophet. Once, in the desert surrounding Mecca, he heard someone calling him Messenger of Allah. He asked, "Who are you?" The answer was, "I am Gabriel; God has sent me to tell you that you are His Messenger." When he told his wife of the content of the message, she became delighted, saying, "I hope it is true."⁶

During this time, Muhammad (S) used to resort to Hara' Mount to pray God⁷ in seclusion.⁸ It was a common practice among the Qurayshi monotheists to stay at Hara' and worship God.⁹ The first person to carry out such a practice was 'Abd al-Muttalib, the Holy Prophet's grandfather, who used to go to Hara' during the months of Ramadhan. He used to feed the needy in this month.¹⁰

The Start of Prophethood

When Muhammad (S) was at the age of forty, he still attended the Hara' Mount to pray to God where he received the first verses of the Holy Qur'an as the first revelations: 11

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Read in name of your Lord who created. He created man from a clot. Read and your Lord is most honorable, who taught to write with the pen, taught man what he knew not. (96: 1-5)¹²

In two places of the Holy Qur'an, God has referred to the meeting of Muhammad (S) with Gabriel.

I swear by the star when it goes down; Your companion (i.e. Muhammad) does not err, nor does he go astray; nor does he speak out of desire. It is naught but revelation that is revealed; the Lord of Mighty Powers has taught him, the Lord of strength; so he attained completion, and he (i.e. the angel) is in the highest part of the horizon. Then he drew near (to Muhammad) then he bowed so he was the measure of two bows or closer still. And He revealed to His servant what he revealed. The heart (of Muhammad) was not untrue, making him see what he saw. (53: 1-12)¹³

I swear by the stars, that run their course and hide themselves, and the night when it departs, And the morning when it brightens, Most surely it is the Word of an honored messenger, The possessor of strength, having an honorable place with the Lord of the Dominion, One to abide, and faithful in trust. And Your companion (Muhammad) has not gone mad. And of a truth, he saw himself on the clear horizon. Nor of the unseen has he tenacious concealed. Nor is it the word of the cursed Shaitan, Wither then will you go? (81: 15-25)

An Untrue Account of the Start of the Revelation

In some historical books, there is an erroneous and mystical account of the prophethood of Muhammad (S). This account is widespread; it has found its way into some Persian books as well; therefore, it is better for us to evaluate it critically.

'A'ishah reports: When revelation occurred to Muhammad (S), its content was right. Any dream that he had previously had come true. Then, he became fond of seclusion; he took refuge in Hara' cave. He used to stay there praying God, and then he would return to his family and receive some food from Khadijah to return to the cave. When the angel came to him, he was staying at the cave. The angel said, "Read." The Prophet answered, "I do not know how to read." The angel took and squeezed him so much that he lost his temper! Then, the angel let go of him, saying, "Read." The Prophet, once more, answered, "I do not know how to read." The angel again squeezed and ordered him to read. Once again, the Prophet replied that he could not read. On the third time, the pressure was so great on the Prophet's body that he could tolerate no more. Then, the angel said, "Read in the name of your Lord Who created." The Prophet returned home trembling all over. Going directly to Khadijah, he asked her to cover him. As she did, his fear and anxiety went away. The Prophet then told Khadijah about what had

happened and about his anxiety. At that time, she tried to ease him, saying, "I swear to God that He would never humiliate you since you have been kind to everybody; you have been helping the needy and hosting the guests." Then, Khadijah accompanied him to her cousin, Waraqah ibn Nawfal. He was a blind elderly man who had converted to Christianity and translated the Gospel into Hebrew. Khadijah said, "It is prophethood, cousin! Listen to what he will tell you." Waraqah asked Muhammad (S), "What do you see, my nephew?" The Prophet told him what had happened. Waraqah then said, "This is the same angel who had revealed to Moses. I wish I were young now. I wish I would be alive when your people would expel you."¹⁴

Criticism

As we have already said, this narration in this form is not acceptable. The following reasons show that it lacks the required authenticity:

(1) The narrator is 'A'ishah who was born in the fourth (or fifth) year after prophethood.¹⁵ Therefore, she was not mature enough at that time to have reported this account and since she does not mention the name of the original narrator, her reporting lacks the required authenticity.

(2) According to this narration, the angel of revelation forced Muhammad (S) to read while he was illiterate! If we assume that Muhammad (S) had to read God's verses, a written plate, it is neither natural nor logical, since God and the angel knew that he was illiterate and he did not have the skill of reading. If it is meant that the Prophet had to repeat the verses after the angel, this should not have been very difficult for Muhammad (S) who was mentally mature and advanced at that age.

(3) What is meant by the angel's persistence in putting pressure on the Prophet? This is absurd when we realize that learning is a mental act; therefore, bodily pressure would not have any effect on it. If we assume that the Prophet could have suddenly become capable of reading through God's Power, God's determination would have sufficed and these arrangements would have looked absurd. Even if we assumed that the source of this bodily pressure had been due to Muhammad's relationship to the unknown world and the source of creation (This is because he, with all his grandeur, was earthly and had an earthly and mundane origin), this assumption would be hard to justify. This is because, according to the Holy Qur'an, the revelation of God's word to the Prophets happens in the following ways:

- a) Direct connection and the receipt of the Divine Revelation without any intermediary,
- b) Through hearing the voice without observing the owner of the voice, and
- c) Through Gabriel or the Angel of Revelation.¹⁶

The Holy Prophet suffered a lot of pressures only when he was receiving the revelations; in accordance with some narrations, he suffered such tremendous amount of pressures that he would lose the color of his face and perspire a great deal so much so that the drops of sweat would fall from his complexion.¹⁷

However, if he received the revelations indirectly through the angel, he would not undergo any drastic bodily changes. This state is reported by Imam al-Sadiq (a.s.) who said,

Whenever the revelation came through Gabriel; he said so and so; however, if he received the revelation directly, he would show the pressures he was under and sometimes he would become unconscious.¹⁸

Meeting with Gabriel did not produce any special emotional reaction in the Holy Prophet and Gabriel would never enter his presence without permission. He would sit in front of him quite politely.¹⁹

Historians unanimously contend that since the first verses of the Holy Qur'an were revealed in the Hara' cave by Gabriel, the Holy Prophet did not suffer any unusual pressure. Of course, this does not negate the worry which the Holy Prophet had vis-à-vis the idolaters and their animosities.

(4) Taking into consideration the fact that the Holy Prophet received the revelations continuously, there is no need to assume that he would be taken by surprise or have been perplexed. Besides, in most records, Gabriel attended the Holy Prophet's presence for the first time on Saturday night, Sunday night and Monday night to ascend revelations to him.²⁰

So, Gabriel's visit in Hara' was not the first so that he might have been perplexed. Generally, it is the case that a person would not receive God's revelation unless he was quite prepared for such a huge position.

(5) How could it happen for Khadijah to have known more than the Holy Prophet and to have comforted him when she had seen him anxious?

(6) The worst part of the above fable is the assumption that the Holy Prophet had been raised to this position of prophethood without previous knowledge; and that he had not recognized Gabriel and could not have recognized him or his Message until an old Christian confirmed; and Muhammad (S) had relied on his prediction and had been assured of his prophethood and had become quiet! We do not need to elaborate on this story because it is so absurd that it would not need to be criticized.

(7) It is noteworthy that such unfounded myths have never been presented for the prophethood of the previous prophets.

(8) This myth is incompatible with what the Holy Qur'an states about the Holy Prophet:

The heart was not untrue making him see what he saw. (53: 11)

Tabirsi, well-known Shi'ite scholar and interpreter of the Holy Qur'an, writes:

God would not reveal anything to His Prophet unless His revelations are accompanied by some vivid reasons and unless He assures to the Prophet that what is revealed unto him is from God. The Prophet would not need anything more and he does not need to be worried.²¹

When Imam al-Sadiq (a.s.) was asked by one of his followers, “Why didn't the Holy Prophet assume that the revelation could have been nothing but Satan's temptations when he received them?” The Imam answered,

“When God appoints a servant of His as a prophet, He would give him the required assurances in such a way that he would vividly observe what is revealed unto him.”²²

Although they are distinguished scholars, the interpreters of Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim (in which 'A'ishah's account appears) have taken the narration as authentic and then tried to explain it, but they resorted to spurious reasoning which at times seems irrational.²³

Similar narrations have been reported by narrators such as 'Abdullah ibn Shaddad, 'Ubayd ibn 'Umayr, 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas and 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr. However, since their accounts are baseless and invented, we will not deal with them.²⁴ These spurious and unfounded accounts have penetrated into some Christian sources and misused against the Holy Prophet.²⁵ This critique of ours would make them useless.

Secret Invitation to the New Religion

For three years, the Holy Prophet invited people to the new religion secretly, because the circumstances at Mecca were not yet ready for an open invitation. During these three years, he secretly met people whom he thought mentally ready to accept the new religion.²⁶ He invited them to accept the uniqueness of Allah and his prophethood. Meanwhile, Quraysh became aware of his claims; whenever they saw him on the roads and streets, they used to remark, “The young man of Banu-'Abd al-Muttalib talks about the heavens.”²⁷ However, they were not aware of the content of his invitations since he did not proclaim his ideology. Therefore, they would not react harshly.

During this time, some people became Muslims. Then, one of these newly converted, named Arqam, offered his house which was at the foot of Safa Mount to be used by the Prophet.

Up to the time when he initiated his open invitation, the Holy Prophet and Muslims would gather at this house, which had become a center for the religious propaganda, and prayed therein.²⁸

The First Muslim Woman and Man

In accordance with the unanimous view of Muslim historians, Khadijah was the first woman to accept Islam. Among men, 'Ali²⁹ was the first man to accept Islam.³⁰ This is because it was natural for the Prophet to inform Khadijah, his wife, and 'Ali, who was a member of his household and was educated and nourished by him, of his ideology as soon as he returned home from Hara'. Those two who were familiar with Muhammad's sincerity, confirmed him immediately. It would not be difficult to prove this issue even in the absence of valid historical documents. However, there are ample documents, some of which we will address here:

The Reasons behind 'Ali's Taking the Lead

(1) The Holy Prophet explicitly referred to 'Ali's pioneering in accepting Islam. At the presence of a group of Muslims, he declared:

The first person among you, who will meet me at the side of the heavenly fountain [Kawthar], on the Resurrection day, will be 'Ali, who is the first among you who accepted Islam.³¹

(2) Great and well-known narrators report that Muhammad (S) became a prophet on Monday and 'Ali prayed with him on Tuesday.³²

(3) Imam 'Ali (s), concerning this issue, remarks:

On that day, Islam had not yet entered the house of the Holy Prophet and Khadijah: I was the third one after them. I could vividly see the light of prophethood and smell its fragrance.³³

(4) Elsewhere, Imam 'Ali (a.s.) refers to his pioneering in Islam:

O God, I am the only person who answered the Prophet's call and turned to You. Except for the Prophet, nobody else prayed You before me.³⁴

(5) Imam 'Ali (s) says elsewhere:

I am God's servant and the brother of the trustworthy Prophet. I prayed with him seven years prior to the others. Nobody may deny it except for a wicked liar.³⁵

(6) 'Ufayf ibn Qays al-Kindi says:

During the Ignorance Era, I used to be a trader of perfumes. On one of my journeys, I entered Mecca and visited 'Abbas, one of the Meccan merchants and the Prophet's uncle, on an extremely hot day. A young man whose face was as bright as the moon came. He looked up at the sky, stood in the direction of the Kaaba and started praying. After a short time, another good-looking young man arrived, stood next to him and started praying. Then a veiled woman arrived, stood behind them and started praying. I was astonished to see three persons praying at the center of the idolaters. I turned my face toward 'Abbas and exclaimed, "What restful scenery!" He repeated my sentence and added, "Do you recognize these three?" I replied, No, I do not." He said, "The first person was my nephew, Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah; the second was my other nephew, 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib; the third was Muhammad's wife. Muhammad claims that his religion has come from Allah. Now, these are the only believers in this religion on the entire earth."³⁶

This issue vividly shows that at the beginning of the spread of Islam, it was Imam 'Ali who joined the Prophet after Khadijah. Pioneering in the acceptance of Islam is a value which the Holy Qur'an has highly stressed:

And the foremost are the foremost; these are they who are drawn near to Allah. (56: 10–11)

The Holy Qur'an also considers of great value the conversion to Islam of those who, prior to the conquest of Mecca, sacrificed their lives and wealth for God's sake and accepted the new religion:

...not alike; among you are those who spent before the victory and fought. They are more exalted in rank than those who spent and fought afterwards; and Allah has promised good to all; and Allah is aware of what you do. (57: 10)

The significance of conversions to Islam prior to the conquest of Mecca (which occurred at the eighth year AH) lies in the fact that they accepted Islam at a time when it was not yet powerful and when Mecca was still the stronghold for the idolaters and Muslims' lives and wealth were at risk from permanent danger. Of course, Muslims achieved some security after their migration to Medina and the acceptance of Islam by the two tribes of Aws and Khazraj and the other neighboring tribes; in later military conflicts, Muslims were triumphant. However, the environment was still dangerous. For these reasons, the acceptance of Islam under those perilous and turbulent times was quite significant. Such early acceptance of Islam was a great honor for the Prophet's close followers. Having this in mind, we will realize how important Imam 'Ali's early acceptance could have been.

The Pioneer Groups in Acceptance of Islam

Among the social groups of those days, two groups pioneered in accepting Islam:

A) The youth

A cursory look at the list of the early Muslims indicates that most of them were youth. Elderly people were conservative; idolatry was deeply rooted in them. Due to their bright minds, the youth were more ready to accept the new faith—a fact applying to religious revelations.

On the basis of a historical report, during the early days of the secret invitation to Islam, there were groups of youth and destitute people who joined Islam.³⁷ When the Holy Prophet started his public invitation and when his followers increased in number, people of Quraysh complained to Abu-Talib about Muhammad, saying, "We have come to you several times to ask you to ask your nephew to stop cursing our ancestors and idols and seducing our children, men, women, and servants into the new faith..."³⁸

On the Holy Prophet's journey to Ta'if for the propagation of Islam, the noblemen refused to accept Islam for fear that their youth might follow Muhammad.³⁹ After the migration to Abyssinia, representatives of Quraysh went to the royal court of the Abyssinian king, al-Najashi, to force these Muslims to return home. In that court, there were some complaints regarding the spread of Islam among the youth of Mecca.⁴⁰

A man from the Hudhayl tribe entered Mecca and the Holy Prophet invited him to Islam. Abu-Jahl warned him, saying, "Never listen to Muhammad; this man considers us stupid and says that our dead parents would go to hell. Besides, he utters nonsense." The man asked, "How come you don't expel him from your city?" Abu-Jahl replied, "If he is expelled, our youth will go after him and listen to his flowery speech and then they will attack us."⁴¹

'Utbah, a dignitary of Quraysh, complained to Asad ibn Zurarah, a nobleman from the Khazraj tribe in Yathrib, about the inclinations of the youth towards the Holy Prophet.⁴²

An investigation of the list of the early Muslims shows that most of them were under thirty years of age. For instance, Sa'd ibn Abi-Waqqaz was either seventeen⁴³ or nineteen⁴⁴ years old; al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwam was fifteen⁴⁵ or sixteen;⁴⁶ 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf was thirty; he was born ten years after the Elephant Year.⁴⁷ Muz'ab ibn 'Umayr was nearly twenty-five years old; at the time of his martyrdom at the Battle of Uhud that took place at the third year after Hegira, he was nearly forty years old.⁴⁸ Arqam, who submitted his house to the Prophet, was between twenty and thirty years old; when he died in 55 AH, he was eighty years old.⁴⁹

B) The Deprived and the Oppressed

By these two expressions, so prevalent in the Islamic sources, is meant the freed slaves who, despite superficial freedom, had some relationships with their previous owners. They were called *mawla* meaning made free. Another group of these oppressed ones was the strangers who had come to Mecca from other places to live. Since they lacked tribal associations, they had to be under the protection of a certain tribe in order for them to be secured. They did not enjoy the same rights that members of Quraysh had. They were socially disadvantaged.

This group, who had no tribe in Mecca to be affiliated with and who lacked power, represented the pioneers in the acceptance of Islam.⁵⁰ Their conversion to Islam was not tolerated by the infidels, according to a narration; whenever the Holy Prophet (S) sat in the Holy Precinct with his oppressed followers—such as 'Ammar ibn Yasir, Khabbab ibn al-Aratt, Suhayb ibn Sinan, Bilal, Abu-Fukayhah and Amir ibn Fuhayrah—they were ridiculed by people of Quraysh who sarcastically remarked, "Look at his companions! God has chosen from among us these bare-footed individuals who have adopted Islam!"⁵¹

The chiefs of Quraysh, once, passed by a gathering which the Holy Prophet had held with Suhayb, Khabbab, Bilal, 'Ammar and some others. Observing this, they addressed the Holy Prophet, saying, "Muhammad! Have you selected only this few from among your nation and you are happy with them? Should we follow this group? Has God only guided this group? If you dismiss this group, we might then be your followers." At this time, the following Qur'anic verses were revealed:

And do not drive away those who call upon their Lord in the morning and the evening, they desire only His favor; neither are you answerable for any reckoning of theirs, nor are they answerable for any reckoning of yours, so that you should drive them away and thus be of the

unjust.

And thus, so We try some of them by others so that they say: Are these they upon whom Allah has conferred benefit from among us? Does not Allah best know the grateful? (6:52-53)

During the first years of his mission, people of Quraysh dispatched some representatives to ask about the Holy Prophet. They went to the Jews: "We have come here to seek your advice regarding the event that is taking place in our town. A young orphan thinks that he has been sent by Rahman (the All-beneficent God); and we do not know any person by this name except for one living in Yamamah." The Jew asked for the characteristics of the Holy Prophet: "Who are his followers?" They replied, "The lowliest persons!" The great Jewish scholar replied smilingly, "This is the same Prophet whose signs are predicted in our Holy Book. His nation will be his worst enemies."⁵²

Of course, the rapid inclinations of the oppressed towards Islam did not mean securing the interests or benefits of special social classes; rather, they implied the negation of the worldly domination of man over man; they implied the adoption of Allah's government and domination—an immediate threat to the power of the aggressors and oppressors that excited their severe opposition. This matter had happened with the previous prophets as well:

But the chiefs of those who disbelieved from among his people said: We consider you but a mortal like ourselves, and we do not see who have followed you but those who are the meanest of us at first thought and we do not see in you any excellence over us; nay, we deem you liars. (11:27)

The chief of those who behaved proudly among his people said to those considered weak to those who believed from among them: Do you know that Salih is sent by his Lord? They said: Surely, we are believers in what he has been sent with. (7:75-76)

Inviting His Relatives to the New Religion

After three years of his mission, the Holy Prophet received an order from Allah to invite his relatives to his faith:

And warn your nearest relations, and be kind to him who follows you of the believers. But if they disobey you, then say: Surely, I am clear of what you do. (26:214-216)

Having received this revelation, the Holy Prophet ordered Imam 'Ali to prepare some food and invite the sons of 'Abd al-Muttalib to hear God's revelation. Imam 'Ali (s) carried out the order. Nearly forty people showed up. Among them were Abu-Talib, Hamzah and Abu-Lahab. The food seemed insufficiently little; however, everybody was able to eat their fill. Abu-Lahab declared, "This man has hypnotized you." This statement caused the Holy Prophet to abandon his propagation of the faith on that day and the meeting came to an end with no result. Next day, 'Ali (a.s.) once again prepared some food and invited the same group. This time, the Holy Prophet, after dinner remarked,

I do not know of anybody among Arabs who has brought to his people anything better than what I am bringing to you. I am bringing to you the good of this world and the Other World. God has ordered me to guide you all to Him. Now, who is ready among you to help me and he will be my brother and successor?"⁵³

Nobody answered. 'Ali (a.s.), who was the youngest among them, said, "O Messenger of God; I will help you." Then, the Holy Prophet replied,

"This is my brother, my representative and my successor. Listen to obey him."

This event leads us to the basic fact that the issues of prophethood and Imamate are inseparable; during the first years of his prophethood and on the first day of his mission, the Holy Prophet brought up the topic of Imamate and the future leadership of Muslims.

On the other hand, it should not be assumed that the Holy Prophet, up to his death and during the event of Ghadir Khumm, brought up 'Ali's Imamate. Later on, he brought up the same issue on other occasions, such as in the famous hadith al-manzilah (Narration of Position).⁵⁴ However, the event of Ghadir Khumm was the most significant for the announcement of 'Ali's successorship due to the fact that there were so many witnesses present.

With regards to the sequence of the surahs (chapters of the Holy Qur'an), it could be understood that the invitation of the relatives could have happened prior to the public invitation to the new faith.⁵⁵

Chapter 2: The Public Propagation and the Start of Oppositions

The Start of the Public Invitation

Having made the public invitation for some time, the Holy Prophet received an order from God to make his propagation public and not to be afraid of the infidels:

Therefore, declare openly what you are bidden and turn aside from the polytheists. Surely, We will suffice you against the scoffers. (15:94-95)

Having received this revelation, the Holy Prophet rose up in the Abtah⁵⁶ and declared:

I am God's apostle. I invite you to my new faith to worship the One and Only God. Stop worshipping idols which are neither useful nor can they create, nor provide you with sustenance, nor give you life, nor cause you to die.⁵⁷

From then on, the Prophet's invitation entered a new stage as he was engaged in the propagation of his faith in social gatherings, at the Hajj ceremonies, at Mina, and among the tribes living in the outskirts of Mecca.

Struggle with Quraysh

People of Quraysh did not show any severe reactions during the early stages of the propagation for Islam. However, as soon as the Holy Prophet started explicitly negating their idols, calling them senseless and useless entities, they became exasperated; they started animosity against him.⁵⁸ With regards to the tribal system which existed in Mecca, attacking Muhammad (S) would entail revenge-taking of Banu-Hashim. Therefore, the chiefs of Quraysh, after much deliberation, came to the conclusion that they would better make use of his uncle, Abu-Talib, and talk to him in such a way so that he could discourage his nephew from the way he was following. To this end, they arranged for several meetings with Abu-Talib during which they reminded him of his dignity and high social status. They asked him to discourage his nephew from cursing their idols, humiliating their customs and belittling their ancestors. They used threats at times and tried to bribe him by offering wealth and social ranks. Receiving no positive feedback from him, they offered to exchange Muhammad with 'Imarah ibn al-Walid ibn al-Mughirah, the young, powerful, and handsome poet. Abu-Talib did not accept either. Once, when Abu-Talib and his nephew were threatened with death, the Holy Prophet had the following reaction:

“If they put the sun in my right hand and the moon in the left, I would not stop my way. I have two options, either God will help me or I will be destroyed.”⁵⁹

Abu-Talib's Announcement of Assistance

Upon these threats, Abu-Talib announced his support to Muhammad (S) and mobilized the members of Banu-Hashim, both Muslims and non-Muslims, to protect Muhammad (S). He warned the chiefs of Quraysh against a bloody revenge by Banu-Hashim in case anything would happen to his nephew.⁶⁰ Since tribal wars were hazardous and their consequences unpredictable; and due to the fact that the chiefs of Quraysh lacked the capacity for such a war, they could not carry out their threats; rather, they became disillusioned. Out of Banu-Hashim, only Abu-Lahab joined the enemy front.

Motives of Quraysh's Oppositions

A question is raised here as to why the Quraysh did not show animosity toward Muhammad (S) in the first years of his propagations during which not many verses of the Holy Qur'an were revealed to him yet. What kind of threats did they feel in the first verses revealed during the early days of prophethood? Did they oppose him because of their insistence on their idolatry or were there other reasons?

Of course, we are talking about the motives of the chiefs of Quraysh, because the general public's were simple and naive followers of those chiefs; and to mobilize them against the new religion was not a hard job. This is because they were not strong believers of their sect and customs anyhow.

Considering Quraysh's influence and high social status in Mecca, we could easily find the reasons

behind their opposition. This is because, as we have seen above, Quraysh had monopolized some social privileges related to Mecca, such as social and economic power; they would not tolerate any rival. They used to receive tribute and toll from other tribes by force and imposed their own policies over other tribes related to the pilgrims.

Thus, it was natural for them not to tolerate Muhammad (S), because they found out very early in Muhammad's propagations that the new faith was in conflict with their ideology. They could also anticipate that one day, the Holy Prophet would become famous and this was in conflict with their pride.

However, an investigation of the content of some surahs and verses revealed to the Holy Prophet at Mecca, we could pinpoint some of the most significant motives for the opposition of Quraysh to the Holy Prophet during the first years of propagations:

(1) Worry over the disintegration of the social order

Concerning the tribal system dominating the social order in Mecca and due to Quraysh's special prerogatives, a form of aristocratic government was prevailing there. The chiefs of Quraysh were accustomed to this system; they did not expect any blow to be leveled against it. This was the social condition while the first followers of Muhammad (S) were the youths, the impoverished, the deprived and the slaves. Muhammad (S) did not belong to the nobility. From his childhood, he was an orphan; and during his youth, he was poor belonging to the second class inside Quraysh. His uncle, Abu-Talib, despite his ancestral prestige and dignity, was insolvent. All these were warnings to the tribal system of Quraysh that the very basis of their social order would be shaken. Having noticed that, they worried about the youth and the deprived for their inclinations towards the new faith. The envoy of Quraysh to Abyssinia to bring back the Muslim migrants introduced themselves to the king as the special envoy of the Meccan nobility.

The Holy Qur'an reveals the Quraysh's aristocratic attitude in their objection to the idea of prophethood not being offered to one of the noblemen of either Mecca or Ta'if:

***And they say: Why has not the Qur'an been revealed to a man of importance in the two towns?
(43:31)***

According to an interpretation, by men of importance is meant Walid Ibn Mughirah, the head of Banu-Makhzum in Mecca, and 'Urwah ibn Mas'ud al-Thaqafi, the well-known wealthy man of Ta'if.⁶¹ The reason behind the revelation of this verse is said to be the following event:

Once, Walid said, "Why should the Qur'an be revealed to Muhammad and not to me while I am the head of Quraysh?"⁶² Thus, the Quraysh showed their animosity to Muhammad (S) because his faith was a real threat to their social order.

(2) Economic Worries

Some recent researchers have considered the economic factor among the motives for Quraysh's opposition to Islam. This is because a series of Meccan verses of the Holy Qur'an⁶³ severely reprimand the hoarders and money-mongers of those days. The great Meccan wealthy men, who had earned their huge wealth in the trades and through the supervision over the Kaaba, felt a great danger when they heard these verses. The progress of Islam would jeopardize their benefits badly. Here are some samples of such verses:

Leave Me and him whom I created alone, and give him vast riches, and sons dwelling in his presence, And I adjusted affairs for him adjustably; and yet he desires that I should add more, By no means! Surely, he offers opposition to our communications. (74: 11–16)

I will cast him into hell. And what will make you realize what hell is? It leaves naught nor does spare naught. It scorches the mortal. (74:26)⁶⁴

Perdition overtake both hands of Abu-Lahab, and he will perish. Neither his wealth nor what he earns will avail him. He shall soon burn in fire that flames, and his wife, the bearer of fuel. (111: 1–4)⁶⁵

Woe to every slanderer, defamer, who amasses wealth and considers it a provision against mishap; He thinks that his wealth will make him immortal. Nay! He shall most certainly be hurled into the crushing disaster, and what will make you realize what the crushing disaster is? It is the fire kindled by Allah, which rises above the hearts. Surely, it shall be closed over upon them, in extended columns. (104: 1–7)

Then as for him who gives away and guards against evil, and accepts the best, We will facilitate for him the easy end. And as for him who is niggardly and considers himself from need of Allah, and rejects the best, we will facilitate for him the difficult end. And his wealth will not avail him when he perishes. (92:4: 11)⁶⁶

A careful observation of the content of these surahs reveals that they were revealed to the Holy Prophet after Quraysh's opposition. The increase in number of opponents might have been the reason for the revelation of these verses. However, the toughest opponents of the Holy Prophet were the traders and the wealthy. In accordance with a historical report, when the Messenger of God started guiding his people towards the light of the Religion, they at first did not go away from him; rather, they were about to accept his ideology. Then he started insulting their idols and the wealthy people from Ta'if.⁶⁷ These people did not like his statements; they began struggling against him and invoking their followers against him. Then, the mass offended and deserted him.⁶⁸

(3) Fear of the Neighboring Power

The Holy Qur'an refers to their fear of the neighboring states and powers and finds this worry baseless:

And they say: If we follow the guidance with you, we shall be carried off from our country. What! Have We not settled them in a safe, sacred territory to which fruits of every kind shall be drawn? Sustenance from Us; but most of them do not know. (28:57)

Once, Harith ibn Nawfal ibn 'Abd-Manaf said to the Holy Prophet, "We know that what you say is right; but if we believe in you, we fear that the Arabs might throw us out of our land and we are not strong enough to confront them."⁶⁹

From their statements, worry could be observed and fear of the Iranian kings and Roman emperors⁷⁰ could be identified; this was the Arabs' weak point towards the neighboring political powers.

This fear could be seen in the following event: The Holy Prophet had invited some of the great Arab personalities and read them some of the verses of the Holy Qur'an which dealt with ethical training. All of them were highly impressed and each one of them started admiring them. However, their leader, Muthanna, said, "We are caught between two waters: on one side are the Arab waters and shores, and on the other side there lie Iran and Khosrow rivers. Khosrow has ordered us not to use any turmoil and not to shelter any wrongdoer. The acceptance of your faith by us is not palatable for the kings. If we do anything wrong here in our land, it might be excused. However, such an error around Iran is not pardonable by their king."⁷¹

(4) Tribal Competition and Jealousy

Tribal competitions and false pride were prevalent among the Arab tribes and communities. Since the Holy Prophet belonged to Banu-Hashim, the chiefs of the other tribes—due to their jealousy—could not accept his faith, which was in the long run a sign of dignity for Banu-Hashim. Abu-Jahl, who was from Banu-Makhzum tribe and one of the most influential and wealthy people of Quraysh, frankly revealed his secret, "We struggled against the children of 'Abd-Manaf over the attainment of dignity. They fed the needy; so did we. They gave horses to the needy; so did we. They provided the needy with money; so did we. Then we were neck to neck. But, then, they say that they have a prophet among themselves who gets revelation from God. Now how can we ever get equal to them? By God, we shall never believe in what he says nor shall we ever confirm him."⁷²

Umayyah ibn Abi-Salt, a nobleman and great poet of Ta'if, did not believe in Islam for the same reason. For years, he waited for the arrival of the Promised Prophet and at the same time, he wished that he himself would be that Prophet. When he heard about the prophethood of Muhammad (S), he abstained from following him and the reason he offered for his denial was the following: "How could I tell the women of Ta'if that another person had obtained the status of prophethood? I have always told them that I would be the promised prophet. Now how could I endure this shame on my side to follow the

Chapter 3: The consequences and reactions of Opposition to the Qur'an

Torturing Muslims

With the daily increase in the number of Muslims,⁷⁴ Quraysh who had not reached any conclusion with Abu-Talib, who were observing Banu-Hashim's support for the Holy Prophet and who had earned nothing from threatening his life, started torturing Muslims in the hope of stopping them from following Islam. The problem for Quraysh was that the newly-converted Muslims did not belong to one tribe so that they could have been discouraged somehow; rather, a few of these new Muslims belonged to different tribes. A look at the immigrants to Abyssinia, who due to the tortures by the infidels had to leave Mecca, reveal that these escapees were from the following tribes: Banu-'Abd Shams, Banu-Asad, Banu-'Abd al-Dar, Banu-Zuhrah, Banu-Makhzum, Banu-Jumah, Banu-'Adi, Banu-Hurayth, Banu-Amir and Banu-Umayyah. For this reason, the infidels decided to torture Muslims inside their own tribes so that through the interference of other tribes their prejudice might not be excited and not to show any harsh reaction.

Most of torture was leveled against the young who had converted to Islam. These young people, as we have already mentioned, were mostly slaves or strangers who had no tribal protection of any sort.⁷⁵ Yasir and his son 'Ammar, Bilal ibn Rabah, Khabbab ibn al-Aratt, Abu-Fukayhah, Amir ibn Fuhayrah, Suhayb ibn Sinan, and, among women and female slaves, Sumayyah, Umm-'Ubays, Zinnirah, Labibah (or Lubaynah) and finally Nahdiyyah⁷⁶ were tortured by various means such like keeping them hungry or thirsty, imprisonment, striking and hitting, being forced to lie on the hot sands of the desert of Mecca at noon or to wear iron coats, or being tied up with rope and ridiculed by children.

Emigration to Abyssinia

Having been protected by Abu-Talib and Banu-Hashim, the Holy Prophet was safe from the aggressions of Quraysh. However, since Muslims were unprotected and vulnerable, the Holy Prophet recommended that they might migrate to Abyssinia and told them, "It is a land of truth and there lives a just king."⁷⁷ In those days, the only safe place for Muslims was Abyssinia. Neither Iran nor Rome or the dominated areas by these super-powers, such as Damascus or Yemen, would accept the Muslims. Besides, Abyssinia was a well-known land to Muslims because Meccans used to make trade journeys to that land.⁷⁸ Furthermore, people of Abyssinia were Christians; they had a lot in common with Muslims, such as belief in God. It is said that the Abyssinian people were Ya'qubian Christians who considered God as one entity and not part of a Trinity. For this reason, they were close to the Islamic monotheism.⁷⁹

On the Prophet's recommendation, a group of fifteen⁸⁰ defenseless Muslims in the fifth year after the Divine Mission secretly headed for Abyssinia and arrived there through Shu'aybah port or the Red Sea. This group stayed there for two or three months. Upon the spread of the rumor that people of Quraysh embraced Islam and ceased torturing Muslims, they returned to Mecca.⁸¹

However, since the torture of Muslims continued, a group of them headed for Abyssinia. This time, there were one hundred and one Muslims (both men and women).⁸² They were sponsored by Ja'far ibn Abi-Talib. With the passage of time, Muslims' migration brought about worry to the people of Quraysh who, then, dispatched an envoy to the royal court of al-Najashi, asking for the Muslims' deportation. Realizing the conspiracy, Abu-Talib wrote a letter to al-Najashi asking him to protect the Muslims.⁸³

After Quraysh had set forth their claim for the return of the Muslims to Mecca, Ja'far ibn Abu-Talib vehemently defended the Muslims. The king of Abyssinia was greatly moved; he consequently refused to let the Muslims go and decided to protect them.⁸⁴

Of course, the emigrants included both the tortured ones and others from the strongest tribes whom nobody dared to punish. However, Mecca remained an area of pressure, torture and suppression of beliefs. By sending them to Abyssinia, the Holy Prophet had in mind to build up a center for struggle against idolatry. At the same time, he planned to keep Muslims out of danger. As we know, the Muslims' stay in Abyssinia was accompanied by Islamic propagation, because al-Najashi accepted Islam and established some relations with the Holy Prophet.⁸⁵ Quraysh, most probably, were worried of this issue; they therefore dispatched their representatives to that area to stop such relationships.

In accordance with some documents, the Holy Prophet followed the news of the emigrants; he received the news of the apostasy and later death of 'Ubaydullah ibn Jahsh.⁸⁶

This time, the Muslim emigrants stayed there even longer. Eleven of them passed away there. Thirty-nine of them returned to Mecca prior to the Holy Prophet's emigration. Twenty-six men and some women returned to Mecca after the Battle of Badr. The last group, supervised by Ja'far Ibn Abi-Talib, returned home on the 7th year of Hegira and met the Holy Prophet after the Conquest Khaybar.⁸⁷

The Birth of Fatimah

Shi'ite historians unanimously contend that Lady Fatimah was born in Mecca in the fifth year after Hegira.⁸⁸ The youngest child of the Holy Prophet and Khadijah, Fatimah (s.a.) married Imam 'Ali (a.s) in Medina after the Holy Prophet's Hegira. During her early age, she witnessed her father's severest struggles against the unbelievers; she could vividly remember all the troubles of that period.

The Night Ascension (Mi'raj)

The Holy Prophet's nocturnal journey from Mecca to Jerusalem (isra' [Qur'an 17: 1]) in a supernatural way and his journey from Jerusalem to the Heavens (mi'raj [Qur'an: 70]) through God's power are both

significant events of Mecca, because these two events are recorded in the Meccan surahs; however, there are disagreements related to the exact date of their occurrence.

The Holy Prophet's objectives of these two journeys was to closely observe God's Grandeur across the heavens and skies, to meet the angels and the souls of the previous prophets, to watch Paradise and Hell and to observe the differing ranks of the dwellers of Paradise and the residents of Hell. God refers to this journey as follows:

Glory be to Him who made His servant to go on a night from the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Mosque of which We have blessed the precincts, so that We may show to him some of Our Signs; Surely, He is the Hearing, the Seeing. (17: 1)

Concerning mi'raj, God remarks:

Certainly, he saw of the greatest signs of his Lord. (53: 18)

Imam al-Ridha (a.s.) was asked, "Why did God take the Prophet to the skies when He has no definite place?" Imam al-Ridha (a.s.) replied, "God would not need any place or time. By taking the Holy Prophet to the skies, God intended to glorify the angels and the sky-dwellers. God also wanted Muhammad (S) to observe the extension of the creation so that upon his descent he could inform people of God's Grandeur. God does not need time or place as the skeptics erroneously assume."⁸⁹

The Evaluation of the Narrations on mi'raj

Concerning the Holy Prophet's Divine journey, there are several narrations available. However, Tabirsi, a well-known exegete of the Holy Qur'an, has divided these narrations into four headings:

(1) Uninterruptedly reported narrations (mutawatir); they are definite and certain; one of these is the principle of mi'raj.

(2) Narrations reporting issues that are logically and rationally accepted and are not in opposition with any known principle; such as those reporting the Holy Prophet's travel in the skies for the purpose of visiting Paradise and Hell.

(3) Narrations that are superficially in conflict with the absolute principles derived from the verses of the Holy Qur'an and Islamic traditions, but are interpretable anyway. Such narrations should be interpreted in such a way that they could be in harmony with correct beliefs. An example is the content of the traditions reporting the Holy Prophet's meeting with a group of people in Paradise and another group in Hell. These scenes are a kind of allegory for us to visualize Paradise and Hell.

