

which they could turn in any situation and setting. Before long, encouraged by his stance, the Quraysh were to send Abu Sufyan to Medina to inform him that they had rendered invalid the article of the Treaty of Hudaibiya in question. This was because after leaving Medina, Abu Basir did not return to Mecca but went instead to al-'Is on the sea coast, where he set up camp. His became the address for every believer in Mecca to whom news of him had reached, and every <sup>498</sup> mustad'af came to seek refuge with him. There numbers had reached three hundred and they had begun to intercept the Meccan trade caravans en route to Syria. How ironic it was that the Quraysh, who had forced this article of the treaty with great resolve upon the Muslims, were now the ones wishing to declare the very same term null and void. To this end, they appealed to God's Messenger in desperation to take Abu Basir, for whose return to Mecca they had sent a letter and two of their men, into his community and bring the raids to an end. "Send word to Abu Basir, Abu Jandal, and those who have joined them," said Abu Sufyan. And he continued:

"Whoever leaves us from this day forth to seek refuge in Medina, keep them there and do not send them back to us. You are no longer liable to do so, for those who have escaped Mecca and have made a place for themselves there have caused us such grief that this situation is no longer sufferable."

The Prophetic stance and yielded fruit once again, and the matter had been solved at its source with patience and prudence. And what is more, this was an outcome that was without hitch, and without any who would object. As a result of Abu Sufyan's appeal, God's Messenger wrote a letter to Abu Basir who was stationed at 'Is, inviting him to Medina. As a matter of fact, Abu Basir who was then stricken with illness, was overjoyed that the letter of the Messenger with whom he yearned to reunite had reached him, but his heart could not bear it and he died while reading it.<sup>499</sup>

### **The Following Year (The Compensatory Pilgrimage)**

Remaining faithful to the treaty concluded, God's Messenger came to Mecca with his Companions exactly one year later. Here, he was to perform the Lesser Pilgrimage he had been unable to perform a year earlier,<sup>500</sup> and realize for the very first time an act of worship, in the general sense, that was in line with the spirit of the Ka'ba. In addition, he would conduct a series of meetings and discussions, and would seize the opportunity to win over the hearts of the Meccans.

Even though the essential purpose of this journey was to duly fulfill an act of worship, God's Messenger erred on the side of caution and on this occasion wanted to carry weapons

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<sup>498</sup> Mustad'af is the term used to refer to those Companions who were unable to emigrate to Medina and who were forced to remain in Mecca due to the practice of their faith under difficult conditions, and because of their generally being subjected to torture. Mustad'afin is the plural form of the term.

<sup>499</sup> Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 436-439; İbn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 4/134; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 4/175; İbn-i Abdilberr, *İstîâb* 4/1614 (2875); İbnü'l-Esîr, *Üsdü'l-Gâbe* 3/146

<sup>500</sup> Just as this Lesser Pilgrimage is known as 'Umra al-Qada' (the Compensatory Pilgrimage), it is also sometimes called 'Umra al-Qadiyya (the Pilgrimage of the Pact) by virtue of its contributory role to the treaty in the previous attempt, 'Umra al-Qisas (the Retaliatory Pilgrimage) as it was done in response to the previous unfulfilled pilgrimage, and 'Umra al-Sulh (Pilgrimage of Peace) for its leading to peace. Sâlihî, *Sübülü'l-Hüdâ* 5/196

with him. There was good will with respect to the point to which they had come, but even so, he worried that the Meccans would return to their former ways and, as such, did not rule out the possibility of the revival of their idea to corner and annihilate them. At the same time, herein was also the message: “Come to your senses, and don’t you dare resort to the use of force!” For God’s Messenger did not want to give rise to any form of tension and wanted to get this message across from the outset to those who let it even cross their minds. To this end, he selected a group of one hundred Companions led by Muhammad ibn Maslama, and sent them as the advance guard on horseback, to reconnoiter the area ahead of the rest of the procession. He also made Bashir ibn Sa’d responsible for weapons such as swords, shields, helmets and spears, and sent them along with Muhammad ibn Maslama and his men. The Companions, too, eyed developments with interest. They could not make sense of this altered situation, in comparison to their last experience, and asked, “O Messenger of God, what is it that induces you to proceed thus armed while they stipulated that upon entry to Mecca we were to have on us only our swords and that these must be in their sheaths?”

“We are not to enter the Sacred Precinct with them,” God’s Messenger replied. “But it is better that they are close at hand for if they should launch an attack against us, they will be within reach.”

