

The heroes of Yarmuk had left behind an abiding lesson in self-sacrifice even at their dying moment, and had long since departed.⁶²⁸

These were the fruits of the twenty-one year effort of the Sun of Mercy. He had transformed coal into diamond, and had extracted individuals who were 'gold' in stature from within the mire.

Loan Request

Mecca had indeed been conquered, but there were still those who did not embrace Islam or who were not yet firm in their convictions. The Messenger of God wished to meet with them and take them aboard his ship also. To this end, he sought different channels of establishing rapport with and making contact with them.

As will be remembered, the Khuda'a tribe who acted on the basis of feelings of revenge throughout the Conquest, shed blood in retaliation for their twenty-three fellow tribesmen who were slain, and killed two Meccans.⁶²⁹ God's Messenger was angry with the Khuda'a for causing new tension as he strove to conquer the hearts of the Meccans. Without making the twenty-three people the Meccans had killed a matter of negotiation, he sought to defuse the situation by taking the payment of blood money of the Meccans who were slain upon himself. Whereas had he said here, "You had killed twenty-three people and they have killed two of your people. As it stands, you are required to pay the blood money for twenty-one people," he would have been more than justified. However, God's Messenger who did not want to push his audience away and constantly gave of himself, did not do this. He merely raised the issue of the reparations for the Meccans whom the Khuza'a had killed.

More than that, he saw the taking up of this payment himself as an excuse to sit and talk with the Meccans. This was a perfect means of coming together with some of those Meccans who remained aloof from him, who sufficed with watching on from a distance, or within whom despite their having stepped into the luminous world of Islam, belief had not become completely settled. He thus appealed to Safwan ibn Umayya, whom he had given four months to make a decision, Abu Jahl's brother 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Rabi'a, and Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza, for a loan.⁶³⁰

They had given God's Messenger a total of one hundred and thirty thousand dirhams in loan. Fifty thousand dirhams belonged to Safwan ibn Umayya,⁶³¹ and forty thousand each to 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Rabi'a⁶³² and Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza.⁶³³

⁶²⁸ Beyhakî, *Şuabü'l-Îmân* 3/260; İbn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 2/270 ; Zeylaî, *Nasbu'r-Râye* 2/318. It is stated that these individuals who displayed an altruism and selflessness as to send even the mouthful of water of which they themselves were in need to others, were four in number and that the fourth of them was again another twenty-one year enemy of Islam Suhayl ibn 'Amr. İbn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 2/270

⁶²⁹ The number of Meccans killed is reported to be three.

⁶³⁰ When God's Messenger later discharged his debt, he said, "What a fine reward of a loan is full repayment and gratitude," and was to pray for the blessing of his family and possessions." Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 579

⁶³¹ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 579; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 5/99

⁶³² Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 579; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 5/99

⁶³³ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 579; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 5/99; Zehebî, *Târîh* 2/324

This was in spite of the fact that in the company of God's Messenger at the time were such affluent individuals as Abu Bakr, 'Uthman, and Talha, who would have given not just their wealth, but their lives should he have asked for them. It can thus be seen that the objective was not just to borrow money: God's Messenger was to come together with these people who had not yet been able to overcome their unease, and was following them closely so as to facilitate their joining him or, in respect to some of them, ensure that the belief with which they had only just become acquainted, became firmly established in their hearts.

A similar situation was experienced during the unexpected Hunayn development which took place 19 days after Conquest. As the Messenger of God set off to stave off Hawazin attacks, he sent word to Safwan ibn Umayya saying: "O Abu Umayya, lend us these weapons of yours so that we may fight our enemy tomorrow."⁶³⁴

Concerned by these successive demands and not yet knowing the Messenger of God as 'the Messenger of God,' Safwan ibn Umayya asked, "Are you demanding them by force?" He was justified in asking such a question, as this was common practice at the time. On top of that, he had come with a new request, without having paid off the loan before. Consequently, his apprehension was only to be expected and this is why he asked such a question. However, his addressee now was a Messenger without equal, and in a reassuring tone, the latter replied, "No. On the contrary, in loan for a length of time."

Whereas, had God's Messenger given no guarantee of return, there would have been nothing that Safwan ibn Umayya could have done. He could have even viewed this as justifiable, as these weapons were to be used in defense of this city. Safwan was an inhabitant of this city and there could have been nothing more natural than for him to have given the weapons demanded during mobilization. What is more, the individual demanding them was the conquering commander of this city. The situation, however, again transpired in a manner that was most out of the ordinary. This Commander demanded these weapons as a loan to be repaid. This was a stance that blew away all of Safwan's prior knowledge and standing in wonder at God's Messenger, he managed to get out the words, "In that case there is no objection."⁶³⁵

There was one shock after another in the tumult stirring in his inner world. The past flashed before him and he had now begun to think how right they were in once calling him Muhammad the Trustworthy. Indeed, if he was the one pledging his word, then he would most certainly fulfill it. So Safwan went and brought back with him four hundred coats of mail⁶³⁶ and such weapons as swords and shields, which he entrusted to God's Messenger without any doubt of their return.⁶³⁷