(4) Materials that are superficially unacceptable and not interpretable, such as the report that the Holy Prophet saw God with his own eyes, talked to Him and sat on His Throne next to Him. Such issues are null and void.⁹⁰

In the opinion of the Twelvers Imamiyyah, the Holy Prophet's heavenly journey was material; i.e. he made this ascension in body and soul.⁹¹ According to Islamic narrations, during the mi'raj, the daily and nightly prayers were set at five.⁹² If, prior to mi'raj, some prayers are observed being performed by either the Holy Prophet or Imam 'Ali, it has been either a non-compulsory prayer or a kind of prayer based on the specific situations which was not a regular daily prayer with which we are familiar.⁹³

Economic and Social Boycott Imposed on Banu-Hashim

The chiefs of Quraysh failed to contact with Abu-Talib and to force Muslims in Abyssinia to come back to Mecca. Some socially significant personalities were absorbed by Islam. In view of these two facts, they had no alternative but to impose an economic and social boycott on Banu-Hashim in the hope that they would cease their protection of the Holy Prophet and submit him to Quraysh. To this end, they reached an agreement that none would marry a woman from Banu-Hashim or have any transactions with them.⁹⁴

The life of the people of Mecca was based on trade; economic activities were in the hands of Quraysh; therefore, they were able to deprive anybody or any group of this asset. They had an effective weapon at their disposal and it was expected that Banu-Hashim would be made destitute within a short time. Hence, the chiefs of Quraysh imposed such sanctions on Banu-Hashim so as to make them socially deprived.⁹⁵

On Abu-Talib's recommendation,⁹⁶ all the members of Banu-Hashim, both Muslims and non-Muslims,⁹⁷ except for Abu-Lahab, gathered at Abu-Talib Col and for three years after the boycott, they lived there. Although Quraysh's sanctions were both social and economic in nature, Abu-Talib asked the Holy Prophet and Banu-Hashim to reside in that col because people of Quraysh had become outrageous; and the only thing which could satisfy them was to kill Muhammad (S). Abu-Talib appointed forty men⁹⁸ of Banu-Hashim to guard the col and each night he asked the Holy Prophet to change his bed so that he might be secure. Abu-Talib's son, 'Ali, then used to replace the Holy Prophet in his bed so as to save him from any anticipated danger.⁹⁹

During this harsh time, Quraysh stopped any food from entering the col. The residents of this col could only buy their sustenance during the sacred months.¹⁰⁰ Even at that time, Quraysh warned the caravans that entered Mecca not to sell anything to Banu-Hashim, lest their wealth would be plundered.¹⁰¹ If Banu-Hashim desired to buy anything, the prices would rise dramatically so that they could not have any buying power.¹⁰²

At times, Abu'l-'Az ibn Rabi'¹⁰³ or Hakim ibn Hizam¹⁰⁴ secretly took some foodstuff for Banu-Hashim. Among Banu-Hashim, Imam 'Ali (a.s) used to leave the col to bring some foodstuff.¹⁰⁵ During this period, the Holy Prophet, Abu-Talib and Khadijah lost all their wealth.¹⁰⁶ Khadijah, in particular, spent all her money for the Holy Prophet in that col.¹⁰⁷

Three years later, the Holy Prophet informed¹⁰⁸ people of Quraysh, through Abu–Talib, that the treaty was rotted by termites and some of the signing parties had become sorry¹⁰⁹ for having signed on such a shameful treaty. Only then, they volunteered to annul this treaty.¹¹⁰ In this way, Banu–Hashim returned home.¹¹¹ In one of his letters to Mu’awiyah, Imam ‘Ali (a.s) remembers those harsh days:

Our own tribe (i.e. Quraysh) decided to murder our Prophet and destroy us completely; they added to our disasters and worries and they did strange things to us. They made our lives bitter, causing us to live in worry and pain. They forced us to live in difficult conditions. They kindled the fire of war and hatred against us. However, God willed that we would be the supporter of His religion. The believers among us hoped that God would bless them and give them rewards. However, the unbelievers continued protecting the interests of their own households. None of Quraysh who had converted to Islam received any torture that we received, because each one of them had somebody among their relatives to take care of him. So, they were secure.¹¹²

The Death of Khadijah and Abu–Talib

Ten years after prophethood of Muhammad (S) and a little time leaving the col, Khadijah passed away. A short time after that, Abu–Talib also passed away.¹¹³ The passing away of these two persons was a great blow to the Holy Prophet.¹¹⁴

With the death of these two loyal friends, mishaps and disasters fell over the shoulders of the Holy Prophet one by one and he was put in a terribly difficult situation.¹¹⁵

The Role of Khadijah

Naturally, the loss of these two personalities brought about a great sorrow; although Khadijah could not protect the Holy Prophet in the same way that Abu–Talib did, she was so kind and caring wife; she was a staunch supporter of Islam and its Prophet. She was the source of hope for the Holy Prophet against hardships.¹¹⁶ The Holy Prophet kept Khadijah's memories to the last of his life. He would never forget her pioneering in accepting Islam.¹¹⁷ Once, he told ‘A’ishah,

“God has never given me a better wife than Khadijah. She accepted my faith when everyone else rejected; she praised and confirmed me when everyone else denounced; she spent her wealth for me when everyone else deprived me of everything. Finally, God gave me as gifts children from her.”¹¹⁸

The Role of Abu–Talib

Not only was Abu–Talib the Holy Prophet’s sponsor in his childhood and adolescence, but he was also a staunch supporter during his prophethood. He stood firm against the aggressions of the unbelievers. As long as he was alive, Quraysh rarely dared to harm Muhammad (S). Once, they incited a man to throw a camel's tripe over the Holy Prophet's body at the sacred Mosque. His body became dirty. When Abu–Talib knew of the event, he drew his sword and, along with Hamzah, went to meet the offenders. He

ordered Hamzah to put the tripe over the face of each one those offenders.¹¹⁹

With the demise of Abu-Talib, Quraysh became more aggressive and tyrannical toward the Holy Prophet; they even threw dirt on him.¹²⁰ He once said,

“Quraysh had not dared to hurt me until Abu-Talib passed away.”¹²¹

Abu-Talib's Faith

Shi'ite scholars unanimously agree that Abu-Talib was Muslim;¹²² but he had not declared his faith so that he would protect the Holy Prophet. Because familial prejudices prevailed at that time, he pretended that he was protecting Muhammad (S) out of tribal zeal.¹²³ In this regard, Imam al-Sadiq (a.s.) has said,

Abu-Talib acted like the Companions of the Cave (Seven Sleepers of Ephesus) who concealed their faith and pretended to be unbelievers; so, they received double rewards from God.¹²⁴

However, some historians claim that Abu-Talib had not embraced the new faith and passed away an unbeliever. There are pieces of evidence which lead us to believe that he was a believer of Muhammad's faith and ideology. We will present two of them hereinafter:

(1) His Poems and Statements

We have several statements and poems in which Abu-Talib explicitly refers to Muhammad's truthfulness.¹²⁵ This clearly shows his commitment to Islam. Here are some examples of his poems:

O king of Abyssinia, be aware that Muhammad, like Moses and Jesus, is a prophet. He has brought the same light of guidance that those two brought to man. All prophets are commissioned by God to lead people away from sins.¹²⁶

You should have known that we have believed that Muhammad, just like Moses, is a Messenger whose name is mentioned in the previous bibles.¹²⁷

I am certain that Muhammad's faith is the best faith in the world.¹²⁸

(2) His Protection of the Holy Prophet

Abu-Talib's excessive protections of the Holy Prophet against the aggressions of Quraysh, which continued for seven years, are clear indications of his faith. Those who deny his faith ascribe his protections to tribal affiliations with the Holy Prophet. However, familial bonds could not have been so strong as to force him to sacrifice his life for the Holy Prophet. These kinds of sacrifices definitely have their roots in religious fervor. If Abu-Talib's motives were tribal, why did the other uncles of the Holy Prophet, such as 'Abbas and Abu-Lahab, not make the same sacrifices?¹²⁹

In the opinion of some historians, some of those who have tried to prove Abu-Talib's atheism do so out

of political motives and tribal jealousies, because the Holy Prophet's followers (who later turned into his political rivals) were mostly idol-worshippers. Only 'Ali (a.s) lacked such idol-worshipping background since he was nurtured in the Holy Prophet's school. Those who wish to belittle Imam 'Ali claim that his father was not a believer. In this way, they claim that he had idolatry in his blood. In fact, the only guilt Abu-Talib had was his fatherhood of 'Ali (a.s). He would not receive such an accusation if he had not been 'Ali's father.

The Umayyad and 'Abbasid rulers were at the center of these cruelties, because their ancestors could never reach the rank of Imam 'Ali (a.s); they never had such a prestige; therefore, they tried in vain to humiliate him in any way they could.

The charges and accusations which they had leveled at Abu-Talib were more becoming of 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib (the Holy Prophet's uncle and the ancestor of the 'Abbasid rulers), because 'Abbas used to be in Mecca up to the siege in the 8th year of Hegira. Moreover, he was taken as a prisoner in the army of the unbelievers and was then freed by paying tribute. When the siege of Mecca was underway, he reached the Islamic army and asked the Holy Prophet to release Abu-Sufyan, the head of the unbelievers. Considering all these, nobody has ever claimed that he was an unbeliever! Is this a just evaluation of these two figures? For this reason, scholars look at the accusation of being an atheist on the part of Abu-Talib as suspect.¹³⁰

The Prophet's wives

While Khadijah was alive, the Holy Prophet did not marry any lady.¹³¹ After her death, he married several women all of whom, except for 'A'ishah, were widows. The first was Sawdah. Her husband was Sakran ibn 'Amr; one of the emigrants to Abyssinia who had died there leaving his wife without sponsor.

Orientalists have used the Holy Prophet's marriages as an excuse to level inhuman accusations against him. They have referred to his marriages as indulgence in pleasure and lusts.¹³² A careful and impartial judgment, however, will reveal the fact that behind these marriages, there lay some political and social motives and some gains and common good for Islam; some of those women lost any sponsor or protector; therefore, the Holy Prophet wanted to guide and protect them under the cover of marriage. Some others belonged to great households and the Holy Prophet wanted to have their protections. At some other time, the purpose was to fight against some wrong customs of the Ignorance Era. Here are some evidences:

(1) The Holy Prophet married Khadijah when he was twenty-five years old and at the zenith of youthful zeal and passion whereas she had lost the passion of youth when she married him. She lived with him for twenty-five years.

(2) The Holy Prophet did not marry any other woman as long as Khadijah was alive, while polygamy was prevalent in Arabia at that time.

(3) The other marriages of the Holy Prophet took place after the age of fifty, before or after Hegira, when he was in the center of political, social and military turmoil. Could a person get into pleasure seeking activities under such circumstances? Could the Holy Prophet, while living in Medina, find a chance to be involved in lust and whims?

(4) Was life easy and smooth with different wives, each of whom had a special set of likes and dislikes and a series of womanly jealousies; wives who had hurt the Holy Prophet on various occasions?¹³³ Is such a life compatible with pleasure-seeking?

(5) Each one of the Holy Prophet's wives belonged to a different tribe; they were not relatives. Was such a marriage accidental and haphazard?

(6) After the Holy Prophet's emigration to Yathrib and the expansion of Islam and an increase in his spiritual influence, his social and political power had greatly risen and the Arab leaders would take pride in having their daughters married to the Holy Prophet. However, most of the women that he married were widows or elderly women lacking any protector, while he encouraged men to marry young girls.

Let us introduce some of the Holy Prophet's wives:

Ummu-Habibah: The daughter of Abu-Sufyan, the bitter enemy of Islam, Ummu-Habibah emigrated with her husband, 'Ubaydullah ibn Jahsh, the Holy Prophet's cousin. When 'Ubaydullah reached that land, he apostatized Islam. Due to excessive wine drinking, he died there.¹³⁴ When the Holy Prophet knew about this, he sent 'Amr ibn Umayyah al-[®]amari¹³⁵ to al-Najashi asking him to give Ummu-Habibah in marriage to him. That was in the sixth year after the Hegira, and al-Najashi did. She stayed in Abyssinia for one more year and then returned to Medina with the last group.¹³⁶ She was between thirty and forty years old.¹³⁷

It is clear that this marriage took place to pacify this Muslim woman not to be carried away through worries and grief. This is because she had cut relations with her unbelieving relatives, including her parents, and had gone to Abyssinia with her husband. Now, in a foreign land, she had lost her husband. What other action could be better than having the privilege of getting married to the Holy Prophet?

Ummu-Salamah: Ummu-Salamah (Hind) was the daughter of Abi-Umayyah Makhzumi; her ex-husband was Abu-Salamah ('Abdullah) Makhzumi,¹³⁸ one of the Holy Prophet's cousins.¹³⁹ They had four children one of whom was Salamah.¹⁴⁰

Abu-Salamah was wounded in the Battle of Uhud and then passed away in Jumada II, in the third year of Hegira.¹⁴¹ Most probably, there was no relative of Ummu-Salamah in Medina, because she is reported to have said, "When Abu-Salamah died, I became very depressed; I said to myself, 'Now that I am lonely, I will weep so much that I become well-known as a great weeper!'"¹⁴² The Holy Prophet married her in the 4th year of Hegira.¹⁴³ At that time, she had become old.¹⁴⁴

It is clear that the purpose of this marriage was to sponsor her orphan children. Was it not a hard job for the Holy Prophet to sponsor four orphan children?

After Khadijah, Ummu-Salamah ranked high in sincerity, virtue and spirituality. She was second to Khadijah in these human traits.¹⁴⁵ She had a special bond with the Household of the Holy Prophet. Most of the time, she kept the secrets of the divinely leadership of the Holy Prophet's Household.¹⁴⁶

Zaynab bint Jahsh: A close relative of the Holy Prophet, Zaynab was married to Zayd ibn Harithah, the Holy Prophet's stepchild.¹⁴⁷ She married the Holy Prophet after her separation from Zayd.

Zayd had been the slave of Khadijah before he was freed and adopted by the Holy Prophet. From then on, he was called Zayd son of Muhammad.¹⁴⁸

After the prophethood, God made the adoption of sons illegal:

Allah has not made for any man two hearts within him; nor has He made your wives whose backs you liken to the backs of your mothers as your mothers, nor has He made those whom you assert to be your sons your real sons; these are the words of your mouths; And Allah speaks the truth and He guides to the way. Assert their relationship to their fathers; this is more equitable with Allah, but if you do not know their fathers, then they are your brethren in faith and your friends; and there is no blame on you concerning that in which you made a mistake, but concerning that which your hearts do purposely blame may rest on you, and Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. (33:4-5)

Upon receiving these revelations, the Holy Prophet said to Zayd, "You are Zayd son of Harithah." From then on, he was nicknamed freed by the Holy Prophet.¹⁴⁹

The Holy Prophet proposed Zaynab for himself. However, since she was one of the granddaughters of 'Abd al-Muttalib and she belonged to a well-known tribe, she refused to accept such a proposal in the beginning, because Zayd was not from a Quraysh family; rather, he was freed slave. However, the Holy Prophet insisted; and Zaynab agreed. This marriage was the annihilation of racial and class privileges, which were so emphatically approved of. The Prophet's insistence on such a marriage was aimed at removing such unfounded principles.

Due to some ethical maladjustment, the marriage of Zaynab and Zayd became vulnerable; it was on the threshold of being cut. Several times, Zayd decided to divorce her, but the Holy Prophet called them for more perseverance by saying, "Keep your spouse."¹⁵⁰ Finally, Zayd divorced her. After their divorce, the Holy Prophet received direction from God to marry Zaynab so that the marriage of an adopted son's divorcee would not create a problem for Muslims. In this way, a wrong custom was broken, because an adopted son was considered real son. For this reason, marrying the wife of such a person was not allowed. The Holy Qur'an describes the aim of this marriage in the following manner:

And when you said to him to whom Allah had shown favor and to whom you had shown a favor: Keep your wife to yourself and be careful of your duty to Allah; and you concealed in your soul what Allah would bring to light, and you feared men, and Allah had a greater right that you should fear Him. But when Zayd had accomplished his want of her, We gave her to you as a wife, so that there should be no difficulty for the believers in respect of the wives of their adopted sons, when they have accomplished their want of them; and Allah's command shall be performed. (33:37)

The unbelievers found an excuse in this marriage to level some accusations against the Holy Prophet: they accused him of marrying the wife of his son!¹⁵¹ Then God revealed to the Holy Prophet:

Muhammad is not the father of any of your men, but he is the Apostle of Allah and the last of the Holy Prophets; and Allah is Cognizant of all things. (33:40)

Some Christian Orientalists have changed this event into a romance and have added unfounded details to it,¹⁵² but this accusation does not comply with the Holy Prophet's traits. Besides, we have seen that the issue was something else and this is vividly explained in the Holy Qur'an.

The aforementioned accounts of the Holy Prophet's wives are enough for an explanation of the real motives behind his polygamy. The other wives of the Holy Prophet had more or less similar traits.

The Holy Prophet's Journey to Ta'if

Seventy-two kilometers away from Mecca, Ta'if is a countryside with mild weather. It was known for its vineyards in those days.¹⁵³ Some of Quraysh's noblemen had gardens and pastures there. The citizens of Ta'if were wealthy; they were famous usurers. It was the resort of the strong tribe of Thaqif.

After the death of Khadijah and Abu-Talib, the tormenting of the Holy Prophet by Quraysh increased and propagating the religion became difficult. However, the invitation to Islam could not be stopped. Therefore, the Holy Prophet decided to journey to Ta'if in order to invite its people to his religion. He hoped to find some protectors there. On this journey, Zayd ibn Harithah¹⁵⁴ and Imam 'Ali¹⁵⁵ accompanied him.

The Holy Prophet met three brothers of the noblemen of Thaqif; the wife of one of these three was from a branch of Quraysh, called Banu-Jumah.¹⁵⁶ He invited them to Islam and asked them for help. However, they refused and used strong words in reply. He also asked them to keep his journey secret so that the chiefs of Quraysh might not be annoyed. But they did not pay attention to what he said.

The Holy Prophet visited other leaders of Ta'if as well, but they rejected his invitation and feared that their youth might be inclined towards Islam.¹⁵⁷ The leaders of Ta'if provoked the rogues, the destitute, and their slaves to curse, humiliate and throw stones at him. In this conflict, some parts of the Holy Prophet's legs were badly hurt and Zayd's head was wounded.

The Holy Prophet headed for a vineyard which belonged to 'Utbah and Shaybah, two chiefs of Quraysh, and rested in the shade of a vine, praying to God.

'Utbah and Shaybah, who had been watching the tormenting of the Holy Prophet, sympathized with him; they sent him some grapes through their Christian servant, 'Addas, who was from Nineveh. While eating the grapes, the Holy Prophet said, "In the Name of Allah." This statement roused 'Addas's curiosity. After some conversation through which the Holy Prophet told 'Addas about his Divine mission, 'Addas threw himself at the Holy Prophet's feet, kissed his hands and feet,¹⁵⁸ and became Muslim.¹⁵⁹ Having stayed in Ta'if¹⁶⁰ for ten days and discouraged by the refusal of the Thaqif tribe, he returned to Mecca.

Did the Holy Prophet seek Refuge?

It is said that the Holy Prophet, upon his return to Mecca, asked Mut'im ibn 'Adi to give him refuge; he then entered Mecca under his protection. However, with regards to a series of evidence, this seems highly improbable:

- (1) How could the Holy Prophet, after ten years of hard struggles and severe confrontations with the idolaters, have accepted the humiliation of asking an idol-worshipper for refuge and asylum while this humiliation he never accepted during his whole life?
- (2) Despite the death of Abu-Talib at that time, the rest of Banu-Hashim were still on the scene; among them, there were brave individuals like Hamzah whom Quraysh feared very much as is shown in their attempts to unite several tribes to murder the Holy Prophet at the night of his emigration to Yathrib.
- (3) According to some historical documents, Zayd and Imam 'Ali accompanied him. So, they were a group of three persons who could depend on themselves and needed no assistance.
- (4) The Holy Prophet was one of the bravest Arabs; weakness has never been seen on him. Recalling the Holy Prophet's bravery in battles, Imam 'Ali (a.s) remarks:

When the fire of war was severely kindled, we used to resort to the Holy Prophet; under those circumstances, there was nobody closer to the enemy than he was.¹⁶¹

- (5) The Holy Prophet severely struggled against the system of tribalism which was the source of his calamity. How could he approve of the tradition of taking refuge which was an offshoot of tribalism? How could he confirm it?

- (6) As is reported by Buladhari and Ibn Sa'd, the Holy Prophet's journey to Ta'if took place at the end of month Shawwal. If we accept this report as valid, it means that his stay in Ta'if and his return to Mecca could have occurred within the sacred month in which bloodshed and molestation are suspended. Thus, there was no danger against the Holy Prophet's life and consequently he did not need any protection.

With regards to these documents, we may infer that the Holy Prophet, on his return from Ta'if, had

entered Wadi Nakhlah before he entered Mecca. On his return, he spent a night there¹⁶² when a group of jinn¹⁶³ heard the verses of the Holy Qur'an.¹⁶⁴

Attraction of the Holy Qur'an

Inviting people to his religion, the Holy Prophet rarely spoke of himself; rather, he made use of the best means available to him, i.e. the verses of the Holy Qur'an which had enchanting effects on the Arab's ears. The Holy Qur'an is the Holy Prophet's great miracle—a miracle of eloquence. The lexicon and the lexical items, the structure of the verses, and the melody of the Qur'anic verses are so attractive that nobody could ever be able to produce anything even similar to them. For this reason, the Holy Qur'an invites the unbelievers to produce anything like its chapters. (2:23)

The Arabs of Hijaz who were mostly poets and experts in poetry were absorbed in and enchanted by the grace and eloquence of the sacred verses of the Holy Qur'an. The words of revelation appeared to them most graceful and elegant. At times, they would be mesmerized and motionless for a long time.

One night, some chiefs of Quraysh, such as Abu-Sufyan and Abu-Jahl hid behind the door of the Holy Prophet's house and listened to the verses that he was uttering. On their return in the morning, they saw one another and started blaming each other by saying, "Let us not do this again, because if people see us, they would think otherwise. They might think that we have become Muslims." However, for the coming nights, they did it again, each time promising not to do it again. (2:23)

Accusation of Magic

The ceremony of Hajj was the best time for the Holy Prophet to carry out his propagation, because the different Arab tribes came to Mecca then. In those days, the Holy Prophet had a chance to let people hear the call for monotheism. For this reason, the chiefs of Quraysh feared the Hajj time the most.

At the time of Hajj ceremony, a group of noblemen of Quraysh went to visit Walid ibn Mughirah, an elderly man and the head of Banu-Makhzum, who said, "It is the Hajj time, people come to your city from everywhere; they have heard Muhammad's story. Let us talk about him in a single fashion and not try to contradict one another." They replied, "Whatever you say, we will follow you. We will say that he is a Jewish priest." He said, "No, By God. He is not a Jewish priest; we have seen such priests before. He neither hums like such priests nor does he use rhymed speech." One of them suggested, "Let us say that he is a lunatic." Walid answered, "No! He could not be a lunatic. We have seen lunatic people and we know how they behave. Neither do any of his limbs shake, nor is he tempted by some devil." They said, "Let us say that he is a poet." Walid answered, "He cannot be a poet either. We know all kinds of poetry. What he says is not poems." They further suggested, "We shall say that he is a magician." Walid answered, "This is not accurate either. We have seen the magician's incantations and charms. His work is not sorcery." They asked, "Then, what shall we say?" He remarked, "By God, his speech is delicious; its roots are vigorous and branches are fruitful. Whatever of these categories you say about him will turn

out to be wrong. The best thing for you is to say that he is a magician because through his words he is able to separate children from their parents, brothers from brothers, wives from husbands and tribe members from one another.”¹⁶⁵

Having arrived at this decision, the Arab leaders spread. From then on, they would provoke the Hajj pilgrims not to be carried away by the indoctrinations of the Holy Prophet.¹⁶⁶

What the higher council of Quraysh called magic and attributed to the Holy Prophet was in fact an attribute for the attractive verses of the Holy Qur'an which hypnotized everyone who listened to them. The sanctions against the listening to the Qur'anic verses reached such a point that the chiefs of Quraysh recommended that a great person such as As'ad ibn Zurarah should insert cotton in his ears in order to be safe against Muhammad's magic!”¹⁶⁷

Inviting the Arab Tribes to Islam

The Holy Prophet carried out his invitation to people in Mecca and elsewhere. For instance, he went to the following tribes: Kindah, Kalb, Banu-Hanifah and Banu-Amir ibn Sa'za'ah to invite them to the new religion. However, Abu-Lahab used to follow him and discourage people from accepting his religion.¹⁶⁸

In his dialogues with Banu-'Amir, the Holy Prophet was told by one of the elderly chiefs of that tribe, named Bayharah ibn Firas, “If we swear allegiance to you and God makes you victorious over your opponents, will you promise your succession to us?” The Holy Prophet replied, “That is God's affair, not mine. God will nominate anybody He wishes.” Aggressively, the man replied, “You want us to stand against the Arabs for your sake and defend you; and upon your victory, somebody else gets the initiatives? We do not need your religion.”¹⁶⁹

It is narrated that the same issue was brought up by the elders of the Kindah tribe to whom the Holy Prophet gave the same reaction.¹⁷⁰ This kind of reply and taking position on the part of the Holy Prophet is significant in two ways:

First: He emphasized that the issue of succession is God's affair. This confirms the issue that he has been appointed by God; i.e. his position is a Divine selection and this adoption takes place by God, not through people.

Second: The Holy Prophet, contrary to other statesmen who do everything in order to obtain their objectives, did not make use of unethical instruments. Although the adoption of Islam by the members of a large tribe was of utmost significance and value in those days, the Holy Prophet did not promise anything which he could not keep.

During the Hajj and 'Umrah ceremonies in which security prevailed due to the sacredness of those months and during which a great number of people could come from different areas to Mecca and Mina or the markets outside Mecca, such as the seasonal markets of 'Uka", al-Majannah and Dhi'l-Majaz,¹⁷¹

the Holy Prophet extended his invitation and visited the elderly chiefs of the tribes. Even if the pilgrims themselves did not accept Islam, they spread the news of the Holy Prophet's prophethood in their cities and towns; and this was a step ahead towards victory and success.

1. Al-Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:199-204; Ibn al-Athir, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:250.
 2. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon No 192.
 3. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 13:207.
 4. Ibn Kathir, op cit, 1:389.
 5. Halabi, op cit, 1:380-381; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:250; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 2:203-204; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:43; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 18:84, 193; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:17.
 6. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:44; al-Majlisi, op cit, 18:194; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 36.
- Concerning these records and documents, Shaykh al-Kulayni states the Muhammad was a prophet but he had not yet been Messenger of God. Al-Uzul min al-Kafi 1:176.
7. Mount Hara' is situated northeast of Mecca. Because it was the place where the Divine Revelation came to the Holy Prophet for the first time, it was called jabal al-nur (Mountain of Light). Until several years ago, this mountain was far away from the city of Mecca. However, the city skirts have now reached the foot of this mountain due to modern construction. Because of its situation inside a series of interrelated mountains, Mount Hara' is the most handsome and most distinguished. The Hara' Cave, which is high in the mountain, is not a cave in reality; rather, it is a huge rock over two other huge rocks, creating a space of one and a half meters high. The entrance is wide enough for people to enter. However, the inner half of it is narrower. Sunlight can penetrate only half of the cave.
 8. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 193; Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:25.
 9. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:251; Tabari, op cit, 2:206; Ibn al-Athir, op cit, 1:390; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:105.
 10. Halabi, op cit, pp. 382.
 11. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 249; Tabari, op cit, pp. 209; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp 114-115; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:190; Mas'udi, al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 198; Halabi, op cit, pp. 363; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 204.
 12. Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 10:514; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:276.
 13. Muslim scholars ascribe these verses to the prophethood of Muhammad. There are some pieces of evidence which confirm this issue. See al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 18:246; Muhammad Hadi Ma'rifat, al-Tamhid fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an 1:35; al-Qastalani, al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah 3:88-89. According to other exegeses, these verses are related to the Night Ascension (Mi'raj).
 14. Sahih al-Bukhari 1:59-60; Sahih Muslim 2:197-204.
 15. Al-'Asqalani, al-Izabah fi Tamyiz al-Sahabah 4:359.
 16. Bihar al-Anwar 18:246, 254, 257.
 17. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:197; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib, op cit, 1:43; al-Majlisi, op cit, 18:271.
 18. al-Majlisi, op cit, pp 268, 271; Saduq, al-Tawhid, pp. 115.
 19. Saduq, Kamal al-Din 1:85; 'Ilal al-Shara'i' 7:7.
 20. Tabari, op cit, 2:207; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:105; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:276; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:17.
 21. Majma' al-Bayan 10:384.
 22. al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 18:262; Muhammad Hadi Ma'rifat, al-Tamhid fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an 1:49.
 23. As far as we know, the first person who realized the lack of authenticity of this narration was Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Din al-Musawi (1390-1377 AH), one of the distinguished Shi'ite scholars of Jabal 'Amil, who discussed and criticized it in his epistle to the Arab Scientific Congress in Damascus, and in his book al-Nazz wa'l-Ijtihad, pp 319-322. Then other scholars, such as 'Ali Dawani, criticized this narration in the following sources: The Rays of revelation over Mount Hara', pp 70-108; the history of Islam from the start up to the prophet's Migration, pp 98-110; the role of the Imams In the revival of the religion 4:6-44; al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'm 1:216-232, Treason in the historical accounts 2:3-23; al-Tamhid 1:52-56; Some Analytical Lessons From The History Of Islam 2:196-236.
 24. Murtadha 'Amili, The role of the Imams In the revival of the religion 4:12.
 25. Islamic Encyclopedia 3:398. Montgomery Watt, the head of the Arabic department of Edinburgh University, is one of

those who insinuates against Islam. He writes, "It is amazing for a man who used to live in a far-away city, like Mecca in the seventh century AD, to have been appointed as a prophet by God. Therefore, we are not amazed when we hear that Muhammad was frightened and worried when he became aware of this issue. Regarding this, there are some hints and documents in the Qur'an and in other narrations related to his life. It is not clear at what time he realized that God had not forgotten him. His other fear was the fear of mental breakdown; this is because in those days Arabs assumed that persons like him were under the domination of jinn or spirits. Some Meccan Arabs interpreted Muhammad's revelations in this way and he himself at times doubted whether people were right or wrong in their assumptions." See Muhammad, the prophet and the politician, pp 26–27.

26. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:280; Tabari, op cit, 2:216; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:275–276; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:116; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:19; Halabi, op cit, 1:456; Tusi, al-Ghaybah, pp. 202.

27. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:19; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:199; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:115.

28. Halabi, op cit, 1:456–457.

29. Ibn Husham mentions the names of the first eight Muslims as follows: 'Ali, Zayd ibn Harith, Abu-Bakr, 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwam, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, Sa'd ibn Abi-Waqqaz, and Talhah ibn 'Ubaydullah. See al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:262–364.

30. Imam 'Ali was monotheist even at his early age; he never served idols. Thus, his becoming a Muslim does not imply that he stopped worshipping idols like the other companions of the Holy Prophet. Imam 'Ali accepted Islam that is based on the Divine principle of monotheism. Concerning this, Dahlan wrote, "Ali never practiced idolatry. He followed the Holy Prophet closely. It is narrated that three persons were never involved in idolatry; the Faithful of Al-Yasin, 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib, and Asiyah, Pharaoh's wife." See al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:92. Concerning Imam 'Ali, Ibn Sa'd narrates that he never worshipped any idol because he was too young! See Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 3:21. Ibn Hajar (974 AH), quoting Ibn Sa'd's previous statement, states, "For this reason, 'Ali is mentioned with the statement of 'karrama allahu wajhahu (May Allah honor his face)". See al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqah, pp. 120.

Regarding 'Ali's age when he accepted Islam, see Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, 13:234–235.

31. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 3:28; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 13:229; al-Hakim al-Naysaburi, al-Mustadrak 'Ala'l-Sahihayn 2:81, Halabi, op cit, 1:432. In some narrations, we read, "The first to join the Divine Pond (on the Resurrection Day) will be the first to accept Islam; namely, 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib." See Halabi, op cit, pp. 432.

32. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op cit, pp. 32; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:57. Al-Hakim al-Naysaburi (al-Mustadrak 'Ala'l-Sahihayn 3:112) has recorded this narration in two ways, "Allah's Messenger received prophethood..." and "Allah's Messenger received the Divine Revelation on Monday." In some narrations, we will read, "The Prophet received prophethood on Monday, and 'Ali accepted Islam on Tuesday." See, Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, pp. 229; al-Juwayni, Fara'id al-Simtayn. Emphasizing the same issue, Imam 'Ali used to remark, "Allah's Messenger received the Divine Message on Monday, and I accepted Islam on Tuesday." See al-Suyuti, Tarikh al-Khulafa', pp. 166; Muhammad al-Sabban, Is'af al-Raghibin, pp. 148; Ibn Hajar, al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqah.

33. Nahj al-Balaghah, Sermon 192.

34. Ibid, Sermon 131.

35. Tabari, op cit, 2:212; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh.

The same issue is brought up in al-Mustadrak 'Ala'l-Sahihayn 3:112; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 13:200, 228; Ibn Mardawayh, Manaqib 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib, pp 47–48.

36. Tabari, op cit, 2:212; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 13:226. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid has reported the same from 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 3:165; Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi, pp. 137–138; al-Karajaki, Kanz al-Fawa'id 1:262. For further information concerning Ali's pioneering in the acceptance of Islam, see al-Ghadir 2:214, 3:220–224.

37. Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:199.

38. al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:299; Bihar al-Anwar 18:185.

39. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 212.

40. Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:358; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 44; Sibti ibn al-Jawzi, Tadhkirat al-Khawazz, pp. 186.

41. al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 128.

42. Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 56.

43. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 3:139.
44. Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:446.
45. Halabi, op cit, 1:434.
46. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 3:102.
47. op cit, pp. 124.
48. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 3:222.
49. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 3:244. 'Abd al-Muta'al al-Sa'idi al-Mizri has written a book entitled Youth of Quraysh in the Beginning of Islam (pp. 33-34) in which he has introduced forty young men from Quraysh who had pioneered in accepting Islam. In his list, Imam 'Ali is the first.
50. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:156, pp. 181, see Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 3:248.
51. Op cit.
52. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:164; Halabi, op cit, 1:499.
53. Muslim scholars name this issue as bid' al-da'wah (The Beginning of the Promulgation), yawm al-dar (The Day of the House), and yawm al-indhar (The Day of Warning). It is reported in the following reference books with some difference: Tarikh al-Tabari 2:217; Ibn Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:63; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 13:211; al-Bayhaqi, Dala'il al-Nubuwwah 1:278; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 7:206; Shaykh Mufid, al-Irshad, pp. 29; Tawus, al-Tara'if 1:20; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 1:461; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 18:78, 181, 191, 214; 'Allamah Amini, al-Ghadir 2:278-279; Murtadha 'Askari, the role of the Imams in the revival of the Religion 2:86, 6:17-18; Musnad Ahmad 1:159. It is worthy noting that among historians, Tabari has distorted the Holy Prophet's statement drastically in his interpretation: he has changed representative and successor into so and so. Ibn Kathir, too, has distorted the truth in his three books in his three books (Tafsir 3:351, al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 3:40, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:459). Considering the attitude of these two, it is not difficult to recognize their motive for this dramatic distortion.
54. Hadith al-Manzilah reads: "O 'Ali, your position to me is the same as Prophet Aaron's position to Prophet Moses except that there shall be no prophet after me."
55. Surah al-Shu'ara' was revealed to the Holy Prophet after Surah al-Waqi'ah. The following are the Surahs that were revealed after that: al-Naml, al-Qazaz, al-Isra', Yunus, Hud, Yusuf and then al-Hijr in which the order for the public invitation was given. See Muhammad Hadi Ma'rifat, al-Tamhid fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an 1:105.
56. Abtuh is a valley near Mina. See Yaqut al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan. 1:74. This event probably took place at the time of Hajj when pilgrims had gathered at Mina.
57. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 1:19. There are other reports on the Holy Prophet's first open declaration of his faith. Most probably, he invited the idolaters within short time intervals through the same statements. See Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, pp. 19; Tabari, op cit, 2:21; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:121; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 1:279; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 39; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 18:185; Halabi, op cit, 1:461.
58. Tabari, op cit, 2:218; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:282; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:199; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:63.
59. Tabari, op cit, 2:218-220; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 282-287, 313, 316; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 1:282; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:202-203; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:231-232; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:63-65; Halabi, op cit, 1:462-463; Ibn Kathir, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah. 1:479; al-Majlisi, op cit, 18:185.
60. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 287; Tabari, op cit, pp. 220; Ibn Shahrashub, al-Manaqib 1:59; Ibn al-Athir, op cit, pp. 65; Ibn Kathir, op cit, pp. 477, Halabi, op cit, pp. 463.
61. Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 9:46.
62. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:387; Ibn Shahrashub, al-Manaqib 1:50.
63. The Holy Qur'an's chapters (i.e. Surahs) are divided according to their revelation into Meccan and Medinan.
64. This holy Surah is the fourth in revelation. See al-Tamhid fi 'Ulum al-Qur'an 1:104.
65. This Surah is the sixth.
66. This Surah is the ninth.
67. These people, most probably, had invested their money in a Mecca economic center.
68. Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 2:221.

Those who look at man from a material prospect only concentrate all their attentions to the economic motive and base all other motives to it. The analysis of Petroshevsky, a famous Russian analyst of Islam and Iran and a professor of Oriental Studies Department at the University of Leningrad writes, "Meccan chiefs were among the traders and usurers. They opposed Muhammad openly. We could not say that the cause of this opposition was religious dogmatism; rather, the Prophet's propagation against their idolatry was the real motive of their opposition because their trade and political supremacy was greatly jeopardized. They assumed that his religious propagation would cause the fall of the Kaaba and the worship of their idols. This might result in fewer pilgrims to visit the Kaaba and a financial loss for them. In this way, the Kaaba might lose its political supremacy. For this reason, the Meccan chiefs interpreted Muhammad's religious propaganda as a direct threat to their own interests. They hated him for these reasons. See *Islam in Iran*, pp. 26. In view of our previous discussions, we do not have to say how baseless the statement of this professor is.

69. Tabarsi, *Majma' al-Bayan* 7:260; Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:51.

70. *Manaqib* 1:59.

71. Qizaz al-'Arab 2:258; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 3:144.

72. Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 1:337; Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:50; Ibn Kathir, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:506-507.

73. Ibn Kathir, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:130.

74. *Tarikh al-Tabari* 2:221.

75. *al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf* 1:197; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:66.

76. *al-Buladhari, op cit*, pp. 156-196; Ibn al-Athir, *op cit*, 2:66-70.

77. Ibn Husham, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah*; Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 2:222; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:76.

78. Tabari, *op cit*, pp. 221.

79. 'Umar Farrukh, *Tarikh Sadr al-Islam wa'l-Dawlah al-Umawiyyah*, pp. 54; 'Abbas Ziryab, *Sirat Rasulillah*, pp. 169.

80. Ibn Sa'd, *op cit*, pp. 204; Ibn Husham, *op cit*, pp. 344; Tabari, *op cit*, pp. 221-222.

81. *al-Buladhari, op cit*, pp. 227.

82. Ibn Sa'd, *op cit*, pp. 207. The number of emigrants is recorded even less. But the number of their names, recorded in books of history, is the same as the above. See Ibn Husham, *op cit*, pp. 346-353; Dr. Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, *The History of The Prophet of Islam*, pp. 122-132.

83. Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 1:357; *al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar* 18:418.

Tabarsi has recorded that Abu-Talib wrote the following poetic verses in his letter:

King of Abyssinia, be it known to you that Muhammad, just like Moses and Jesus son of Mary, is a Prophet.

He came with the true guidance with which they had come; and all of them guide to God's commission and seek His protection.

Verily, you are uttering his name in your Book through authentic, not fabricated, report.

So, do not associate others with God and follow Islam, for the path of the Right can never be darkened.

84. Tabarsi, *op cit*, pp. 43-44; Ibn Husham, *op cit*, pp. 356-360; Ibn al-Athir, *op cit*, 2:79-81.

85. It is reported that Ja'far ibn Abi-Talib was escorted by seventy Abyssinians on his way back to Mecca. All of these, converted to Islam after they had had a conversation with the Holy Prophet. See *Majma' al-Bayan* 3:234.

86. Ibn Sa'd, *op cit*, pp. 208.

87. Ibn Sa'd, *op cit*, 8:97; Ibn Husham, *op cit*, pp. 238; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 4:143; Ayati, *op cit*, pp. 132.

88. *al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar* 43:7.

The majority of Sunni scholars believe that Lady Fatimah was born five years after prophethood. See Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi, *Life of Fatimah*.

89. *Tafsir al-Burhan* 2:400.

90. *Majma' al-Bayan* 6:395.

91. *al-Majlisi, op cit*, 18, pp. 290; *Tafsir Nemuneh* 12:17. A physics-based explanation of the Night Ascension can be seen in *Tafsir Nemuneh* 12:17-20 and *Furugh Abadiyyat* 2:393.

92. Shaykh al-Kulayni, *al-Furu' min al-Kafi* 3:482-487; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 1:213; *Sahih al-Bukhari*; *al-Hurr al-'Amili, Wasa'il al-Shi'ah* 3:76; *al-Majlisi, op cit*, 18:238; *Tafsir al-Burhan* 2:933.

93. Allamah Amini, *al-Ghadir* 3:242.

94. Ibn Husham, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:375; Tabari, op cit, 2:225; al-Buladhari, *Ansab al-Ashraf* 1:234.
95. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:234; Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 1:209; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah* 4:58.
96. al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 230; Is op cit, 1:63; Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wal-Maghazi, pp. 159; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 19:18.
97. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah* 14:64; al-Fattal al-Naysaburi, *Rawdhat al-Wa'itin*, pp. 63.
98. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:63; Tabarsi, *I'lam al-Wara*, pp. 49.
99. Al-Fattal al-Naysaburi, *Rawdhat al-Wa'itin*, pp. 64; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, pp. 64; Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 50; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 14:64; see Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 160.
100. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, pp. 65; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 209; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 234; Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 159.
101. Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 50.
102. al-Majlisi, op cit, 19; Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 159.
103. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, pp. 65; Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 51.
104. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 161; Ibn Husham, op cit, 1:379; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 235; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 19.
105. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah* 13:254.
106. Ibn Wadhih, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:25; Tabarsi, *I'lam al-Wara*, pp. 50.
107. Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 50; Is op cit, 1:65.
108. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 161; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:234, Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:210; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:65.
109. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 162, 165, 166; al-Buladhari, op cit, p236; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 14:59; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:88; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 19:19.
110. That took place on the tenth year of Hegira. See Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:210; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:236.
111. Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 51-52.
112. *Nahj al-Balaghah*, letter 9.
113. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:236; Ibn al-Athir, op cit, 2:90.
114. Ibn Wadhih, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:29; the Holy Prophet called that year "Year of Sadness". See *Bihar al-Anwar* 19:25.
115. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 243; Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:57; Tabarsi, *I'lam al-Wara*, pp. 53.
116. Ibn Ishaq, op cit, pp. 243; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 57.
117. Amir Muhanna al-Khayyami, pp. 62-63; Al-Dulabi, *al-Dhurriyyah al-Tahirah*, pp. 63-64.
118. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Is'ab* 4:287; Dulabi, op cit, pp. 51.
119. Al-Kulayni, *al-Uzul min al-Kafi* 1:449; 'Allamah Amini, *al-Ghadir* 7:393; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 18:187; al-Ghadir 7:259, 388, 393; *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:20.
120. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 1:211; Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* (*Tarikh al-Tabari*) 2:229; al-Bayhaqi, *Dala'il al-Nubuwwah* 2:80; Ibn al-Athir, op cit 2:91.
121. Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wal-Maghazi, pp. 239; Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:58; Tabari, op cit, pp. 229; Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:67; Ibn al-Athir, op cit, pp. 91; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 80; Sibti Ibn al-Jawzi, *Tadhkirat al-Khawazz*, pp. 9.
122. Shaykh Mufid, *Awa'il al-Maqalat*, pp. 13; al-Fattal al-Naysaburi, op cit, pp. 155; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah* 14:65; Tabarsi, *Majma' al-Bayan* 3:287; Ibn Tawus; al-Tara'if, pp. 298.
123. Tabarsi, op cit, 7:260.
124. Shaykh al-Kulayni, op cit, 1:448; Saduq, *al-Amali*, pp. 366; al-Fattal al-Naysaburi, op cit, pp. 156; Allamah Amini, *al-Ghadir* 7:390; Mufid, *al-Ikhtizaz*, pp. 241.
125. The poems of Abu-Talib has been collected by Abu-Na'im 'Ali ibn Hamzah al-Bazri al-Tamimi, the linguist (375 AD). Shaykh Agha Buzurg Tehrani saw a copy of this book in the Library of Sayyid '«sa al-'Attar in Baghdad. This book comprised more than five thousand poetic verses and was published in al-Najaf in AH 1356. Imam 'Ali liked to see his father's poems being collected. He used to remark, "Learn these poems and teach them to your children. Abu-Talib was a follower of God's religion and his poems contain a lot of knowledge." al-Ghadir 7:393.
126. Tabarsi, *I'lam al-Wara*, pp. 45; *Majma' al-Bayan* 4:288; Allamah Amini, *al-Ghadir* 7:331.
127. Shaykh al-Kulayni, op cit, pp. 449. Tabarsi, *Majma' al-Bayan* 4:4, 287; Ibn Husham, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:277; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 14:72; al-Karajaki, *Kanz al-Fawa'id* 1:181; Amini, *al-Ghadir* 7:332.
128. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, pp. 55; Amini, op cit, p334; 'Asqalani, *al-Izabah* 4, pp. 116. Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 3:42.

129. Many books have been written on Abu-Talib's Faith. Some are referred to in Agha Buzurg's al-Dhari'ah 2:510-514. Allamah Amini in, al-Ghadir 7:330-403, deals with this issue in some details. He refers to nineteen books written by great Muslim scholars on Abu-Talib's belief in Islam. He cites forty narrations proving this fact. At the beginning of the eighth volume, he answers the questions of the opponents regarding Abu-Talib's belief in Islam.
 130. 'Abbas Ziryab, Sirat Rasulillah, pp. 178-179.
 131. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 4:282; Sahih Muslim 15:201.
 132. Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, Hayat Muhammad, pp. 315-316, 325.
 133. For further information, see commentaries on Surah al-Tahrim, verses 1-5.
 134. Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 7:97, Shaykh 'Abbas al-Qummi, Safinat al-Bihar 1:204.
 135. Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 5:458; Mas'udi, Muruj al-Dhahab 2:289; Hamdullah Muztafawi, Tarikh Gozideh, pp. 161.
 136. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 4:144; Hamdullah Muztafawi, Tarikh Gozideh, pp. 161.
 137. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 99; 'Abbas al-Qummi, op cit, pp. 204.
 138. 'Asqalani, al-Izabah 4:458; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 5:588.
 139. Ibn al-Athir, op cit, pp. 218.
 140. op cit, pp. 588; Ibn Husham, Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 4:294, Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 8:87.
 141. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 4:82.
 142. Al-Khayyami, Zawjat al-Nabi wa-Awladuhu, pp. 199.
 143. Ibn Hajar, op cit, pp. 458; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 8:87.
 144. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 90-91; Muhammad Ibn Habib, al-Muhabbar, pp. 84.
 145. Mamuqani, Tanqih al-Maqal 3:72.
 146. Mamuqani, op cit, Al-Tustari, Qamus al-Rijal 10:396.
 147. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 8:101; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 2:226; Ibn Hajar, al-Izabah 4:564.
 148. Ibn Sa'd, op cit; Ibn al-Athir, op cit, 2:224; Ibn Hajar, op cit, pp. 563.
 149. al-Alusi, Tafsir Ruh al-Ma'ani 21:147.
 150. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 8:103.
 151. Ibn al-Athir, op cit, 7:494; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 8:337; Qastalani, al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah 2:87.
 152. Islamic Encyclopedia; Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, Hayat Muhammad, pp. 316, 323.
- According to Orientalists, Muhammad passed by Zayd's house and accidentally saw his wife, Zaynab. He fell in love with her!! When Zayd noticed this, he divorced Zaynab who was one of the Prophet's relatives and was not unknown to the Prophet since, in those days, women's veil was not yet common!!
- To refute this fable, members of a family must know who is beautiful and who is not among them. We should add here that these Orientalists have got this fable from some baseless narrations recorded in some reference books, such as Tarikh Tabari 3:42; Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 8:101. Some other writers, too, have unknowingly adopted these sources. However, the Holy Qur'an has vividly revealed the truth. Of course, some Muslim scholars have proved the forgery of this story. One of these is Sayyid Murtadha 'Alam al-Huda, a well-known Shi'ite scholar (436 AH). He has described such reports as dirty and ugly. See Tanzih al-Anbiya', pp. 114. Al-Alusi considers the issue as a myth uttered by story-tellers. He says, "We should acquit the Prophet from such accusations." See Tafsir Ruh al-Ma'ani 22:24-25.
153. Yaqut al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan 4:9.
 154. Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 2:230; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:237.
 155. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 14:97 and 4:127-128.
 156. Tabari, op cit, pp. 230; Ibn Husham, Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 2:60.
 157. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 212.
 158. Tabari, op cit, 2:230; Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:62.
 159. Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:30.
 160. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:212; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 14:91; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 19:22. It is also reported that the Holy Prophet stayed at Aa'if more than this period.
 161. Nahj al-Balaghah, pp. 530.
 162. This incident took place at a place between Ta'if and Mecca. See al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 3:63.

163. Tabari, op cit, pp. 231; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 63.
164. Al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A"am 2: 167–168.
165. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 288–289.
166. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 288–289.
167. Tabari, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 56.
168. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:65–66; Tabari, Tarikh 2:232–233; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:237–238; Ibn Ishaq, al-Siyar wa'l-Maghazi, pp. 232.
- He invited the following tribes to Islam one by one: Banu-Fazarah, Ghassan, Banu-Murrah, Banu-Sulaym, Banu-'Abs, Banu-Harith, Banu-'Udhrah, al-Hadharimah, Banu-Nazr, and Banu-Buka'. However, none of them accepted his religion. See Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:216–217.
169. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:66; Zayni Dahlan, Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 1:145; Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A"am 2:157–176.
170. Ibn Kathir, al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 3:140.
171. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:216.

Chapter One: Emigration to Yathrib

Chapter Two: The Prophet's Major proceedings in Medina

Chapter Three: Conspiracies of the Jews

Chapter Four: Establishment of Muslim Military Forces

Chapter 1: Emigration to Yathrib

The Basis of Islam's Influences in Yathrib

Wadi al-Qura is a long valley along with the trade route from Yemen to Damascus. Along this valley, which runs from the north to the south, there were numerous oases surrounded by grass and pastures.¹ The caravans made use of them on their trips along this valley. On one of these oases, five hundred kilometers north of Mecca, there was the old city of Yathrib which was later called Madinat al-Rasul (the city of the Messenger) after the Holy Prophet's emigration to it and then al-Madinah (Medina).

The structure and social conditions of Yathrib was quite different from those of Mecca whose people were engaged in agriculture and orchard keeping. There lived in this city three great Jewish tribes of Banu'l-Nadhir, Banu-Qaynuqa' and Banu-Quray'ah. The two famous tribes of Aws and Khazraj are originally from the Yemen (i.e. descendants of Qahtan); but after the destruction of the Ma'rib Dam, they migrated from the south to live in Yathrib along with the Jewish inhabitants.

During the years of the Holy Prophet's promulgation of Islam in Mecca, some events occurred in Yathrib which paved the way for his emigration. These events had made this city the center for the propagation of Islam. Among these events were the following:

The Jews had owned the fertile lands around the city; they had created numerous palm groves, enjoyed wealth and excelled all others economically.² Once in a while, some quarrels occurred between them and the tribes of Aws and Khazraj. The Jews used to threaten them, saying, "In the near future, there shall come a new prophet whom we will follow and with his help we will root you out, just like the peoples of 'Ad and Iram."³

Because the Jews enjoyed a higher cultural status and they were respected by the idolaters, who believed in whatever the Jews would tell them, the issue of prophethood had rooted in the minds of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj.

Since older times, wars and bloodshed took place between the tribes of Aws and Khazraj. The last of these conflicts was the war of Bu'ath. These conflicts had resulted in a lot of casualties and damages on both sides who, because they had suffered greatly, looked forward to ceasefire and compromise. However, there was no impartial person to carry out such a mission. 'Abdullah Ibn Ubayy, who was not of the elderly chiefs of Khazraj, had announced his impartiality during the battle of Bu'ath and desired for a ceasefire and reconciliation so that he might govern both of them. He had prepared for the coronation ceremonies.⁴ However, the encounters of Aws and Khazraj with the Holy Prophet in Mecca changed the direction of events dramatically and 'Abdullah Ibn Ubayy lost his chance.

The First Muslim Group of Yathrib

Through their pilgrimages to Mecca, the people of Yathrib had known about the Holy Prophet's mission since the early years of his open invitations to Islam. Some of them had met him in Mecca and become Muslims; but later on, they had either died or been killed.⁵ They had never been able to invite anybody into Islam. In the eleventh year of prophethood, the Holy Prophet met six of the elderly chiefs of Khazraj during the season of Hajj and invited them to Islam. They told each other, "Be aware; this is the same prophet predicted by the Jews. Now we should not fall behind them in accepting his religion." Then, they accepted Islam by telling the Holy Prophet, "We have left our people in the worst form of enmity. We hope that God will make them conciliate through you. Now, we will return to Yathrib and start inviting them to Islam. If they accept this religion, there will be nobody dearer to us than you."

Upon their return to Yathrib, this group invited people to Islam. Not long after, the name of Islam was heard in every house of Yathrib and the Holy Prophet's name was uttered by everybody.⁶

The First Treaty of 'Aqabah

By the twelfth year of the prophethood, twelve people of Yathrib swore allegiance to the Holy Prophet at the foot of the 'Aqabah of Mina⁷ at the time of Hajj.⁸ Among this group, ten people were from Khazraj and two others from Aws. This showed that these two groups had set their quarrel aside and showed interest in coming under the banner of Islam. They swore that they would not associate anybody with God, steal, engage themselves in adultery, kill their own children, accuse one another, and they would

obey the Holy Prophet in performing good deeds.⁹

The Holy Prophet promised them heaven as a reward for their keeping this treaty.¹⁰ After the Hajj ceremony, they returned to Yathrib and asked the Holy Prophet to appoint a teacher to teach them the Holy Qur'an and the principles of Islam. The Holy Prophet sent Muz'ab ibn 'Umayr to them.¹¹ Due to his hard work in propagation, a great number of people accepted the Islamic faith. In Mecca, the chiefs opposed Islam; but the youth and the deprived ones accepted it as religion. However, in Yathrib, it was the other way round; the chiefs pioneered to adopt Islam and people naturally followed their suit. This was one of the factors for the spread of Islam in this city.

The Second Treaty of 'Aqabah

In the thirteenth year of prophethood and at the Hajj ceremony, a group of seventy-five people, eleven of whom were from Aws and two women, entered Mecca. On the twelfth of Dhu'l-Hijjah, the second treaty of 'Aqabah was concluded with a lot of precautions. The signers pledged that if the Holy Prophet emigrated to their city, they would protect him like their own relatives and children and fight anybody who would fight against him. For this reason, this treaty came to be called bay'at al-harb (the pledge of war). At the end of this meeting, the signers elected twelve representatives to manage their affairs upon their return to Yathrib.¹²

The initial Stages of emigration to Yathrib

Despite all the precautions that the Holy Prophet and the people of Yathrib had taken, Quraysh found out the secrets behind this treaty. Consequently, they endeavored to arrest the treaty signers. Since those who paid homage to the Holy Prophet had left Mecca in time, they could flee to safety except for one who was arrested.

After the departure of the people of Yathrib, Quraysh increased their pressure on Muslims, because they realized that the Holy Prophet had safeguarded a stronghold in Yathrib; they therefore increased their pressures on Muslims. Once again, life in Mecca had become intolerable.¹³ For this reason, the Holy Prophet ordered Muslims to emigrate to Yathrib, telling them, "Go to Yathrib; God will provide you with brethren and a safe place."¹⁴ For two and a half months, (i.e. from the middle of Dhu'l-Hijjah up to the end of Safar)¹⁵ Muslims gradually headed for Yathrib despite all hardships that Quraysh put in their way. Hence, no Muslim remained in Mecca except for the Holy Prophet, Imam 'Ali, Abu-Bakr and some others. In the history of Islam, those Muslims who emigrated to Yathrib are called muhajirun (Emigrants) and those who helped out the Holy Prophet in Yathrib are called Ansar.

Conspiracy of murdering the Holy Prophet

After the settlement in Yathrib of Meccan Muslims, the chiefs of Quraysh realized that Yathrib had turned into a strong shelter for the Holy Prophet and his followers, and that people of Yathrib were ready to fight

for their faith. For this reason, they feared the Holy Prophet's emigration. This matter caused the Quraysh to face several problems:

- (1) Muslims were no longer under their domination and control, because Yathrib was an independent city and Quraysh had no power there.
- (2) Since people of Yathrib had convened a war treaty with the Holy Prophet, he might then start a siege on Mecca for revenge.¹⁶
- (3) Even without a probable war, Quraysh were still at a loss, because Yathrib was a lucrative market for their merchants and they would face economic disasters through losing control over this city.
- (4) Yathrib was on the trade route from Mecca to Damascus and Muslims could easily make this route unsafe and vulnerable; they might also jeopardize trade as a whole.

These worries forced the chiefs of Quraysh to gather at Dar al-Nidwah (the consular center) for further consultation and deliberations. Some proposed that the Holy Prophet be exiled or imprisoned. However, these two proposals were rejected for certain reasons. Finally, they decided to murder him although such an act would not look very simple, because Banu-Hashim would seek revenge. To avoid such expected vengeance, they decided to appoint one young man from every tribe so that they could murder him in his bed. In this way, Banu-Hashim could not rise to avenge because the assassination would have taken place with several men from different tribes; and Banu-Hashim could not fight all these tribes; so, they would have to receive ransom and blood-money and the story would come to an end. To carry out their plot, chiefs of Quraysh selected the first night of Rabi' al-Awwal. God refers to their conspiracy with the following words:

And when those who disbelieved devised plans against you that they might confine you, slay you, or drive you away; and they devised plans and Allah too had arranged a plan; and Allah is the best of planners. (8:30)

The Prophet's Migration

Through Divine revelation, the Holy Prophet knew about the conspiracy of Dar al-Nidwah; he was then ordered by God to leave Mecca. He informed Imam 'Ali (a.s) about his plan and ordered him to replace him in bed that night and cover himself with his bedspread. Imam 'Ali (a.s) immediately accepted this mission.

Accompanied by Abu- Bakr, the Holy Prophet headed for Thawr Cave to the south of Mecca that night and stayed there for three days until chiefs of Quraysh despaired of finding him. He wanted to find a safe time to continue his migration. God, in the Holy Qur'an, refers to the Holy Prophet's loneliness and to the worries of his companion. Despite all precautions that the chiefs of Quraysh had taken, they could not locate the Holy Prophet:

If you will not aid him, Allah certainly being the second of the two, when they were both in the cave, when he said to his companion: Grieve not, surely Allah is with us, So Allah sent down His tranquility upon him and strengthened him with hosts which you did not see, and made lowest the word of those who disbelieved; and the word of Allah that is the highest; and Allah is Mighty, Wise. (9:40)

A Great Sacrifice

That night, Imam ‘Ali (a.s) replaced the Holy Prophet in bed. The armed forces of Quraysh besieged the Holy Prophet's house. In the morning, they drew their swords and entered the house in a rampage, but they found Imam ‘Ali, not the Holy Prophet, in the bed. Realizing that they had been betrayed, they charged against ‘Ali. Drawing his sword, he stood opposite against and refused to tell them where the Holy Prophet was.¹⁷

Anybody who would replace the Holy Prophet in bed had little chance to survive. However, ‘Ali, who had replaced the Holy Prophet in bed many times before that event, such as he had done when they were besieged in Abu-Talib Col, in purpose of securing his safety, sacrificed his life to protect the Holy Prophet's. Referring to this bravery and sacrifice of Imam ‘Ali, Almighty God says:

And among men is he who sells himself to seek the pleasure of Allah; and Allah is Affectionate to the servants. (2:207)

Exegetes of the Holy Qur'an agree that this verse was revealed on account of the sacrifice and bravery of ‘Ali at that night, which is called laylat al-mabit.¹⁸

Referring to the conspiracy of Quraysh during that dangerous night, Imam ‘Ali, in one of his sermons, describes his mental condition as follows:

The Prophet ordered me to spend that night on his bed (while he would be leaving for Medina) and use my life as a shield for the protection of his life. I accepted it on the spot. I would be glad to die for him. The Prophet left me and I slept on his bed. The Quraysh armed forces entered, hoping to murder him. When they charged at the room where I was staying, I stood up, drew my sword and protected myself. This is the issue of which God is aware and people know.”¹⁹

The Prophet's Arrival at Quba

Prior to his departure from Mecca, the Holy Prophet asked Imam ‘Ali to give back people's deposits²⁰ and prepare for the departure of his daughter, Fatimah, and some other men and women from Banu-Hashim, who had not yet departed Mecca.²¹

On the fourth of Rabi' al-Awwal (the 14th year after prophethood), the Holy Prophet left Thaur Cave for Yathrib.²² Eight days after that, he arrived at the district of Quba, on the outskirts of Yathrib, where the

tribe Banu-’Amr ibn ‘Awf lived.²³ He waited there for a few days, waiting for ‘Ali's arrival. During this time, he established a mosque there.²⁴

After the Holy Prophet's migration, ‘Ali (a.s) stayed for three days in Mecca and carried out his obligations and tasks.²⁵ He then accompanied his mother Fatimah bint Asad and Fatimah daughter of the Holy Prophet and Fatimah daughter of al-Zubayr ibn ‘Abd al-Muttalib and two others to Quba where they joined the Holy Prophet.²⁶

Arrival at Yathrib

Upon the arrival of ‘Ali at Quba, the Holy Prophet headed for Yathrib with a group of Banu’l-Najjar (his maternal uncles). On their way, he performed the first Friday Prayer at the resort of Banu-Salim ibn ‘Awf. Upon their arrival at Yathrib, they were passionately welcomed by people. The heads and chiefs of the tribes took the rein of the Holy Prophet's palfrey and begged him to stay with them. He answered, “Let the camel proceed; it has a mission to perform; wherever it sleeps, I will stay.”

By this decision, the Holy Prophet most probably wanted not to give the honor of being the host to any special group so that he could avoid future conflicts. His discretion was similar to one concerning the place of the installation of the Black Stone of the Kaaba.

Finally, the camel came to rest in the district of Banu’l-Najjar, on a piece of land belonging to the two orphans, close to the house of Abu-Ayyub Ansari (Khalid ibn Zayd Khazraji). All people were now crowding around the Holy Prophet; they asked him to give them the honor to be their guest. Abu-Ayyub took the Holy Prophet's baggage to his own home and the Holy Prophet followed. He stayed there until the Masjid al-Nabi (The Prophet's Mosque) was established and there was a room built next to it for the Holy Prophet to live in.²⁷

The Start of the Hijri Calendar

The Prophet's migration was the basis of a great change; it was a focal point in the progress of Islam. Due to this historic event, Muslims were free from shackles and they could live freely and run gatherings. This was of utmost significance at that time. If this migration had not occurred, Islam would have been strangled in Mecca and it would have never had any chance to grow. After the migration, Muslims could establish their political and military organization and Islam grew in the Arabian Peninsula.

However, the following two questions require answer: Who established this calendar for the first time? Since when was it put into effect? Muslim historians unanimously agree that this feat was done by ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab after consultation and deliberations with the Holy Prophet's grand companions.²⁸ However, another research indicates that the initiator for this feat was the Holy Prophet himself. Some great Muslim historians have written that the Holy Prophet, after his migration to Yathrib in Rabi’ al-Awwal, ordered that events should be referred in relation to this day.²⁹ The documents for this claim are some of the Holy Prophet's letters, documents and communications which are handed down to us and

dated from the above date. There are two samples here:

(1) The Holy Prophet signed a treaty with the Jews of Muqna ending with the following statement: Written by ‘Ali ibn Abi-Talib in the ninth year of Hegira.³⁰

(2) In a treaty with the Christians of Najran, we read the following: The Holy Prophet ordered ‘Ali to write down: This treaty is signed in the fifth year of Hegira.³¹

Based on some documents, the recording of events and affairs up to the fifth year of Hegira took place on the basis of months alone. Here are some such documents:

Abu-Sa’id Khidri says: Fasting during the month of Ramadhan was enacted as obligatory one month after the change of the kiblah (i.e. the direction faced in prayers) during the eighteenth month of Hegira.³²

‘Abdullah Ibn Unays, the commander of the army sent to war against Sufyan ibn Khalid writes: I left Medina on Monday, the fifth of Muharram; the fiftieth month of Hegira.”³³

Muhammad ibn Maslamah, recounting the campaign against the tribe of Qurta,³⁴ writes: I left Medina on the tenth of Muharram and returned on the last night of Muharram, the fiftieth month after Hegira, after a leave of nineteen days.”³⁵

For these reasons, the founder of the Hijri calendar was the Holy Prophet;³⁶ and since, in the reign of ‘Umar, there appeared some disagreements on the exact dates of some historical events,³⁷ he formalized this calendar on the sixteenth year of Hegira, and in place of Rabi’ al-Awwal—the month in which the Holy Prophet arrived in Medina—he appointed Muharram as the starting point of the Hijri calendar.³⁸

Chapter 2: The Prophet's Major proceedings in Medina

The Construction of a Mosque

Having settled in Yathrib,³⁹ the Holy Prophet deemed necessary to construct a mosque in order to provide Muslims with a center for religious education and a place for their congregation at Friday Prayers. For this reason, he purchased the ground on which the camel had sat on his first arrival and which belonged to the two orphans, from their guardian and constructed a mosque with the assistance of Muslims.⁴⁰ This mosque came to be called Masjid al-Nabi. This was the Holy Prophet's first social act after Hegira. Upon the completion of the mosque, two chambers were erected close to it as a house for the Holy Prophet and his wives.⁴¹ Then, he left Abu-Ayyub's home to live in his new chambers⁴² until his demise.

The Suffah Followers

Upon the migration to Yathrib, the Ansar housed the Muhajirun and prepared their accommodation to the best of their abilities.⁴³ However, the Suffah followers were a group of strangers and poor individuals who were deprived of everything. A shade was established at the end side of the mosque as a temporary resort for them. The Holy Prophet took good care of them so far as he provided them with food and encouraged the rich Ansar to help them. This group who were zealous in their religion, passionate and virtuous Muslims came to be called the Suffah followers.⁴⁴ Any new comer to Medina would join his relatives; otherwise, he joined the Suffah group. The number of this group varied: those who could find accommodation would leave the group and at times new comers would join them.⁴⁵

General Treaty (Contract)

Having settled in Medina, the Holy Prophet worked for guaranteeing better social conditions for its people. In order to envisage and achieve great ultimate goals, he had to have peace and tranquility within the community. Of course, this was hard to achieve because the social structure in Medina was quite heterogeneous. There were different groups of Arabs who belonged to either the tribe of Aws or that of Khazraj. There were also some Jews living in this city who were in touch with those Arabs. There were also new Muslim comers from Mecca. This state of affairs could have ended in social unrest and disasters. For this reason, the Holy Prophet initiated the draft of the first constitution or the greatest historic document in Islam. This contract defined the rights of the citizens of the various groups and secured peace and justice for all citizens. Here, we will mention some items and paragraphs of this great contract:

(1) Muslims and Jews⁴⁶ constitute a single nation (ummah).

(2) Muslims and Jews are free to follow their faith.

(3) The emigrants of Quraysh, like the pre-Islamic days, should pay blood-money. If anyone of them commits homicide or becomes captive, others should pay the ransom in accordance with accepted terms among believers and free the captive in this way.

(4) Banu-'Amr ibn 'Awf (a tribe of Ansar) and other branches should pay blood-money like others.

(5) Nobody is allowed to give asylum to anybody's slaves, children or other family members without his consent.

(6) The signers of this contract collectively have to defend the city of Medina.

(7) Medina is a sacred city and any kind of bloodshed is forbidden there.

(8) The final judge and arbitrator for the settlement of the probable disagreements and conflicts will be Muhammad (S).⁴⁷

A cursory look at the events of those days shows that this contract, which was concluded in the earlier months of the Holy Prophet's arrival at Medina,⁴⁸ was effective in securing tranquility for citizens. Up to the second year of Hegira, i.e. until the Battle of Badr which occurred due to the conspiracies of Banu-Qaynuqa', no disturbance or turbulence is recorded.

A Brotherly Contract between Muhajirun and Ansar

The Prophet's second social act of significance during the first year of Hegira⁴⁹ was the convention of a brotherly treaty between the Muhajirun and Ansar. Previously, these two Muslim groups had some rivalry over business and racial issues, because Ansar had migrated from the south (Yemen) and were from the Qahtani race, and Muhajirun belonged to the Northern Arabs and to the 'Adnani race; and during the days of Ignorance, there were severe racial conflicts between the two.

Ansar also used to work in agriculture and gardening, while the Meccan Arabs were traders who considered agriculture lowly and classless affair. Furthermore, these two groups had been brought up in two quite different social settings and now they were considered religious brethren. They had gathered in Medina and the probabilities existed that the remnants of the previous cultures still remained in their souls and minds; and that some ancient obstacles might be renewed. For this reason, the Holy Prophet initiated a brotherly contract between these two groups designating each Muhajir (Meccan emigrant) as a brother for a corresponding Ansar,⁵⁰ except for 'Ali who was proclaimed a brother for every Muslim although the Holy Prophet fraternized him with himself.⁵¹

Of course, in concluding this brotherly convention between Muhajirun and Ansar, their degrees of faith and virtue were taken into consideration.⁵² The brotherhood of the Holy Prophet and 'Ali, both of whom belonged to Muhajirun is justifiable.

This treaty brought forth more unity among Muhajirun and Ansar. This is shown in the financial support of Ansar to Muhajirun.

At the time of the distribution of the booties of the Battle of Banu'l-Nadhir, Ansar gave them all to Muhajirun⁵³. Ansar's immense generosity caused Muhajirun to thank them in the presence of the Holy Prophet.⁵⁴ God has appreciated their benevolence in the following words:

It is the poor who fled, those who were driven from their homes and their possessions, seeking grace of Allah and His pleasure, and assisting Allah and His Apostle: These it is that are the truthful.

And those who made their abode in the city and in the faith before them love those who have fled to them, and do not find in their hearts a need of what they are given, and prefer them before themselves though poverty may afflict them, and whoever is preserved from the niggardliness of his soul, these it is that are the successful ones.

Nonaggression Pact with Three Jewish Tribes

Besides a general treaty in which both Aws and Khazraj and other Jews of these two tribes had participated, the Holy Prophet convened separate treaties with the three Jewish tribes of Banu-Qaynuqa', Banu'l-Nadhir and Banu-Quraydhah. This treaty could be termed a nonaggression pact.

As we have already said, these three tribes lived in Medina and its suburbs.⁵⁵ In this contract, the signatories were obliged:

- (1) Not to cooperate with the enemies of Muslims and not to provide them with horses and weaponry;
- (2) Not to take any step against the Holy Prophet and Muslims;
- (3) To be punished by the Holy Prophet through killing them or enslaving their children and wives or confiscating their wealth if they ever tried to ignore any article of this contract.

This contract was signed by the heads of the three abovementioned tribes, i.e. Mukhayriq, Huyay ibn Akhtab and Ka'b ibn Asad.⁵⁶ Apparently, in those days the Jews neither felt any threat from Muslims nor reckoned their impartiality as an asset, since they assumed the Muslims' other enemies would suffice them. That was the reason for their taking the lead in signing the contract.⁵⁷ Thus, through these proceedings, the environments of Medina and the neighboring districts became calm; and the Holy Prophet was at ease. Now it was the time for him to confront Quraysh's inevitable threats and to prepare himself for the establishment of a new society.

The Hypocrites

In addition to the Jews, there was another group of opponents, called munafiqun (hypocrites) by the Holy Qur'an. They were formed after the Holy Prophet's migration to Yathrib. The members of this group called themselves Muslims on the surface, but they were actually either idolaters⁵⁸ or Jews.⁵⁹ Having observed Islam's daily increasing popularity and their lacking of power, the hypocrites kept their faces, pretended to be Muslims and entered the rank of Muslims, but behind the curtains, they had some secret affairs with the Jews and conspired against Muslims. Their leader was 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy who had prepared himself for ascendance to power in Yathrib. However, he was deprived of such leadership due to the Holy Prophet's arrival at the political arena. For this reason, he secretly hated the Holy Prophet.⁶⁰

The hypocrites performed a series of destructive actions against Islam. In Surahs al-Baqarah (No. 2), Al-'Imran (No. 3), al-Tawbah or Bara'ah (No. 9), al-Nisa' (No. 4), al-Ma'idah (No. 5), al-Anfal (No. 8), al-'Ankabut (No. 29), al-Ahzab (No. 33), al-Fath (No. 48), al-Hadid (No. 57), al-Munafiqun (No. 63), al-Hashr (No. 59) and al-Tahrim (No. 66), the Holy Qur'an has referred to them. It was more difficult for the Holy Prophet to confront this group than the unbelievers or the Jews, because he could not fight them since they pretended to be Muslims. The sabotage and obstruction of this group continued in a systematized way up to the death of 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy in the ninth year of Hegira.⁶¹ Later, this

movement lost its vigor gradually.

Chapter 3: Conspiracies of the Jews

The Jews' Sabotage

The Jews, like Christians, were aware of the advent of the Holy Prophet. In the word of the Holy Qur'an, the people of the Book considered the Holy Prophet their own child:

Those whom We have given the Book recognize him as they recognize their sons. (2: 146)

They had seen his attributes in the Torah and the Gospel;⁶² they were therefore expected to become Muslims even earlier than the tribes of Aws and Khazraj, because the Jews had threatened them that they would take revenge on them when the Promised Prophet would come with the Divine Mission. However, only a few of them accepted Islam. At the beginning of Hegira, however, their relationships with Muslims were usual as is concluded from their signing of the nonaggression pact with the Holy Prophet. However, this tranquility did not last long; after a while, they started quarrelling. Among their sabotages was their denial of the Holy Prophet's unique attributes by claiming that they could not find Muhammad's traits and characteristics in their Book and that the attributes of the Promised Prophet could not be identified in the Holy Prophet.⁶³ The Holy Qur'an has condemned this approach:

And when there came to them a Book from Allah verifying that which they have, and for a time they used to pray for victory against those who disbelieve. But when there came to them (prophet) that which they did not recognize, they disbelieved in him; so Allah's curse is on the unbelievers. (2:89)

The Jews engaged in sabotage through different approaches:

- (1) They had irrational and illogical demands, such as receiving a letter from the skies.⁶⁴
- (2) They put out complicated religious questions to disturb the Muslims' thoughts and minds.⁶⁵ However, they always received strong reactions and answers from the Holy Prophet.
- (3) They endeavored to weaken the base of the Muslims' faith by saying:

Avow belief in that which has been revealed to those who believe, in the first part of the day, and disbelieve at the end of it, perhaps they go back on their religion. (3:72)
- (4) They attempted to bring about division and turbulence among Muslims. Sha's Ibn Qays, a Jew, tried to enliven once again the old hatreds among Aws and Khazraj. However, this act became futile through the proper act of the Holy Prophet.⁶⁶

Motives of the Jews' Oppositions

The Jews were generally interest-seeking, greedy and stubborn people.⁶⁷ The Holy Qur'an regards the polytheists and them as the most violent enemies of Islam:

Certainly you will find the most violent of people in enmity for those who believe to be the Jews and those who are polytheists, and you will certainly find the nearest in friendship to those who believe to be those who say: We are Christians; this is because there are priests and monks among them and because they do not behave proudly. (5:82)

This was because these two groups were not rational beings and they did not stop showing their animosities and aggressions against Islam. The Jews opposed Islam for the following reasons:

(1) The Jews treated the Holy Prophet racially; they were jealous because he was Jew; rather an Arab.⁶⁸

(2) Prior to the influence of Islam in Yathrib, the Jews enjoyed a better socio-economic status because they had had control over the economy of the city through crafts, industry, agriculture,⁶⁹ and usury.⁷⁰ At the same time, taking advantage of the differences between Aws and Khazraj, the Jews weakened their powers. Through their contracts with Banu-Qaynuqa' who belonged to the tribe of Khazraj and through unity with Banu'l-Nadhir and Banu-Quray'ah who belonged to the tribe of Aws, they could easily create animosity between these two tribes.⁷¹ After the Holy Prophet's migration, the two tribes united and went under the banner of Islam thus increasing the power of Islam tremendously. The Jews realized that the dominating power would very soon be in the hands of Muslims and they would inevitably be the big losers. This situation was quite unbearable for them.

(3) The Jewish clerks and rabbis were prestigious; they enjoyed a lot of respect among the illiterate people who blindly followed them without questioning. At times, these clerks and rabbis issued orders contrary to God's. Nevertheless, people followed them without asking.⁷² Furthermore, they used to receive a lot of gifts and charities as the protectors of the Torah. They therefore feared that they might lose this source of income with the progress of Islam.⁷³

(4) They showed animosity to Archangel Gabriel who brought God's messages to Muhammad (S);⁷⁴ they used this as an excuse to antagonize the Holy Prophet.