Nothing was sacred for the Quraysh. They had neither the Qur’an, as was the case with the believers, or a guide to show them the way. There was merely their fixation on what “the people would say,” but a pretext could readily be found when it suited them in any case, and they could do whatever they so wished, in complete lawlessness. Hence, the Messenger of God was still not entirely convinced that they would remain true to their word. Perhaps he also sought to demonstrate the importance of the matter’s precautionary dimension to his Companions firsthand.

Muhammad ibn Maslama and the cavalry separated at Dhu al-Hulayfa and went on ahead. When they reached the place called Marr al-Zahran, they came upon a group of Qurayshites. This scene had naturally disquieted the Meccans. They asked them the reason for this activity. Muhammad ibn Maslama and his companions informed them of the Messenger’s following from behind. They noticed all the weapons that Bashir ibn Sa’d had with him; their hearts were in their mouths and their faces changed color. They raced back to Mecca and informed the chiefs of the situation. The Quraysh were in a flurry. “How can it be?” they said. “We have done nothing to violate the treaty. We have maintained our part of the truce and are committed to our agreement. Then why are Muhammad and his Companions coming at us armed?”

They supposed what they saw to be at variance with what they knew and could make nothing of these developments, for the Muhammad the Trustworthy that they knew abided by his every promise until this day, and had inspired trust and confidence in every step that he took. Surely this had to be the case today also. However, there was in question a situation that belied this knowledge, and they sent a delegation headed by Mikraz ibn Hafsa to the place known as Ya’jaj, to investigate and verify the reports. Meanwhile, the Messenger himself had also arrived. “By God, Muhammad,” they said. “You have never been known to break your word for any reason, whether for something minor or major; while you are now entering the Sacred Precinct with your men bearing arms, even though you agreed to enter only with weapons such as travelers carry, swords in sheaths.”

Making room in their hearts with every step that he took, God's Messenger said, "I will not bring in weapons against them." Mikraz and his companions took a deep sigh of relief. Mikraz then commented, "And this is as becomes you. For you are known for your righteousness and trustworthiness." They then hurried back to Mecca to convey to them the news of the Messenger. "There is no need for any concern," they said. "Muhammad is indeed true to the agreement he concluded with you and will not enter Mecca armed."<sup>501</sup>

To all appearances, the Messenger of God was advancing towards the Ka'ba for the purpose of worship. But this advance was of course not one that was limited just to this. He had become, at the same time, an embodiment of the Qur'an, and was pouring forth into the hearts of the Meccans. This was, before anything else, a journey that inspired trust. All the singular beauties of Islam had become embodied in human form and were walking towards Mecca in rendition.

It was the fourth day of the month Dhu al-Hijja. With the first rays of the morning sun, God's Messenger set off from Marr al-Zahran and headed in the direction of Mecca. Years later, the Ka'ba was to be reunited with its twin for the very first time. The place to which he bid farewell seven years prior due to its causing constant trouble, he was now entering ready to address and solve all troubles. He had all the animals driven ahead, and was himself heading towards the Ka'ba from behind. When they reached Dhu Tuwa, proclamations of God's greatness could be heard and they continued to call out, "At Your service, O Lord! At Your beckoning and call!" They were to learn the meaning of reverence to the Ka'ba for the very first time, from the Messenger of God. 'Abd Allah ibn Rawaha took the reins of the Messenger's camel Qaswa' and recited lines of poetry expressing the present state of things and how they came to be. Deeming this situation strange, 'Umar called out to him, questioning the appropriateness of doing so in such a context, and was to be answered by none other than God's Messenger himself, who said, "Indeed I can hear, O 'Umar! Leave him be. *For his words are more forceful (for the Quraysh) than the showering of arrows.*"<sup>502</sup>

God's Messenger then turned to 'Abd Allah and instructed him to recite upon entry to Mecca: "There is no deity but God Who has fulfilled His promise, supported His servant, and Who alone defeated the troops." From that point on, 'Abd Allah ibn Rawaha repeated the words that he had just learned from the Messenger and the Companions began reciting them also. Mecca, which was for years in mourning, took on a festive air for the first time. There joy of the Emigrants, in particular, was ineffable, because for them a memory was hidden in every corner of Mecca. Notably, the innocent children of the Banu Hashim had formed a circle around God's Messenger with great demonstration of affection.