Hundreds of Meccans who were treated with this degree of warmth and affinity such as Safwan ibn Umayya, Hakim ibn Hizam, Harith ibn Hisham, 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Rabi'a, 'Abbas ibn

⁶³⁴ Ibn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/276; Ibn-i Hibbân, *Sikât* 2/66

⁶³⁵ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 573; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 5/99; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/181; İbnü'l-Esîr, *Üsdü'l-Gâbe* 3/24; Halebî, *Sîre* 3/153; İbn-i Kayyim, *Zâdu'l-Meâd* 3/468; Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/312;

⁶³⁶ This figure is out at one hundred coats of mail in another narration. Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 573; Taberî, *Târîh* 2/167; İbn-i Hibbân, *Sikât* 2/67

⁶³⁷ Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 3/400; Abdurrezzak, *Musannef* 7/169, 170; 8/180; Hâkim, *Müstedrek* 2/54; Beyhakî, *Kübrâ* 6/88 İbn-i Abdilberr, *Dürer* 1/225. In confirmation of this, Safwan ibn Umayya's son 'Abd al-Rahman related that God's Messenger borrowed weapons from his father. İbn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 2/119

*Mirdas, Agra' ibn Habis, 'Uyayna ibn Hisn, Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza, joined the Messenger's forces while they were yet polytheists, and went to Hunayn to fight with him, on the same side.*⁶³⁸

This was the first time they stood with the Messenger whom they had constantly fought and raised armies against for twenty-one years. Even if they had yet been unable to accept his invitation, they had entered his gravitational field, and were correcting their former knowledge with every gesture and act of chivalry they saw and heard.

However, at only the beginning of Hunayn, the forces faced catastrophe and their line broke in the face of ambush, and the panicked soldiers began fleeing in all directions. Most of them were the Meccans who had joined the forces saying, "Let's just wait and see. If he is victorious at Hunayn also, we will make our decision then and become Muslim." There was also the thought of gaining from the war spoils. They were now running for their lives after the ambush they faced when advancing at the front of army. The Muslim army was thus in total disarray and confusion, and was shaken, albeit temporarily. At this point, some of them even cried out, "Surely sorcery is vain today."⁶³⁹ These were no doubt the words of those who, while they were in close proximity to God's Messenger, did not yet know him. For those who made the smallest effort to get close to him, to better acquaint themselves with who he was, were not as impulsive. For instance, Safwan ibn Umayya from whom God's Messenger borrowed money, as a result of which Safwan had the opportunity to sit down and converse with the Messenger, did not share their view. Moreover, to his half brother Kalada ibn al-Hanbal who shouted, "Muhammad and his Companions will not recover from it," he called out in anger, "Shut up! May God close your mouth! I would rather be ruled by a lord of the Quraysh than a lord of the Hawazin!"⁶⁴⁰

Safwan ibn Umayya, who had sent a paid assassin to Medina after Badr to kill God's Messenger and who had until now been ready to give away fortunes for this purpose, now could not accept the defeat of God's Messenger and breathed fire. This report could not be true! The thought gnawed away at him and in order to be sure, he summoned one of his slaves and instructed, "Go and find out what the battle cry (code word) is on the battlefield,"

with a demeanor that seemed to say, "Go and bring me news of the triumph of Muhammad the Trustworthy." When the slave relayed upon his return that what he heard on the battlefield was, "O Bani 'Abd al-Rahman, O Bani 'Ubayd Allah, O Bani 'Abd Allah," Safwan was reassured. For these were the words of Muhammad the Trustworthy. He heaved a deep sigh of relief, and said, "Muhammad is victorious, as these were the battle cries of the Muslims during battle."⁶⁴¹

Those Whose Hearts Were Reconciled (Mu'allafa al-Qulub)

After Hunayn, the Messenger of God, the Prophet of Mercy, also dealt with the Ta'if situation, and then returned to Ji'rana. A completely new chapter of history was being written for all the world to see. Muhammad the Trustworthy found any excuse, so to speak, to forgive the people and

⁶³⁸ Some sources put the figure of those who participated in Hunayn while they were not Muslims to be two thousand. Ibn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/114; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/181; Yakûbî, *Târîh* 2/41; Halebî, *Sîre* 3/153; Ibn-i Kayyim, *Zâdu'l-Meâd* 3/468

⁶³⁹ Ibn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/278; Ibn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 3/1333

⁶⁴⁰ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 598; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/182; Ibn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 3/1333

⁶⁴¹ Beyhakî, *Sünen* 7/19

took steps that would please those he addressed, on the basis of the smallest pretext. Preferring forgiveness when he possessed the power to punish was not the lot of any ordinary man. They had never before seen such an act, and had never heard of such chivalry from their forebears. Even at a point at Ta'if when it was said, "The fortresses have fallen," he abandoned the siege and let the people be. Furthermore, he did not oblige those who asked for him to curse the people of Ta'if for causing them so much strife without provocation, and instead entreated God for them saying, "O God, guide the Thaqif and bring them to Islam."⁶⁴² He did not pursue the Hawazin who suffered crushing defeat, even returning to them the spoils that fell to his share. This was not all, however. The Prophetic stance which was of such a nature as to overwhelm, continued.