(5) The Holy Qur'an condemned many of the Jews' acts and behaviors and many of the Torah's instructions⁷⁵ and disagreed with the Jews in many ordinances.⁷⁶ This issue had its roots in the past. Prior to Islam, they were culturally superior to the idolaters and they were respected by the unbelievers.⁷⁷ After the advent of Islam, this trend, more or less, continued; sometimes Muslims in Medina used to ask them some religious questions and they translated the Torah into Arabic for Muslims, while their religious data were mostly skewed and erroneous. For this reason, the Holy Prophet recommended Muslims not to accept their statements.⁷⁸ Once, the Holy Prophet told 'Umar ibn al-

Khattab, “I swear to God in Whose hands is my soul that if Moses were alive now, he would follow me.”⁷⁹ These issues added to the Jews' hatred and enmity towards Islam; they sometimes used to say, “This man has planned to disagree with all of our plans.”⁸⁰

Changing the kiblah

While living in Mecca and sometime after Hegira, the Holy Prophet used to pray facing the direction of Jerusalem. After the Jews surfaced their enmity, they used this issue as a means to oppose him; they said, “Muhammad is not independent in his religion; he uses our kiblah through different techniques.” They over exaggerated this issue. Now, the Holy Prophet was under undue pressure. At nights, he used to stare at the skies, waiting for some revelations so that the Jews' propaganda could be stopped. Seventeen months after Hegira,⁸¹ while he was performing the Noon (ʔuhr) Prayer with Muslims facing Jerusalem, the Angel of Revelation came to the Holy Prophet and ordered him to change the direction of kiblah towards Kaaba; therefore, he faced the Kaaba at that very prayer. This was God's command:

Indeed, We see the turning of your face to heaven, so We shall surely turn you to a kiblah which you shall like; turn then your face towards the sacred mosque. And wherever you are, turn your face towards it, and those who have been given the Book most surely know that it is the truth from their Lord; and Allah is not at all Heedless of what they do. (2: 144)

The change of kiblah, which brought forth independence for Muslims, brought disastrous consequences for the Jews. They looked for another excuse and asked, “Why have Muslims put aside their previous kiblah?” Prior to the change of kiblah, God made the Holy Prophet realize their position; He told him that east or west, everywhere belonged to God and people should face any direction which He orders when they perform their prayers. God told the Holy Prophet that no place on the earth has any innate honor of its own:

The fool will say: what has turned them from their kiblah which they had? Say: The east and the west belong only to Allah; He guides whom He likes to the right path. (2: 142)

With this answer, the Jews had no excuse to delve into negative propaganda and with the change of kiblah, the common grounds between the two old and new religions were gone and the relationship between the two weakened:

And even if you bring to those who have been given the Book every sign, they would not follow your kiblah nor can you be a follower of their kiblah; neither are they the followers of each other's kiblah; and if you follow their desires after the knowledge that has come to you, then you shall most surely be among the unjust. (2: 145)

What is understood from the Qur'an is to stop the Jews' nagging and to test Muslims as to what degree they are obedient to Allah:

And thus We have made you a medium (just) nation that you may be witnesses over the people and that the Apostle may be a witness over you; and We did not make that which you would have to be the kiblah but that We might distinguish him who follows the Apostle from him who turns back upon his heels, and this was surely hard except for those whom Allah has guided aright; and Allah was not going to make your faith to be fruitless; most surely Allah is Affectionate, Merciful. (2: 143)

In some narrations, this test of faith has been interpreted in the following way: Meccan people preferred the Kaaba; but God made Jerusalem the kiblah to distinguish the true and genuine believers who, contrary to their own wishes and only for God's sake, worship Him in this issue from those acting obstinately. For the people of Medina who preferred Jerusalem, God made the Kaaba the Muslims' kiblah so that these two could be identified.⁸²

Chapter 4: Establishment of Muslim Military Forces

Formation of the Islamic Army

During his stay in Mecca and propagation of Islam, the Holy Prophet acted only as a Divinely commissioned leader. His activities were restricted to guiding people and struggling against the idolaters. However, after he settled in Yathrib, his function included both religious and political leadership, because the social conditions had drastically changed in Medina and the Holy Prophet was taking great steps in founding a new society based on Islamic instructions. For this reason, he could clearly envisage the probable hardships and obstacles. As a farsighted political figure, he was constantly searching for proper political solutions. His convention of a brotherly treaty between two groups of Muslims; the initiation and completion of a general treaty; and the convening of a nonaggression pact with the Jews—all these were within his precautionary activities.

The Qur'anic texts carrying political and social orders that were revealed in Medina were all appropriate guidelines for the Holy Prophet's proceedings. Then, he was ordered to prepare for war and defense.⁸³ Consequently, he decided to form a defense force. The establishment of such a force was significant because the Meccan unbelievers, who could no longer torture Muslims after the Holy Prophet's Hegira, might probably plot a military strike at the very center of Islam (i.e. Medina).

For this reason, the Holy Prophet planned initial stages for the formation of an Islamic army so as to encounter any such probabilities. This army was initially very limited in human sources and military equipment. However, within a short time, it developed in both aspects. At the beginning of this army's formation, garrisons dispatched for military operations or surveillance did not exceed sixty; and this number did not exceed two hundred at most.⁸⁴ In the second year and the Battle of Badr, the number was a little more than three hundred. However, in the eighth year and during the Meccan siege, the number of the Islam's soldiers was nearly ten thousand well-equipped soldiers.

Thus, the trend of events showed that the Holy Prophet's predictions came true. Beginning with the second year, there were numerous conflicts and confrontations between the believers and the unbelievers. If Muslims had lacked the required military forces, they would have been completely wiped out by their enemies.⁸⁵

Military Maneuvers

With the small number of the armed forces which the Holy Prophet had at his disposal, he prepared for a series of military operations which could not be considered full-fledged wars. In none of these maneuvers did any military confrontation occur. Examples of such expeditions were the following:

The 30-man strong expedition called Hamzah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib in the eighth month of Hegira chased the caravan of Quraysh on their return to Mecca.

The 60-man strong expedition called 'Ubaydah ibn al-Harith in the eighth month of Hegira prosecuted Abu-Sufyan.

The 20-man strong expedition called Sa'd Ibn Abi-Waqqaz in the ninth month of Hegira prosecuted the caravan of Quraysh but did not reach it.⁸⁶ In the eleventh month of Hegira, the Holy Prophet, accompanied by a group of Muslims, chased the caravan of Quraysh up to the land of Abwa but no confrontation took place. During this expedition, he convened a treaty with the tribe of Banu-ʿAmrah according to which they promised to remain impartial and not to cooperate with the enemies of Islam. In Rabi' al-Awwal (the twelfth month), the Holy Prophet chased Kurz ibn Jabir al-Fahri, who had plundered a Medinan flock, up to the land of Badr but missed him. In the month of Jumada al-Akhir, the Holy Prophet, accompanied by one hundred and fifty (or two hundred) troops, chased the trade caravan of Quraysh, headed by Abu-Sufyan on his journey to Damascus, but this time, he could not reach the caravan. However, during this time, he convened a treaty with the tribe Banu-Mudlij and returned to Medina.⁸⁷ These kinds of small military operations could be called military maneuvers and strength show, but not real wars.

The Prophet's Objectives of Military Maneuvers

According to several documents and pieces of evidence, the Holy Prophet's purpose behind these wars was neither plundering the enemies nor creating wars and conflicts, because, as we have already seen, the number of the Islamic troops was small if compared with the enemies. In some of these wars, Ansar took part although they had promised, in the course of the treaty of the second 'Aqabah, to protect the Holy Prophet at Medina and not to be involved in wars outside it.

Furthermore, the citizens of Medina were farmers and gardeners; they were not in the habit of plundering as the nomad tribes were. The conflicts between Aws and Khazraj were local conflicts and it was the Jews who ignited the fire of difference between these two tribes. They had never plundered any tribe. Furthermore, when confronted by enemies, Muslims never showed any inclination to war. Hamzah,

for example, avoided engaging himself in war when an impartial person acted as an intermediary to stop it.⁸⁸ Considering all these factors, the Holy Prophet carried out all those military maneuvers for specific objectives. The following were among his aims:

(1) The Holy Prophet aimed at threatening the trade route from Quraysh to Damascus. The Meccan trade caravans used to move between Medina and the shores of the Red Sea as they could not go more than 130 kilometers away from the city.⁸⁹ Through his maneuvers, the Holy Prophet wished to let Quraysh know that if they wanted to hinder the Muslims' free actions in Medina, their trade routes would be endangered and their goods could be confiscated by Muslims.⁹⁰ This threat was definitely a warning for the Meccan unbelievers for whom trade was of vital significance. This treaty forced them to review their strategies against Muslims.

No doubt, Muslims were right in confiscating the Meccan goods and properties since they had forced Muhajirun out of their homes in Mecca and had confiscated their belongings.⁹¹ It should be noted that the conflicts were not personal anymore; rather, these conflicts had turned into conflicts between two powers each of which did its best to weaken the other. Later on, this threat became real and Quraysh, having been worried about the cutting off of the trade route to Damascus, tried to find another route.

From Muslims' point of view, the economic damage to the enemy and the creation of worry and anxiety to them seemed more significant than the booties they could collect. This could be seen in Muslims' not receiving any wealth from the unbelievers at the expeditions of 'Abdullah Ibn Jahsh and Badr.

(2) These maneuvers were a show of Muslims' military force and a warning to the Meccan unbelievers not to think of military expeditions against them. It was also aimed at showing the unbelievers that Muslims were strong enough to defend themselves. While the Holy Prophet was in Mecca and the number of Muslims was small, chiefs of Quraysh could easily envisage their economic fall. Now that the city of Medina had turned into a stronghold for Islam, how could the money-minded Meccan people ever feel safe? For this reason, Muslims had to be prompt so that they could discourage the unbelievers from planning anything hostile against this city.

(3) Most probably, these military actions were meant to warn the Jews of Medina as well, who had revealed their enmity, so that they might stop their conspiracies and military operations.⁹²

The Expedition of 'Abdullah Ibn Jahsh

In the month of Rajab of the second year, the Holy Prophet sent 'Abdullah Ibn Jahsh and eight others on a reconnaissance mission. The Holy Prophet gave him a sealed letter and asked him to open it after two days of walking and do as he is directed to do and not to force any one of his followers to follow him. Having walked for two days, he opened the letter in which the following was written: "If you read my letter, continue with your journey and stand on the land of Nakhlah between Mecca and Ta'if. There, waylay the movements of Quraysh and inform us of the result."

‘Abdullah told his followers that he would follow the orders. He also told them that if they were ready to be martyred, they could stay lest they were free to leave him. All of them showed readiness. They therefore stayed at Nakhlah. There was a Quraysh caravan, headed by ‘Amr al-Hadhrami, returning to Mecca from Ta’if. ‘Abdullah and his followers wished to attack the caravan but it was the last day of Rajab. They told each other that if Quraysh entered Mecca, they could not attack them; and if they attacked them there, they would disobey and violate the prohibition of war during the sacred months.

Finally, they attacked the caravan, killing ‘Amr and taking two prisoners. Then, they returned to Medina with the booties and the prisoners. However, the Holy Prophet was angry with them for their act. He even refused to receive the prisoners or the booties, saying, “I had already warned you not to fight during the sacred months.”

This event had drastic consequences; Muslims did not appreciate this bloodshed during the sacred months and reprimanded ‘Abdullah for his action. On the other hand, Quraysh used this event as a pretext to defame the Holy Prophet by accusing him of involvement in bloodshed during the sacred months. The Jews, too, started poisoning the environment by saying that Muslims were losers. At this time, the angel of revelation appeared to the Holy Prophet, conveying the following:

They ask you concerning the sacred month about fighting in it. Say: Fighting in it is a grave matter, and hindering men from Allah's way and denying Him, and hindering men from the sacred mosque and turning its people out of it are still graver with Allah, and persecution is graver than slaughter; and they will not cease fighting with you until they turn you back from your religion, if they can. (2:217)

With the revelation of these holy verses, which implicitly exonerated ‘Abdullah, Quraysh was introduced as the agent of sedition and trouble and their sins were considered greater than the involvement in war and bloodshed during the sacred months. Upon the Quraysh representatives’ request, the Holy Prophet released the prisoners one of whom became Muslim.⁹³

The Battle of Badr

This event, which took place following the Prophet’s military maneuvers and the threat against the Quraysh trade route, was the first complete war between Muslims and the unbelievers. As we have seen, in the month of Jumada al-Akhir, the Holy Prophet chased Quraysh’s caravan—headed by Abu-Sufyan—which was heading towards Damascus up to the land of Dhat al-’Ushayrah but he could not catch them. By sending spies to the district of Damascus, he knew about the caravan’s return.⁹⁴ From an economic point of view, this is said to be one thousand and the worth of the merchandise is estimated as high as fifty-thousand Dinars. All Quraysh people had their shares in this investment.⁹⁵

The natural route of the caravan crossed the district of Badr.⁹⁶ In order to confiscate the goods,⁹⁷ the Holy Prophet had three hundred and thirteen troops.⁹⁸ With the minimum amount of ammunition,⁹⁹ he headed for Badr. On his way back from Damascus, Abu-Sufyan became aware of the Holy Prophet’s

decision and sent a messenger to Mecca asking for help.¹⁰⁰ He changed his direction to the shores of the Red Sea and speedily got the caravan out of the danger zone.¹⁰¹ Upon Abu-Sufyan's call, nine hundred and fifty soldiers¹⁰² left Mecca towards Medina to help the caravan. Abu-Sufyan's obstinacy led his troops to the battle. While Muslims were looking for the signs of the Quraysh caravan, the Holy Prophet became aware of the caravan's arrival at Badr. They had to decide on the spot. This decision was hard to make because Muslims had time to confiscate the caravan, not to be involved in a war the troops of which were three times more numerous than theirs. If they decided to go back, they would lose the effects of their military maneuvers and the enemy would chase them and attack Medina. So, a military council was held in which the Holy Prophet sought consult of Muslims in general and Ansar in particular. Miqdad's zealous speech and Sa'd ibn 'Abadah's enthusiastic encouragements brought forth the decision to fight.¹⁰³

The war started on the seventeenth of Ramadhan.¹⁰⁴ At first, Hamzah, 'Ubaydah and 'Ali killed Shaybah, 'Utbah and Walid Ibn 'Utbah.¹⁰⁵ This was a hard blow over the chiefs of Quraysh.¹⁰⁶ Then, war broke out. The troops of Islam overcame and by noon, the battle ended with the defeat and retreat of the enemy troops. Out of the unbelievers' troops, seventy were killed¹⁰⁷ and another seventy were taken as prisoners.¹⁰⁸ From the Muslim troops, only fourteen were martyred.¹⁰⁹

Then, with the permission of the Holy Prophet, the prisoners were freed upon the payment of ransoms. Prisoners who were moneyless but literate were forced to teach ten Muslim individuals reading and writing to earn their freedom.¹¹⁰ Later, the rest of the prisoners were freed thanks to the Holy Prophet's generosity.¹¹¹

Factors of Victory

The Muslims' unprecedented victory broke the Quraysh's dignity in their first military confrontation. They were completely overwhelmed and taken by surprise. The defeat of Quraysh's troops was so sudden that when the Holy Prophet's envoy entered Medina to announce victory, Muslims could not believe what they heard and assumed that the envoy was a defeated soldier who had fled the battlefield.¹¹² However, it was not long before the prisoners of war were taken into the city. The aftermath of this victory reached even the king of Abyssinia, al-Najashi, who became extremely delighted; therefore, he summoned the Muslim migrants to tell them the good news.¹¹³ The Holy Prophet said:

The Battle of Badr was the first encounter in which God endeared Islam and humiliated the unbelievers.¹¹⁴

On the day of the Battle of Badr, Satan was extremely humiliated.¹¹⁵

The factors which contributed to this outstanding victory could be summed up as follows:

(1) This battle was excellently managed by the Holy Prophet who showed unmatched bravery.¹¹⁶ Remembering this war, Imam 'Ali said,

When the fire of war was kindled, we would resort to the Holy Prophet; and in those moments, he was the closest to the enemy.¹¹⁷

(2) Imam ‘Ali showed outstanding bravery, killing half of the slain ones.¹¹⁸ Naming thirty-five of the dead ones in Badr, Shaykh al-Mufid writes down:

Narrators unanimously agree that ‘Ali ibn Abi-Talib killed this group except for those whose slayers are not pinpointed.¹¹⁹

(3) *In spite of the fact that some Muslims, while leaving Medina, showed reluctance to take part in the war (Qur’an, 8:5-6)* and some leading personalities of Muhajirun surfaced their fear and worry at the military councils,¹²⁰ uttering despairing words, the majority of Muslim warriors showed great strength in their souls and fought bravely.

(4) Divine contributions (Qur’an 3: 123) took place in different ways:

a) *Raining at the night before the battle helped Muslims in water-supply and hardened the ground on which they could easily move. (Qur’an 3: 123)*

b) *At that night, Muslims could sleep with tranquility (Qur’an 8: 11);*¹²¹ the Holy Prophet alone was wakeful until morning, praying for victory.¹²²

c) *Angels participated in that battle. (Qur’an 8:9)*¹²³

d) *The hearts of the unbelievers were filled with fear. (Qur’an 8: 12)*

Results of Muslims' Victory

The victory of the Islamic troops has certain consequences some of which will be dealt with hereinafter:

(1) God has previously promised Muslims victory over the Meccan troops (Qur’an 8:7) and the Holy Prophet informed them about this promise at the end of their military discussions.¹²⁴ With this victory, Muslims relied more on God's assistance and became stronger in their faith.

(2) Both the hypocrites and the Jews of Medina became upset and humiliated by this victory. When the Holy Prophet's envoy reached Medina to announce the Muslims' victory, the Hypocrites spread the rumor that Muhammad was killed and Muslims were defeated and spread apart.¹²⁵

The Jews surfaced their hatred.¹²⁶ Ka’b al-Ashraf, one of the leaders of Jews, said,

“Those who are said to be killed were among the noblemen. If this news is correct, then to die is preferred to living on the earth.¹²⁷

(3) The tribes living around Medina reckoned this victory as a sign of the truthfulness of Islam and

showed inclinations to it. Ya'qubi writes:

“After God granted His Prophet victory in the Battle of Badr and killed many of troops of Quraysh, the Arab tribes showed inclinations to Islam and sent their representatives to the Holy Prophet. Four or five months after the Battle of Badr, the tribe of Rabi'ah, at the district of Dhiqar, fought with Khosrow. They told one another that they should raise the slogan of tihami (Muhammad) in the battlefield. Then, they would utter, O Muhammad, Oh Muhammad. Following this, they won over their enemies.”¹²⁸

(4) Quraysh realized they had made mistakes in estimating Muhammad's power; they had never imagined that they could be beaten so easily by a group of escapees and farmers! They thus concluded that their trade was endangered and that they could never rely on the Mecca–Damascus trade route which crossed Badr. In a gathering, Safwan ibn Umayyah said:

“Muhammad and his followers have endangered our trade. We do not know what to do with them. They would not abandon the shores as long as the shore–dwellers have united with them. We do not know where to go. Our life subsistence in this city is provided by our summer trip to Damascus and winter trip to Abyssinia. If we are stuck in this city, we have to consume our capital and lose our income and wealth.”

Quraysh, then, decided to make their trade trip to Damascus via Iraq. Safwan headed a caravan towards Damascus through Iraq. His share of the merchandize was three hundred thousand Dinars. When the Holy Prophet knew about this, he sent a one–hundred strong troop under the leadership of Zayd ibn Harithah to confiscate the goods. That was in Jumada al–Aakhir, the third year of Hegira. The caravan men fled and the goods were confiscated by the Muslim troops. Moreover, one or two prisoners were taken to Medina.¹²⁹ This mission is referred to, in books of history,¹³⁰ as Sariyyat al–Qaradah.¹³¹

Breach of Banu–Qaynuqa' Treaty

Banu–Qaynuqa' was the first Jewish tribe that violated the nonaggression pact. This was because Muslims' victory was bitter for both the Jews and the infidels. After the Battle of Badr and the victory of Muslims, both the Jews and the hypocrites became so furious. The first group that started incurring animosity of Islam was Banu–Qaynuqa' although the Holy Prophet had warned them against so and advised them to learn a lesson from the defeat of Quraysh and to be Muslims. He told them they had learned about his traits in their Book.¹³²

Their reply was, “Your victory over Quraysh has made you proud. Quraysh were a trade group. If you ever fight us, you will know how real warriors look like!”

Stricken by false pride, they did not take the Holy Prophet's warnings seriously; rather, they continued in aggression. Once, one of these Jews insulted the wife of one of Ansar in the mart of this tribe outside Medina, creating turmoil. The woman called for help and a Muslim killed that intruder. Then, the Jews collectively killed that Muslim. Although two persons were killed, they could have stopped the situation at

this point. However, they returned to their castles and readied themselves to attack. The Holy Prophet ordered their castle to be besieged. After fifteen days of siege, the Holy Prophet accepted the intermediation of ‘Abdullah Ibn Ubayy, who had been already an ally of them, and permitted them to leave Medina after submitting their weapons. They migrated to a place called Adhru’at, in Damascus. This event occurred in the month of Shawwal of the second year of Hegira.¹³³

Having been the bravest Jews,¹³⁴ Banu-Qaynuqa’ used to take pride in their power. They relied on their allies from Khazraj and Banu-’Awf.¹³⁵ However, Khazraj could not save them from banishment.¹³⁶ ‘Abadah ibn Samit al-’Awfi gave them up.¹³⁷ The two Jewish tribes of Banu’l-Nadhir and Banu-Quray’ah, who were the previous allies of Aws, could not help them either. Sa’d ibn Mu’adh, the chief of Aws, did not have any role in preventing their interferences in this crisis. Thus, the banishment of this tribe from Medina benefited Muslims in the sense that the power of these three tribes was disintegrated. It was also a warning to the other Jews of Medina not to commit the same mistake.

The Marriage of Imam ‘Ali and Lady Fatimah

Upon the victory in the Battle of Badr that added to the Muslim’s dignity, another auspicious event took place; it was the marriage of Imam ‘Ali and Fatimah that was held at the Holy Prophet’s house.¹³⁸ Due to her father’s special charisma and high social status in addition to her own supreme personality, Lady Fatimah had numerous suitors some of whom were wealthy. However, the Holy Prophet would not consent¹³⁹ saying, “I am waiting for the Divine decision.”¹⁴⁰ Then, they provoked ‘Ali who was extremely poor to ask her father to marry her to him. Imam ‘Ali did. Upon consulting with Fatimah, the Holy Prophet informed Imam ‘Ali of her consent.¹⁴¹ He said to his daughter,

“I consent to your marriage with a man who is most advanced in moral aspects and adoption of Islam.”¹⁴²

Then the Holy Prophet said to Imam ‘Ali,

“There are several men of Quraysh who were offended because I could not agree with any one of them to marry Fatimah, telling them that I was awaiting a Divine decision, because I was certain that nobody deserved being Fatimah’s spouse other than ‘Ali.”¹⁴³

This marriage, which took place in the simplest ceremony and with the least amount of dowry¹⁴⁴ and trousseau,¹⁴⁵ is one the most obvious manifestations of the spiritual value of the bond of marriage in Islam.

The Battle of Uhud

After the Battle of Badr, Quraysh who had earned a great income through the safe return of their trade caravan prepared themselves to avenge their defeat.¹⁴⁶ Having been ensured the cooperation of some tribes, Quraysh left Mecca with ample supplies¹⁴⁷ taking a group of women to encourage the soldiers in

the battlefield.¹⁴⁸ The Holy Prophet, through secret information received from his uncle ‘Abbas at Mecca knew about their plan.¹⁴⁹ He discussed the matter with his military consultants as how to confront the enemy. ‘Abdullah ibn Ubayy and some merchants from Ansar, as well as some individuals from Muhajirun such as Hamzah, preferred that the confrontation would take place outside the city borders because they believed that if Muslims remained in town, the enemy would become more daring and would consider it weak point.¹⁵⁰

Ultimately, the Holy Prophet accepted the proposal of this brave group of consultants and left the town for Mount Uhud¹⁵¹ with a thousand troops.¹⁵² On the way, ‘Abdullah ibn Ubayy returned with his troops of three hundred to Medina defying the Holy Prophet’s plan, because he had accepted the plans of the younger consultants¹⁵³ and he assumed that no war would take place (Qur’an 3: 167).¹⁵⁴ The Holy Prophet stationed the troop which had decreased to the number of seven hundred at the outskirts of Mount Uhud, which became behind the Muslims while Mount ‘Aynayn was on the left side.¹⁵⁵ Muslim troops faced the west and the enemy faced the east.¹⁵⁶

Looking at the battlefield militarily, the Holy Prophet noticed the significance of Mount ‘Aynayn since the enemy might invade the Muslims while the fight was going on; therefore, he appointed an officer called ‘Abdullah ibn Jubayr to defend that location with fifty archers, declaring, “Whether we win or lose, you must stay here to defend us against the enemy’s attack.”¹⁵⁷

Abu-Sufyan, too, engaged himself in the adoption of standard-bearers. In those days, the role of standard-bearers was of crucial importance; only the brave ones could carry the standard. The strength and stamina of a standard-bearer was a source of encouragement for the troops. On the other hand, his fall would lead to the soldier’s discouragement. Having selected the standard-bearer from among the tribe of Banu-‘Abd al-Dar who were famous for their courage, Abu-Sufyan told them, “we all are sure that you, Banu-‘Abd al-Dar are the worthiest of carrying the standards. Keep hold of the standards and make us feel secure in that issue; a troop falls as soon as its standards fall.”¹⁵⁸

Muslims’ victory at the initial stage to the battle

The war flared up on the fifteenth of Shawwal, the third year of Hegira.¹⁵⁹ In a short time, Muslims were victorious and the enemy troops absconded. Their defeat was not due to the great number of casualties, which, according to the most reliable sources, did not exceed fifty;¹⁶⁰ rather, it was the fall of nine standard-bearers who had been destroyed by Imam ‘Ali,¹⁶¹ causing damage to their spirituality.¹⁶²

On various occasions after the Battle of Uhud, Imam ‘Ali used to put stress on this event. In the six-member council which was held after the assassination of ‘Umar ibn al-Khattab to elect the next caliph, Imam ‘Ali referred to this event as a point of honor and the members of that committee could not deny.¹⁶³

Upon the destruction of the standard-bearers of Quraysh, there was confusion among the

enemy's troops who chose to take flight. Upon their retreat, Muslims started collecting the booty. Most of the archers left their strongholds, assuming that the battle was over. Thus, they did not listen to the warnings of 'Abdullah ibn Jubayr concerning the Holy Prophet's orders. (Qur'an, 3: 152)

The Enemy's Victory

The archers' mistake and miscalculation had a tremendous effect on the battle, because Khalid ibn al-Walid attacked that position with two hundred troops and killed 'Abdullah ibn Jubayr with ten others. He then attacked other Muslims from behind. On the other side, 'Amrah bint 'Alqamah, together with other women from Quraysh, took up the standards and waved them in the air;¹⁶⁴ so, the battle started over again. ¹⁶⁵ Muslims suffered a great blow this time because there was no coordination between the troops and their commanders. There were secondary factors which contributed to this defeat:

(1) A rumor had it that the Holy Prophet was killed. ¹⁶⁶

(2) In those days, the two parties of the military conflict did not have a uniform distinguishing them from the other party. At the battlefield, they were recognized only through slogans. The Muslim troops did not recognize one another; they therefore started drawing swords against one another. ¹⁶⁷ For instance, Husayl ibn Jabir, a Muslim warrior, was killed by his party. ¹⁶⁸ However, as soon as Muslims became aware of the situation and started uttering slogans, the conditions changed drastically. ¹⁶⁹

(3) Another factor was the direction of the wind which was blowing from the west, making it hard for Muslims to carry on with the war. ¹⁷⁰

At any rate, much confusion occurred to the Muslim troops most of whom fled the battlefield or climbed the mountain, leaving the Holy Prophet in the battlefield defending Muslims and asking the escapees to stay firm. ¹⁷¹

Imam 'Ali and a few warriors resisted the enemies in the battlefield. ¹⁷² He fought bravely next to the Holy Prophet, defending him several times. ¹⁷³

With his unique perseverance, a Divine call echoed in the sky of Uhud, "There is no sword beyond Dhu'l-Faqr (Imam 'Ali's sword) and there is no combatant save 'Ali." ¹⁷⁴

In order to weaken the morale of Muslims, Abu-Sufyan started psychological warfare by uttering the slogan, "Be proud Hubal! Be proud Hubal." Answering him, the Holy Prophet ordered his men to cry out, "Allah is Greater and more Majestic." Then Abu-Sufyan said, "We have 'Uzza and you have none." The Holy Prophet asked a Muslim to reply, "We have Allah as our Master; and you have none." ¹⁷⁵

It is reported that in that battle, seventy Muslims, including Hamzah—the Holy Prophet's uncle—and Muz'ab ibn 'Umayr, were martyred.

Although Muslims were defeated¹⁷⁶ and the troops of Quraysh were intact, the chiefs of Quraysh who were worried about its consequences¹⁷⁷ preferred to leave Medina and go back to Mecca. They were merely happy that they had avenged their previous losses. All this happened with no damage done to either Medina or the Damascus trade route.

In order to demonstrate that Muslims were still firm and invincible, the Holy Prophet chased the enemy to the land of Hamra' al-Asad in order to prevent them from attacking Medina.¹⁷⁸

Consequences of the defeat at Uhud

(1) Although Muslims were militarily defeated in this battle, they learned not to disregard the Holy Prophet's orders. Such disobediences never happened in the following wars.

(2) The hypocrites started all sorts of conspiracies; they rejoiced on the Muslims' defeat and blamed them.¹⁷⁹

(3) The Jews, too, surfaced their hatred, saying, "No prophet has been defeated to this degree!"¹⁸⁰

(4) The enemies of Islam around Medina were emboldened to initiate conspiracies. Banu-Asad, for instance, attempted to attack Medina. Other events the most famous of which were known as al-Raji' and Bi'r Ma'unah took place as a result of the Muslims' defeat at the Battle of Uhud.

(5) Upon the return of Muslims to Medina, the shadow of grief and despair prevailed over the city. Conspiracies of the hypocrites and the Jews worsened the situation. God removed these signs of despair and strengthened the Muslims' morale through a revelation of some verses. According to Ibn Ishaq, sixty verses were revealed about the Battle of Uhud.¹⁸¹ God, in these verses, mentions the mysteries behind the Muslims' failure and warns them not to despair even if they suffer a defeat. God the Almighty adds that the very reason for Muslims' zeal was their seeking of worldly material. Muslims were victorious in the Battle of Badr, because they fought for the sake of God only. However, in the Battle of Uhud, they were after booties:

And Allah did certainly assist you at Badr when you were weak; be careful of your duty to Allah then, that you may give thanks. (Holy Qur'an 3: 123)

And be not infirm, and be not grieving, and you shall have the upper hand if you are believers. (Holy Qur'an 3: 134)

If a wound has afflicted you at Uhud, a wound like it has also afflicted the unbelieving people; and We bring these days to men by turns, and that Allah may know those who believe and take witness from among you; and Allah does not love the unjust. (Holy Qur'an 3: 140)

Do you think that you will enter the garden while Allah has not yet known those who strive hard from among you, and He has not known the patient. (Holy Qur'an 3: 142)

And certainly, you desired death before you met it; so indeed you may have seen it and looked at it. (Holy Qur'an 3: 143)

And certainly Allah made good to you His promise, when you slew them by His permission, until when you became weak- hearted and disputed about the affair and disobeyed after He had shown you that which you loved; of you were some who desired this world and of you were some who desired the hereafter; then He turned you away from them that He might try you; and He has certainly pardoned you, and Allah is Gracious to the believers. (Holy Qur'an 3: 152)

What! When a misfortune befell you, and you had certainly afflicted the unbelievers with twice as much, you began to say: Whence is this? Say: it is from yourselves; surely, Allah has power over all things. (Holy Qur'an 3: 165)

The defeat and failure in the Battle of Uhud damaged the Muslims' military credentials badly and caused the infidels and hypocrites to indulge in conspiracies against them. Choosing this very time to attack Muslims was due to Muslims' weak points.¹⁸² Here are some examples of their conspiracies:

The Unsuccessful Attack of Banu-Asad

The Holy Prophet was informed of Banu-Asad's intention to attack Medina. He dispatched Abu-Salamah with one hundred and fifty troops and ordered them to attack the enemy before they would have any chance. The troops arrived at the place of Banu-Asad with tremendous speed. The tribesmen became overwhelmed and fled the scene. Abu-Salamah returned to Medina with some prisoners and booties.¹⁸³

This victory boosted the Muslims' military credentials to some degree. The hypocrites, Jews and the tribes living around Medina realized that Muslims were not truly defeated.

The Event of Bi'r Ma'unah

This event was even more disastrous than the event of Raji'. It took place in Safar, the 4th year of Hegira. Abu-Bara', the chief of Banu-'Amir, came to see the Holy Prophet in Medina. Showing no inclination to Islam, he made the proposal that the Holy Prophet would send a group of his followers to Najd to invite people to Islam. The Holy Prophet replied, "I fear that the Najd people might hurt Muslims." Abu-Bara' said, "I will protect them." The Holy Prophet, then, dispatched seventy¹⁸⁴ of the Qur'an instructors and true companions. Arriving at Bi'r Ma'unah, this group sent a letter to 'Amir ibn Tufayl, who killed the messenger without even looking at the letter. Then, he asked Banu-'Amir to kill the Holy Prophet's envoy. They refused to do so thanks to Abu-Bara's promise of protection. 'Amir ibn Tufayl, together with some branches of Banu-Sulaym, charged at the Holy Prophet's envoy who, in return, had to defend themselves and all were martyred except for Ka'b ibn Zayd and 'Amr ibn Umayyah al-^{®amari}¹⁸⁵ who had fallen captive to the enemy and then set free. On his return to Medina, he killed two members of Banu-'Amir, without knowing that they had been on a contract with the Holy Prophet.¹⁸⁶

Campaign against Banu Nadhir

Following the murder of two members of Banu-’Amir,¹⁸⁷ the Holy Prophet expressed his condolences and grief. He said, “I have to pay their blood-money.”¹⁸⁸ Banu-’Amir sent a letter to the Holy Prophet demanding with blood-money.¹⁸⁹ Because Banu-’Amir had a peace treaty with Banu’l-Nadhir, the Holy Prophet, along with some Ansar, went to their castle around Medina in order to ask for help in paying the blood-money. The chiefs of Banu’l-Nadhir superficially agreed to the Holy Prophet’s proposal but secretly had appointed a man to throw a stone on his head to kill him. Through Divine information, the Holy Prophet became aware of this conspiracy.¹⁹⁰ He suddenly left for Medina, ordering them to leave it and allowing them to keep their own possessions. Being frightened, they intended to leave that place forever; but ‘Abdullah ibn Ubayy seduced them to resist promising that he would assist them if a war broke out. He told them that if they were expelled from Medina, he would leave there.¹⁹¹

Some historical accounts report that prior to this event, Quraysh had provoked Banu’l-Nadhir to fight against Muslims.¹⁹² These provocations were influential in the outcomes of this event.

Having been misled by ‘Abdullah’s false promises, Banu’l-Nadhir preferred to stay. By the command of the Holy Prophet, the Muslim troops surrounded their castle for fifteen days during which there was no sign of supporting troops! Banu’l-Nadhir had to surrender and take their possessions on camels; some going to Damascus and others to Khaybar, including their chief Huyay ibn Akhtab. They were welcomed by the people of Khaybar who showed obedience to their chief.¹⁹³

Since Banu’l-Nadhir surrendered with no fight, their possessions were at the disposal of the Holy Prophet. After obtaining the consent of Ansar, the Holy Prophet divided these possessions among the emigrants.¹⁹⁴

God, in the Holy Qur'an, mentions the treason of Banu’l-Nadhir and their fate with the following words:

He it is Who caused those who disbelieved of the followers of the Book to go forth from their homes at the first banishment; you did not think that they would go forth, while they were certain that their fortresses would defend them against Allah; but Allah came to them when they did not expect, and cast terror into their own hands and the hands of the believers; therefore take a lesson, O you who have eyes.

And had it not been that Allah had decreed for them the exile, He would certainly have punished them in this world, and in the Hereafter, they shall have chastisement of the fire.

That is because they acted in opposition to Allah and His Apostle, and whoever acts in opposition to Allah, then surely, Allah is severe in requiting evil (Holy Qur'an 59: 2-4.)¹⁹⁵

The Battle of the Ditch

This battle, which is also called al-khandaq (the ditch) or al-ahzab (the Allies), took place in Shawwal, the 5th year of Hegira¹⁹⁶ when Huyay ibn Akhtab, some chiefs of Banu'l-Nadhir who had taken refuge in Khaybar and a group of Banu-Wa'il had visited Quraysh in Mecca and encouraged them to take part in a war against the Holy Prophet. They promised them of all sorts of assistance. Quraysh asked them, "Which one is better; our religion or Muhammad's?" Although the Jews doctrinally believed in God and they should not have supported idolatry, they answered, "Your religion is better than Muhammad's and you are closer to the reality."

Having heard this, Quraysh were encouraged to fight the Holy Prophet. God condemns this hostile judgment of theirs in the following manner:

Have you not seen those to whom a portion of the book has been given? They believe in idols and false deities and say of those who disbelieve: They are better guided in the path than those who believe.

Those are they whom Allah curses you shall not find any helper for him. (4:51-52)

This hostile judgment of the Jewish leaders was so far away from logic and justice that some current Jews condemn it. In his book entitled The History of Judaism in the Land of Arabs, Dr. Israel Wolfinson, a Jewish historian, writes:

"They should not have committed such an obnoxious blunder; they should not have deemed the worshiping of idols superior to the Islamic monotheism even if they would fall out of Quraysh's love and care. This is because the Israelites have been carrying the banner of monotheists among the idol-worshippers for centuries.¹⁹⁷"

Next, the Jewish leaders resorted to the chiefs of the Ghatafan tribe asking for assistance in a war against Muslims.¹⁹⁸ Out of this tribe, the branches Banu-Fazarah, Banu-Murrah and Banu-Ashja' declared their cooperation.¹⁹⁹ Then the agreement of Banu-Sulaym and Banu-Asad was obtained.²⁰⁰ Quraysh gained the support of their previous allies; Banu-Thaqif and Banu-Kinanah.²⁰¹ As a result, a strong military force consisting of ten thousand troops²⁰² and headed by Abu-Sufyan started moving towards Medina. On their way, Huyay ibn Akhtab pledged Abu-Sufyan the cooperation of Banu-Quray'ah who had seventy-five warriors.²⁰³

Concerning the great capital which both Quraysh and the Jews had spent on the preparation for this war, they considered it epoch-making and were determined to annihilate Muslims forever.

Through the secret reports of Banu-Khuza'ah who were allies of Muslims, the Holy Prophet knew about the movement of the enemy troops.²⁰⁴ In a military session held by the Holy Prophet, nobody agreed to leave Medina; the vote was unanimous.²⁰⁵

There were palm-groves around the city and they hindered the enemy's free access.²⁰⁶ Salman proposed that they would dig a ditch around the part of the city in which there were no natural obstructions so that the enemy could not pass.²⁰⁷ The ditch was dug in a short time due to the participation of all Muslims, including the Holy Prophet.²⁰⁸ He had women and children relocated to the castles and shelters inside the city.²⁰⁹ The Islamic forces, consisting of three thousand,²¹⁰ stayed between the ditch and Mount Sala', having it behind them.²¹¹

The commanders of the allies expected the war to take place outside Medina like the Battle of Uhud. However, this did not happen. Arriving at the city borders and noticing the ditch, they were bewildered, because the digging of the ditch was unprecedented among Arabs as a war technique.²¹² Thus, they had to surround the city behind the ditch.