They then reached the Ka'ba. The Messenger of God and the Ka'ba met again at the same point – the mihrab and minbar once again stood side by side. As a precaution against any harm to come to the Messenger, the Companions formed a 'human wall' around him. As per the agreement, they would remain here for three days, which would be filled with turning to and seeking refuge in their Lord, and devoted servanthood.

Devotion was complete and servitude to God at its highest point. Circumambulation of the Ka'ba was about to begin, and before hailing the Black Stone, God's Messenger gathered one end

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<sup>501</sup> Vâkidî, *Megâzî* 501

<sup>502</sup> Vâkidî, *Megâzî* 502

of his pilgrim garb under his right arm, exposing his right shoulder, and trailed the other end over his left shoulder. He prayed for his Companions with the words, “May God have mercy on one who today has shown them their full strength,” and also recommended them to do their best to appear as strong as would discompose the Quraysh. His aim was to show the polytheists who saw them to be weak and who spread rumors to this effect, the dignity and might of the believer. To that end, he instructed his Companions to perform the first three rounds of circumambulation vigorously and briskly, with head high and chest up, and was to himself set an example in this regard. The scene that these people numbering over two thousand, teary-eyed, with sonorous voices and strong steps, produced was truly a spectacle, and this is exactly what the Meccans who had taken to the hills were doing. Sounds of glorification (takbir) and the pilgrims call (talbiya) could be heard reverberating from the mountains of Paran surrounding Mecca, forming an echo in the Valley of Becca which defied description. All of these had their own distinct language, becoming imprinted on tongues in the form of a permanent scene, and each leaving an indelible mark in minds as memories that would forever be spoken of.

The time for the Noon Prayer then arrived and God’s Messenger instructed Bilal to recite the Call to Prayer. Causing the sounds of “One, One!” to resound through Paran Mountains, Bilal cried out God’s name at the Ka’ba for the first time, to his heart’s content and without reserve. For the Meccans, however, this was the vivid depiction of the way in which an Abyssinian slave that they had snubbed and despised was put on a pedestal. Everything they heard and beheld pointed to a brand new new era of Divine design, and completely unique in every way.

*The Meccans watched those circumambulating the Ka’ba from the part of Mount Qu’ayq’an overlooking its hijr enclosure. They shuddered at the sound of the Call the Prayer they heard for the first time, and talked amongst themselves as they watched in wonderment and stupefaction. Abu Jahl’s son ‘Ikrima emphasized that this scene would have proved impossible to endure for his father, had he seen it. He said, “Indeed God has been most generous to Abu al-Hakam, for he will not hear this slave say what he says today!” Safwan ibn Umayya joined him. Like ‘Ikrima, he too said, “Praise be to God Who took away my father before he saw this!” Khalid ibn Asyad joined the chorus: “Praise be to God Who caused the death of my father before he could witness the day when Bilal stands bellowing above the Ka’ba!” Suhayl ibn ‘Amr and the men with him covered their faces when they heard this, for they could not bear even the very mention of God’s name.<sup>503</sup>*

But the the agenda of Mecca that thought of nothing but hatred and animosity, had changed. They began to look with admiration and envy at the angel-like demeanor of the people who they could not even look at until just yesterday. While their tongue could not venture uttering it, they beheld the actions of these people equal only to the circumambulation of the angels, with feelings of admiration and awe. They had become mesmerized with the celestial accents coming from the heart, and intoxicated by the tongue of disposition.

They had begun to esteem what they saw in lieu of what they had heard. These could not be the people who were until just yesterday spoken ill of, and said to have been run down from exhaustion. Then everything spoken of until today was a lie. “Are these the people you claim have been rendered weak from fever?” they asked themselves. And questioned themselves

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<sup>503</sup> Vākidi, *Megâzi* 503; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 4/328-329

saying: “These people are stronger than so and so and such and such. Look at them, They are not satisfied with just walking, but race around like gazelles!”

At one point, the Messenger of God sent word to them of his desire to enter into the Ka’ba. It is quite probable that he sought an opportunity to make contact with them in addition to deepening in worship. They, however, were infuriated, and turned him down saying, “There was no such stipulation in the agreement!”

There was not the slightest point on which they could raise objection. For everything was coming to pass exactly as prescribed in the undertaking the year before.