After the Battle of Hunayn at Ji'rana were more than forty-thousand sheep and twenty-four thousand camels that the Hawazin had left behind. In addition to this were four thousand 'uqiyyas of silver and other property and goods of unknown quantities.⁶⁴³

Needless to say, those who fulfilled their obligations on the battlefield expected remuneration for their efforts. Some of them even forced God's Messenger's hand, saying, "O Messenger of God, divide our spoil of camel and herds among us." So much so that they literally forced him back against a tree and his mantle was torn, and he was forced to dismount under that tree. Upon this, he called out to them: "O people!" He was clearly angered. "Give me back my mantle. For, by Him in Whose hands is my life, had I camels as numerous as the acacia trees of Tihama, I would have divided them among you, and you would not have found me to be a miser, a coward, or a liar."⁶⁴⁴

Then he went to his camel, took a hair from its hump and held it in between his fingers, high up for the people to see, saying, "O people,⁶⁴⁵ by God, no part of your spoils shall come to me that exceeds my rightful share of a fifth⁶⁴⁶ by as much as this hair, and that fifth again I return to you; And so return whatever you have from the spoils, down to the needle or thread, and do not claim anything as your own. For this will amount to grave disgrace and ignominy to a person on the Day of Judgment."⁶⁴⁷

As a matter of fact, through these words, God's Messenger signaled exactly how he was to use the one-fifth that God had granted to his disposal. The Companions who heard these words from him recalled his similar warnings on the way to Ta'if. For that matter, most of those who were with him since Medina had heard similar words of caution during the distribution of the Khaybar

⁶⁴² Tirmizî, *Menâkib* 74 (3942); Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 23/50 (14702); İbn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/305

⁶⁴³ Vakîdî, *Megazî* 627; İbn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/116; İbn-i Kayyım, *Zâdu'l-Meâd* 3/473

⁶⁴⁴ Buhârî, *Cihâd* 24 (2821); Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 27/321 (16756); Taberânî, *Kebîr* 2/130 (1551); Beyhakî, *Kübrâ* 6/547 (12933); Taberî, *Târih* 3/190; İbnü'l-Esîr, *Kâmil* 2/269

⁶⁴⁵ This expression demonstrates that God's Messenger was not addressing only the believers on the day.

⁶⁴⁶ He thus reminds them of the clear decree with the following Qur'anic verse "And know that whatever you take as gains of war, to God belongs one fifth of it, and to the Messenger, and the near kinsfolk, and orphans, and the destitute, and the wayfarer (one devoid of sufficient means of journeying)."

⁶⁴⁷ Vakîdî, *Megazî* 627; Taberî, *Târih* 3/190; Beyhakî, *Kübrâ* 6/547 (12933); Halebî, *Sîre* 3/153

spoils⁶⁴⁸ and from that day forth came to prefer writhing with hunger, to appropriating public property, however small.

Not long had passed since the Messenger's warning, when one of the Companions began to approach with a ball of yarn. His face had been drained of color, and he was too ashamed to look God's Messenger in the face. "O Messenger of God," he said. I had taken this ball to sew a pack saddle for my camel that is affected by sore back."

These were episodes exemplifying the Messenger's not omitting any of society's segments. While the doors had been opened wide for those whose arrival was awaited, those at the center were shown the way leading to their own summit of perfection, and were advancing on the path from which there was no return. Seeing the sensitivity of his Companion, God's Messenger answered, "As for my rightful share of it, it is yours!" But this Companion was resolved and had no intention of turning away from a matter that held such dire consequences for him, and he handed the ball of yarn to the official in charge of the spoils.⁶⁴⁹

The time had now come for the distribution of the spoils. Before beginning the divisions, the Divinely ordained one-fifth was set aside. Everyone waited eagerly to see who would get what share. Contrary to what the people had been accustomed to, the Messenger of God opted for a path that was completely unexpected: he prioritized the Meccans who had hitherto led the people in hostility and enmity, and treated them in a way that they could not even imagine. Those whose progress he ensured inch by inch, he was now to soften with his benevolence, and was to introduce their darkened worlds to the warmth of the light of mercy. And this was precisely how matters transpired. When time came for the distribution, those who were present observed the Messenger giving certain people a greater share of the spoils. However, these people were for the most part those who were eager to kill God's Messenger whenever they found the opportunity or in the event of his being routed by the enemy. They thought of moving along with the prevailing circumstances and from the moment the tide turned against them, planned to make a brand new maneuver and obtain what they had been unable to attain thus far. While now, they had begun to experience a completely new process. God bestowed a fortune upon him by means of the Hawazin, and he was giving this fortune to the Meccans so that they too could come to know the Bestower of this fortune Himself. This was a horizon to which they had been oblivious until this time.