The siege lasted for nearly twenty days and both parties started shooting at each other. The warriors of Quraysh started special military maneuvers to frighten the Muslim troops.²¹³ Due to the enemy's siege of the city, Muslims were caught in a severe plight, which is described by God in the following words:

[Those who believe remember the day] when they came upon you from above you and from below you, and when the eyes turned dull, and the hearts rose up to the throats, and you began to think diverse thoughts of Allah. There the believers were tried and they were shaken with severe shaking. (33: 10–11)

The Treason of Banu-Quray'ah

At this time, something else took place and jeopardized the Muslims' status even more; Banu-Quray'ah breached their nonaggression pact with Muslims. They did so on account of Huyay ibn Akhtab's temptations.²¹⁴ Moreover, they committed two other acts of treason: first, they brought ammunitions to the allies who were short in supplies. At Quba, Muslims waylaid a caravan, arranged by Banu-Quray'ah, carrying dates and barely for the enemy and they confiscated it.²¹⁵ Second, they spread terror in women's' shelters. As one of them entered the castle where women were sheltering, he was killed by Safiyyah, the Holy Prophet's aunt.²¹⁶ One night, Banu-Quray'ah decided to attack the center of Medina. For this purpose, they sent Huyay ibn Akhtab to Mecca asking the chiefs of Quraysh for one thousand troops. They also asked Ghatafan the same. Reports of these movements and proceedings reached the Holy Prophet, who, as a result, appointed five hundred warriors to protect the city, which was panic-stricken. These warriors stayed overnight crying out 'Allahu-Akbar (Allah is the Most Great) and protected the civil sections.²¹⁷

Reasons of the failure of the Allies

In addition to the digging of the ditch, several factors contributed to the failure of the troops of the Allies:

(1) Disagreement between Banu-Quray'ah and the Allies

Nu'aym ibn Mas'ud, a member of Ghatafan tribe, had recently accepted Islam. Having acquired permission of the Holy Prophet to use deceptive tactics against the enemy,²¹⁸ he met with Banu-Quray'ah and, pretending to be their friends, started reproaching them, saying, "Your position is different from Quraysh's. If they lose the war, they will return home; but you have nowhere to go to if you lose. Muslims will then destroy you altogether." He then suggested that they should take as hostages several chiefs of the Allies and keep them to the end of the war. He then revealed this military secret made by Banu-Quray'ah to the chiefs of Quraysh and Ghatafan, saying, "Banu-Quray'ah have decided to surrender to Muhammad and give him these chiefs as a sign of goodwill." He then warned them not to accept such a proposal. This plan worked well; differences developed between these two groups and the Allies were destroyed from within.²¹⁹

(2) The killing of 'Amr ibn 'Abd-Wudd

Quraysh had to bring the war to an end because they were pressure for three reasons:

First: Because the war took a longer period than expected, there was shortage in supplies.

Second: The weather became so cold that they could not bear staying inside tents.

Third: Dhu'l-Qa'dah, one of the sacred months in which fighting was forbidden, was approaching. If the war could not end in Shawwal, it would certainly be postponed for three months.²²⁰ Therefore, the Allies were determined to bring the war to an end at all costs. For this purpose, five of the bravest warriors jumped with their horses to the other side of the ditch²²¹ and demanded equal opponents to fight. One of them was the famous Arab warrior, 'Amr ibn 'Abd-Wudd, who was famed as the hero of yalyal and the hero of Quraysh.²²² Having crossed the ditch, 'Amr shouted, "Is there any fighter to face me?". None of the Muslim troops answered him.²²³ He repeated this call seven time and each time Imam 'Ali would rise and ask the Holy Prophet to permit him to confront this warrior. Finally, permission was given to Imam 'Ali. As he proceeded to confront 'Amr, the Holy Prophet said,

"The entire Islam will face the entire unbelief."²²⁴

In a great duel, Imam 'Ali could kill 'Amr. Seeing this, the other four warriors who had passed the ditch flew. One of them had fallen in the ditch with his horse before he was killed by Muslims.²²⁵

Seeing this great bravery of Imam 'Ali, the Holy Prophet said,

"Your deed today is superior to all deeds of Muslims put together. As 'Amr is killed, all houses of the enemies are miserable and all houses of Muslims feel dignity."²²⁶

On the word of al-Hakim al-Naysaburi, a great Sunni traditionist, the Holy Prophet had declared:

“Ali’s fighting with ‘Amr at the ditch is more favorable than the good deeds of all Muslims up to the Resurrection Day.”²²⁷

With the killing of ‘Amr, the Allies lost their morale; signs of defeat appeared in their camp so evidently that each tribe decided to retreat.²²⁸

(3) Divine Assistance

The last blow to the enemy was done by God Who caused a terrible storm to dominant over them at night. The storm destroyed their tents completely. As a consequence, Abu–Sufyan ordered them to return to Mecca.²²⁹ Referring to this victory, God the Almighty states in the Holy Qur’an:

O you who believe; call to mind the favor of Allah to you when there came down upon you hosts; so, We sent against them a strong wind and hosts that you saw not, and Allah is Seeing what you do. (33:9)

And Allah tuned back the unbelievers in their rage; they did not obtain any advantage, and Allah sufficed the believers in fighting; and Allah is Strong, Mighty. (33:25)

Despite the enemy’s great expenditure on his war, the results of were bitter and disastrous because they could neither damage Medina nor free the Damascus trade route. In this way, Abu–Sufyan’s military credit was greatly damaged and the status of Quraysh was badly hurt. After this war, Muslims had more courage to attack their enemy. The Holy Prophet said, “From now on, we will attack and they will have no ability to attack us.”²³⁰ The martyrs in this war are reported to be six²³¹ and the enemy casualties were three.²³²

The War of Banu–Quray’ah

After the retreat of the Allies, the Holy Prophet was commissioned to go after Banu–Quray’ah. In the evening of the next day, the Holy Prophet ordered his men to surround the stronghold of Banu–Quray’ah whose members were shooting from this stronghold and insulting the Holy Prophet.

After a twenty–five day siege, Banu–Quray’ah had to surrender. Aws who were in a military pact with Banu–Quray’ah asked the Holy Prophet to treat their allies the same way as he had treated Banu–Qaynuqa’, the Allies of Khazaraj. The Holy Prophet said, “Let your leader, Sa’d ibn Mu’adh, be a judge in this issue.” The people of Aws and Banu–Quray’ah accepted. Traditionally, Sa’d should have favored Banu–Quray’ah. Uninfluenced by the recommendation of his tribe, Sa’d declared that he would not fear any criticism. When he obtained the permission of both sides, he issued that men of Banu–Quray’ah should be killed, their women and children taken as captives and their possessions confiscated. This verdict was immediately put into action. Huyay ibn Akhtab, the chief of Banu’l–Nadhir who had encouraged Banu–Quray’ah to breach their pact with Muslims, was also killed. In his last moments, he was severely reproached for his acts of treason. Instead of confessing his errors and feeling remorse, he

deemed the unfortunate fate of Banu-Quray'ah and him the result of God's predeterminism. He addressed the Holy Prophet saying, "I do not regret my enmity to you; rather, one whom God decides to be miserable will be miserable forever." He then turned to people and said, "We should surrender to God's wishes; this defeat was imposed by God over the Israelites.²³³"

The Holy Prophet sent a group of captives to Najd in order to buy horses and ammunitions.²³⁴ Referring to their disastrous fate, the Holy Qur'an remarks:

And He drove down those of the followers of the Book who backed them from their fortresses and He cast awe into their hearts; some you killed and you took captive another part. And He made you heirs to their land and their dwellings and their property; and to a land which you have not yet trodden, and Allah has power over all things. (33: 26-27)

Analysis and Criticism

Although the details of this issue are ambiguous for historians, we will deal with two views hereinafter:

(1) Some European authors have criticized the treatment that Banu-Quray'ah received as barbarous and inhumane.²³⁵ However, this criticism cannot be held considering the crimes they had committed, because they not only broke their contract with Muslims but also committed acts of treason inside Medina when they supplied the enemies with ammunition. We know that in warfare, these acts could not be pardonable.

The Holy Prophet could have punished them himself; but due to the request of the people of Aws, he accepted the judgment of Sa'd. This proposal was accepted by both Aws and Banu-Quray'ah. So, there is no room left for criticism.

This question still holds: Who should be treated kindly; and where should affections be used? Should those who have bypassed human values and whose very nature is filled with hatred be eligible to receive mercy?²³⁶ Were the Jews of Banu'l-Nadhir, under the leadership of Huyay ibn Akhtab, not pardoned? However, they did not cease conspiring against Muslims and they practically waged a war against Muslims. How could Huyay ibn Akhtab and Ka'b ibn Asad convince others that they would neither resume their previous viciousness nor would they prepare forces to destroy Muslims? Was leniency appropriate in their case? During the siege of Medina, Abu-Sufyan wrote a threatening letter to the Holy Prophet, saying:

"I swear to Lat and 'Uzza that I have come here with this army to fight you. We will not need any further fight; I am determined to destroy you this time. However, if we return to Mecca, we will make for you a day like the day of Uhud when women will not stop mourning."²³⁷

If this had happened would Banu-Quray'ah not have cooperated with the Allies?

Sa'd's judgment was in accordance with the commands in the Torah—whose penal laws must have been known by him—that reads:

“When you approach a city to engage in fight, first propose peace. If they open the doors to you, all of them will fall slaves to you. If they refuse to have peace, then you must fight and kill their men, take their women and children as captives, and confiscate their property.”²³⁸

(2) A contemporary researcher has denied the punishment of Banu-Quray'ah. Referring to some records, he has reckoned impossible such a severe punishment by the Holy Prophet.²³⁹ Although his statements could be used as a protection to defend the Muslim status vis-à-vis the European and Zionist propaganda, the reasons this writer has offered are not valid.²⁴⁰ In his reasoning, he has not paid attention to verse 26 of Surah al-Ahzab (No. 33) which refers to this issue. Furthermore, after the Battle of the Allies (Ahzab), there is no mention of Banu-Quray'ah in historical records. If the issue of punishment had not existed, there should have been some mentions of their existence as such.

The War of Banu'l-Muztalaq

In Sha'ban²⁴¹ of the sixth year of Hegira, the Holy Prophet was informed that Harith ibn Abi-[®]irar, the chief of Banu'l-Muztalaq—a branch of Banu-Khuza'ah—had mobilized some men together with some Arabs of that region to attack Medina. The Holy Prophet mobilized Muslim troops and went forward as far as Musayri' Well²⁴² in the coastal areas of the Red Sea. The war took place there. Banu'l-Muztalaq were easily defeated; many captives were taken and their property was confiscated.²⁴³

Juwayriyah, daughter of Harith, was among the captives. In order to free his daughter, Harith met the Holy Prophet in Medina. He embraced Islam when the Holy Prophet told him that he hid two camels which he had determined to offer to the Holy Prophet as her daughter's ransom. The Holy Prophet first freed Juwayriyah and then married her.²⁴⁴

In honor of the Holy Prophet, Muslims made free the captives who had now become relatives by marriage of the Holy Prophet. For this reason, Juwayriyah is remembered as the Holy Prophet's most blessed wife.²⁴⁵ This marriage could be regarded as an instance of the Holy Prophet's marriages purposed for social consequences and personal considerations.

The Journey for 'Umrah

In the 6th year of Hegira, the Holy Prophet decided to go to Mecca for 'Umrah (minor pilgrimage). Muslims could not go on such rituals since the emigration. This journey, besides spiritual phases, was a kind of religious demonstration. It attracted the Meccan pilgrims and showed the increasing number of the Holy Prophet's followers. It also showed that the ceremonies of Hajj and 'Umrah, which were significant religious events for the infidels, were also accepted by Muhammad's religion and was among its acts of worship. This fact had tremendous effects on their hearts and affections. If Quraysh tried to stop the ceremony of 'Umrah, it would have a bad effect on the public opinion and this would be a

disadvantage for them. Quraysh had always encouraged pilgrimage; they used to entertain the pilgrims—an act that they always recognized as point of honor. Now if they stopped the Muslim participants, this would bring forth people's hatred.²⁴⁶

In Dhi'l-Qa'dah, the Holy Prophet entered Mecca with eighteen hundred followers.²⁴⁷ During this journey, he ordered his men to carry only one sword as weapon and take the sacrificial camels from Medina so that everybody could see that they did not intend to fight.

Quraysh became aware of the Holy Prophet's decision to enter Mecca. For this purpose, they left the city with their military troops. The Holy Prophet unwillingly had to stop at the land of Hudaibiyah. Quraysh sent several couriers to find out his intention. Each time, he informed them, "We have no intention to fight; we have come here to perform the ceremony of 'Umrah." However, Quraysh still made trouble for their entrance into Mecca.

The Ridhwan Allegiance

Ultimately, the Holy Prophet sent 'Uthman ibn 'Affan to explain to Quraysh the Holy Prophet's aims. It took long for 'Uthman to return. Rumors had it that he was killed.²⁴⁸ Now, the Holy Prophet asked his men to gather under a tree to convene an allegiance for perseverance.²⁴⁹ After this ceremony, it turned out that the rumor of 'Uthman's death was not true. Since this allegiance was held under a tree and God was pleased with the believers who participated in it, this pledge of allegiance was called Ridhwan (Pleasure) Allegiance or the Pledge of the Tree.²⁵⁰

The Hudaibiyah Truce

After the fruitless return of 'Uthman, Suhayl ibn 'Amr was sent to the Holy Prophet on the part of Quraysh for negotiation. He specified as a pre-condition of a conclusion of a truce that Muslims would not perform 'Umrah that year.²⁵¹ This negotiation terminated in the convention of the famous Hudaibiyah Truce that contained the following paragraphs:

- (1) The two parties agree on ten-year ceasefire, protection of people's security, refraining from molesting one another.
- (2) Muhammad and Muslims should not enter Mecca that year. The next year, Quraysh would leave Mecca for three days during which Muslims would enter there to perform 'Umrah on condition that each Muslim could carry one sword only.²⁵²
- (3) If an individual from Quraysh joins Muhammad without his father's consent, Muhammad shall send him back to Mecca; but if one of Muhammad's followers joins Quraysh, he will never be sent back.
- (4) Every tribe is free to enter into treaties with Muhammad or Quraysh.²⁵³
- (5) No party will betray the other or enter in a truce with the other party's enemy and no party will

practice any act of aggression against the other.

(6) Following the faith of Islam is free in Mecca and nobody is persecuted because of his belief.²⁵⁴

(7) Anyone of Muhammad's followers who enters Mecca for Hajj or 'Umrah or for trade shall have his or her life and property protected.²⁵⁵

The Prophet's Prediction

After reaching an agreement over the principles of truce, Imam 'Ali wrote down the written form of the truce beginning with, 'Bismillahir-Rahmanir-Rahim (In the Name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful)'. The representative of Quraysh objected to this statement and to the title of 'Rasul Allah (the Messenger of God)' given to the Holy Prophet. It took them a long time to settle this dispute. Finally, the Holy Prophet consented to it after realizing its benefits. While Imam 'Ali was erasing the statement, the Holy Prophet foretold him, "One day, this will happen to you and you will have to accept."²⁵⁶

This prediction came true when Imam 'Ali had to erase the title of 'Amir al-mu'minin (the Commander of the Believers)' during the truce he had to sign with Mu'awiyah immediately after the Battle of Siffin.²⁵⁷

Bearings of the Hdaybiyah Truce

Because they could not foresee the results, Muslims regarded this truce as loss.²⁵⁸ Some of them insisted on the Holy Prophet not to sign it.²⁵⁹ However, he predicted that this truce would carry numerous political and social benefits for Muslims some of which were the following:

(1) The enemy recognized Muslims and their creed through signing the truce. Before that, the unbelievers had never confessed Islam as an independent religion. Moreover, they always worked and wished for destroying this religion.

(2) The invulnerable wall between Muslims was broken by this truce. Due to opening a free passage between Mecca and Medina and the communications between the two parties, many unbelievers became Muslims after they had listened to the reasoning of Islam. The number of converts was more than the number of Muslims up to that point.²⁶⁰ It is worth noting that the Holy Prophet's followers during this journey numbered no more than 1800, but two years later and during the conquest of Mecca, the number was more than ten thousand. Considering this favorable situation for Muslims, Imam al-Sadiq says,

"Two years after the Hdaybiyah Truce, Islam was almost the prevailing religion of Mecca."²⁶¹

(3) Before the Hdaybiyah Truce, the enmity and aggressions of Quraysh had not given a chance to the Holy Prophet to propagate his ideology inside and outside the Arabian Peninsula. After that, the Holy Prophet could liquidate the surroundings of Medina and dispatch several missionaries to different territories. Inviting the world leaders to Islam could take place only after the Hdaybiyah Truce.

(4) This truce indirectly led to the seizure of Mecca because, in accordance with its fourth paragraph, the alliance of tribes with Quraysh or Muslims was a matter of free choice and the tribe of Khuza'ah allied with Muslims. However, Quraysh attacked this tribe and thus breached the truce causing the Holy Prophet to seize Mecca.

Regarding such bright results, the Hudaibiyah Truce can be seen as a great victory for Muslims. Surah al-Fath was revealed to the Holy Prophet when he was on his way to sign on this truce.²⁶² God called this treaty as a clear victory.²⁶³

1. Yaqut al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan, 4:238.

2. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Medina, pp. 294.

It is said that the Jews had had fifty-nine castles and dwelling-places at Yathrib before the tribes of Aws and Khazraj resided there. On the other side, the Arab tribes had only thirteen castles and dwelling places. See op cit, pp. 293; Wafa al-Wafa 1:165.

This vividly shows the social distances between these two.

3. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:70; Tabari, op cit, 2:234; al-Bayhaqi, Dala'il al-Nubuwwah 2:128; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:51; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Huda, pp. 56.

Although they had been expecting the advent of the Promised Prophet, the Jews stood against the Holy Prophet. For this reason, the Holy Qur'an reprimanded them in the following manner:

And when there came to them [the Israelites] a book from Allah verifying that which they have, and aforetime they used to pray for victory against those who disbelieve, but when there came to them prophet that which they did not recognize, they disbelieved in him; so Allah's curse is on the unbelievers. (2:89).

4. Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 57.

5. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:67-70; Tabari, op cit, 2:233; al-Buladhari, Ansab Al-Ashraf 1:238; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 2:118.

6. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 70-73; Tabari, op cit, pp. 234-235; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, 2:128; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 19:25.

7. 'Aqabah, meaning a pass, is situated to the west of Mecca.

8. Five of them had sworn allegiance with the Holy Prophet in the last year, while seven paid homage this year.

9. This treaty was termed bay'at al-nisa', because the issues of war not included in it. After the conquest of Mecca, the Holy Prophet asked women to swear their allegiance. This issue is brought up in a verse in Surah al-Mumtahanah that reads,

O Prophet! When believing women come to you giving you a pledge that they will not associate aught with Allah, and will not steal, and will not commit fornication, and will not kill their children, and will not bring a calumny which they have forged of themselves, and will not disobey you in what is good; accept their pledge, and ask forgiveness for them from Allah; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. (60:12).

10. op cit, Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:220.

11. Muz'ab was a young man from a rich family that belonged to Banu-'Abd al-Dar, Quraysh. Although his parents loved him passionately, he was deprived of everything due to his belief in Islam. He was a zealous Muslim who had migrated to Abyssinia twice. See Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 4:368-370.

12. Al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 132-140; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 81-90; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 240-254; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 221-223; Tabari, op cit, pp. 237; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 54; al-Majlisi, op cit, 19:25-26.

13. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:357; Tabari, op cit, 2:240-241; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:226; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 26.

14. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:111; Ibn Shahrashub, al-Manaqib 1:182; Ibn Kathir, al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 3:169.

15. Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:189.

16. op cit.

17. The event of Dar al-Nidwah (House of Consultation) and Laylat al-Mabit (the Night of Staying) have been recorded in the following reference books, yet with little difference: Tarikh al-Tabari 2:242-245; al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 2:124-128; Al-

- Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:227–228; Dala'il al-Nubuwwah 2:147; Ansab al-Ashraf 1:259–260; al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:101–103; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:32; l'lam al-Wara, pp. 61; Shaykh al-Tusi's al-Amali, pp. 245–247 and 463–471; Ibn Shahrashub's Manaqib 1:182–183; al-Khawarizmi's Manaqib, p73; al-Karajaki's Kanz al-Fawa'id 2:55; Ibn Kathir's al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 3:175–180; Ibn Husham's al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 2:189–206; al-Khatib al-Baghdadi's Tarikh Baghdad 13:191–192; Bihar al-Anwar 19:47–65.
18. Al-Fattal al-Naysaburi, Rawdhat al-Wa'ii'n, pp. 117; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 4:25; Shablanji, Nur al-Abzar, pp. 86; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 1:301; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 13:262; Sibti ibn al-Jawzi, Tadhkirat al-Khawazz, pp. 35; Abu-Bakr Hamawi, Thamarat al-Awraq, pp. 20; 'Allamah Amini, al-Ghadir 2:48. 'Allamah Amini has reported this event from different reference books, such as, al-Mu'afar's Dala'il al-Sidq 2:80. Al-Mu'afar, al-Tha'labi, al-Qanaduzi, al-Hakim al-Naysaburi, Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Abu'l-Sa'adat, al-Ghazzali, al-Fakhr al-Razi, and al-Dhahbi—all these Sunni master scholars report that this verse was revealed about Imam 'Ali's self-sacrifice at that night.
19. Saduq, al-Khizal 2:367; Mufid, al-Ikhtizaz, pp. 165.
20. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 2:129; Tabari, op cit, 2:247; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:261; Ibn Shahrashub, al-Manaqib 1:183.
21. Shaykh al-Tusi, al-Amali, pp. 468; Mufid, al-Ikhtizaz, pp. 147; al-Suyuti, Tarikh al-Khulafa', pp. 166.
22. Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:292; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 19:87.
23. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 137; Tabari, op cit, pp. 248; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 64; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 263; al-Bayhaqi, Dala'il al-Nubuwwah 2:172
24. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, op cit, 1:185; al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 166, 172; Tabari, op cit, 2:249.
25. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 138; Tabari, op cit, pp. 249.
26. Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, pp. 183; see l'lam al-Wara, pp. 66; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:34
27. op cit.
28. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:135; Mas'udi, al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 252, Ibn al-Athir, Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 1:10; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:23–24.
29. Tarikh al-Tabari 2:252; Nur al-Din al-Samhudi, Wafa' al-Wafa' 1:248; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 40:218 as reported by Ibn Shahrashub.
30. al-Buladhari, Futuh al-Buldan, pp. 71–72. In the body of this document, the name of 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib is recorded; see 3:46–48.
31. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kittani, al-Taratib al-Idariyyah 1:181.
32. Husayn Diyarbakri, Tarikh al-Khamis 1:368.
33. al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:531.
34. A branch of Banu-Bakr tribe.
35. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 534.
36. Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'`am 3:55.
37. Tabari, op cit, pp. 252; Ibn Kathir, al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 7:73–74; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 12:74; Ibn al-Athir, Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 1:10–11.
38. Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:175; Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'`am 3:35. Refer to this book for further information.
39. Yaqut al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan 5:430.
40. Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:239; Tabari, Tarikh 2:256; al-Bayhaqi, Dala'il al-Nubuwwah 2:187; Ibn Shahrashub, al-Manaqib 3:215; al-Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:252; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 19:124.
41. One of these two chambers was for Sawdah and the other for 'A'ishah. See Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra, op cit, pp. 240; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah, op cit, pp. 273.
42. Ibn Husham, Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 2:143; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib, op cit, pp. 186.
43. Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:34.
44. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 255; Nur al-Din al-Samhudi, Wafa' al-Wafa' 2:453–458; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 17:81, 22:66, 118, 310, 70:128–129, 72:38; Majma' al-Bayan 2:386; 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kittani, al-Taratib al-Idariyyah 1:473–480.
45. Abu-Na'im Izfahani, Hilyat al-Awliya' 1:339–340. Abu-Na'im has given a detailed account of the Suffah Followers. He

introduces all the members of this group who were fifty-one in number one by one. Among them, there is no name of any woman. Some of them were Bilal, al-Bara' Ibn Malik, Jundab ibn Janadah, Hudhayfah ibn al-Yaman, Khabbab ibn al-Aratt, Dhu'l-Bihadayn, Salman, Sa'id ibn Abi-Waqqaz, Sa'd ibn Malik (Abu-Sa'id al-Khidri), Salim (Abu-Hudhayfah's freed slave) and 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud.

46. These are the Jews of Banu-'Amr ibn 'Awf and other native Jews of Medina. However, the other three Jewish tribes of Banu-Qaynuqa', Banu'l-Nadhir, and Banu-Quray'ah signed another treaty with the Holy Prophet the description of which will be given later.

47. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2: 147–150. For more information concerning the paragraphs of this contract, see Furugh Abadiyyat 1:462–465.

48. Muslim historians have asserted that this treaty was signed after the Holy Prophet's first sermon in Medina, which shows that it was one of the first actions of the Holy Prophet in this city.

49. That was five or eight months after Hegira. See al-Samhudi, op cit, 1:267; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 19: 130.

50. Ibn Husham. op cit, 2: 150; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 1:238; Halabi, op cit, 2:292; al-Majlisi, op cit, 19: 130. This fraternization was based on the common Faith, as confirmed in the following narration, "Allah's Messenger associated as brothers between Muhajirun and Anzar by the brotherhood of faith." See Tusi, al-Amali, pp. 587.

51. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2: 150; 'Asqalani, al-Izabab 2:507; Qanaduzi, Yanabi' al-Mawaddah 1:55; Sibti ibn al-Jawzi, Tadhkirat al-Khawazz, pp. 20, 22,23; Musnad Ahmad; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 3:35; Halabi, op cit, 2:292; Samhudi, op cit, 1:268; Al-Mu'afar, Dala'il al-Sidq 2:268–271.

52. Qanaduzi, op cit, 1:55 as quoted from Musnad Ahmad; Amini, al-Ghadir 3: 112; Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'm 3:60; Tusi, al-Amali, pp. 587.

The reports of the brotherhood between Imam 'Ali and the Holy Prophet are authentic. Accordingly, the statements of Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn Kathir reveal their personal attitudes. They lack any scientific authenticity. See al-Ghadir 3: 112–125, 174, 227 and 7:336.

53. Al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 1:379; Ibn Shabbah, Tarikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah 2:289.

54. Musnad Ahmad 3:204; Halabi, op cit, 2:292; Ibn Kathir, op cit, 3:338; Ibn Shabbah, op cit, pp. 490.

55. There are disagreement among historians concerning the birthplace, previous homeland, and lineage of these three Jewish tribes. It is said that after the pressures which were leveled at them by the Roman Empire at Damascus, the Jews came to the Arabian Peninsula, specifically Yathrib, and lived there. See Mu'jam al-Buldan 5:84; Wafa' al-Wafa' 1: 160. Then, the Qahtani tribes, namely Aws and Khazraj, went there to live after the destructions of the Ma'rib Dam. See Mu'jam al-Buldan 1:36; Ibn al-Athir, Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 1:656.

As we have already said, there were continual conflicts between these two groups. However, some historians contend that they were the Arab natives of the Arabian Peninsula and they had adopted this religion due to Jewish propagation. See Ahmad Susah, Mufazzal al-'Arab wa'l-Yahuf fi'l-Tarikh, pp. 627–629.

Some others ascribe the Jewish settlement at Yathrib to the time of Prophet Moses. This, However, seems to be legendary. See Mu'jam al-Buldan 5:84; Wafa' al-Wafa' 1: 157.

According to some historical documents and narrations, the Jews, having realized some of the signs of the forthcoming advent of the Promised Prophet, went to Fadak, Khaybar, Tayma' and Yathrib in search of his emigration. They thus settled there. See Mu'jam al-Buldan 5:84; Wafa' al-Wafa' 1: 160; Shaykh al-Kulayni, al-Rawdhah min al-Kafi, pp. 309; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 15:226.

This issue is in harmony with the first hypothesis. Upon receiving a lot of pressures from Rome, the Jews might have headed of this place from prophecies. Some narrations confirm this issue. See Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:351; Wafa' al-Wafa' 1: 160.

There are some disagreements concerning the lineage of these three Jewish tribes as to whether they belonged to the Israelites or the Arabs. The majority of scholars emphasize the second view. See Ahmad Susah, op cit, pp. 627. Ya'qubi, too considers the tribes of Banu'l-Nadhir and Banu-Quray'ah as Arabs. See Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:40, 42; Wafa' al-Wafa' 1: 162.

The following evidence confirms the validity of the first view:

(1) Numerous verses of the Holy Qur'an are addressing the Jews as Israelites.

(2) The Jews' opposition to the Holy Prophet is based on racial grounds; that is to say, the Holy Prophet did not belong to the Israelites.

(3) Arab genealogists have not referred to these Jews as Arabs.

56. Tabarsi, *I'lam al-Wara*, pp. 69; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 1:176, 365, 367 and 2:464; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 3:231; *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi*, 2:43. After that, the Holy Prophet punished these three tribes because they breached their treaties with him.

57. al-Majlisi, *op cit*, pp. 69, 110.

58. Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 2:160, 166; al-Nuwayri, *Nihayat al-Irab* 1:332.

59. Halabi, *al-Sirat al-Halabiyyah* 1:337; al-Nuwayri, *op cit*, p339; Ibn Husham, *op cit*, pp. 174.

60. Ibn Husham, *op cit*, pp. 237–238; al-Bayhaqi, *op cit*, 2:165; al-Nuwayri, *op cit*, 1:338; Ibn Shabbah, *Tarikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 1:357; Dahlan, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah wa'l-Athar al-Muhammadiyah* 1:184.

61. Mas'udi, *al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf*, pp. 237.

62. *Qur'an* 7:157; 2:26, 89, 101; 3:81, 187; 6:114; 28:52

63. Halabi, *op cit*, 1:302; al-Bayhaqi, *op cit*, 2:186; Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:51; al-Maghazi 1:367.

64. *Qur'an* 4:153; *Qur'an* 3:183.

65. Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 2:160; Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:54; Halabi, *op cit*, 1:321–322; Zayni Dahlan, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:178–180.

66. Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 2:204–205; Halabi, *op cit*, 2:319–320.

67. *Qur'an*, 2:96.

68. *Qur'an* 2:90, 109; 4:54; Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 2:160; Zayni Dahlan, *op cit*, 1:176; al-Maghazi 1:365.

69. Banu-Qaynuqa' were engaged in silversmith's trade. (Montgomery, Muhammad at Medina). There was a market in Medina carrying their name. (Ibn Shabbah, *Tarikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 1:306; Yaqt al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* 4:424).

Banu'l-Nadhir and Banu-Quray'ah constructed housing buildings and castles in the outskirts of Medina. They were engaged in agriculture and gardening. (Yaqt al-Hamawi, *op cit*; al-Samhudi, *Wafa' al-Wafa'* 1:161)

70. *Qur'an* 4:161.

71. Ibn Husham, *Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2:188.

72. *Qur'an* 9:31.

73. *Qur'an* 2:79, 3:187, 9:34; al-Bayhaqi, *Dala'il al-Nubuwwah*.

74. *Qur'an* 2:97–98; Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 1:175; Halabi, *al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah* 1:329.

75. *Qur'an* 4:46, 155–158, 9:30.

76. Murtadha al-'Amili, *al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'`am* 3:106; *Sahih al-Bukhari* 7:486; *Sahih Muslim* 14:80.

77. Murtadha al-'Amili, *op cit*, 1:175–176.

78. *Sahih al-Bukhari*, 9:772.

79. Halabi, *op cit*, 1:372; Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:52.

80. Halabi, *op cit*, 2:332.

81. Ibn Wadhih, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:34; Ibn Sa'd, *op cit*, 1:242; al-Hurr al-'Amili, *Wasa'il al-Shi'ah*, pp. 216; *Tabataba'i, al-Mizan* 1:331.

The date of the change of kiblāh is reported to have been between seven and eighteen months after the migration. See *Wafa' al-Wafa'* 1:361–364; *Bihar al-Anwar* 19:113. As for 'Allamah *Tabataba'i*, he confirms that it was seventeen months after the migration.

82. *Tabataba'i, al-Mizan* 1:333. Based on some reports, the Holy Prophet never turned his back to the Kaaba throughout his residence in Mecca. See *Wasa'il al-Shi'ah* 3:216.

However, the Holy Prophet considered the Kaaba to be equal to Jerusalem; therefore, he used to face both directions in prayer. See Halabi, *al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah* 2:357.

83. Permission to fight is given to those upon whom war is made because they are oppressed, and most surely Allah is well able to assist them; those who have been expelled from their homes without a just cause. (*Qur'an*, 22:39–40)

See *al-Mizan* 14:383; *Tarikh Ya'qubi* 2:36.

84. Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:112.
85. The number of the wars in which the Holy Prophet took part is said to be twenty-six, while expeditions were thirty-six. See Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:186; Tabarsi, *I'lam al-Wara*, pp. 72.
Some historians have considered the number of such expeditions to be more than this number. See Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab* 2:282.
Bukhari recognizes this number to be nineteen. See *Sahih al-Bukhari* 6:327.
86. al-Waqidi, *al-Maghazi* 1:9-11; al-Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 2:259; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2:245, 251. Ibn Ishaq states that these expeditions took place in the second year of Hegira. (Tabari: op cit). If we accept this, we have to set the date of the formation of the Islamic army at the second year of Hegira. This too, would not take away anything of the significance of the Holy Prophet's preventative procedures.
87. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 11-13; Tabari, op cit, pp. 259-261.
88. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 9.
89. Montgomery, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 5.
90. Later on, this threat was implemented. As a consequence, Quraysh tried to find another route for trade because they worried about the cut off of the trade route to Damascus.
91. After the Holy Prophet's emigration, 'Aqil confiscated his residential area in Mecca as well as the houses of Banu-Hashim's emigrants. When the Holy Prophet conquered Mecca, he established a tent at Hajun outside Mecca. He was asked why he had not gone to his previous house. He answered, "Has 'Aqil left any house for us?" See al-Waqidi, *al-Maghazi* 3:828; Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 2:136; Qastalan, *al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah* 1:318.
'Aqil's heirs sold that house to al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf's brother with one hundred thousand Dinars! See Halabi, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:101-102.
After the emigration of Banu-Jahsh ibn Ri'ab, their houses were empty. Under the pretext that his daughter was the wife of one of those, Abu-Sufyan confiscated their houses. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2:145.
Besides, when Suhayb emigrated to Medina, The unbelievers started to chase him and took away from him his money but he escaped to safety (Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:121).
92. Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, *Hayat Muhammad*, pp. 224-248.
93. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2:255; al-Buladhari *Ansab al-Ashraf* 1:371-372; al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:13-19; al-Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 2:262-264; Ibn Shabbah, *Tarikh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 1:472-477.
94. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:20.
95. Al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 27; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 19:245-274.
96. Badr is located in the southwest of Medina. Today, it is a city. The highway between Jeddah and Mecca passes through this district. It is 153 kilometers away from Medina and 343 kilometers from Mecca. See Muhammad 'Abduh al-Yamani, *Badr al-Kubra*, pp. 25.
Since the construction of Medina-Mecca highway, pilgrims do not cross this direction during the Hajj ceremonies.
97. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:258.
98. Muhammad ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 2:20, Tabari, op cit, 2:272.
99. Muslims had seventy camels; several persons would ride one camel. (al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 26; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 264.) They had only one horse. (Shaykh al-Mufid, *al-Irshad*, pp. 73; Ibn Shahrashub, *Manaqib* 1:187; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 19:323; *Musnad Ahmad* 1:125) Some historians say that they had two horses. (al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 26; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 12-24; *Tarikh Ya'qubi* 2:37). They had six armors and eight swords. (Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, pp. 187; al-Majlisi, op cit, 19:323)
100. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:258; Al-Waqid, op cit, 1:28.
101. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 270; Al-Waqid, op cit, pp. 41.
102. Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:269; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:15; Is op cit, 1:187; al-Majlisi, op cit, 19:219.
103. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 266-268; al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 48-49; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 14.
104. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 278; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 15-19; pp. 20.
105. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 277; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 17-23; al-Majlisi, op cit, 19:279; Ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:125.

106. Shaykh Mufid, al-Irshad, pp. 69.
107. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 18; Tabari, op cit, 2:294; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:37.
108. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 18–22; al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 116; Tabari, op cit, pp. 294; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:37; Ibn Shahrashub, al-Manaqib 1:189; al-Majlisi, op cit, 19:291.
109. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 17; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:37; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, p189.
110. Zayd ibn Thabit learnt reading and writing in this way. (Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 22–26)
111. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 18.
112. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 115.
113. op cit, pp. 121.
114. op cit, pp. 21.
115. op cit, pp. 78.
116. Prior to his prophethood, the Holy Prophet did not have any military experience. Historians refer to his limited war experience in his youth during the Battle of al-Fujjar. Yet, he acted in the Battle of Badr as an experienced warrior.
117. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:23; Musnad Ahmad 1: 126; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah.
118. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 1:24; Shaykh al-Mufid, Kitab al-Irshad, pp. 72
119. Shaykh Mufid, op cit, pp. 70–72; al-Buladhari and al-Waqidi state that this group consisted of eighteen members. (Ansab al-Ashraf 1:297–301; al-Maghazi 1:152; Bihar al-Anwar 1:293). During the Battle of the Allies (al-Ahzab, also called the Battle of al-Khandaq) in the third year of Hegira, 'Amr ibn 'Abd-Wudd, a great Arab warrior, called for an opponent to fight. It was Imam 'Ali who faced him. Belittling Imam 'Ali, 'Amr said, "Your father was a friend of mine, I do not desire to kill you." Ibn Abi'l-Hadid writes, "'Amr was a liar; he had seen how Imam 'Ali fought in the Battle of Badr; therefore, he was sure that 'Ali would kill him. That is why he bluffed."
120. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 4; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:385–386; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 19:247.
121. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 54; Halabi, op cit, pp. 392. The army of Quraysh could not sleep due to their worry; they even could not eat. (al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 54).
122. Shaykh Mufid, op cit, pp. 73; Musnad Ahmad 1: 125; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 19:279.
123. Al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 76–79; Ibn Husham, op cit, 2:286.
124. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 49.
125. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 115; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:294.
126. Tabari, op cit, 2:297.
127. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1: 121; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:55; al-Bayhaqi, 2:341.
128. Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:38.
129. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1: 197–198.
130. It is also called Sariyyat al-Qardah. See Bihar al-Anwar 20:4; Tabari, op cit, 3:5.
131. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:53–54; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:4–5.
132. "Say to those who disbelieve: you shall be vanquished, and driven together to hell; and evil is the resting-place. Indeed there was a sign for you in the two hosts which met together in encounter; one party fighting in the way of Allah and the other unbelieving, whom they saw twice as many as themselves with the sight of the eye; and Allah strengthens whom He pleases most surely there is a lesson in this for those who have sight." (Qur'an 3:12–13)
133. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1: 176; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:50–52; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:308–309; Tabari, op cit, 2:297–298.
134. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 178.
135. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 178; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:50.
136. It seems that the Holy Prophet accepted the arbitration of 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy because he was superficially Muslim and the Holy Prophet would do everything to keep the unity of Muslims.
137. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 179.
138. al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 43:97
139. al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 108; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:34.
140. Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 8: 19.
141. al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 93.