Finally, the Messenger of God offered the prayer for circumambulation and headed for the hills of Safa and Marwa. Here, he shuttled between them seven times until he ultimately stopped at Marwa and sacrificed his offering. It was then time to come out of the ritual state of ihram and, calling out to Khirash ibn Umayya, God’s Messenger had him shave his head. The Compensatory Pilgrimage was thus complete.<sup>504</sup>

### **Time of Parting**

The three days came to an end. There was now, however, one major difference: ‘Abbas proposed that the Messenger of God take his sister-in-law Barra<sup>505</sup> in marriage, pressing home her loneliness, and the hardship and suffering she had endured. One of eight sisters, Maymuna was closely related to many of the leading actors of the day, such as Khalid ibn al-Walid.<sup>506</sup> The Messenger of God agreed and as he was in the ritual state of ihram, left the process for the impending marriage to Maymuna to him.

At the end of the three days, Suhayl ibn ‘Amr and Huwaytib ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzza came to the Messenger’s tent at Abtah and said, “The time stipulated in the treaty for your stay in Mecca has expired, so leave us.” God’s Messenger then said, “Can you not give us time so that I might hold the wedding feast here in Mecca for you to join us?”<sup>507</sup> “We stand in no need of your food,” was their response.<sup>508</sup> “Leave us at once. The three days prescribed in our agreement are over and you have no other option but to leave our land immediately.”

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<sup>504</sup> Vâkidî, *Megâzî* 503. As soon as the pilgrimage was complete, the Messenger of God ordered around two hundred of his Companions to proceed to Ya’jaj to assume guard, keeping watch over the weapons and other military equipment, so that the men previously charged with doing so might go to the Ka’ba also. In this way, everyone who had set off with the intention of performing the Lesser Pilgrimage would have fulfilled their duty. Vâkidî, *Megâzî* 505; İbn-i Sa’d, *Tabakât* 2/93

<sup>505</sup> While Barra was her birth name, God’s Messenger gave her the name Maymuna. İbnü’l-Esîr, *Üsdü’l-Gâbe* 7/262

<sup>506</sup> Maymuna was the maternal aunt of Khalid ibn al-Walid. İbnü’l-Esîr, *Üsdü’l-Gâbe* 7/262

<sup>507</sup> İbn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/230; Beyhakî, *Delâil* 4/330; Süheyli, *Ravdu’l-Unf* 4/117; Zehebî, *Târîh* 2/266; Sâlihî, *Sübülü’l-Hüdâ* 11/208

<sup>508</sup> With the objection of Meccan leadership, God’s Messenger met with Maymuna at a place known as Sarif, outside the boundaries of the Sacred Precinct. After the Messenger’s departure from the city, Abu Rafî’ escorted her to Sarif, where they set up camp for a day. In a providential twist of fate, Maymuna was to pass away years later in this very same place and was to be entrusted to the town where the Messenger’s tent had been pitched. İbnü’l-Esîr, *Üsdü’l-Gâbe* 7/263

Seeing their rudeness and incivility in the face of this most innocent invitation, Sa'd ibn 'Ubada exclaimed angrily, "You lie! May you not have no mother! This is neither your land nor that of your forefathers! By God, we do not depart from it except as the treaty specifies and indeed not at your coercion!"

Khazraj chief Sa'd's outburst put a smile on the Messenger's face. This was perhaps the sensitivity that one needed to show towards their leader, but the delicacy of the situation would not allow for this, and God's Messenger clearly wanted to charm them with his kindness. He thus turned to Sa'd and said, "O Sa'd, do not harm a people who visit us during our stay."

'Ali had also arrived in the meantime and reminded them that the stipulated period of three days had elapsed. God's Messenger acknowledged him saying, "Yes, prepare for departure immediately and inform the people."<sup>509</sup>

God's Messenger subsequently called Abu Rafi', giving him instructions as to his departure from Mecca. When returning to Medina, God's Messenger inarguably indicated the true place of return and departed having won over the hearts of the Meccans. Now, at the Ka'ba, resounded the call for Abu Rafi' to quit Mecca:

"Let there be no Muslim remaining here by evening!"

This was indeed what happened. By the evening of that day, none of the Companions were left in Mecca, as they had all made their way to Medina alongside God's Messenger. This assuring stance was more powerful than the most eloquent of sermons. It became engraved in the people's hearts leaving deep marks therein, and became transformed into an elixir that unlocked many a seemingly-impenetrable door.