Virtually everyone saw that he gave without the smallest fear of poverty, for God's Messenger had given a fortune to each of these people who would henceforth be known as *mu'allafa al-qulub*, those whose hearts were reconciled. For example, he gave one hundred camels to Abu Sufyan who had become Muslim immediately before Conquest. This was a great fortune, and the Messenger of God gave gratuitously. What is more, this was not all he gave. Among the spoils Abu Sufyan received on the day were also forty *'uqiyyas* of silver.⁶⁵⁰ In addition, God's Messenger made similar gestures to Abu Sufyan's sons Yazid and Mu'awiya. *Abu Sufyan's family*

⁶⁴⁸ Ebû Dâvud, Cihad 143 (2711); Beyhakî, *Kübrâ* 6/547 (12932); İbn-i Sa'd, Tabakât 2/88

⁶⁴⁹ Beyhakî, *Kübrâ* 6/547 (12933); Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/395

⁶⁵⁰ *Uqiyya* is one twelfth of a *ritl* (or *ratl*). This standard differed according to the city with the Egyptian *ritl* consisting of 449,28 grams, the Syrian *ritl* being 3,202 grams, while the Beirut and Alepp *ritl* being equivalent to 2,566 grams.

at once came in possession of an enormous fortune of three hundred camels and one hundred and twenty 'uqiyyas of gold.⁶⁵¹ God's Messenger who had until this day took them by the hand for the sake of their Hereafter, was now taking them by the hand for their life in the world, conferring upon Abu Sufyan a favor that would not cause him to pine for his lost post of leadership. Abu Sufyan was embarrassed by such grand gesture. "May my mother and father be your ransom" he said, "how generous you truly are! Surely, I fought you until now, but you were generous and the best of the people in war no less than you are generous and the best of the people in peace. May God reward you abundantly!"⁶⁵²

The Messenger of God kept a keen eye on developments, even closely observing individuals. He had his eye, in particular, on those who had not yet made up their minds concerning their acceptance of Islam and who stood at a crucial point. Among them was Safwan ibn Umayya, who could not help looking at the sheep and camels out to pasture in Ji'rana's passes. God's Messenger approached Safwan and said, "Do you like what you see in this pass?" This was a sincere voice, one which came from the heart. The very same voice he heard when the Messenger said, "I have given you four months." One could not have told the possessor of such a voice, which warmed one's heart, anything but the truth. "Yes," he said, nodding. Another shock wave was headed Safwan's way. God's Messenger, who had brought Safwan to such a point, painstakingly, inch by inch, then said, "It is yours with everything in it."⁶⁵³

Safwan was utterly dumbfounded. A human being could not have been this generous. The Prophetic mercy had become a waterfall, and was gushing forth into the hearts of the Meccans. For in the place he was referring to when he said, "It is yours," were one hundred red dromedaries. On top of that, these were not in repayment for the loans he had given, but a fortune that was granted without any expectation or obligation.

The time was now come for Safwan and he proclaimed, "I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and that you are His Messenger!"⁶⁵⁴

Then, as if in emphasis of the final move that caused him to say these words, he said, "For only a Messenger can give with such generosity."⁶⁵⁵

Safwan ibn Umayya who had been given four months time to think in return for the two months he requested, had given way. Close follow-up, constant contact, repeated acts of benevolence, and finally gestures with worldly wealth and possessions, completely softened Safwan in feeling and he thus joined ranks with the Messenger whom he had viewed for years on end as 'enemy'. In describing his inward state at the time, Safwan was later to say:

⁶⁵¹ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 628; İbn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/116

⁶⁵² Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 628; İbnü'l-Esîr, *Üsdü'l-Gâbe* 2/14; İbn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 2/714; Halebî, *Sîre* 3/170

⁶⁵³ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 629

⁶⁵⁴ According to some sources, God's Messenger wanted to settle his debt to Safwan in Umayya on this day as well as compensate him for his weapons lossess at Hunayn and Ta'if, and that Safwan embraced Islam as a result of his honesty and scrupulousness. Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 24/13 (15302)

⁶⁵⁵ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 629; Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/398

"The Messenger of God gave to me from the spoils of Hunayn while he was the most hateful person on earth to me; he kept giving without expecting anything in return until he became the dearest person on earth to me."⁶⁵⁶

To Suhayl ibn 'Amr⁶⁵⁷ and Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza from whom God's Messenger had also borrowed money, God's Messenger gave one hundred camels each.⁶⁵⁸

The family of Abu Jahl was not forgotten in such a chivalrous display. Abu Jahl's brother Harith ibn Hisham was given one hundred camels,⁶⁵⁹ while 'Ikrima, who had sought forgiveness from God's Messenger in lieu of worldly wealth and possessions when coming to embrace Islam, received fifty camels.⁶⁶⁰ Abu Jahl's other brother Khalid ibn Hisham was also among those who received such benevolent treatment from God's Messenger on the day. Hisham ibn al-Walid, brother of Abu Jahl's first cousin Khalid ibn al-Walid, was one of them.