142. Amini, al-Ghadir 3:20.
143. al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 92.
144. al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 112.
145. For further information, refer to Ja'far Shahidi, Zandegani Fatimah, pp 44–76; Al-Khayyami, Zawjat al-Nabi wa-Awladuhu, pp. 322–328.
146. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:200; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:64; Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:37.
147. The number of the enemy troops was three thousand, seven hundred of whom wore armors. They had two hundred horses and one thousand camels. See al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 203–204; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 37; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, 14:217.
148. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 202–203, Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 37, Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:66.
149. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 204, 206; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 14:37. According to some narrations, Banu-Khuza'ah, the allies of the Holy Prophet, relayed the information to the Holy Prophet who might have received it from both sources. See Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, pp. 218.
150. al-Waqidi op cit, pp. 210, 212, 213; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:67; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 38.
151. Mount Uhud is to north of Medina. Due to the natural obstacles to the south, the enemy could not penetrate into Medina; they had to go around the city to attack it from the north. See Muhammad Hamidullah, Rasul Akram dar Maydan Jang, pp. 79–85.
152. Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:191; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:117.
153. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:219; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:39; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:68.
154. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 219; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 2:533.
155. al-Waqidi, op cit. pp. 220; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 39; al-Samhudi, Wafa' al-Wafa' 1:225.
156. al-Waqidi, op cit p,220.
157. al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:49; Ibn Husham 3:70; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:34–40; Samhudi, op cit, 1:285; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:14.
158. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:221; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:106.
159. Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:18; al-'Asqalani, al-Izabah 1:354. Other historians state that the battle broke out on the third, seventh, eighth, ninth, or eleventh of Shawwal. See Tarikh al-Tabari 3:14; al-Samhudi, Wafa' al-Wafa' 1:281.
160. Al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:547. It is also said that the casualties of the enemies were twenty-three or twenty-eight. See Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 15:54; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:43; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:328.
161. Shaykh al-Mufid, Kitab al-Irshad, pp. 88; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:51; al-Tabrisi, Majma' al-Bayan 2:496.
162. Tarikh al-Tabari 3:17; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:41; al-Samhudi, Wafa' al-Wafa' 1:288; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:26.
163. Shaykh al-Saduq, al-Khizal, pp. 560.
164. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:83; Tarikh al-Tabari 3:17; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:51; al-Tabrisi, Majma' al-Bayan 2:496. Referring to this incident, Hassan ibn Thabit, the Holy Prophet's poet, composed the following:
Had it not been for the banner of that woman of Banu-Harith,
They would have become a cheap commodity in marts!
- See Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:84; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 14:217.
165. Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:41–42; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:82; Tarikh al-Tabari 3:17, al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:26–29.
166. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:82; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:26–27.
167. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:42; al-Samhudi, Wafa' al-Wafa' 1:286.
168. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:43, 45; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:93; al-Samhudi, op cit, 1:288; Sayyid 'Ali-Khan Madani, al-Darajat al-Rafi'ah, pp. 283.
169. al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf, pp. 322.
170. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:42.
171. Holy Qur'an 3:153–154; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 318; Tabari, op cit, 3:20; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:47; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 15:23, 25.

172. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:47; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 15:21, 29.
173. Shaykh al-Mufid, Kitab al-Irshad, pp. 89; Tabari, op cit, 3:17; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:154; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 14:250; Ibn 'Asakir, Tarikh Madinat Dimashq 1:150; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:88.
174. Tabari, op cit, 3:17; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 14:251; Shaykh al-Mufid, op cit, pp. 87; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:54, 103, 105, 107.
175. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:47-48; al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:327; Tabari, op cit, 3:24; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 15:30-31; Khargushi Sharaf al-Nabi; Halabi, op cit, 2:531; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:32 and 45.
176. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:328; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 82; Khargushi, op cit pp. 346; Samhudi, op cit, 1:291-292; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:18; Halabi 2:547.
177. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:110; Halabi, op cit, 2:550.
178. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:107, 110; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 15:31, 33; Halabi, op cit, 2:550; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:40, 41, 99.
179. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:317-318.
180. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:317; Halabi, op cit, 2:549.
181. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:112.
182. al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:342.
183. Al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 340-343; Muhammad Ibn Sa'd. Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:50.
184. According to some accounts, it was forty people. See Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:34; Ibn Husham al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:194; al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 1:347.
185. Tabari, op cit, 3:33-34; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 2:533; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:195-196; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:147-148; al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 346-348; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:193; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:51-53.
186. Tabari, op cit, pp. 34; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:195; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 53.
187. Some historians have set the date of this event prior to the Battle of Uhud, mentioned other reasons. Sayyid Ja'far Murtadha al-'Amili consents to this opinion. Al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'`am 6:32-44.
188. Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:53; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:195; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:35; al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:352.
189. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 352, 364.
190. al-Bayhaqi, op cit, pp. 335; al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:365-366; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 88.
191. Holy Qur'an 59:11; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 10:264; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:165, 169.
192. Samhudi, op cit, 1:298.
193. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:199-203; Tabari, op cit, 3:36-39; al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 1:363-380; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf, pp. 339; Samhudi, Wafa' al-Wafa' 1:297-298.
194. Samhudi, op cit, pp. 299; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 201; al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:377; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 171-172.
195. Ibn 'Abbas gives Surah al-Hashr the name of Surah Banu'l-Nadhir. See Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 10:258.
196. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:343; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:65; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:224.
197. Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, Hayat Muhammad, pp. 329.
198. They promised to pay the yield of dates of Khaybar to Ghatafan due to their alliance. See al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:343; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:44.
199. Tabari, op cit, 3:44; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:225.
200. Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:66; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:443; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:197; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:197.
201. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:343.
202. Ibn Sa'd, 62, pp. 66; Tabari, 63, pp. 46; Ibn Husham, 3, pp. 230; Samhudi, 1, pp. 301; al-Majlisi, 20, pp. 200.
203. al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:454.
204. Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:631.
205. Shaykh al-Mufid, al-Irshad, pp. 96; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:197.
206. Halabi, op cit 2:636; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:66.
207. al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 343; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 2, pp. 66; Tabari, op cit, 3:44; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:198; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 90; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:218.

208. According to Ibn Sa'd, it took them six days to dig the ditch. (Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:67). Muhammad Hamidullah, a contemporary researcher who has observed the battlefields of the Muslim wars closely, believes that the ditch was built in the shape of the letter N, being five and a half kilometers long (Rasul Akram dar Maydan Jang, pp. 113–114). The basis of this calculation has most probably been the fact that at the time of digging, all of the three thousand troops were divided in groups of ten individuals, and each group dug forty cubits (Tabari, op cit, 3:46; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:198). Each person had to dig four cubits, which was equal to six kilometers.

209. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:67; Tabari, op cit, 3:46; Halabi, op cit, 2:636.

210. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:66; Tabari, op cit, 3:46; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:231; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:200; Samhudi, op cit, 1:301.

211. al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 343; Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:66; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:231; Tabari, op cit, 3:46; Samhudi, op cit, 1:301.

212. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:343; Tabari, op cit, 3:48; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:41; Halabi, op cit, 2:636, 657.

213. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:67; Halabi, op cit, 2:636–637

214. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 67; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:231; Tabari, op cit, 3:46–47; Samhudi, op cit, 1:303; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:200–201.

215. Samhudi, op cit, 1:304; Halabi, op cit, 2:647.

216. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:347; al-Waqidi, 2, pp. 462–463; Tabari, op cit, 3:50; Samhudi, op cit, 1:302.

217. al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:460; Halabi, op cit, 2:636.

Abu-Bakr is reported to have said that during the Battle of the Allies and due to Banu-Quray'ah's treason, the danger of Banu-Quray'ah on the lives of women and children inside Medina was greater than the danger of Quraysh and Ghatafan al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 460.

218. The Holy Prophet is reported to have said, "War depends upon tactics."

219. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:64; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:240; Tabari, op cit, 3:50–51; Halabi, op cit, 2:650; Samhudi, op cit, 1:304; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:207.

220. Muhammad Hamidullah, Rasul Akram dar Maydan Jang, pp. 128.

221. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:68; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:470; Tabari, op cit, 3:48; Shaykh al-Mufid, al-Irshad; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:203.

222. At a place called Yalyal, 'Amr, alone, fought a group of enemies. See Bihar al-Anwar 20:203.

Because he had been wounded at the Battle of Badr, he did not participate in the Battle of Uhud. See Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:235; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:48; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:181.

223. al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:470; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 13:291 and 19:63; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:203.

224. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, op cit, 19:61; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:215.

225. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:345; Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:68; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:236; Tabari, op cit, 3:48; Samhudi, op cit, 1:303.

226. Al-Karajaki, Kanz al-Fawa'id 1:298; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:205–216.

227. Al-Hakim al-Naysaburi, al-Mustadrak 'Ala'l-Sahihayn 3:32.

228. Al-Karajaki, op cit, pp. 299.

229. al-Buladhari, op cit, 1:345; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:71; Tabari, op cit, 3:51–52; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:198; Tabarsi, I'lam al-Wara, pp. 92; Samhudi, op cit, 1:305; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:208–209.

230. Shaykh al-Mufid, al-Irshad, pp. 106; Sahih al-Bukhari 5:215; Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 8:345; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:209.

231. Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:42; al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:492; Ibn Husham al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:264; Tabari, op cit, 3:58; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:198.

The number of the martyrs of this war is reported to have been higher than this. See Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, the History of the Prophet of Islam, pp. 372.

232. al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:496; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:265; Tabari, op cit, 3:59; Ibn Shahrashub, op cit, 1:198. Ya'qubi has recorded the number of martyrs as eight. (Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:42).

233. For further information concerning this war, refer to the following reference books: Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:74–78; Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:53–58; al-Maghazi 2:496–524; al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:244–261; Wafa' al-Wafa'

1:305–309; Bihar al-Anwar 20:233–238.

234. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 3:256; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:58.

The Holy Prophet sent another group to Damascus under the leadership of Sa'd ibn 'Abadah. (al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:533). For further information about the Battle of the Allies and Banu-Quray'ah, refer to al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an 16:291–303.

235. Montgomery Watt, Muhammad at Medina, pp. 327. The writer criticizes this verdict. Referring Banu-Quray'ah's treason, he writes, "At the Battle of the Allies and the siege of Medina, the status of Muslims was extremely perilous and there was the danger of Banu-Quray'ah's joining the enemies. In that case, Muslim's conditions would have become even worse and the Islamic movement would have ceased for ever. They should have been treated kindly by Muhammad." See Mustafa Husayni Tabataba'i, Treason in the Historical Accounts 3:164–165.

236. The secret reports of Banu-Quray'ah show their extreme aggression and obstinacy. Although one of them, together with his wife and children, was pardoned by the Holy Prophet upon the request of some Muslims, he preferred death to stopping obstinacy! See Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 3:253–254.

237. al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:492.

238. The Old Testament, Book of Deuteronomy, Chapter 20. For further information about Sa'd's judgment, see Ja'far Subhani, Furugh-e-Abadiyyat 2:154–157; Mustafa Tabataba'i, Treason in the Historical Accounts 3:161–173.

239. Sayyid Ja'far Shahidi, Tarikh Tahlili Islam ta Payan Umawiyyan, pp. 73–75.

240. Sayyid 'Ali Mir Sharifi, A quick Look at the War of Banu-Quray'ah.

241. Some historians, including al-Buladhari, al-Waqidi, and Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, reckon this war among the events of the fifth year of Hegira. For this reason, they have put it before the Battle of the Allies. Some reasons confirm their position. See al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 3:302; Wafa' al-Wafa' 1:314.

242. For this reason, it is also called the Battle of Musayri'.

243. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:302–308; Tabari, op cit, 3:63–66; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:281–290.

244. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:308; Mufid, al-Irshad, pp. 118–119; Ibn Shahrashub, Manaqib 1:201.

245. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:307–308; al-Waqidi, op cit, 1:411; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 94. In some other historical records, there is another account of this marriage.

246. When Quraysh stopped the entrance of Muslims to Mecca, a great man of Mecca, named Hulays ibn 'Alqamah, threatened that if they continued in this way, he would mobilize his tribe against them. See Ibn Husham, Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 3:326; Tarikh al-Tabari 3:75; Muhammad Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:96; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:696.

247. Shaykh al-Kulayni, al-Rawdhah min al-Kafi, pp. 322. The number of the Holy Prophet's companions is said to have been seven hundred, or one thousand and three hundred, or four hundred and twenty-five, or six hundred. See al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:689; al-Maghazi 2:614; Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:95, 98; Tarikh al-Tabari 3:72; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah 3:332; Majma' al-Bayan 9:110.

248. al-Maghazi 2:602.

249. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 330; Tabari, op cit, pp. 78; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 97, 99; al-Buladhari, Ansab al-Ashraf 1:350; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 96.

250. The Holy Qur'an reads,

"Certainly Allah was well pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down tranquility on them and rewarded them with a near victory. (48:18)"

251. Tabari, op cit, pp. 78; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 331.

252. On the basis of this paragraph, the Holy Prophet and Muslims had to perform the 'Umrah ceremony in the seventh year of Hegira. It is thus called 'Umrat al-Qadha'.

253. The tribe of Khuza'ah announced paid homage to the Muslims; while Banu-Bakr convened a contract with Quraysh.

254. Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 97; al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 350–351; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 332; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 97; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:352; and see Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:97, 101, 102.

255. Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 97; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah, 2:77; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:350, 352.

256. Tabarsi, Majma' al-Bayan 9:118; al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:334, 350.

For further information regarding the Hdaybiyah Truce, see Ahmad Miyaji, Makatib al-Rasul 1:275, 287; Muhammad Hamidullah, Watha'iq, pp. 66, 68.

257. Nazr ibn Muzahim, Waq'at Siffin, pp. 508–509; Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 97; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:179; al-Daynawari, al-Akhbar al-Tiwal, pp. 194; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 3:32; Halabi, op cit, pp. 708.

258. al-Majlisi, op cit, 20:350.

259. al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:607; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:331; Tarikh al-Tabari 3:97; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:706. The explicit opposition of some Muslims to the Holy Prophet's resolution was a sign of obstinacy on their part towards him. This issue was repeated several times by some of them and this was the source of many bitter events in the history of Islam. This is in contrast with the view that Muslims should be obedient to God's commands. God says in this regard: "And it behooves not a believing man and a believing woman that they should have any choice in their matter when Allah and His Apostle have decided a matter; and whoever disobeys Allah and His Apostle, he surely strays off a manifest straying." (Qur'an 33:36)

260. Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:336; Tabari, op cit, 3:81; Halabi, op cit, 2:721.

261. Tabarsi, l'Iam al-Wara, pp. 98; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 20:363.

262. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:104, 105; Ibn Husham, op cit, 3:334; Tabarsi, l'Iam al-Wara, pp. 98; Halabi, op cit, pp. 714.

263. "Surely, we have given to you a clear victory. (48:1)

Chapter One: Universal Invitation to Islam

Chapter Two: The spread of Islam

Chapter Three: The Farewell Pilgrimage and the Demise of the Prophet

Chapter 1: Universal Invitation to Islam

The Holy Prophet's Universal Mission

Although the faith of Islam appeared in the Arabian Peninsula among the Arab nation and the Holy Prophet was an Arab, Islam was not a local faith that is restricted to the Arab nation. To prove, the Holy Qur'an addressed neither Quraysh nor the Arab nation; rather, it addresses all people. In some verses that order Muslims to perform certain tasks and responsibilities, the Holy Qur'an addresses them as believers. From the very beginning of his mission throughout his invitation to Islam in Mecca, the Holy Prophet declared that his mission was a universal issue. Besides, the Holy Qur'an is dealing with universal issues on many occasions, such as the following:

Say: O people! Surly I am the Apostle of Allah to you all. (7:158)

And We have not sent you but to all the men as a bearer of good news. (34:28)

And it is naught but a reminder to the nations. (68:52)

It is nothing but a reminder and a plain Qur'an that it may warn him who is alive. (36:69–70)

He it is Who sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that he might cause it to prevail over all religions. (9:33)

And We have not sent you but as a mercy to the worlds. (21: 107)

All these holy verses were revealed in Mecca; a fact demonstrating that the general invitation to Islam took place from the very initial stages. However, despite these authentic reasons, some European scholars, such as Goldziher, have claimed that Muhammad's widespread faith only took place later on and that his very initial instructions did not go farther than the needs of the ignorant Arabs of his time.¹ This claim is too worthless to require evidence.

The Start of the Universal Invitation

If the Holy Prophet did not take any step for the spread of Islam outside the Arabian Peninsula during his stay in Mecca and several years after his Hegira, this was due to the enmity and aggression leveled at him by Meccan unbelievers, the Jews and other enemies. However, after the convention of Hudaibiyah Truce that brought about a temporary relief from the aggressions of Quraysh and a relative calm over Mecca, the Holy Prophet wrote several letters to the kings and governors of different countries inviting them to his Faith. In one day only, he wrote six letters to al-Najashi, the king of Abyssinia, Caesar of Rome; Khosrow Parviz of Iran, al-Muqawqas of Egypt, Harith ibn Abi-Shimr al-Ghassani of Damascus, and Hawdhah Ibn 'Ali of Yamamah, as well as many other kings and governors.²

These letters were written in Dhu'l-Hijjah of the sixth year of Hegira or Muharram of the seventh. Of course, this was just the beginning of the universal invitation to Islam. Moreover, from that day on and up to his last day of life, the Holy Prophet continued writing letters to the different countries of the world.³ The content of all these letters was identical and all of them were written in a simple, explicit and decisive style. However, reactions of the world leaders were not identical.

Conquest of Khaybar

Khaybar consisted of several castles. Its people were engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry. Due to its good agricultural capacities, it was referred to as the wheat store of Hijaz.⁴ Its people also enjoyed good economic prosperity. The great goods and ammunitions which fell in the hands of Muslims after the collapse of the castles witness to this issue. The very structure of the castles was strong and enduring and the number of their troops was in thousands.⁵ For this reason, they considered themselves strong enough to stop the attacks of Muslims.⁶

The Jews of Khaybar made use of any chance available to try to destroy the newly built Islamic government as their city was turned into a permanent center for conspiracies against Islam. Having been defeated in Medina, the chiefs of Banu'l-Nadhir joined Khaybar to cooperate with them against Islam.

In the sixth year of Hegira, Sallam ibn Abi'l-Huqayq, one of Banu'l-Nadhir's chiefs who had obtained the

leadership of the Jews of Khaybar through cooperation with the tribe of Ghatafan and other infidel tribes, gathered a great troop to fight against Muslims. After he was killed by Muslims due to plotting conspiracies against them, people of Khaybar appointed Usayr ibn Zarim as their leader.⁷ This man, too, engaged himself in aggression and provocation of tribes against Muslims.⁸

To eradicate the previous signs of enmity, the Holy Prophet dispatched a group under the supervision of ‘Abdullah ibn Rawahah to the newly appointed leader to secure his consent for peace. The new leader, together with ‘Abdullah and a group of Jews, was on his way to Medina to talk to the Holy Prophet. However, on the way, he changed his mind and tried to kill ‘Abdullah. Due to this confrontation, he and his company all were killed.⁹ In this way, the Holy Prophet’s peaceful plans became null and void.

A contemporary historian states that in addition to these conspiracies, Muslims anticipated that the Jews of Khaybar who had already incurred the hostility of Muslims might be used by the Iranian or Roman empires to prepare for an attack against Islam as a compensation for the defeat and failure of Banu-Qaynuqa’, Banu’l-Nadhir, and Banu-Quray’ah.¹⁰

After the convention of the Hudaibiyyah Truce through which the Holy Prophet was at ease regarding the dangers from the south, he, together with fourteen Muslim warriors, headed to the north to disarm the Jews of Khaybar. That was in the beginning of the seventh year of Hegira. He chose such a direction for his involvement as to cut the relations of Ghatafan, the powerful ally of Khaybar, with the people of Khaybar depriving them of any cooperation with each other.¹¹ Using the tactic of surprise, all the castles and strongholds of Khaybar fell to Muslims and the Jewish chiefs presumed predicament with dawn.

The encounter was unequal; warriors of Khaybar were in their stronghold, they had the doors firmly closed and through their guards on the towers and high walls hindered any Muslim approach. In one attack, fifty Muslim warriors were wounded.¹²

Besides, the warriors of Khaybar had sufficient supplies, but Muslims felt short of supplies as the war continued. Finally, with great hardships on the part of Muslims, the castles fell one after another. However, the last castle, called Qamus, which was supervised by the famous Jewish hero named Marhab, continued to defend itself and Muslim warriors were unable to capture.

One day, the Holy Prophet gave the banner to Abu-Bakr and the next day to ‘Umar with some troops to attack the castle, but they both failed.¹³ Seeing this, the Holy Prophet declared:

“Tomorrow, I will hand this banner to one who, with God's support, will capture this castle; one who is loved by God and His Apostle and God and His Apostle love; he is not a quitter.”

That night, every Muslim desired that he would be given the banner. When dawn came, the Holy Prophet asked, “Where is ‘Ali?” They replied, “He is suffering a severe eye-ache and he is now at rest.” The Holy Prophet summoned ‘Ali and cured his eyes. Submitting the banner to ‘Ali, the Holy Prophet ordered him,

“Move towards them; as soon as you arrive at their castle, invite them to Islam and remind them of their rights. I swear to God that to conduct one person to the truth is better for you than having red-haired camels.”¹⁴

Imam ‘Ali headed for the mission; he could kill Marhab through a heroic encounter in which Imam ‘Ali showed a unique bravery. He then could conquer that castle.

Attacking the castles of Khaybar, which were centers of conspiracy against Islam, shows a number of important matters some of which are as follows:

- (1) This shows that the Holy Prophet enjoyed an effective management when he chose the quite suitable person to this mission.
- (2) He used effective military tactics, such as the principle of surprise and the gathering of information.
- (3) Imam ‘Ali showed such a unique bravery that none else had.

Imam ‘Ali’s self-sacrifice and bravery in this war was so great that the Holy Prophet appreciated it and praised him for his vigor and stamina, declaring his precedence before all other Muslims.

Muslims also remembered this praise on many occasions. For instance, when he came to power, Mu’awiyah ordered everybody to curse Imam ‘Ali openly. Sa’d ibn Abi-Waqqaz abstain from carrying out this order. When Mu’awiyah asked for the reason, Sa’d answered,

“I will never curse him, because I remember that the Holy Prophet mentioned three of his virtues, which I wished I could have only one of them. (1) In one of the wars [i.e. Tabuk], the Holy Prophet appointed him as his successor in Medina. ‘Ali asked, ‘Do you leave me with women and children in town?’ The Prophet answered, ‘Do you not like to be my successor in the same way as (Prophet) Aaron was the successor of (Prophet) Moses, except that there will be no prophet after me?’ (2) In the war of Khaybar, the Prophet declared, ‘I will submit the banner to a person who loves God and His Apostle and God and His Apostle love him.’ On that day, every one of us wished to gain such a prestige. The Prophet then ordered his men to summon ‘Ali. ‘Ali came, while he was suffering from a bad eye-ache. The Prophet rubbed his eyes with his own saliva. Suddenly, ‘Ali’s pain drove off and he received the banner from the Holy Prophet. God caused the castle to be conquered through ‘Ali. (3) When it was arranged for the Holy Prophet to enter into Mubalahah [mutual cursing] with the Christian priests of Najran, this verse was revealed to him: **‘Say: Let us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women. (3:61)’** The prophet thus called ‘Ali, Fatimah, Hasan and Husayn and declared, ‘O God, these are my Household.’”¹⁵

Referring to that epoch-making war, Imam ‘Ali says,

“We were faced with a mountain of men and military ammunitions; their castles were invincible and their number was huge. Their heroes left the castles each day, asking for warriors. Any one of us who arrived

at the battlefield was killed. When the fire of war was blazing and the enemy was asking for warriors to duel with; and when our troops were suffering from fright and fear; and they were looking at one another in a timid way, I was asked to go on the scene. The Prophet asked me to rise and attack the castle. I went forward and confronted their hero, killing him on the spot; I did the same thing with others. I made many of them retreat. Then, like a lion chasing the prey, I followed them until they took shelter inside the castle. Then they closed down the gates. I tore off the gate and entered the castle alone... I had nobody to help except for God..."¹⁶

The people of Khaybar surrendered after the fall of the last castle and the war terminated. The casualties of the troops of Khaybar reportedly were forty-three¹⁷ and the number of the martyrs was twenty-eight.¹⁸

The Fate of the Jews of Khaybar

Upon their surrender, the Jews of Khaybar asked the Holy Prophet to permit them to stay on their lands for cultivation. He agreed on condition that they should yield half of their yearly produce to the Islamic government¹⁹ and that they should leave when the Holy Prophet wished so.²⁰ This treaty was in effect until the reign of 'Umar when they took part in some conspiracies against Muslims. For this reason, 'Umar banished them to Damascus.²¹

Fadak

After the fall of Khaybar, the Jews of Fadak surrendered with no resistance and entered into a treaty with the Holy Prophet like the one with Khaybar. Since Fadak was captured with no fight, half of its revenue went to the Holy Prophet.²²

Chapter 2: The spread of Islam

The war of Mu'tah

After the Hudaibiyyah Truce, the Holy Prophet started his universal mission and invited the heads of governments of the world to his faith. Among the countries of those days, the Roman Empire and the Iranian Empire enjoyed high standards of living. Having acquired some information regarding the Prophet's mission, Caesar of Rome had the will to accept Islam; but when he revealed his intentions, he was resisted by the Christians and the Roman army; therefore, he had to withdraw his decision.²³ This shows that the commanders of the Roman army had a hostile attitude towards Islam. We could find the root of the Mu'tah war with this view.

In order to spread his faith outside the Arabian Peninsula, the Holy Prophet dispatched Harith Ibn 'Umayr al-Azdi to carry a letter to the King of Buzra (Damascus).²⁴ That was in Jumada al- -- la, the eighth year of Hegira.

Shurahbil ibn 'Amr al-Ghassani, the governor of Damascus appointed by the Roman emperor,²⁵ arrested the Holy Prophet's courier and, having known the nature of his mission, killed him at the village of Mu'tah. This event saddened the Holy Prophet greatly.²⁶

Although the murder of one person could not be considered good reason to start war, the murder of the Holy Prophet's representative, which was against ethical codes, was in fact a sort of military threat on the part of the governor of Damascus vis-à-vis the peaceful invitation to the Holy Prophet's faith. He therefore decided to send a troop over there. This movement could be interpreted as a sign of military power.

Based on these facts, the Holy Prophet dispatched to Mu'tah an army of three thousand troops under the commandship of Ja'far ibn Abi-Talib,²⁷ Zayd ibn Harithah and 'Abdullah ibn Rawahah respectively.²⁸

The Islamic troops faced the one hundred thousand troops of Rome near the village of Mu'tah. The three Muslim commanders bore the banner in turn and they all were martyred. Then, the Muslim troops elected Khalid ibn Walid as the commander-in-chief. Using special tactics, he frightened the enemy and then issued the command to retreat to Medina.²⁹

Al-Waqidi records that the martyrs of this war were eight³⁰ but Ibn Husham records them as twelve.³¹ In some contemporary records, it is written that they were seventeen.³² The tombs of these martyrs rest next to the city of Mu'tah;³³ each one of the commanders has a magnificent shrine with a dome. Next to the tomb of Ja'far, there is built a handsome mosque.³⁴

The conquest of Mecca

One of the articles of the Hudaibiyah Truce was ceasefire between the infidels and Muslims. The Holy Prophet made use of the tranquility and took big strides: he sent different missionaries to all countries of the world and enacted his universal mission; he either disarmed the enemies residing around Medina or convened treaties with them. In the meantime, Khaybar, which was the center of conspiracies, collapsed altogether.

The Quraysh breach of truce

After two years, the Hudaibiyah Truce was broken by Quraysh. According to the fourth paragraph, any tribe was free to join either the Muslims or Quraysh. At that time, Khuza'ah made a treaty with Muslims and Banu-Bakr allied with Quraysh.³⁵

In the eighth year of Hegira, Banu-Bakr attacked Banu-Khuza'ah at nighttime. In this confrontation Quraysh allied with Banu-Bakr, killing a group of the soldiers of Khuza'ah. This was a breach of the Hudaibiyah Truce.³⁶ Following the chief of Khuza'ah's request for assistance, the Holy Prophet announced a general mobilization³⁷ and decided to attack Mecca. In order for Quraysh not to know the

Muslims' plan and to surprise them in an attack so that Mecca could be captured with no bloodshed, the Holy Prophet concealed his destination³⁸ and ordered his men to watch the Meccan roads³⁹ asking God to keep Quraysh unaware of his plan.⁴⁰

The Holy Prophet, with an army of ten thousand soldiers, headed for Mecca.⁴¹ His tactic was successful. The spies of Quraysh were kept in the dark up to the moment when Muslim troops were stationed at the gates of Mecca.

‘Abbas, the Holy Prophet’s uncle, lived in Mecca up to that year. As he was heading for Medina, the Islamic troops were heading for Mecca. He met the Holy Prophet at al-Juhafah and returned to Mecca with him. At the last night of the stationing of the Muslim troops outside the gates of Mecca, ‘Abbas saw Abu-Sufyan outside the city and took him to meet the Holy Prophet.⁴² Observing the Islamic troops, Abu-Sufyan became frightened. The Holy Prophet pardoned him and declared, “Anybody who takes sanctuary in the Kaaba, stays at home or takes shelter at Abu-Sufyan’s house is unharmed.”

Prior to the arrival of the Islamic troops in Mecca, Abu-Sufyan informed the people of the Holy Prophet’s amnesty. This plan helped the lack of bloodshed and the surrender of the city; so, Mecca collapsed. Only in one section of the city where some obstinate people continued resisting were some people killed.⁴³

Arriving at Mecca, the Holy Prophet circumambulated the Kaaba while he was riding on a camel and hitting with his cane the idols which had been fastened to the Kaaba with tins, saying,

The truth has come and the falsehood has vanished; surely, falsehood is a vanishing thing. (17:81)

It is well-known for historians and narrators, Imam ‘Ali then climbed upon the Holy Prophet’s shoulder and destroyed the big idols.⁴⁴ Imam al-Sadiq states that the idol which Imam ‘Ali destroyed was Hubal. On the Holy Prophet’s order, this idol was buried under the Banu-Shaybah Gate, one of the entrances to the Kaaba. Therefore, it is recommended that people enter the Kaaba from this gate.⁴⁵

The Prophet’s General Amnesty

Although Quraysh and other infidels did not stop hostile attitudes towards Muslims since the advent of Islam as they plotted all sorts of disagreements, pressure, aggression and wrongdoing; and although the Holy Prophet, being in full command, could have taken revenge, he declared a general amnesty,⁴⁶ saying, “I am repeating the statement of my brother, (Prophet) Joseph: There shall be no proof against you this day, Allah may forgive you, and ***He is the most Merciful of the merciful. (The Holy Qur’an 12:92)*** Go, you are free now.⁴⁷

Having surrendered with humiliation and expecting a severe revenge by the Holy Prophet, the unbelievers of Quraysh were highly moved by this great pardon of the Holy Prophet. Next to the Kaaba,

he addressed people, saying,

“God has consecrated Mecca from the very beginning of creation. This place shall remain holy and sacred until the Resurrection Day. No Muslim is allowed to cause bloodshed on this land nor is he or she allowed to cut a tree from this place. No one is allowed to do a wrong thing to it now or from now on. Let those who are present tell those who are absent...⁴⁸

Upon the conquest of Mecca, the Holy Prophet convened a contract with Meccan women with the following stipulations:

“Do not associate aught with Allah, do not steal, do not commit fornication, do not kill your children, and do not bring a calumny which you have forged of yourselves and do not disobey the Holy Prophet.⁴⁹

Some well-known figures, who later gained high positions, accepted Islam during the conquest of Mecca. Among them were Abu-Sufyan and his son Mu'awiyah.

Due to the hard living conditions of people, God ascribes a moral superiority to Muslims prior to the conquest of Mecca:

And what reason do you have that you should not spend in Allah's way? And Allah's is the inheritance of the heavens and the earth; not alike among you are those who spent before the victory and fought and those who did not: they are more exalted in rank than those who spent and fought afterwards, and Allah has promised good to all; and Allah is aware of what you do.

The Outcomes of the conquest of Mecca

Mecca was the center of plotting conspiracies against Islam. For this reason, its collapse was the start of a great movement in the history of Islam. This event put an end to idolatry. The different Arab tribes were waiting for the conquest of Mecca and the conversion of Quraysh to Islam. When Mecca collapsed and Quraysh accepted Islam, the representatives of different Arab tribes came to the Holy Prophet accepting Islam.⁵⁰ Except for two tribes, namely Hawazin and Thaqif, all other tribes accepted Islam.⁵¹ Among these tribes that accepted Islam were Qushayr ibn Ka'b⁵², Bahilah,⁵³ Tha'labiyyah,⁵⁴ Suda',⁵⁵ Banu-Asad⁵⁶, Baliy,⁵⁷ 'Udhrah,⁵⁸ Thumalah⁵⁹ and Huddan⁶⁰ all of whom came to meet the Holy Prophet, announcing their acceptance of Islam. After a war between Hawazin and Ta'if that took place after the conquest of Mecca, the representatives of the strong tribe of Thaqif who were equal to Quraysh in military strength came to see the Holy Prophet and put forward some pre-conditions for their conversion to Islam. Although the Holy Prophet rejected their preconditions, they accepted Islam unconditionally.⁶¹

The War of Hunayn

After the conquest of Mecca that took place in Ramadhan,⁶² the Holy Prophet stayed in this city for two

weeks⁶³ arranging its affairs. He ordered people to break their idols that they kept at their houses.⁶⁴ He dispatched some agents to destroy the idol-houses around Mecca.⁶⁵ During this time, he was informed that Hawazin, supported by the tribes of Thaqif, Nazr, Jusham, and Sa'd ibn Bakr together with a group of Banu-Hilal under the command of Malik ibn 'Awf al-Nazri were planning to attack Mecca.⁶⁶ They gathered at a place called Awtas. Having made sure of this information, the Holy Prophet sent a spy to study the situation. It was clear that the army of Hawazin was on its way to Mecca.⁶⁷

At this time, the Holy Prophet decided to use his usual military tactics in taking the initiatives and depriving the enemy of any chance to attack. For this purpose, he appointed 'Attab ibn Usayd as the governor of Mecca⁶⁸ and he left to face the enemy with twelve thousand soldiers, ten thousand of whom were previously with him and two thousand of the newly converted Muslims.⁶⁹ He put Banu-Sulaym in front of the army.⁷⁰ On the way, some Muslim troops, due to their great number, became haughty, declaring that they would never be defeated.⁷¹ However, the result was the reverse and, as God has mentioned in the Holy Qur'an (9:25), the great number did not produce any result.

Under the darkness of dawn, the Muslim army headed for Hunayn⁷² but the warriors of Hawazin who had hidden behind cliffs and in the valleys of Hunayn suddenly charged at the Muslims.⁷³ This sudden attack bewildered the Muslims. First, Banu-Sulaym retreated and fled the scene.⁷⁴ Following them, others escaped. Only Imam 'Ali and a few others remained beside the Prophet and fought bravely.⁷⁵

According to Shaykh al-Mufid, only nine individuals of Banu-Hashim, one of whom was Imam 'Ali, stood next to the Holy Prophet. 'Abbas ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib stood to the Holy Prophet's right, al-Fadhl ibn 'Abbas to the left and Imam 'Ali in front of the Holy Prophet unsheathing his sword and fighting bravely.⁷⁶

Having noticed the flight of Muslims, the Holy Prophet, who had always been a symbol of patience, endurance, perseverance and bravery, did not show any sign of weakness; he stood steadfastly in the battlefield. Addressing the escapees, he said, "O people! Where are you fleeing? Come back; I am the Prophet of God; I am Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah." He then asked 'Abbas to call at people and remind them of their pledges. With a loud tone, 'Abbas cried out, "O people of the Tree Pledge; O people of Surah al-Baqarah; to where are you escaping? Remember your allegiance with the Holy Prophet."⁷⁷

Due to the Holy Prophet's perseverance and calling at the escapees to return, Muslims gradually returned, gathered around the Holy Prophet and resisted the enemy. In a short time, the banner-bearer of the enemy was killed by 'Ali and through Divine assistance, the army of Hawazin was severely damaged. Four thousand captives, twelve thousand camels and a lot of booties were soon in the hands of Muslims. After the war, the Holy Prophet freed the captives on the request of the chiefs of the defeated tribes who embraced. This war caused the Muslims four martyrs.

Referring to the initial failure of Muslims and their victory in the light of Divine assistance, the Holy Qur'an says,

Certainly Allah helped you in many battle fields and on the day of Hunayn, when your great numbers made you vain, but they availed you nothing and the earth became strait to you not withstanding its spaciousness, then you turned back retreating. Then Allah sent down His tranquility upon His Apostle and upon the believers, and sent down hosts which you did not see, and chastised those who disbelieved, and that is the reward of the believers. (9:25–26)

The War of Tabuk

Although the two super powers of those days, i.e. the Roman Empire and Iran were in continuous conflict with each other, they could not tolerate the emergence of a third power; that is Islam. It was natural for the Romans to be unhappy with the Muslims' victory in Mecca and the Hawazin's defeat at Hunayn.⁷⁸ Taking these factors into consideration and with regards to the victory of the Romans in Mu'tah, the expectation of a Roman military movement against Muslims was real. In the ninth year of Hegira, the traders who crossed the route between Medina and Damascus informed the Holy Prophet that Hercules, the Roman Emperor, was preparing an army to attack Medina.⁷⁹ The Holy Prophet took it seriously.