### **Violation of the Treaty**

Despite the imposed conditions and all the provocation, the Messenger of God maintained peace to the end, and did not counter the terms agreed upon even in the slightest manner. Regrettably, the same did not hold true for the Meccans. The truce had hardly been in force for two years<sup>510</sup> when a group of the Quraysh took advantage of Abu Sufyan's having gone to Damascus for trade.<sup>511</sup> They attacked the Khuza'a tribe, who had formed an alliance with God's Messenger at Hudaibiya, for no apparent reason and in the dark of night, and killed indiscriminately – men and women, old and young. They had even pursued those among them who had fled for their lives to the Ka'ba to seek sanctuary therein, and killed them wherever they found them.

This was unreservedly tantamount to a flagrant breach of the Treaty of Hudaibiya. These were missteps that unsettled and disturbed everyone. From now on, the Meccans would forever be on a knife-edge. They well knew that as soon as God's Messenger, who always decided in favor of abolishing oppression and injustice, and his Companions learned of the situation, they would take matters into their own hands, and they also knew that they would most certainly pay the price for their wrongdoing and murder.

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<sup>509</sup> Buhârî, Cizye 19 (3184); Ahmed İbn-i Hanbel, *Müsned* 30/594 (18635); Taberî, *Târîh* 3/132

<sup>510</sup> It was the month of Sha'ban of the eighth year after Emigration and only twenty-two months had passed since the signing of the Treaty.

<sup>511</sup> Abdurrezzak, *Musannef* 5/374

And this was precisely what happened. Before long, a delegation came to Medina, seeking help from God's Messenger. These were members of the Khuza'a tribe who had allied with the Messenger on the day the treaty was concluded at Hudaibiya. They spoke of how the Quraysh, who sided with the Banu Bakr and Banu Nufatha, surprised them in a night raid at their watering place in Watir, massacred twenty-three people – the majority of whom were women and children – and how they left many more for dead. On top of that, they added that leading Meccans such as Safwan ibn Umayya, 'Ikrima ibn Abi Jahl, Huwaytib ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza, Shayba ibn 'Uthman, and Mikraz ibn Hafs were also present, *and pleaded for justice from God's Messenger*.<sup>512</sup>

While these events were taking place in Medina, Abu Sufyan who returned from Damascus expressed his unease at the scene which emerged in his absence and against his expressed wishes. He condemned the Meccans for becoming embroiled in such an incident that he had opposed from the outset, and made it very clear that there would be dire consequences. When morning came and the gravity of what had happened came to light, the Quraysh bitterly regretted what they had done. They knew that God's Messenger would not remain silent on the issue, and that he would assuredly call them to account. "Muhammad will surely attack us," they said in their deliberations, discussing possible options, and which of these they would accept. They were very sorry, but it was too late – the die had been cast. They began making incredible offers in the interest of saving their skins or justifying their actions. After discussing at length all the alternatives amongst themselves, Meccan chief Abu Sufyan finally took the floor. Rejecting all the suggestions put forth before him, he said:

"The only option is to deny Quraysh complicity in violating the agreement and cutting short the fixed period. There can be no blame upon us if the people acted without our consent and consultation."

This could have been so from Abu Sufyan's perspective, for he had no knowledge of or involvement in the night raid. However, this was not at all so for the others, and in spite of this, they unanimously accepted Abu Sufyan's proposal, saying, "This is the right decision. There is no other decision save to deny all that happened." In fact, from another standpoint, this meant the increasing isolation and marginalization of the Meccan opposition.

Even if they agreed, on the face of it, to a formula that would save them, they could not overcome the unease they felt inwardly. Abu Jahl's brothers Harith ibn Hisham and 'Abd Allah Abi Rabi'a approached Abu Sufyan to voice their concerns. They said, "This matter must be rectified. For if this affair is not corrected and peace re-established, surely Muhammad and his Companions will come here and ruin you."

Abu Sufyan listened to them and thought deeply about what they said. He remembered the dream that his wife Hind had seen. Hind, the daughter of 'Utba who was killed at Badr, related that she saw a river of blood flow forth from Hajun, north of Mecca, towards Mecca, until it stopped at Khandama, remained for a while, and then disappeared. When she awoke in terror and

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<sup>512</sup> They did not merely join the raid, but provided all manner of aid in weapons, mounts, and arms. Moreover, the leading figures of Meccan leadership covered their faces and disguised themselves despite the dark of night, so as to conceal their complicity and thus not be the party who openly violated the agreement. When they realized that the clans to which they had provided every possible assistance for an attack on the Khuza'a had gone too far, some of them stood back, but there was no way of stopping an assault that had already begun. On top of that, they even hunted down and killed those who fled and sought sanctuary in the Ka'ba – the inviolable territory – or who had concealed themselves among their relatives in Mecca. This was, in short, one of the most bloody days that Mecca had ever seen. Vâkidî, *Megâzî* 1/318; Ibn-i Sa'd, *Tabakât* 2/134

explained the dream to her husband Abu Sufyan, he recoiled from the meanings that her dream contained, and began fearing its evil in relation to the fate of the Meccans. He faced a great dilemma. He first explained this dream to those who came to him and then said, “By God, this is an affair that I was not involved in, but which I cannot remain out of.”