Hakim ibn Hizam,⁶⁶¹ Harith ibn al-Harith, 'Ala' ibn Jariya,⁶⁶² Asid ibn Jariya, 'Abbas ibn Mirdas,⁶⁶³ Qays ibn 'Adi, Nudayr ibn al-Harith,⁶⁶⁴ Asid ibn Haritha,⁶⁶⁵ 'Uyayna ibn Hisn, and 'Aqra' ibn Habis were each given one hundred camels.

⁶⁵⁶ İbnü'l-Esîr, *Üsdü'l-Gâbe* 3/25; İbn-i Kesîr, *Bidâye* 4/389; İbn-i Hibbân, *Sahîh* 11/159; Mizzî, *Tehzîbü'l-Kemâl* 13/183

⁶⁵⁷ Hâkim, *Müstedrek* 3/317

⁶⁵⁸ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 629; İbn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/116; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/190

⁶⁵⁹ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 629; İbn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/308; İbn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/116; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/190

⁶⁶⁰ Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/396, 399

⁶⁶¹ When Hakim ibn Hizam was given one hundred camels on the day, he asked God's Messenger for a hundred more and was given them, after which he asked for another hundred, which he also received. The Messenger of God then said to him: "O Hakim ibn Hizam, indeed this wealth is sweet and most appealing. Whosoever takes it with generosity of spirit, this wealth will be for them a source of blessing and prosperity. Whoever takes it with pride will be deprived of its blessings, like the one who eats constantly and is not satisfied. The hand above (that which gives) is better than the one below (that which takes). When you begin giving, start with your dependents." Hakim ibn Hizam was overcome by shame upon hearing these words from God's Messenger. His face had changed color and he was unable to look God's Messenger in the face. After slowly lifting his head, he said:

"By Him Who sent you with the truth, I will not ask for anything or take anything from anyone after you!" Buhârî, *Zekât* 50 (1472); Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 628-629; Halebî, *Sîre* 3/170; Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/397

Pledging thus to God's Messenger on this day, Hakim ibn Hizam remained true to his word until his death. So much so that even whenever he dropped his walking stick while once mounted on his camel, he would not ask for anyone to pick it up for him, but would dismount and retrieve it himself. During 'Umar's caliphate, 'Umar set aside a share from the state treasury for him, but he refused to take it. 'Umar even held him up as an example for all others in this regard. Buhârî, *Zekât* 50 (1472); Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 629; Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/397. While there are reports that he took the two hundred camels at Ji'rana, there are also reports that he left the second hundred. Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 629; Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/397

⁶⁶² İbn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/308; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/190. Some sources indicate that 'Ala' was given fifty camels. Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 629; İbn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/116

⁶⁶³ When 'Abbas ibn Mirdas received less camels than the others, he said: "Is my share and that of 'Ubayd my horse (highlighting his being of the cavalry) to be parceled out between 'Uyayna and 'Aqra'? While neither Hisn nor Habis excel Mirdas in assembly, and I am not inferior to either of them. But he whom you demean today cannot again be exalted." The Messenger of God then raised the number of camels that he received to one hundred. Müslim, *Zekât* 46 (1060)

God's Messenger gave Jubayr ibn Mut'im, Hisham ibn al-Walid, Abu Jahm ibn Hudhayfa, Muti' ibn al-Aswad, Nawfal ibn Mu'awiya, Akhnas ibn Shariq, Uhayha ibn Umayya, Jadd ibn Qays, Qays ibn Mahrama, Ka'b ibn al-Akhnas, Labid ibn Rabi'a, Hatib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza, Harmala ibn Hawdha, Khalid ibn Hawdha, Hakim ibn Tulayq, Khalid ibn Asid, Khalid ibn Qays, Half ibn Hisham, Khalaf ibn Hisham, Ruqaym ibn Thabit, Zuhayr ibn Abi Umayya, Zayd al-Khayl, Sa'ib ibn Abi Sa'ib, Sayfi ibn 'A'idh, Sufyan ibn 'Abd al-Asad, Tulayq ibn Sufyan, 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Yarbu', 'Ikrima b. 'Amir, 'Amr ibn Hisham, 'Alqama ibn Ulatha, Abu al-Sanabil 'Amr ibn Ba'kak, and 'Umayr ibn Waqqa, between fifty and one hundred camels each.

Sa'id ibn Yarbu', 'Uthman ibn Wahb, Hisham ibn 'Amr, Mahrama ibn Nawfal, and 'Adi ibn Qays were among those who were given fifty camels each.

It is interesting to note that God's Messenger gave the chief architect of Hunayn and the reason for all this trouble in the first place, Malik ibn 'Awf, one hundred camels. God's Messenger restored Malik's family and possessions also, and when Malik returned to his homeland as though nothing had happened, he returned with a hundred camels accompanying him. Whereas under normal circumstances, as the leader of the losing side in battle, this individual would have had to have been taken captive, and lived the remainder of his life in enslavement either to the person taking him prisoner, or to those to whom this master sold him at the slave market.