Because of its military supremacy, the Roman Empire was the most pernicious enemy of Islam.⁸⁰ According to a report, Hercules had allied with some Arab tribes like Lakhm, Judham, 'Amilah and Ghassan, his military pioneers had advanced as far as Balqa',⁸¹ and the emperor himself resided in Homs.⁸²

This report reached the Holy Prophet at a time when it was extremely hot⁸³ and it was the harvest season. People were lived under harsh conditions and life became unbearable.⁸⁴ The Holy Prophet called for general mobilization and asked people of Mecca and the nomads for financial assistance.⁸⁵ Contrary to his previous military expeditions which were kept secret to the last moment, this time the Holy Prophet announced his military target to be Tabuk⁸⁶ so that the troops could prepare themselves for the hardships of the journey.⁸⁷

Despite their hard conditions, Muslims gave generously⁸⁸ and thirty thousand troops,⁸⁹ together with ten thousand horses⁹⁰ and twelve thousand camels,⁹¹ were ready to move. However, the hypocrites not only refrained from taking part in the battle with no valid reasons⁹² but also discouraged people to go claiming that it was so hot.⁹³ ***A verse was revealed to the Holy Prophet reprimanding their situation. (The Holy Qur'an 9:81) Other Muslims unjustifiably did not join the Muslim troops and the Holy Qur'an called them those who left behind and blamed them. (The Holy Qur'an 9:81) Others, too, were deprived of taking part in the battle due to their lack of ammunitions. (The Holy Qur'an 9:87, 93)***

Imam 'Ali; the Holy Prophet's successor in Medina

On those days, Medina was in a delicate and sensitive state. While Muslim troops were headed for a

long mission, the hypocrites, despite their having nominally accepted Islam, disobeyed the Holy Prophet's orders and stayed in Medina. 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy had gathered a great number of proponents around himself.⁹⁴ In addition to the hypocrites, there was the worry and fear concerning the beaten and defeated enemies of Islam in Mecca, its vicinities and the nomads living around Medina. Thus, it was crucial for a strong man to protect the newly established Islamic state while the Holy Prophet was away. For this purpose, the Holy Prophet appointed Imam 'Ali as his successor, telling him, "In order to manage the affairs of Medina, either you or I should be present."⁹⁵

Regarding this event, Mas'udi writes:

"It is advisable to say that the Prophet appointed Imam 'Ali as his successor in Medina so that he could control those who opposed participating in the Prophet's military mission."

Imam 'Ali used to take part in all campaigns and battles of the Prophet⁹⁶ and acted as a standard-bearer.⁹⁷ The hypocrites, however, spread the rumor that the Holy Prophet let 'Ali stay in Medina because he no longer loved him! Having heard this rumor, Imam 'Ali became upset; he took his sword and attended the Holy Prophet's presence at al-Jurf.⁹⁸ He rephrased the hypocrite's claim and complained about the whole situation. The Holy Prophet replied:

"They are liars! You are my successor. Return and act as my successor. Are you not happy that your position to me is the same as (Prophet) Aaron's position to (Prophet) Moses except that there will be no prophet after me?"⁹⁹

However, Shaykh al-Mufid accounts for this event in the following manner:

"My brother; Go back to your position, because nobody else, except for you or me, can govern Medina. You are my representative—from among my family members—on the citizens of my city and my nation. Are you not satisfied that your position to me is the same as (Prophet) Aaron's position to (Prophet) Moses except that there will be no prophet after me?"

Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Qurtubi, a Sunni scholar of the fifth century, writes:

The Holy Prophet appointed 'Ali as his successor during the war of Tabuk; he was elected to be the Holy Prophet's successor for his family and for the people of the city, telling him, "Your position to me is the same as Aaron's position to Moses... etc."

On the words of al-Bukhari and Muslim, the Holy Prophet likened 'Ali to Prophet Aaron in relation to Prophet Moses.¹⁰⁰

This epoch-making statement of the Holy Prophet, which is called *hadith al-manzilah* (Narration of Position), is a clear proof of Imamate. Although this statement is uttered only on a specific occasion, Imam 'Ali used to resemble Prophet Aaron in all cases of his associations with the Holy Prophet.¹⁰¹

Hardships and obstacles on the way

Despite all these obstacles, the army of Islam left Medina, but as it could be predicted; Muslims encountered a lot of hardships concerning the long distances to be covered, the meager number of horses,¹⁰² the extreme heat and scarcity of water. For this reason, this war, in the history of Islam, is called war of hardship¹⁰³ or the miserable army.¹⁰⁴

In any case, the army of Islam arrived at the land of Tabuk. There was no trace of the Roman army. The whole report of the Roman army had been false.¹⁰⁵ This rumor had been fabricated to bring forth worry in the Islamic territory.¹⁰⁶

The Holy Prophet's treaties with local governors

The Holy Prophet stayed twenty days in Tabuk¹⁰⁷ during which he convened treaties with the governor of Aylah and the people of Jarba' and Adhruh. They were obliged to pay tributes. After a military expedition, the powerful king of Dawmat al-Jandal surrendered and had to pay tribute.¹⁰⁸

The war of Tabuk took place in the ninth year of Hegira¹⁰⁹ and some aspects of it are reflected in Surah al-Tawbah, which mainly deals with the hardships and weaknesses of some Muslims at the time of mobilization and the sabotages of the hypocrites. The famous issue of masjid dhirar, or a mosque to cause harm and for unbelief, coincided with the war of Tabuk. (The Holy Qur'an, 9: 107)

The consequences of the war of Tabuk

Although no military confrontation happened during this hard and intolerable mission, it had some significant consequences some of which are dealt with here:

- (1) During this journey, the Holy Prophet, through convening peace treaties with the tribes and the governors of the borderlines of Hijaz and Damascus, could secure the tranquility of this region and guarantee that they would not cooperate with the Roman emperors.
- (2) Through this military expedition, the commanders of the Muslim army became familiar with the hardships of this region; they learnt how to face such hardships. Likewise, they learned the techniques of military expeditions against the super powers of those days. That is why the first location that the Islamic army could conquer after the demise of the Holy Prophet was the land of Damascus.
- (3) In this call for general mobilization, true believers could be distinguished from hypocrites and laggard ones. A sort of distinction took place in the Muslim troops.¹¹⁰
- (4) The boost in the military prestige of the Muslims brought forth the Arab's inclination to Islam and their representatives' readiness to show obedience.

The spread of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula

The conquest of Mecca and the war of Tabuk were pivotal in the spread of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. The Tabuk expedition was a great maneuver in which the Muslims' military prestige was boosted and everybody could realize that Islam had reached such a status that it could confront the world's super powers. The political and military consequences of this maneuver were so great that, upon the Holy Prophet's return to Medina, the chiefs of many Arab tribes who had refrained from turning to Islam up to that time entered Medina and announced obedience. The number of these chiefs who entered Medina to meet the Holy Prophet was so great that the ninth year of Hegira is termed Sanat al-Wufud (Year of Delegation).¹¹¹

Disavowal of Unbelievers Announcement

Upon the conquest of Mecca, the foundation was laid for the propagation of monotheism and the uprooting of idols and other superstitions. Most of the city-dwellers and villagers refrained from idol-worshipping and turned to Islam. However, few ignorant individuals were not ready yet to dispense with their cultures and it was hard on them to accept the creed of the Holy Prophet. On the other hand, although the Holy Prophet had performed 'Umrah several times, he had not yet had a chance to perform pilgrimage in the true sense of the word and away from the superstitions which were part of that ceremony in older days. Since the conquest of Mecca, two kinds of treaties were held between the Holy Prophet and the unbelievers:

General treaties

These treaties stipulated that everybody had the right to perform the Hajj and nobody should be deprived of it. In the sacred months, everybody must enjoy security and nobody should be bothered.

Long-termed treaties with Arab tribes

After the expedition of Tabuk,¹¹² some verses of the Holy Qur'an were revealed to the Holy Prophet ordering him to stay away from the unbelievers and to follow the instructions revealed to him. These verses say:

This is a declaration of immunity by Allah and His Apostle towards those of the idolaters with whom you made an agreement. So go about in the land for four months and know that you cannot weaken Allah and that Allah will bring disgrace to the unbelievers. And an announcement from Allah and His Apostle to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage that Allah and His Apostle are free from liability to the idolaters; therefore, if you repent, it will be better for you, and if you turn back, then know that you will not weaken Allah; and announce painful punishment to those who disbelieve. Except those of idolaters with whom you made an agreement, then they have not failed you in anything and have not backed up any one against you, so fulfill their

agreement to the end of their term; surely, Allah loves those who are careful of their duty. So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolaters wherever you find them, and take from captives and besiege them and lie in wait for them in every ambush, then if they repent and keep up prayer and pay the poor – rate, leave their way free to them; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. (9: 1–5)

The Prophet's special envoy and representative

After the revelation of these verses, the Holy Prophet taught part of the first verses of this surah to Abu-Bakr and instructed him to recite them to the pilgrims on the Feast of Sacrifice ('Id al-Adhha). As Abu-Bakr headed for Mecca, the Holy Prophet received a revelation instructing that these verses should be recited to people by either the Holy Prophet himself or one belonging to him. Having received this message, the Holy Prophet ordered Imam 'Ali to head for Mecca and take this mission from Abu-Bakr. Imam 'Ali took the Holy Prophet's camel, headed for Mecca and gave the message to Abu-Bakr. Having carried out the orders, Abu-Bakr returned to Medina offended; when he presented himself before the Holy Prophet, he said, "You had assumed me capable of doing this mission; but very soon you put me aside. Have you received any order from God regarding this issue?" The Holy Prophet replied, "God has ordered me to carry out this command either in person or by one who belong to me."

Announcement of Disavowal and Warning

On the tenth of Dhu'l-Hijjah, Imam 'Ali entered Mecca and recited Surah al-Tawbah to the public.¹¹³ He then informed everyone of the Holy Prophet's warning:

(1) God and His Apostle dislike the unbelievers.

(2) No unbeliever is allowed to perform the Hajj from next year on.

(3) Nobody is allowed to circumambulate the Kaaba with naked body.¹¹⁴

(4) For the coming four months, the unbelievers are allowed to return to their native lands. After the expiration of these four months, there will not be any truce for any unbeliever except those who are in contract with the Holy Prophet. Their treaties are valid up to their deadlines.

(5) No infidel shall enter Paradise.¹¹⁵

Following this warning, the infidels blamed themselves, saying, "Now that Quraysh have converted to Islam, what shall we do?" So, they had to embrace Islam¹¹⁶.

From that year on, no infidel performed the Hajj ceremonies; and no one did so naked.¹¹⁷

Mutual Cursing with the Najran Christians

Parallel to correspondence with the governors of the world, the Holy Prophet wrote a letter to the bishop of Najran.¹¹⁸ Praising the God of Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac and Jacob, the Holy Prophet asked the bishop and his followers to stop worshiping people, start worshiping God, leave allegiance to people and accept loyalty and allegiance of God; lest they should pay a special tax or be prepared for a war.¹¹⁹

According to some narrations, the Holy Prophet mentioned the following holy verse in his letter:

Say: O followers of the Book! Come to an equitable proposition between us and you that we shall not serve any but Allah and (that) we shall not associate aught with Him, and (that) some of us shall not take others for lords besides Allah; but if they turn back, then say: Bear witness that we are Muslims. (3/64)¹²⁰

Receiving the letter, the Bishop convened a session with religious personalities to discuss the issue, since the Christian scholars had known some prophesized features of the Holy Prophet. They therefore decided to send a convoy to Medina in order to meet the Holy Prophet and study his character.

Upon their arrival in Medina, headed by three religious personalities including the bishop himself, the Holy Prophet met them and invited them to Islam. He recited some verses of the Holy Qur'an. The envoy replied, "We have been Muslims before you." The Holy Prophet said, "You are liars. There are three things which hinder you from being Muslims: you worship the Cross, eat pork, and assign a child for God."

Then, the topic of Jesus being God or God's servant started. Relying on the miracles of Jesus Christ, such as giving life to the dead, knowing the unseen, healing the diseased, and, especially, being born with no father, Christians considered him God. The Holy Prophet insisted that Jesus was a human being—a fact that the Christians could not accept, entering into lots of discussions. Then, the Holy Prophet received this revelation:

Most certainly, they disbelieve who say: Surely, Allah – He is the Messiah, son of Marium. (5:17)

Surely, the likeness of Jesus with Allah is as the likeness of Adam; He created him from dust, then said to him, Be, and he was. This is the truth from your lord, so be not of the disputers. (3:60)

But whoever disputes with you in this matter after what has come to you of knowledge, then say: come to us call our sons and your sons and our women and your women and our near people and your near people, then let us be earnest in prayer, and pray for the curse of Allah on the liars. (3:61)

After the revelation of these verses, the Holy Prophet said, "God has ordered me to do mutual cursing

with you if you do not become Muslims.”¹²¹ They replied, “We have to think about it.” Then, they went back and started counseling. The bishop warned them that Muhammad was God's Messenger and that to accept mutual cursing with him would bring about chastisement of God for them. However, they did not agree; rather, they insisted on mutual cursing (Mubalahah). They decided that the next day would be the date of Mubalahah. Then, the bishop said, “Look and wait to see how Muhammad attends the session; avoid taking part in it if he accompany his family members with him, because this means that he believes in what he says or else he would not endanger the lives of his near relatives. However, if he comes with his followers, then take part and you will know that his claims are baseless.”¹²²

The following day, the Holy Prophet came with ‘Ali, Fatimah, Hasan, and Husayn.¹²³ Looking at the Holy Prophet's company, the bishop asked, “Who are these?” He was told, “This is his cousin, the woman is his daughter and these two are her sons.”¹²⁴ The bishop told his followers, “These are persons who if they ask God to cut a mountain, the mountain shall certainly be cut off. Do not enter in it lest you will be destroyed and there will remain no Christian on the earth.” The group dispensed with the mutual cursing¹²⁵ and, on terms of a treaty, they had to pay tax.¹²⁶

Chapter 3: The Farewell Pilgrimage and the Demise of the Prophet

The Farewell Pilgrimage

The founder of Hajj, the most prominent politico–religious ceremony, was Prophet Abraham. In the second chapter of this book, we discussed the chaotic status of religion and the power and influences of Quraysh prior to the rise of Islam. We also mentioned that until the appearance of Islam, Quraysh and all unbelievers performed Hajj and ‘Umrah ceremonies. However, it was not Hajj in the true sense of the word. They had altered the Abrahamic Hajj and performed it in a defective form mingled with superstitions.

We should mention here that Quraysh called themselves the true dwellers of God's shrine¹²⁷ and since Mount ‘Arafat territory is located outside the shrine, Quraysh, contrary to all unbelievers, would not go to ‘Arafat in the Hajj seasons; rather, they would stay at al–Muzdalifah¹²⁸ from where they headed for Mina. On the other hand, the people of Yathrib used to put on the Hajj uniform (ihram) next to the idol Manat, which was on the Mecca–Yathrib route at the seashore¹²⁹ and those who put the Hajj form on from there would not cross the distance between Safa and Marwah, which they had to cross seven times.¹³⁰ The unbelievers, contrary to the Abrahamic traditions, moved to al–Muzdalifah from ‘Arafat prior to sunset.¹³¹

All these had contributed to the deformation of the true features of the Abrahamic Hajj and to its mixing with all sorts of superstitions.

With the revelation of the verse on the obligation of Hajj (22:27), the Holy Prophet informed the Muslims in advance and headed towards Hajj with great numbers of the people of Medina and nomads.¹³² He taught the Muslims the genuine Abrahamic Hajj for the first time. He insisted that Muslims should learn the ceremony very carefully.¹³³ He used to say, "Take good care of all the rituals of Hajj because they are handed down to us by Prophet Abraham."¹³⁴

During this journey, the Holy Prophet could abolish all the innovations of the unbelievers, especially those of Quraysh. Despite the fact that he himself was from Quraysh, he stayed at 'Arafat and then moved to al-Muzdalifah.¹³⁵ This was an order issued by Allah, stating,

Then, hasten on from the place from which the people hasten on and ask the forgiveness of Allah; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. (2: 199)

After sunset, the Holy Prophet left 'Arafat.¹³⁶

Due to its different aspects of significance, this pilgrimage is called by different titles: Farewell Pilgrimage (Hijjat al-Wada'), the Islamic Hajj (Hijjat al-Islam) and the Conveyance Pilgrimage (Hijjat al-Balagh).¹³⁷

The Prophet's Historical Sermon

During his farewell pilgrimage on the day of 'Arafah, on the desert of 'Arafat, and among all pilgrims, the Holy Prophet delivered a very significant and historical sermon in which he spoke about important issues and declared specific recommendations. As the attendants testified to the sacredness of that month (Dhu'l-Hijjah) and the sacredness of that day (Yawm 'Arafah), the Holy Prophet declared:

O people! Up to the day on which you will meet God, your blood and property are as sacred as this month and this day; making aggression against them is forbidden. The bloodshed at the era of negligence and ignorance could not be prosecuted at this time; furthermore, usury is forbidden now.

The Holy Prophet then considered as blasphemy the changing and delaying of the Forbidden Months.

Concerning women's rights, he emphatically said,

Act kindly to women since they are God's assets in your hands and are made legal for you through Divine laws.

Let those who are present inform others that there shall be no prophet after me and there shall be no ummah after you, Muslims.

Towards the end of his speech, the Holy Prophet declared null and void the customs and ceremonies of the Ignorance Era.¹³⁸

A great virtue

Great scholars have pointed out that it was a great point of honor for these four persons; namely, 'Ali, Fatimah, Hasan and Husayn to take part in that Mubahalah together with the Holy Prophet. This is because this event showed that Hasan and Husayn are the sons of the Holy Prophet and they, together with Imam 'Ali, are his true life. Fatimah, his daughter, was the only woman who had taken part in the ceremony of Mubahalah and the word nisa' could only refer to her.

'A'ishah is reported to have said that on the day of Mubahalah, the Holy Prophet asked these four persons to gather under his black cloak. He then reciting this verse of the Holy Qur'an:

Allah only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the house, and to purify you a thorough purifying. (33:33)¹³⁹

Both Sunni and Shi'ite scholars unanimously agree that these four persons took part in Mubahalah together with the Holy Prophet.¹⁴⁰ Emphasized this great virtue, Sa'd ibn Abi-Waqqaz is reported to have said, "When the verse of Mubahalah was revealed to the Holy Prophet, he called 'Ali, Fatimah, Hasan and Husayn, saying "O God, these are my Household."¹⁴¹

Having reported the issue of Mubahalah and 'A'ishah's narration, al-Zamakhshari says, "This issue is the most rationale for the virtue and righteousness of the Holy Prophet's Household."¹⁴²

After narrating the event of Mubahalah, al-Baydhawi, says, "This indicates the righteousness of the Holy Prophet and the virtue of his Household."¹⁴³

In his book entitled Sa'd al-Su'ud, Sayyid Ibn Tawus writes, "Muhammad ibn al-'Abbas ibn Marwan, in his book of Ma Nazala min al-Qur'an fi al-Nabi wa Ahli Baytihi, has narrated the event of Mubahalah on the authority of fifty-one reporters among whom were grand companions of the Holy Prophet."¹⁴⁴

At the end of this article, it is worth mentioning that there are disagreements concerning the year, month and day of the Mubahalah.¹⁴⁵

The Event of Ghadir and the introducing of the future leader

On his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Hijjah, and on the land of Ghadir Khumm¹⁴⁶ which is three miles away from al-Juhafah, the following verse was revealed to Holy Prophet:

"O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message (5:67)"

He therefore ordered the caravan of one hundred thousand pilgrims to stop on that arid land and in that extremely hot weather. Having performed the Noon Prayer, he climbed a high location and delivered a

sermon in which he informed of his near death. Then, he asked the Muslims' views on his prophethood. Every one confirmed that he had perfectly conveyed the Divine Message. He then put stress on the Holy Book and his Household, recommending Muslims not to leave these two lest they would be misled. These two, he added, shall never depart one another until they join him on the Resurrection Day; therefore, Muslims should follow them closely.

Then, he took 'Ali's hand, raised it and introducing him as the future leader of Muslims, saying:

“God is my Master and I am the master of the believers; so, anybody whose master is I, 'Ali is now his master. O God, love and care for those who love and care for 'Ali and be an enemy of those who are 'Ali's enemies. O God, assist the friends of 'Ali and make miserable the foes of 'Ali. O God, let 'Ali be in the pivotal center of righteousness.”

At this time, the following verse was revealed:

This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favor on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion. (5:3)

The perfection of religion has been thus declared through the appointment of 'Ali as the successor of the Holy Prophet. After that, the Holy Prophet's companions congratulated 'Ali for this sublime position.¹⁴⁷

This was a sketch of the significant and famous event at Ghadir Khumm which has been discussed in reference books from different dimensions.

'Allamah Amini, in his worthy book of al-Ghadir, has thoroughly dealt with this historic event. Here, we shall mention a few points:

(1) The event of Ghadir is the most significant document for Imam 'Ali's Divinely commissioned leadership and succession to the Holy Prophet (Wilayah) although it was not the only document. In this book, we have alluded to the fact that the Holy Prophet, since the early days of his prophethood and on various occasions such as the event of calling his close relatives to the new faith, referred to Imam 'Ali's Wilayah, because of the importance of leadership to the people's fate.

Because the succession to the Holy Prophet is a matter defined by none but God, we have seen that during the first years of his general and open invitation to Islam and at the time introducing Islam to the tribes and in an answer to the proposal made by the chief of Banu-'Amir ibn Sa'idah, the Holy Prophet declared,

“My successor is decided by God alone. God will appoint anyone for this position that He desires.”

For many years, the Holy Prophet always laid emphasis on the question of his succession. He used to bring to light a certain personality, making sacrifices for Islam the criterion in selecting his successor. All these factors entail one conclusion, which is that Imam 'Ali was such a unique person that he deserved

to be the Holy Prophet's successor. If truth be told, none of the Holy Prophet's companions preceded Imam 'Ali in virtuous features that prepare him to be the one and only successor of the Holy Prophet.

(2) The authenticity of the announcement of Imam 'Ali's next leadership at Ghadir Khumm is undeniable; therefore, some Sunni scholars confess to this issue.¹⁴⁸

As 'Allamah Amini has proved in al-Ghadir, this historic event was reported by one hundred and ten companions of the Holy Prophet, eighty-four others, and three hundred and sixty Sunni narrators and scholars who recorded it in their books and confessed to its authenticity.¹⁴⁹ As a matter of fact, the event Ghadir Khumm is the most famous and authentic of all events that took place during the Holy Prophet's lifetime.

Narrators have reported the event of Ghadir Khumm and historians seem to have censored these narrators. Among historians, Ya'qubi has dealt with this event with a short description following the event of the Farewell Pilgrimage.¹⁵⁰ Although this event is not mentioned in Tarikh al-Tabari, which is supposed to have dealt with all historical events of Islam, the author has written a book on the verification of the event of Ghadir Khumm in a book entitled Kitab al-Wilayah.¹⁵¹ This book existed up to eighth century—a fact confirmed by al-Najashi (450 AH)¹⁵² and Shaykh al-Tusi (385–460 AH).¹⁵³

Stating that the event of Ghadir Khumm too soon after the Farewell Pilgrimage, Ibn Kathir (774 AH) adds, "Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari, the historian, has shown interest in this hadith and collected its wordings in a two-volume book."¹⁵⁴ He then mentions some ways of narrating this event as recorded by Tabari.

He elsewhere writes, "The book of Tabari which I saw is of two big volumes comprising the narrations related to the event of Ghadir Khumm."¹⁵⁵

Ibn Shahrashub (588 AH) writes, "Tabari wrote the book of Ghadir Khumm, in which he described this event; he gave it the title of Kitab al-Wilayah."¹⁵⁶

Counting the number of narrators who reported the event of Ghadir Khumm, Ibn Tawus says, "Muhammad ibn Jarir, the historian, narrates the hadith of Ghadir in seventy-five different ways. He wrote a separate book entitled hadith al-Wilayah."¹⁵⁷

Yahya ibn Hasan, known as Ibn al-Bitriq (523–600 AH) writes, "Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari, the author of Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk, has described the event of Ghadir Khumm through seventy-five sources. He devoted an entire book to it entitled Kitab al-Wilayah.

The aforementioned scholars and historians have given us only a short report on Kitab al-Wilayah by Tabari. Others, such as Ibn Kathir, have only referred to some narrations mentioned therein. Al-Qadhi al-Nu'man al-Maghribi al-Mizri (363 AH) is the only historian who has collected more than seventy-five of Tabari's narrations on Imam 'Ali's virtues in a book he entitled Sharh al-Akhbar fi Fadha'il al-A'immah

al-Athar. Through this way, he presented Tabari's narrations to the next generations.¹⁵⁸ He writes:

"This is an interesting book in which Tabari describes 'Ali's virtues in detail."¹⁵⁹

Mentioning Tabari's motive in writing this book,¹⁶⁰ al-Nu'man adds:

In this book, Tabari has devoted one chapter to 'Ali's successorship to the Holy Prophet. In this chapter, he mentions a hadith that the Holy Prophet repeated before and after the Farewell Pilgrimage:

"Ali is now the master of him who has considered me as his master. O Allah, be the confidant of him who confides with 'Ali; and be the enemy of him who incurs the hostility of 'Ali; and support him who supports 'Ali; and disappoint him who disappoints 'Ali."

"Ali is the commander of the believers."

"Ali is my brother."

"Ali is my vicegerent."

"Ali is my successor."

"Ali is my representative on my nation after me."

"Ali is superior in leadership over people after me."

All these instructions and their likes clearly prove that 'Ali would be the successor of the Holy Prophet.¹⁶¹

(3) The only spurious argument that some Sunni scholars have aroused against this issue mentionable doubt which is used concerning this issue is the purport of these prophetic instructions. For instance, al-Fakhr al-Razi and al-Qadhi 'Adhud «ji have claimed the Arabic word mawla that the Holy Prophet used to refer to Imam 'Ali might have indicated friendship and help, but not leadership of the Muslim nation and succession to the Holy Prophet! In other words, by all these statements, the Holy Prophet only wanted to say that 'Ali is his friend! They further claim that the word mawla is different in meaning from awla, which means superior.¹⁶²

'Allamah Amini, with a thorough research employing ample Qur'anic witnesses and making use of morphological data and philological bases, has proven the futility of such a statement and has shown that it is very common in Arabic to use the word mawla in the sense of awla, meaning superior. For instance, in the following holy verses, the lexical item mawla cannot have any other sense except that of wali; that is successor and man of authority:

So, today ransom shall not be accepted from you nor from those who disbelieved; your abode is the fire; it is your friend, and evil is the resort. (57: 15)

Therefore keep up prayer and pay the poor-rate and hold fast by Allah; He is your Guardian; how excellent the Guardian and how excellent the Helper. (22:78)

That is because Allah is the protector of those who believe, and because the unbelievers shall have no protector for them. (47:11)

Nay! Allah is your patron and He is the best of the helpers. (3:150)

Say: Nothing will afflict us save what Allah has ordained for us; He is our patron. (9:51)

He calls upon him whose harm is nearer than his profit; evil certainly is the guardian and evil certainly is the associate. (22:13)

In the aforementioned verses, the word mawla is taken to be guardian. Likewise, all traditionists and scholars of Muslim jurisprudence have unanimously agreed that the word mawla has been mentioned in definite hadiths to denote guardian.¹⁶³

‘Allamah Amini has found twenty-seven different meanings for the word mawla proving that this word may be used to denote lie, blasphemy or indecency.¹⁶⁴ He then presents the claims and reasoning of fourteen distinguished Sunni scholars who have not taken the true sense of this word as used by the Holy Prophet in the sermon at Ghadir Khumm. For example, Shams al-Din Abu’l-Mu‘affar Sibt Ibn al-Jawzi Hanafi (511–654 AH) writes:

“Biographers unanimously believe that the event of Ghadir Khumm took place on the Holy Prophet’s return from the Farewell pilgrimage on the eighteenth of Dhu’l-Hijjah in the presence of one hundred and twenty thousand companions during which the Holy Prophet declared, “Ali is now the master of him who has considered me as his master.’

He then mentions ten probable meaning for mawla nine of which he discards and only one he accepts citing as proof a verse in Surah al-Hadid in which the word mawla is used in a sense proving the Imamate of and acceptance of obedience to Imam ‘Ali. Moreover, Arab poets, such as Hassan ibn Thabit, have used this word to denote the same meaning involved.

Witnesses and signs

The Holy Prophet’s sermon at Ghadir Khumm comprises a number of signs and witnesses confirming that the word mawla has not been used to exclusively indicate befriending with Imam ‘Ali.

(1) The order of halting at that place and in that extremely hot weather, which was issued to one hundred thousand Muslims, is not appropriate for the announcement of an insignificant issue like recommending them to love Imam ‘Ali. As a matter of fact, brotherly terms among Muslims and caring for one another had now become so common among Muslims that the Holy Prophet did not need to announce it under such circumstances.

(2) As an introduction to his sermon, the Holy Prophet foretold the imminence of his passing away. This issue is strongly connected to the issue of the next leadership and succession to him. Besides, it has nothing to do with the recommendation of bearing love for 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib.

(3) The Holy Prophet asked the attendants to witness that he was closer to them than their own selves; and they did. Immediately after that, he declared that 'Ali would be closer to them than their own selves. This shows that he wanted to confirm a special position for 'Ali; that is 'Ali being his successor.¹⁶⁵

(4) After the sermon, the attendants congratulated Imam 'Ali. Of course, such congratulation could not be for any reason except appointing 'Ali as the next leader and the successor to the Holy Prophet.

(5) After the Holy Prophet's announcement of the next leader, the Holy Qur'an proclaimed the perfection of religion and the completion of the Divine Grace. Of course, these two things have nothing to do with the recommendation of bearing love for 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib.

(6) Hassan ibn Thabit, the Holy Prophet's poet and a famous literary personality of those days, was present at Ghadir Khumm. After he had been permitted by the Holy Prophet, Hassan composed a poem in which he used the same statements of the Holy Prophet's sermon. He thus used the word mawla to express Imam 'Ali's Imamate and next leadership.

In one of his letters to Mu'awiyah, Imam 'Ali demonstrated that he was appointed as the mawla of Muslims by the Holy Prophet during the event of Ghadir Khumm.¹⁶⁶

(7) Connecting the Holy Prophet's announcement of Ghadir Khumm to Imam 'Ali's journey to Yemen prior to the Farewell pilgrimage, Ibn Kathir claims that 'Ali, during that journey, stopped his companions to divide the booties among themselves prior to giving them to the Holy Prophet. This incident, Ibn Kathir claims, made his friends feel that they were offended.¹⁶⁷ For this reason, the Holy Prophet, at Ghadir Khumm, praised 'Ali for his loyalty and justice and showed how much respect he had for him. In this way, Ibn Kathir contends, the Holy Prophet eradicated people's bad feelings towards 'Ali!

This reasoning, however, does not have any firm basis, because in the event of 'Ali's journey to Yemen, the Holy Prophet, on his first visit to those who were with 'Ali, answered their criticism against 'Ali by saying,

"Do not complain against 'Ali. By God I swear, 'Ali is firm in the way of obeying God; he is brave and audacious in this regard."¹⁶⁸

With the firm and decisive statement, the case was over for those who listened to the Holy Prophet. It is therefore nonsense to think that three hundred¹⁶⁹ of those people were still at odds with 'Ali and the Holy Prophet had to repeat it once more in front of one hundred thousand Muslims.

(8) Another doubt is aroused in the following way: If the Holy Prophet had appointed 'Ali at Ghadir Khumm as his successor, the Companions would not have opposed to 'Ali's manners and statements.

This is because, the discussion goes on, the Holy Prophet's companions were sincere people; they had always been ready to sacrifice for Islam. It should be mentioned that the Holy Prophet's demise took place nearly seventy days after the announcement of Ghadir; thus, they say, the memories were still fresh.

To answer, we should be aware that a research of the events at the time of the Holy Prophet clearly shows that even some of the Holy Prophet's grand companions at times disobeyed him; so, disobedience to 'Ali was justified. Whenever the Holy Prophet's commands contrasted their personal wishes or tribal and political inclinations, the companions tried to stop him from carrying out that decision. Sometimes, they refused to carry out these commands; and very often, they made oppositions. They objected to the Holy Prophet when he agreed to the Hudaibiyah Truce. They objected and disobeyed his order of dispatching the troops of Usamah. They disobeyed him in the final hours of his blessed life when he ordered them to bring him a pen and an inkpot. Besides too many other objections and disobedience to the Holy Prophet's acts and orders, books of history of Islam are full of such events.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Din al-Musawi has gathered all these cases in a book he entitled al-Naz wa'l-Ijtihad.

In addition, several verses of the Holy Qur'an emphasize obedience to the commands of the Holy Prophet, considering it part of faith. Others warn people against disobeying him. These verses prove that such cases of disobedience had actually taken place:

Therefore, let those beware who go against his order lest a trial afflict them or there befall them a painful chastisement. (24:63)

O you who believe! Be not forward in the presence of Allah and His Apostle, and be careful of your duty to Allah; surely Allah is Hearing, Knowing. (49:1)

And know that among you is Allah's Apostle: should he obey you in many a matter, you would surely fall into distress. (49:7)

And it behooves not a believing man and a believing woman that they should have any choice in their matter when Allah and His Apostle have decided a matter; and whoever disobeys Allah and His Apostle, he surely strays off a manifest straying. (33:36)

And We did not send any apostle but that he should be obeyed by Allah's permission' and had they, when they were unjust to themselves, come to you and asked forgiveness of Allah and the Apostle had also asked forgiveness for them, they would have found Allah of returning to mercy, Merciful. But no! By your lord! They do not believe in reality until they make a judge of that which has become a matter of disagreement among them, and then do not find any resistance in their hearts as to what you have decided and submit with entire submission. (4:64-65)

O you who believe! Obey Allah and His Apostle and do not turn back from Him while you hear.
(5:20)

Although the Holy Prophet tried hard to remove the evil aspects of tribal prejudices and rivalries which were the source of all kinds of calamities during the Ignorance Era, the cultural aspects of the tribes still prevailed in society, demonstrating occasionally. As an example, as soon as the Holy Prophet passed away, the people of Aws and Khazraj enlivened their tribal inclinations.¹⁷⁰ Thus, it was clear that some political figures of Quraysh would be rivals to Banu-Hashim and they would never tolerate a government headed by Banu-Hashim.

There are disagreements among scholars concerning the time of the revelation of the holy verses appertained to the Holy Prophet's declaring Imam 'Ali's Imamate and succession to him. However, several documents prove the revelation of these two verses at Ghadir Khumm.¹⁷¹

The contents of these two verses show that they should have been revealed for an important topic, such as the succession to the prophethood. For instance, verse No. 3 of Surah al-Ma'idah puts emphasis on four topics, which are only related to the issue of Imamate:

- a) The infidels who wrongly assumed that Islam was dependant on the Holy Prophet only and by his demise, it would come to an end are now despairing. However, with the adoption of a strong, just and distinguished man such as 'Ali, it was clear that Islam would be ever-lasting.
- b) Islam has been ultimately perfected. It could not have reached such perfection without the continuation of leadership.
- c) The asset of guidance has been completed through the continuation of leadership.
- d) God has accepted Islam as the perfect religion.¹⁷²

The Brigade of Usamah

Zayd ibn Harithah was one of the three commanders of the Muslim troops that fought in the Battle of Mu'tah in which the Muslim army was defeated by the Romans and three commanders together with some soldiers were martyred.

A year after that, the Muslim army went forward as far as the land of Tabuk, but no armed conflict took place. As a result of these consequences, the Holy Prophet always worried about a war with the Romans who were aggressive and powerful.

Upon his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage and arrival at Medina, the Holy Prophet ordered an army headed by Usamah, son of Zayd ibn Harithah, to advance as far as the land of Ubna,¹⁷³ where his father had been martyred, and to fight the Romans. He then gave the banner to Usamah along with orders and instruction. Usamah betook himself al-Jurf¹⁷⁴ as headquarter at which troops would

gather. 175 Chief personalities of Muhajirun and Ansar, including Abu-Bakr, 'Umar, Abu-'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrah, Sa'd ibn Abi-Waqqaz, 176 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Awf, Talhah, al-Zubayr, Usayd ibn Hudhayr, Bashir ibn Sa'd, 177 Sa'id ibn Zayd, 178 Qatadah ibn al-Nu'man and Salamah ibn Aslam were among these troops. 179

When the Holy Prophet was dispatching the army, he was in good health. However, the next day, he came down with fever which culminated in his death. On his death-bed, the Holy Prophet was informed that some of the troops did not accept Usamah's commandership claiming that he was too young. While he was completely weakened by illness, the Holy Prophet came to the mosque to encourage people to join Usamah, saying:

What is that I hear about your objection to Usamah's commandership? You are objecting to his commandership in the same way you did to his father. I swear to God, Zayd deserved commandership and so is his son. 180

In his final days, the Holy Prophet was in a distressing position. Most of the time, he was unconscious. When he regained consciousness, he asked about Usamah's army. He was told that the troops were readying themselves to move. The Holy Prophet said,

“Help Usamah's army. May God curse those who lag behind this army.” 181

His ailment lasted for two weeks; 182 yet, this army did not move. This event is a clear indication of the cases of disobedience manifested by some Muslims to the Holy Prophet's distinct orders.

The Prophet's Supreme Objective

Concerning the Holy Prophet's trial to dispatch Usamah's troops, there are important points to consider:

(1) In the mobilization of this army, the leadership was given to a young man who was less than twenty years old to fight against the most powerful army of those days away from the center of the Islamic government.

(2) In this army, senior commanders and grand Companions were put under the command of Usamah, the young. They considered themselves prestigious and expected greater ranks in that army.

(3) Although the Holy Prophet knew about his imminent death, as he had referred to this issue in the sermon of Ghadir, and that the dark, heavy clouds of disastrous events were hovering over the heads of Muslims, he sent the Muslim army to a far land and asked the grand personalities of Muhajirun and Ansar to join it on this mission. Considering the excellent managerial capacities of the Holy Prophet, we can never doubt that he had a great objective in mind to achieve.

Taking these notes into consideration, we can conclude that, in addition to carrying out military actions against the Romans to remove their danger, the Holy Prophet aimed at following two other objectives:

a) By appointing Usamah as the head of the army, the Holy Prophet wanted to make Muslims realize that the most important point in management and leadership is the leader's expertise and merits, but not his age. Hence, age has nothing to do with merits and capacities. For this reason, he replied to their objections by saying, "Zayd was a good leader, so is his son."

Through this formal position, the Holy Prophet confirmed Usamah's merits and objected to the proposals of those who wanted to take age and racial issues into consideration. Wasn't this insistence on the Holy Prophet's side done to pave the way for 'Ali's succession?

b) The Holy Prophet wanted 'Ali's rivals to be away from Medina at the time of his demise. For this very reason, he ordered the chief personalities of Muhajirun and Ansar to join that army and leave Medina. He wanted 'Ali to have control over things in the absence of his rivals who would not be able to do anything when they would see 'Ali in power.¹⁸³ For this reason, some personalities delayed the movement of the army waiting for the Holy Prophet's demise.

The Unrecorded Will

On Thursday (four days prior to his demise), the Holy Prophet who was bedridden ordered,

"Bring me paper and pen so that I will write something saving you from going astray forever."