All the more intriguing is the fact that God's Messenger also extended this gesture to Shayba ibn 'Uthman. The latter had burned with feelings of revenge from Uhud, pursued God's Messenger on the battlefield at Hunayn to avenge the death of his father, came all the way up to God's Messenger, and finally raised his sword against him with murderous intent.⁶⁶⁶

However, having given these people such an enormous amount of wealth and possessions as 'those whose hearts were reconciled,' God's Messenger only gave his own Companions four or forty camels each. For cavalry, this figure was twelve camels of one hundred and twenty sheep. This was to say that to the Meccans whose hearts he wanted to win over with material possessions God's Messenger gave perhaps twenty or even fifty times that which he gave to Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali.

While hearts were being conquered with such magnanimity on the one hand, on the other hand, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas said, "O Messenger of God, you have given 'Uyayna ibn Hisn and Aqra' ibn Habis a hundred camels each and have left out Ju'ayl ibn Suraqa."

When he heard Sa'd's words, the Messenger of God said the following, with a view to explaining why he gave to those who had just become Muslim or whom he hoped would become Muslim, or to those against whose harm he wanted to be assured:

"By Him in whose hand is my soul, had the world been filled with the likes of 'Uyayna ibn Hisn and Aqra' ibn Habis, Ju'ayl ibn Suraqa would have been better than them all. I treated them

⁶⁶⁴ Nudayr ibn al-Harith was the brother of Nadr ibn al-Harith who was slain as a polytheist at Badr. When he heard that God's Messenger had given him a hundred camels, he was greatly moved. But he had neither such a request, nor a need. He even deemed this, in a way, as some sort of debasement. However, being the recipient of such a Prophetic gesture in spite of everything that had happened, he came to God's Messenger and professed his acceptance of Islam. He even presented ten of the camels given to him as a gift to the man who brought him the news. Ibnü'l-Esîr, *Üsdü'l-Gâbe* 5/306, 307; Ibn-i Hacer, *İsâbe* 3/1999; Ibn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 3/20

⁶⁶⁵ Vâkıdî, *Megâzî* 635; Taberî, *Târih* 3/190; Ibn-i Kesîr, *Bidâye* 4/389; Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/405

⁶⁶⁶ Ibn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/310

with such generosity that they may warm to Islam. As for Ju'ayl ibn Suraqa, I have entrusted him and those like him to their Islam and to the lofty rewards that have been prepared for them in the Hereafter."⁶⁶⁷

This was at the same time an approach that was to put at ease the hearts of all those who were apportioned less. In fact, God's Messenger had said, "Would it not please you that while they take away sheep and camels, you will return to your homes with the Messenger of God?" to the great happiness of all those who heard it.⁶⁶⁸

'Abbas ibn Mirdas regarded the share that fell to his lot as insufficient and projected his dissatisfaction and petulance with a poem, not hesitating to say so explicitly, wanting the hundred camels given to Aqra' ibn Habis and 'Uyayna ibn Hisn whom he saw as his equals, to be given to him also. With such a practice that he perceived to be a marked difference in terms of status, he claimed that his horse's share in the spoils was parceled out between Aqra' ibn Habis and 'Uyayna ibn Hisn, and pined that his legitimate right had therefore been usurped. However, neither was that given to Aqra' ibn Habis and 'Uyayna ibn Hisn the outcome of merit, nor could that which was given to those other than the mu'allafa al-qulub be considered an injustice. In such a situation, everyone needed to content themselves with what fell to their share and not compare themselves with anyone else, as the Messenger of God did not act except by Divine ordinance. However, those those who knew were not equal to those who did not know, and as soon as God's Messenger became aware of 'Abbas' unease, he sent for him. Reminding him of his poem, he asked: "Was it you who only just said, 'My spoils and those of my horse 'Ubayd are shared by 'Uyayna and Aqra'?"⁶⁶⁹

He had uttered these words. Abu Bakr was witness to this. And 'Abbas did not deny this in any case. The Messenger of God then said, "Go and cut his tongue off from (i.e. prevent his tongue from speaking thus of) me!" Meanwhile, indicating Bilal, he said, "O Bilal, take him and cut off his tongue. And give him something to wear."

'Abbas first and foremost, everyone who heard these words coming from the Messenger had begun to think that 'Abbas who had criticized God's Messenger in his distribution of the war spoils would have his tongue cut off. Besides, Bilal had already taken him by the hand and was leading him away in another direction. 'Abbas turned around and called out to God's Messenger: "O Messenger of God, will he indeed cut off my tongue? O People of the Muhajirun! Is my tongue now to be cut off?"

⁶⁶⁷ Vâkıdî, *Megâzî* 630; İbn-i Hişâm, *Sîre*, 2/310; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/191; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 5/183; İbnü'l-Esîr, *Kâmil* 2/271; Sâlihî, *Sübûlü'l-Hüdâ* 5/401. Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas elaborates in the following words:

"The Messenger of God was distributing things to a group of people while I was sitting among them. But he left out a man whom I admired and did not give anything to him. I went to the Messenger of God and spoke privately to him, saying, 'O Messenger of God, what about that person? By God, I see him to be a believer (mu'min).' God's Messenger said, 'Or just a Muslim?' I was silent for a while and then what I knew about him became too much for me and I thrice repeated my opinion to him. Each time, however, he responded in exactly the same way. On the last occasion he said, 'My giving to another is not a measure of my love, for I give to one man and leave out another I love more than him for fear that God might throw him headfirst into the Fire.'" Buhârî, *Zekât* 53 (1478); İmân 19 (27); Müslim, *İmân* 68 (150); Ebü Dâvûd, *Sünnet* 16 (4685)

⁶⁶⁸ Buhârî, *Megâzî* 56 (4333); Müslim, *Zekât* 46 (1061); Vâkıdî, *Megâzî* 636; İbn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/312; İbn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/117; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/192

⁶⁶⁹ İbn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/309

Those who were as responsible to the Prophetic commands as they could possibly be read as certain that 'Abbas ibn Mirdas' tongue would be cut off. Whereas this was not how Bilal, who was responsible for the organization of such expenses of God's Messenger, had understood the matter, as God's Messenger had meant this figuratively. Meanwhile, in the face of 'Abbas' constant reiteration that his tongue would be cut off, Bilal exclaimed, "Be silent! your tongue will not to be cut off as you suppose. God's Messenger ordered me to give to you until you were satisfied."

This is indeed what happened. Bilal supplied 'Abbas ibn Mirdas with as much clothing as he would need and then gave him a hundred camels, like 'Uyayna ibn Hisn and Aqra' ibn Habis.⁶⁷⁰

The Call to Prayer at Ji'rana

Abu Mahzura was one of those who came to Hunayn despite the fact that he was not yet Muslim. Whereas these people were those who could not swallow recent developments and who filled with hate towards God's Messenger who conquered their city. They were going to see how events unfolded and determine where they stood accordingly.

Even if Hunayn got off to a shaky start, it resulted in victory and God's Messenger was about to make his return back to Medina. But the time for prayer had set in and, as a matter of course, the prayer was to be observed first. Bilal began reciting the Call to Prayer.

When Abu Mahdhura and his friends heard this sound began reverberating throughout Ji'rana, they began making fun of it, repeating the words they heard in a loud voice and laughing in mockery. Abu Mahdhura's voice was unmistakably the loudest

and at the end of the Call to Prayer God's Messenger indicated for his Companions to bring these youths to him.

Abu Mahdhura came forward with his friends. They supposed that they would be disciplined by the triumphant commander and would be made to answer for their actions. Contrary to all expectation, the Messenger of God looked affectionately at each the youths standing before him, and said, "Continue the Call to Prayer that you have been repeating." He then had each of them recite the Call to Prayer one by one. God's Messenger also asked, "Which of you had raised your voice the most?" Naturally all eyes focused on Abu Mahdhura and this was what their words confirmed. The Messenger of God asked Abu Mahdhura to recite the same Call, after which he remarked, "How beautiful is the voice that I have heard. Now get up and recite the Call to Prayer." God's Messenger had dismissed his friends in the meantime and Abu Mahdhura was the only one left in his presence. Even if reluctantly, Abu Mahdhura complied and recited the Call to Prayer.⁶⁷¹ God's Messenger placed his hand upon Abu Mahdhura's forehead and taught him the Call to Prayer one line at a time:

Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar!

...

...

⁶⁷⁰ Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 630; Taberî, *Târîh* 3/191. Some sources state the number of camels as forty. Sâlihî, *Sûbûlî'l-Hûdâ* 5/398

⁶⁷¹ Embracing Islam on this day, Abu Mahdhura never cut the hair that God's Messenger had stroked and blessed, instead preferring to grow it for the rest of his life as a cherished reminder. Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 24/92 (15376); Hâkim, *Müstedrek* 3/589 (6181); Abdurrezzâk, *Musannef* 1/457 (1779); İbn-i Huzeyme, *Sahîh* 1/200 (385)

La ilaha illallah!⁶⁷²

God's Messenger also instructed Abu Mahdhura to raise his voice when saying, Allahu Akbar and La ilaha illallah, and to lower his voice slightly when saying, Ashadu anna Muhammad Rasulullah. Upon the completion of his recital, God's Messenger wiped his hand over the Abu Mahdhura's face and back, then praying for him saying, "May God treat you with goodness and bless you." He then gave him a bundle in which there was some silver. All the hatred and enmity harbored within the heart of Abu Mahdhura, who was only moments ago ridiculing the Call to Prayer with his friends, had gone and he had at once become the Caller to Prayer (mu'addhin) of the Messenger of God. He now felt an indescribable affection for God's Messenger. "O Messenger of God," he exclaimed, having received such favor. "Will you command of me to recite the Call to Prayer in Mecca?"