One of the attendants said, "He is under severe pain; he is hallucinating! We have Qur'an; it suffices us." Disagreement took place among the attendants; some accepted the statement of this person and others wanted to carry out the Holy Prophet's orders. There was now commotion. Then they asked the Holy Prophet, "Should we carry out your intentions?" he replied,

"After what has been done? Leave me alone; my pain is better than what you ascribe to me. Leave me alone."

Narrators have reported this catastrophic event with little differences; yet, the sequence of the events is the same.¹⁸⁴

We can now understand what the Holy Prophet had in mind. He wanted to appoint 'Ali as his successor in a written form so that Muslims would not encounter any hardships after his demise. Some of the attendants had already concluded the matter; therefore, they exerted all possible efforts to prevent the Holy Prophet from writing down that document and from declaring his final will.

Considering this event with much pain, 'Abdullah ibn 'Abbas used to say: "How disastrous that Thursday was! The Prophet asked for pen and paper to write something saving Muslims from going astray, but those present ones did not listen."

This issue is one of the principles of the history of Islam; it was told and retold several times in the past; therefore, we shall not say anything more; rather, we ask the gentle reader to refer to the reference

The Demise of the Great Leader of Islam

After twenty-three years of spreading the Divine Mission, and after tremendous amount of hardships and insurmountable obstacles, the Holy Prophet passed away on Monday the twenty-eighth Safar, in the eleventh year of Hegira¹⁸⁶ after fourteen days of ailment.¹⁸⁷ He was buried in his small residing-place next to the mosque that he had established. Later on, when the mosque was rebuilt by some caliphs, his sacred shrine was located in its eastern section.

Several years after Hegira, economic conditions improved for the Holy Prophet and Muslims and the revenues of the treasury became well-managed. Besides, the Holy Prophet's superficial power and spiritual influences increased. Despite all that, the Holy Prophet's life pattern did not change in comparison with his past; he preferred to have a simple life in his residing-place next to the mosque. He neither amassed wealth nor obtained a usual home. The bed where he rested was made of leather with linen made of date-palm leaves.¹⁸⁸ He used to pray on a mat and that was the place he rested. At times, the effect of the straws could be seen on his sacred body.¹⁸⁹ Towards his end, he ordered to distribute among the needy some Dinars left from the treasury and kept by one of his wives.¹⁹⁰

He lived a simple life and passed away in a simple residing-place. However, when he passed away, there was left a great religion, there remained a Divine and holy Book and a nation, God-loving and dynamic. There had been established a new civilization in the history of the world.

A Perspective on the New Community of Muslims

Upon his residence in Medina, the Holy Prophet took advantage of a free space and appropriate social conditions to lay the stone for an Islamic society and to overcome, yet gradually, all hindrances and obstacles. He gave the Muslim nation (ummah) an independent religious and political identity and spread the Divine Messages. At the time of his demise, he believed that he had fulfilled his mission and gained bright and brilliant successes. However, there were some issues in the society of those days requiring discussions:

(1) In the light of Islamic instructions, the Holy Prophet could unite the diverse tribes of Arabs who were always at odds with one another with the common bonds of faith, belief and brotherly care. He could make a unified nation out of scattered tribes. With the assistance of such people, he could establish in Medina a Divine government under his own leadership.

In this government, he could find solutions for the unsolved issues through consultation with people. Everybody was free to express his/her ideas and to criticize. For the first time and in the light of Islam, the Arab nation could experience such unity, power and spiritualism. However, the continuation of this success needed a powerful leader to guide people politically and spiritually.

(2) At the time of the Holy Prophet's demise, idolatry was more or less uprooted in the Arabian Peninsula. Although there was no military victory for Islam beyond the borders of the Arabian Peninsula, the Holy Prophet's universal invitation to Islam had reached the ears of the governors of the world's countries of those days. However, inside the Arabian Peninsula, some of those who had converted to Islam on the final days of the Holy Prophet's life, (especially those who had turned to Islam after the conquest of Mecca and the Battle Tabuk, had only superficially accepted the new faith that had not yet penetrated into their souls. The Holy Prophet never found a chance to send religious missionaries among them for cultural purposes. Most of them had even not seen the Holy Prophet face to face. Only their chiefs had some contact with him. So, with the temporary weakness in the power of Islam, their return to blasphemy was probable. This situation made the continuation of the Islamic leadership even more pertinent so that the cultural work of the Holy Prophet could have continued.

(3) Although the death of 'Abdullah ibn Ubayy, the head of the Hypocrites, in the ninth year of Hegira caused this dangerous group to lose some of their previous solidarity, they were around and inside Medina. They were always waiting for an opportunity to attack Muslims. In addition to the hypocrites who were considered internal enemies, there were two other external dangers for the newly-established government of Islam: the Iranian empire and the Romans. There were lots of signs for their enmity and negative attitudes towards Islam.

This vicious triangle made the Holy Prophet so concerned that he had to find solutions. This issue too made the presence of a strong leader absolutely necessary.

(4) Prior to the advent of Islam, the social life of the people inside the Arabian Peninsula was heavily reliant on the tribal system, which was based on racial and familial bonds. The social effects of such a system, including the blind tribal prejudices, nonsensical prides, revenge tacking and conflicts, had made life miserable for them.

Through hard working and boundless attempts, the Holy Prophet annihilated such a system and put the common faith for the common blood or the common race, in the light of Islam's unifying instructions and the word of monotheism. In this way, he was to a great extent able to eradicate the tribal system. All this was the result of Islam, the Holy Qur'an and the Holy Prophet's Mission.

However, history shows that the cultural remnants of this arrogant and ignorant age still remained in the hearts and souls of these people who manifested their tribal thinking as soon as they found it possible. However, the Holy Prophet, with his skill and vigor, always tried to stop this trend; he did not let it turn into a crisis. This once again showed the vulnerability of Islamic unity in those days. An example of this is the tribal inclinations between two distinguished groups of Muslims in the event of the Saqifah immediately after the demise of the Holy Prophet.

These worries clearly depicted the duties of the great leader of Islam in those days and the whole issue was a great test to show who was after the unity of Islam and would sacrifice everything for that unity on

the one hand and who would insist on the cultural aspects of the Ignorance Era on the other hand.

(5) After his migration to Medina, the Holy Prophet was both the religious and political leader for Muslims. He undertook these two missions simultaneously so much so that Muslims would listen to his words, perform the congregational prayers, and be so absorbed by his spiritual charisma that they would rub the water of his ritual ablution on their faces, participate in the military campaigns, slay the enemies, ready themselves to martyrdom, be appointed by him as governors of provinces, and carry out negotiations on his behalf with his political opponents. After his demise, it was not enough for his successor to be a political leader; rather, he had to perform the political leadership together with religious leadership so that he would be able to fill the Holy Prophet's empty place on the strength of his thorough awareness of the Islamic knowledge.

1. Muhammad al-Ghazzali, *the Trial of Goldziher the Zionist*, pp. 79–80.
 2. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 1:258–262.
 3. Miyanji, *Makatib al-Rasul* 1:31. Ibn Husham, in *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 4:254, states that the Holy Prophet sent ten letters to the rulers and kings of the world. According to *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:66–67, the Holy Prophet's letters were thirteen. Mas'udi, in *al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf* pp. 236–237, states that they were six. A contemporary researchers, namely Ahmad Sabiri Hamadani, in his book of *Muhammad wa-Zimamdarani*, the Holy Prophet's letters were only two or three!
 4. al-Waqidi, *al-Maghazi* 2:434; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 4:360.
 5. al-Waqidi, *op cit*, pp. 637–703. Al-Ya'qubi states that the number of these letters was twenty thousand (2:46).
 6. al-Waqidi, *op cit*, pp. 637.
 7. According to Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 4:266, the name was Yusayr ibn Rizam.
 8. Ibn Sa'd, *al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 2:91–92.
 9. Ibn Husham, *op cit*, 4:266–267.
 10. Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, *Hayat Muhammad*, pp. 386.
 11. al-Waqidi, *op cit*, pp. 634.
 12. Al-Waqidi, *op cit*, pp. 646.
 13. Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 3:93; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 4:349; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 4: 186.
 14. The Holy Prophet's statement and Imam 'Ali's mission were reported with some differences in the following reference books: *Sahih al-Bukhari* 1:5; *Sahih Muslim* 15:76–177; Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 2: 110–111; Shaykh al-Saduq, *Kitab al-Irshad*, pp. 311; *Tarikh al-Tabari* 3:93; al-Qanaduzi, *Yanabi' al-Mawaddah* 1:47; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:219; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Isi'ab* 3:36; al-Hakim al-Naysaburi, *al-Mustadrak 'Ala'l-Sahihayn* 3: 104; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyah* 3:349; Ibn Hajar, *al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqah*, pp. 121; al-Waqidi, *al-Maghazi* 2:635; Ibn Wadhih, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:46; Ibn Kathir, *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 4: 186; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:733–736; Shaykh al-Tusi, *al-Amali*, pp. 380.
 15. *Sahih Muslim* 15: 176.
- Sa'd ibn Abi-Waqqaz (belonged to Banu-Zuhrah) was one of the early converts to Islam at the age of seventeen (*Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 3: 134) or fourteen (*al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah* 1:434) in Mecca. In Medina, he was considered one of the great figures of Muhajirun. He was among 'Ali's political rivals and one of the members of the six-member council who was set to select a caliph after 'Umar's assassination. He refused to vote for 'Ali (Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, *Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah* 1:188). After the assassination of 'Uthman, Imam 'Ali was elected by all Muslims except a few group among was Sa'd who rejected to pay homage to Imam 'Ali (Mas'udi, *Muruj al-Dhahab* 2:353; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 3:191). Despite his situation from Imam 'Ali, he had to confess these three unmatched virtues of 'Ali.
16. Saduq, *al-Khizal*, pp. 369, chapter 7.
 17. al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 21:32.

18. Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, the History of the Prophet of Islam, pp. 473–475.
19. al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:690; Yaqut al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan 2:410.
20. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 3:352.
21. Yaqut al-Hamawi, op cit, pp. 410; al-Buladhari, Futuh al-Buldan, pp. 36–37.
22. al-Buladhari, op cit, pp. 42; Ibn Husham 2:352; Ibn al-Athir, al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh 2:224; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:707; Yaqut al-Hamawi, op cit, 4:236; Qasim ibn Sallam, al-Amwal, pp. 16.
23. Zayni Dahlan, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 2:170–171; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:289–290.
24. Halabi writes: "The Holy Prophet sent a letter to Hercules, the Roman emperor, who resided in Damascus at that time." See al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 2:786.
25. Halabi, op cit, 2:786.
26. al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:755; Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:128.
27. Ja'far ibn Abi-Talib, having lived in Abyssinia for several years, returned to Medina in the seventh year of Hegira. After the conquest of Khaybar, he met the Holy Prophet there. The Holy Prophet was so delighted with Ja'far's return that he said, "I do not know which news is more delightful; Ja'far's return or the conquest of Khaybar!" See al-Hakim al-Naysaburi's al-Mustadrak 'Ala'l-Sahihayn 2:624. For further information, refer to Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 4:35; Ibn al-Athir, Usd al-Ghabah 1:287; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 1:210; Abu'l-Faraj al-Izfehani, Maqatil al-Talibiyyin, pp. 30; Ibn Kathir: al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 4:206.
28. Tabrisi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 107. Although some reports state that Zayd had taken the commandership of the Muslim army during that battle before Ja'far, some Shi'ite narrations (according to Tabarsi) show that Ja'far was the first commander, as is confirmed by some details of the event. See Subhani, Furugh Abadiyyat 2:291–293. A narration reported by Ibn Sa'd deals with this issue. (Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:130). For further information, refer to Ja'far Murtadha's Dirasat wa-Buhuth fi'l-Tarikh wa'l-Islam 1:210 and the following pages.
29. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:19–21; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:107–110; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:755–769; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:128–130; Halabi, op cit, 2:787–793; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara pp. 102–104; Zayni Dahlan, op cit, 2:68–72; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 21:50–63; Tusi, al-Amali, pp. 141.
30. al-Maghazi 2:769.
31. Al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:30.
32. Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, the History of the Prophet of Islam, pp. 501.
33. This city is situated in Jordan, in the southern province of Karak, which is 135 Kilometers away from the capital Amman.
34. Ja'far Subhani, A report of a journey made to Jordan (Mu'tah, the land of Memories), Lessons from the School of Islam Magazine, year 38, Issue No. 7, Mehr 1377 ASH.
35. Prior to Islam, these two tribes were on terms of enmity (Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:310). Since that time, Banu-Khuza'ah were the allies of 'Abd al-Muttalib (al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:781).
36. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 1:33; al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:783; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:47. Ibn Husham writes, "An individual from Banu-Khuza'ah was killed in this attack." (4:33) However, al-Waqidi and Ibn Sa'd mention that twenty individuals were killed in this event. (al-Maghazi 2:784; Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:134).
37. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 744–800; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:135.
38. al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:746–802; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:134.
39. al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:787–796; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:134.
40. Ibn Husham, op cit, 4:34; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:134; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:47.
41. Ibn Husham 4:42, pp. 63; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:135; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:801.
42. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 42, 44, 46; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:817–819.
43. The casualties were between fifteen and twenty-eight. See Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 50; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:825; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:136.
44. Ibn Husham, op cit, 4:49; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:832; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:136. Also see Shaykh al-Tusi, al-Amali, pp. 336; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:30; Zayni Dahlan, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 2:102; Qastalani, al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah 1:322; Ibn Tawus, al-Tara'if 1:80–81; Ibn Shahrashub, al-Manaqib 2:135–136; Zamakhshari, Tafsir al-Kashshaf 2:244. Allamah Amini has reported this event from forty-one Sunni narrators. (al-Ghadir 7:10–13). On the basis of some reference

books (such as: al-Khawarizmi's al-Manaqib, Fara'id al-Simtayn, Yanabi' al-Mawaddah, and Tadhkirat al-Khawazz) and in accordance with some narrations recorded in Bihar al-Anwar, this event had taken place one year prior to the Emigration and had taken part at night without letting Quraysh know about it. Most probably, the event might have happened in both ways.

The ascent of 'Ali over the Holy Prophet's shoulders has been mentioned by some poets, such as Ibn al-'Arandas al Hilli, a poet of the ninth century, who composed the following:

'Ali's ascent on Ahmad's shoulders was more a great virtue and a lofty point of honor for 'Ali. This virtue is different from being a relative of the prophet.

In the same way, Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, in one of his elegies, which is related to Mecca's conquest, composed the following: You have ascended on the loftiest shoulders which were surrounded with the Qur'an-reciting angels. You have climbed the shoulder of the best of God's prophets; the shoulder of the dearest and holiest person who has ever lived on the earth. See Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, the History of the Prophet of Islam, pp. 524-530.

45. Al-Hurr al-'Amili: Wasa'il al-Shi'ah 9:323, Narration 1.

46. The number is recorded to have been between eight and ten. (Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:51-53; al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 2:825; Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:136.) However, some of them were pardoned by the Holy Prophet.

47. Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:49; Zayni Dahlan, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 2:48.

48. Ibn Husham, op cit, 4:58; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:50; al-Waqidi, op cit, 2:844, with some alterations of words.

49. Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i, al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an 19:246. This contract was convened after the revelation of the following holy verses:

O Prophet! When believing Women come to you giving you a pledge that they will not associate aught with Allah, and will not steal, and will not commit Fornication, and will not kill their children, nor commit a calumny which they have forged of themselves, and will not disobey you in what is good, accept their pledge, and ask forgiveness of them from Allah; surely Allah is Forgiving, Merciful. (60:11)

Because the content of this treaty was the same as that of the first 'Aqabah, it is sometimes called bay'at al-nisa' (the pledge of women).

50. Al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-Irab 3:11.

51. Al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:61.

52. Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 1:303.

53. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 307.

54. Op cit, pp. 248; al-Nuwayri, op cit, pp. 37.

55. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 326.

56. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 292; al-Nuwayri, op cit, pp. 38.

57. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 330; al-Nuwayri, op cit, pp. 89.

58. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 331; al-Nuwayri, op cit, pp. 83.

59. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 352; al-Nuwayri, op cit, pp. 103.

60. Ibn Sa'd, op cit.

61. al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 1:966.

62. al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 3:889; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:125. Other reference books state another date for the conquest of Mecca.

63. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 125; Qastalani, al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah 1:216.

64. Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:50.

65. Qastalani, op cit, pp. 227; al-Nuwayri, Nihayat al-Irab 2:280-281; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:145-147.

66. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:80; Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:126.

67. Ibn Husham, op cit, 4:82; Tabari, op cit, 2:127; al-Waqidi, op cit, 3:893.

68. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 889; Tabari, op cit, pp. 127.

69. Ibn Husham, pp. 83; Tabari, op cit, pp. 127; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, 2:150; Tabarsi, l'lam al-Wara, pp. 113; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi

2:52.

70. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 843; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 150.

71. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 889; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 150; Tabarsi, op cit, pp. 113; Shaykh al-Mufid, Kitab al-Irshad, pp. 74.

72. Hunayn was a valley, near Dhu'l-Majaz in a distance of three nights away from Mecca.

73. Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 85; al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 845; Tabari, op cit, pp. 128; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 14; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 21:169; Shaykh al-Mufid, op cit, pp. 75.

74. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 897; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 150.

75. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 900; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:52.

76. Kitab al-Irshad, pp. 74; concerning Imam 'Ali's bravery during this was, see Shaykh al-Tusi's al-Amali, pp. 574-575.

77. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 151; Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:52; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 21:150.

78. The Romans were neighbors to the northern part of the Arabian peninsula on the Damascus side.

79. al-Waqidi, al-Maghaz 3:440. Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:165; Qastalan, op cit, pp. 346; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:99. This report was forged by the Nabataean tradesmen who also carried oil and flour to Medina (al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 989-990).

80. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 990.

81. al-Waqidi, op cit, Ibn Sa'd, op cit.

82. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 166.

83. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, Qastalan, op cit; Halabi, op cit, Tabari, Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk 3:142.

84. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 992; Tabari, op cit; Halabi, op cit; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:159.

85. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 990-991; Qastalan, op cit, 1:347; Halabi, op cit, Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 160, Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 122.

86. Tabuk was a famous place located between Medina and Damascus (Qastalan, al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah 1:346; Zayni Dahlan, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 2:125). It is 540 kilometers away from Medina. It took a traveler twelve nights to reach there. (Mas'udi, pp. 235). In those days, it was on the border of the Roman-occupied territories in Damascus where Christians used to live. Today, Tabuk is one of the cities of Saudi Arabia near the Jordanian borders and the terrific sign on the northern side of Medina shows 600 Kilometers to Tabuk.

87. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 165-167; al-Waqidi, op cit; Qastalan, pp. 346; Tabarsi, op cit, Halabi, op cit, pp. 99; Ibn Husham, op cit, pp. 159.

88. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 991; Tabari, op cit, 3:142.

89. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 166; al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 996, 1002; Qastalan, op cit, pp. 349; Halabi, op cit, pp. 102.

90. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 1002; Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 166.

91. Mas'udi, al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 235.

92. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 165-166; al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 995.

93. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 993; Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:160; Qastalan, op cit, pp. 342.

94. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 995; Ibn Husham, op cit, 4:162.

95. Shaykh al-Mufid, Kitab al-Irshad, pp. 82; Tabarsi, l'Ilam al-Wara, pp. 122.

96. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, al-Isi'ab 3:34; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:104; Qastalan, al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah 1:348.

97. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, op cit, pp. 27; Ja'far Murtadha al-'Amili, al-Sahih min Sirat al-Nabi al-A'm 4:193-196.

98. Al-Jurf is a place three miles away from Medina.

99. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:163; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 9:104).

100. Sahih al-Bukhari 6:304; al-Maghazi, chapter 95, pp. 857; Sahih Muslim 15:175. The Holy Prophet's words on 'Ali can be found in the following reference books: al-Mawahib 1:348; al-Isti'ab 3:34; al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 5:7 and 8:77; Musnad Ahmad 1:179; Kanz al-'Ummal, h. 14242, 32881, 36572, Sahih al-Tirmidhi, chap. 21, h. 3730; al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 235; al-Sawa'iq al-Muhriqah, pp. 121; al-Izabah 2:509 No. 5688; Zayni Dahlan's al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 2:126; Muruj al-Dhahab 3:14; Amali by Shaykh al-Tusi, pp. 599.

101. Despite this clear set of argumentations, among Sunni scholars, such as Halabi and Ibn Taymiyah, have doubted the authenticity of these narrations. For further information about the authenticity of this narration and similar ones, refer to al-Ghadir 3:197-201; Ihqaq al-Haqq 5:133-234; Leadership from Islamic Point of View by Ja'far Subhani, chapter 15.

102. There was one horse for every three men.
103. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 2: 167; Qastalan, *al-Mawahib al-Ludaniyyah* 1:346; Halabi, *op cit*, 3: 106.
104. *Sahih al-Bukhari* 6:308; Mas'udi, *al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf*, pp. 235; Qastalan, *op cit*, pp. 346. This name and title is taken from the Holy Qur'an 9: 117.
105. Al-Waqidi, *al-Maghazi* 3: 1990–1991.
106. Halabi, *op cit*, pp. 99.
107. Ibn Sa'd, *op cit*, 2: 166, 168; al-Waqidi, *op cit*, pp. 1015.
108. Tabarsi, *l'lam al-Wara*, pp. 123; Qastalan, *op cit*, pp. 350; Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 3: 146.
109. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 2: 165; Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 4: 159; Halabi, *op cit*, pp. 49; Qastalan, *op cit*, pp. 346.
110. Ja'far Subhani, *Furugh-e-Abadiyyat* 2:403–404.
111. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 4:205. Biographers of the Holy Prophet's life have amassed a list of these treaties enumerating them as sixty; see *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 1:291–359; *The History of the Prophet of Islam* by Muhammad Ibrahim Ayati, pp. 609–642.
112. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 4: 190.
113. This event, with some variations, has appeared in the following reference books: *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 3: 154; *Sirat Ibn Husham* 4: 190; *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:291, *Majma' al-Bayan* 5:3; *Tadhkirat al-Khawaz*, pp. 57; *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 537–38 and 7:358; *Ruh al-Ma'ani*; *Tafsir al-Manar* 10: 157.
114. Circumambulating the Kaaba with naked body was one of the signs of the religious corruptions of the infidels. It had its roots in Quraysh's control over the Kaaba.
115. The content of the Holy Prophet's warning, with some alterations, appears in the following reference books: *Sirat Ibn Husham* 4: 191; *Al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* 9: 163, 165; *Tafsir al-Manar* 10: 157; *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 7:358, *al-Ghadir* 6:343, 348.
116. Tabari, *Tarikh al-Umam wa'l-Muluk* 3: 154; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil fi'l-Tarikh* 2:291.
117. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 4: 191; Ibn al-Athir, *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 5:37.
118. Najran is one of the Yemenite centers next to Mecca. (al-Hamawi, *Mu'jam al-Buldan* 5:266). Abu'l-Fida (672–732 AH) in, *Taqwim al-Buldan*, pp. 127 writes: "Najran is a small town with palm-groves; the distance between Mecca and Najran is about a twenty-day journey." This town might have developed in the following centuries, because Zayni Dahlan (1231–1304 AH) writes: "Najran is a large city, near Mecca, on the way to Yemen, consisting of seventy three villages." (*al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2: 144). As the maps of Saudi Arabia shows, Najran is now one of the cities of that country, near the borders with the Yemen.
119. Ibn Wadhih, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:70–71; *al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah* 5:53; *Bihar al-Anwar* 2:285; *al-Watha'iq*, pp. 34; 'Ali Ahmadi, *Makatib al-Rasul* 1: 175.
120. Sayyid Ibn Tawus, *Iqbal al-A'mal* 2:311.
121. Halabi, *al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah* 3:235–236; Zayni Dahlan, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2: 144; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 21:347. 'Allamah al-Majlisi has gathered all reports and narrations about the Holy Prophet's discussions with the missionary of Najran in volume 21 of *Bihar al-Anwar*, pp. 319–355.
122. Tabarsi, *l'lam al-Wara*, pp. 129; *Majma' al-Bayan* 2:452; al-Majlisi, *Bihar al-Anwar* 21:337.
123. Halabi, *al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah* 3:236; Zayni Dahlan, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah wa'l-Athar al-Muhammadiyah* 2: 144.
124. Ibn Wadhih, *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:72; Tabarsi, *l'lam al-Wara*, pp. 129.
125. Halabi, *op cit*; Zayni Dahlan, *op cit*; Zamakhshari, *Tafsir al-Kashshaf* 1: 193; al-Fakhr al-Razi, *Mafatih al-Ghayb* 8:82; Sayyid Muhammad Tabataba'i, *al-Mizan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an* 3:231; al-Baydhawi, *Anwar al-Tanzil*, pp. 74.
126. See *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* 2:72; *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra* 2:358, *Futuh al-Buldan*, pp. 75–76; *al-Watha'iq*, pp. 134–135; *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah wa'l-Athar al-Muhammadiyah* 2: 144; *al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah* 3:236; *Tafsir al-Kashshaf* 1: 191; *Mafatih al-Ghayb* 8: 182; *Al-Mizan* 3:232.
127. al-Azraqi, *Akhbar Makkah* 1: 176; Ibn 'Abd-Rabbih, *al-Iqd al-Farid* 3:313.
128. al-Waqidi, *al-Maghazi* 3: 1102; Zayni Dahlan, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 2: 143.
129. Husham Kalbi, *al-Aznam*, pp. 13. Ibn Husham, *al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah* 1:88; Mahmud Shukri al-Alusi, *Bulugh al-Irab*

2:202.

130. Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:317.

131. al-Waqidi, op cit, 3:1104.

132. Shaykh al-Kulayni, al-Furu' min al-Kafi 21:390.

133. Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:181; Halabi, op cit, 3:327.

134. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 1104.

135. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 1102; Zayni Dahlan, op cit, 2:143; al-Majlisi, op cit, 21:392.

136. al-Waqidi, op cit, pp. 1104; al-Majlisi, op cit, pp. 379.

137. Zayni Dahlan, op cit 2:143.

138. Ibn Husham, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah 4:250-252; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:312; Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:186; al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 3:1111; al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 21:380. It is worth mentioning that according to both Ibn Sa'd and al-Waqidi, the Holy Prophet delivered this sermon at the desert of Mina.

139. Zamakhshari, op cit. Fakhr Razi, without mentioning the name of 'A'ishah, records this narration and adds, "Both Sunni and Shi'ite scholars consider this narration authentic." (al-Tafsir al-Kabir 8:82). Al-Shablanji says, "Various reference books reckon this narration as valid." (Nur al-Abzar, pp. 111).

140. The following reference books deal with this same topic: Tafsir al-Kashshaf 1:193; Mafatih al-Ghayb 8:82; al-Durr al-Manthur 2:231-233, as narrated by al-Hakim, Ibn Mardawayh, Abu-Na'im in al-Dala'il; Muslim, al-Tirmidhi, Ibn al-Mundhir, al-Bayhaqi, in al-Sunan, and Ibn Jarir; Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:71; Sharaf al-Nabi, pp. 262; al-Baydhawi, Anwar al-Tanzil, pp. 74; Nur al-Abzar, pp. 111; Mana'ib 'Ali Ibn Abi-Talib by Ibn Mardawayh, pp. 226.

However, the most detailed description of this report can be found in Sayyid Ibn Tawus's Iqbal al-A'mal 2:310-348.

Despite the existence of so many narrations concerning al-Mubalahah, some historians, influenced by their prejudices, have manipulated the narrations adding or subtracting materials according to their whims and desires. For instance, al-Buladhari, Ibn Kathir and al-Shi'bi have omitted the name of 'Ali from the narration. (See Futuh al-Buldan, pp. 75, al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 2:232.) Halabi and Zayni Dahlan both have put the names of 'A'ishah and Hafzah among the participants; they have reported 'Umar as having said, "If I wanted to partake in the Mubalahah with those people (i.e. the Christians), I would let 'Ali, Hasan, Husayn, Fatimah, 'A'ishah and Hafzah take part." (al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:236; al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah wa'l-Athar al-Muhammadiyah 2:144-145). Al-Suyuti narrates from Ibn 'Asakir that the Prophet invited Abu-Bakr and his children and 'Ali and his children for Mubalahah! (Al-Durr al-Manthur 2:333).

The effects of forging and distortion are so obvious in these narrations that we do not need for further explanation of the issue. It only suffices to mention that if the word nisa'ana included the Prophet's wives, why should only two of them, namely 'A'ishah and Hafzah were worthy of to take part in Mubalahah?

141. Sahih Muslim 15:176.

142. Tafsir al-Kashshaf 1:193.

143. Anwar al-Tanzil, pp. 74.

144. Al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 21:350.

145. For more information, see Makatib al-Rasul 1:179; Furugh-e-Abadiyyat 2:441-445.

146. This was the final juncture of the pilgrims. The directions of the pilgrims of Egypt, Iraq and Medina were separated, each one taking their appropriate direction.

147. Allamah Amini, al-Ghadir fi al-Kitab wa'l-Sunnah wa'l-Adab 1:10.

148. They only doubt the reference of this event to 'Ali. For instance, in the international symposium for the recognition of Shi'ism, which was held in Istanbul, Turkey, with the participation of great scholars of Islamic countries and with the presence of a group of distinguished Muslim scholars of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Dr. Muhammad Sa'id Ramadhan al-Buti, one of the distinguished scholars of the University of Syria criticized the statements of one speaker who had denied the event of Ghadir saying, "There is no doubt about the narration of Ghadir and his participation in it. However, it does not pertain to Shi'ites..." This claim was answered by an Iranian scholar. See Congresses and Scientific Circles of Ayatullah, pp. 21, 27.

149. Al-Ghadir 1:14-15.

150. Returning to Medina, the Holy Prophet traveled at night until he reached a place close to al-Juhafah called Ghadir

Khummm. That was on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Hijjah. Taking 'Ali from the hand, the Holy Prophet delivered a sermon there in which he said, "Am I not superior to the believers than themselves?" The attendants answered affirmative. He then said, "'Ali is now the master of him who has considered me as his master. O Allah, be the confidant of him who confides with 'Ali and be the enemy of him who incurs the hostility of 'Ali." (2: 102).

Contrary to what is commonly said, Mas'udi has referred to this event to have taken place on the Holy Prophet's return from Hdaybiyah:

On his return from Hdaybiyah, the Prophet said to the Commander of the Believers 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib (may Allah be pleased with him) at Ghadir Khumm, "'Ali is now the master of him whose master was I." That was on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Hijjah. See al-Tanbih wa'l-Ishraf, pp. 221.

In Muruj al-Dhahab 2:245, counting the virtues of 'Ali, the author refers shortly to the event of the Divinely commissioned leadership of Imam 'Ali by saying,

Things due to which the companions of Allah's Messenger deserved favor are precedence to faith, migration, supporting Allah's Messenger, nearness to him, satisfaction, self-sacrifice for him, knowledgeability with the Holy Book and the Revelation, strife for Allah's sake, piety, asceticism, judicature, fair judgment, jurisprudence, and knowledge. In all these, 'Ali (peace be upon him) had the biggest share and the greatest part. He was exclusively addressed by Allah's Messenger when he associated as brothers each two of his companions, saying, "You are my brother." Of course, Allah's Messenger is matchless and incomparable. He also addressed 'Ali by saying, "Your position to me is the same as Aaron's position to Moses except that there will be no prophet after me." He also said, "'Ali is now the master of him whose master was I. O Allah, support him who supports 'Ali and antagonize him who incurs the hostility of 'Ali."

151. Ibn Shahrashub, Ma'alim al-'Ulama', pp. 106; Ibn Tawus, al-Tara'if; Ibn Bitriq, 'Uyun Sihah al-Akhbar 1:157.

This book is referred to by other names, such as Kitab al-Fadha'il, hadith al-wilayah, and Kitab Ghadir Khumm. These titles might have been taken by authors with regards to the content of the book. Some others have put the name of a special section of the book for the whole book. As we will see in the next footnote, al-Najashi entitles it as al-radd 'ala al-hurquziyyah (Refutations of Hurquz's claims). Hurquz ibn Zuhayr was one of leaders of Khawarij. Most probably, the adoption of this title was to indicate and refer to the opponents of 'Ali as apostates.

152. Al-Najashi, Fihrist Muzannaf al-Shi'ah, pp. 225. In his book of Iqbal al-A'mal 2:239, Sayyid Ibn Tawus refers to this name.

153. Tusi, al-Fihrist, pp. 281.

154. It is worth mentioning that while Ibn Kathir mentions the event of al-Ghadir, he distorts its relation to 'Ali.

155. Ibn Kathir, op cit, 11:147. This belongs to the events of the year 310 which coincides with Tabari's death.

156. Ma'alim al-'Ulama', pp. 106.

157. Al-Tara'if 1:142.

158. This book has been printed in three volumes in Qum by the Foundation for Islamic Publications in 1414 AH. In its first volume, page 130 on, Tabari's narrations are recorded.

159. Op cit, 1:130.

160. Op cit, 1:130. His motive in writing this book was that he was informed that one of the experts in Baghdad has denied and rejected the event of Ghadir, claiming that on the Prophet's return from the Farewell Pilgrimage, 'Ali was not with him; rather, he was in Yemen. Tabari was extremely moved by this lie and denial; so, he wrote the book of al-Wilayah to repudiate the view of that expert. In his book, he described the event of Ghadir and confirmed its authenticity. (Sharh al-Akhbar 1:130; Yaqt al-Hamawi, Mu'jam al-Buldan 18:84-85). According to Ibn 'Asakir and al-Dhahabi, the expert mentioned above was Abu-Bakr ibn Abi-Dawud al-Sajistani, the author of Sunan Abi-Dawud. (Tarikh Madinat Dimashq 52:197-198; Tarikh al-Islam, pp. 213; Tadhkirat al-Huffa" 2:713.

Abu-Bakr Ibn Abi-Dawud is accused of having hatred against 'Ali (Tarikh Madinat Dimashq 29:87; Mizan al-I'tidal 2:434; Tarikh Baghdad 9:467-468.

161. Sharh al-Akhbar 1:134-135. For more information on Kitab al-Wilayah, see Fadhl 'Ali, by Rasul Ja'fariyan, 34.

162. Al-Ghadir 1:350, 354, 356.

163. For instance, the Holy Prophet is reported to have said, "The matrimonial contract of any woman that is married before obtaining the permission of her mawla (guardian) is void."

164. Al-Ghadir 1:367–370.

165. According to a narration reported by Ahmad ibn Hanbal Musnad Ahmad 1:119 and Ibn al-Athir's Usd al-Ghabah 4:28, the Holy Prophet said, "Am I not superior to the believers than their own lives? Aren't my wives their mothers?"

It is completely clear that when he refers to his wives as the mothers of the believers, the statement that is confirmed in verse 6 of Surah al-Ahzab is uttered to strengthen his prophethood. His reference to his status as superior to the lives of Muslims shows that he wanted to emphasize his own prophetic position and later on 'Ali's position.

It is worth mentioning that Ibn Kathir considers its source as dubious, without presenting any reason whatsoever. (al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 5:211). This is while its first narrator, i.e., 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Abi-Layla has been confirmed by Sunni scholars as trustworthy. Besides, this hadith has been narrated by many others. (see al-Ghadir 1:177–178).

166. For a complete list of these signers and witnesses, see al-Ghadir 1:370–385; Leadership in the Eyes of Islam, Ja'far Subhani, pp. 234–238.

167. For further information, see al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 3:1081; al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 5:208–209.

168. Nihayat al-Irab 3:168; al-Bidayah wa'l-Nihayah 5:209; Ibn 'Asakir, Tarikh Madinat Dimashq 1:386.

169. Historians and biographers mention the number of the troops under Imam 'Ali's mission to Yemen as three hundred. See al-Waqidi, al-Maghazi 3:1019; al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:169.

170. Ibn Qutaybah al-Daynawari, al-Imamah wa'l-Siyasah, pp. 24–25.

171. For further information, see al-Ghadir 1: 214, 247.

172. For further information concerning this and also data related to the distance between the abovementioned two verses (in Surah al-Ma'idah) and the fact that what comes in the latter part of the 3rd verse deals with forbidden meats and not related to the issue of succession, see Tafsir Namunah 4:263–271.

173. A location in Syria between 'Asqalan and Ramlah, close to Mu'tah. See Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:227.

174. A place three miles away from Damascus.

175. Ibn Sa'd, Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:190; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:121; Zayni Dahlan, 2:138; Halabi, op cit, pp. 227.

176. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 190; Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah 3:227; Zayni Dahlan, al-Sirah al-Nabawiyyah wa'l-Athar al-Muhammadiyah 2:138.

177. Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah 6:52.

178. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 190; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:121.

179. Ibn Sa'd, op cit, pp. 190; al-Miqrizi, Amta' al-Asma' 2:124; Tahdhib Tarikh Dimashq 1:121.

180. Ibn Sa'd, op cit; al-Miqrizi, op cit, 2:124; Zayni Dahlan, op cit; 'Abd al-Qadir Badran, op cit; Halabi, op cit, pp. 228; According to Sahih al-Bukhari and Sahih Muslim, the words of the Prophet were:

If you impugn his commandership, you have already been impugning his father. By Allah I swear, he was very suitable for leadership. He was one of my dearest people. This one is also my dearest one after his father.

See Sahih al-Bukhari 6:326, H. 9; Sahih Muslim 15:195.

181. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Karim al-Shahristani, pp. 29.

182. Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi 2:178.

183. From the improper analysis that Ibn Abi'l-Hadid puts on this issue, we understand that this Shi'ite analysis has always been a controversial issue among historians.

184. Sahih al-Bukhari 1:120; al-Maghazi, pp. 317–318; Sahih Muslim 11:89; Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra 2:242; Ibn Abi'l-Hadid, Sharh Nahj al-Balaghah, quoted from Abu-Bakr al-Jawhari, Kitab al-Saqifah.

185. For example, see the following sources: Ibn Tawus, al-Tara'if fi Ma'rifat Madhahib al-Tawa'if 2:431–435; Sharaf al-Din al-Musawi, al-Nazz wa'l-Ijtihad, pp. 162–177; Ja'far Subhani, Furugh-e-Abadiyyat 2:493–500; Mustafavi, al-Haqaiq fi Tarikh al-Islam wa'l-Fitan wa'l-Ahdath, pp. 129–135; Yusuf Qulayni, pas az ghurub 1:38–53; Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal, Hayat al-Nabi, pp. 501; Sahih Muslim commentary of al-imam al-nawawi 11:84–93.

186. Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi, Bihar al-Anwar 22:514; the date of the prophet's demise is reported differently in some sources. See op cit, pp. 514–521; Ibn Sa'd, al-Tabaqat al-Kubra, 3:272–274; al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah, 3:454.

187. Ibn Wadhih, Tarikh al-Ya'qubi, 2:178.

188. Halabi, al-Sirah al-Halabiyyah, 3:454.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibn Sa'd, *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra*, 2:237-239.

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