God's Messenger replied, "I declare you to be Mecca's Caller to Prayer. Go forth and recite the Call for the Meccans." He then added, "Go and say to 'Attab ibn Asid, 'The Messenger of God has commanded me to recite the Call to Prayer for the Meccans.'"⁶⁷³

Settlement of Debts

With the Hawazin situation averted and after everything that happened, the Messenger of God returned to Mecca once again with his Companions. As soon as he arrived, he sought to repay the debts outstanding owing to Safwan ibn Umayya, Suhayl ibn 'Amr, 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Rabi'a, and Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza. He was now to settle the amount he owed these individuals, each to whom he had already given a large fortune. This was presumably his way of keeping his finger on the pulse of these people who had only just become Muslim. The Messenger of God did not content himself with merely settling his debt, but also thanked them, wished blessing and prosperity for them, and included them in his prayers.⁶⁷⁴ For instance, for the brother of Abu Jahl, 'Abd Allah ibn Abi Rabi'a, from whom he had borrowed forty thousand dirhams after Mecca's conquest, he prayed: "May God bless your family and your property. Surely the reward for a loan is full repayment and acknowledgment."⁶⁷⁵

Imparting a new message with every statement, every act, and every step, God's Messenger, the Master of Mercy, embraced everyone with each of these steps and subsumed them within his

⁶⁷² Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 24/91-100 (15376- 15381); Müslim, *Salât*, 3 (379); Abdurrezzâk, *Musannef* 1/457 (1779). During this time, he also taught him the statement that is repeated twice exclusively during the Call to the Morning Prayer: "As-salatu khayrun min an-nawm" (Prayer is better than sleep), and instructed him in reciting the iqama, or commencement call for the prayer. Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 24/94 (15378); Abdurrezzâk, *Musannef* 1/457 (1779)

⁶⁷³ The Call to Prayer that Abu Mhdhura recited initially with Bilal he was later to continue on his own. In this way, the sweet melody of the Call to Prayer was to resound in Mecca by means of Abu Mahdhura, such that this would become a tradition that was to be handed down from generation to generation, and the Callers to Prayer in Mecca would forever be chosen from among his descendants. Hâkim, *Müstedrek* 3/589 (6182); Beyhakî, *Kübrâ* 1/578 (1846)

⁶⁷⁴ Kurtubî, *Câmi'* 8/97

⁶⁷⁵ Taberî, *Târîh* 2/167; Beyhakî, *Kübrâ* 3/409. God's Messenger later appointed him as Provincial Governor of Janad, in Yemen. He was to die from a fall off his horse close to Mecca, while on his way to support 'Uthman who was under siege. İbn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 3/897; İbn-i Hacer, *İsâbe* 4/79

warm and welcoming atmosphere. In the eyes of those who looked at him with bitter hatred until just yesterday, were now looks of mercy and compassion. What is more, they felt deep shame for all that they had done. Even if God's Messenger forgave them with their coming to him and in their new found realization, they could not forgive themselves, and exerted themselves to a baffling degree to make up for what they did. In the warmth of mercy, God's Messenger brought out into the open the precious metals that lay latent, and was now building a brand new civilization with them.

SECTION THREE

THE INEVITABLE END OF HATRED AND ENMITY

So what, then, was the outcome of all this hostility and hatred? If we are to take the conquest of Mecca as a basis, who were the winners or losers of this twenty-one year struggle? Who laughed and whose efforts were in vain? Let us look at the picture together:

Family of Abu Jahl

Without a doubt, the most important figure leading the Qurayshi opposition in hatred and hostility was Abu Jahl. He possessed an ambition that deemed the ends as justifying any and every means. It was he who dragged the people into the Badr undertaking and who was responsible for the downfall and ruin of both himself and all those he dragged along with him as the victims of his unbridled ambition. Having a strong hold on his brothers 'Uthman ibn Hisham,⁶⁷⁶ al-'As ibn Hisham,⁶⁷⁷ 'Umar ibn Hisham,⁶⁷⁸ 'Umara ibn al-Walid, he turned each of them into inveterate

⁶⁷⁶ The first child of Hisham ibn al-Mughira, 'Uthman ibn Hisham was Abu Jahl's paternal half brother and father Hisham was referred to in reference to his name – as "Abu 'Uthman". His mother's name was Bint 'Uthman ibn 'Abd Allah and no offspring are credited to him.

⁶⁷⁷ The son of Shifa' bint al-Khalid from the Banu Makhzum, and unable to escape the clutches of Abu Jahl's control, al-'As ibn Hisham was among those who were unable to return from the Badr to which he came with spirits high. He shared Abu Jahl's fate. He was reported to have been killed by his nephew Umar. In spite of all these adversities, al-'As ibn Hisham's sons Hisham and Khalid came to God's Messenger on the day of Mecca's conquest and became Muslim. When he placed his hand upon the seal of Prophethood, God's Messenger nudged Hisham's chest three times and prayed, "O Lord, remove suspicion and jealousy from him." Hisham thus joined the company of the Companions. Ibn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 1/416; İbnü'l-Esîr, *Üsdü'l-Gâbe* 2/128; 5/377; İbn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 1/235