At this point, the other Meccan leaders had joined them. He was facing one of the most crucial moments of his leadership. With the weight of helplessness upon him, he first turned to the Meccans and then began the following words of reproach:

“This is not a responsibility that can be laid upon my shoulders only. No, By God, neither was I consulted, nor did I approve of it when it reached me. By God, if my instincts are right, Muhammad will surely attack us. Alas, my intuition never fails me. I see no other option but to go to Muhammad and ask him to extend the period of the truce and renew the agreement before the affair reaches him.”

A wave of regret had engulfed the council. The people who until only yesterday accepted no other option than mounting a challenge, now drew in their horns as the consternation of the affair dawned upon them, and began sharing Abu Sufyan’s view. “By God, you speak the truth,” they first said to him. They then resolved that they would send Abu Sufyan to the Messenger of God in Medina, to prevail upon him to extend the length of the truce and reaffirm the peace agreement. Shortly after, Abu Sufyan was on the road to Medina, taking his slave with him.<sup>513</sup> Meanwhile, the Messenger of God had turned to his Companions and said, “You can expect to see Abu Sufyan come to you soon to renew the treaty and extend its duration.” However, he did not omit adding the affair’s outcome: “But he returns empty-handed and in displeasure.”

On the the other hand, God’s Messenger did not immediately advance upon them with his forces as they had assumed. Again, he preferred to solve the matter through discussion and deliberation. Sending his Companion Damra to Mecca, he invited those unrestrained by law, to rule of law and presented them with three alternatives in view of their indefensible action and killings:

1. To pay the blood money for those killed from the Khuza’a.
2. To revoke their pact with the Banu Nufatha.
3. To accept and openly declare their violation of the Treaty of Hdaybiya.

But the Quraysh who supposedly sought a solution, had once again begun to throw their weight around, and refused to accept any of the three alternatives put before them. They had become caught up in the trivialities. Accepting the first alternative would for them have meant their humiliation, and this was one of the most important considerations for the Age of Ignorance community. Disassociating themselves from the Banu Nufatha amounted to abandoning their own pact, and being a mere spectator to their extinction before Medina. This they saw as a disgrace that would be spoken of for centuries. Only one alternative remained: declaring the Treaty of Hdaybiya null and void. But this did not suit their interests either. For this meant war all over again and they no longer entertained any hope of defeating the Muslims in such an encounter. Neither could they put away their pride. And despite everything, the decision was

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<sup>513</sup> Abu Sufyan was to chance upon Budayl ibn Warqa at a place called ‘Ufsan, where he would do all that he could to learn whether the Khuda’a had sent word to Medina before him. Despite all his efforts, he did not get the answer he wanted. So he then went to the place where Budayl’s camel had knelt and examined its droppings with the stick in his hand. When he found it to contain date stones, he was to conclude that they had been to Medina. Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 536; İbn-i Hişam, *Sîre* 2/247; Taberî, *Târîh* 2/154

made and it was final: “We will not pay the blood money of the Khuza’a, nor will we forgo our pact and give up our allies.” This was a pronounced expression of their readiness to face whatever consequences would follow, including resumption of hostility. Consequently, the Messenger’s envoy Damra returned to Medina with their definitive response.<sup>514</sup>

Meanwhile, Abu Sufyan had arrived in Medina, going from door to door in his attempt to resolve the matter. For this, he first wanted to use his ties of kinship. He visited his daughter Umm Salama and pleaded for the intercession of a daughter that he had disowned until just recently. However, this was in vain, for he was not even to find a cushion to sit on.<sup>515</sup>

Seeing that her door was shut to him, he decided to go to God’s Messenger himself. He was in the mosque, and Abu Sufyan called out to him saying, “Muhammad, as I was not present at Hdaybiya, the pact will have to be renewed and extended.

With Abu Sufyan’s raising the issue of re-establishing the Treaty of Hdaybiya and extending it as though nothing had happened, God’s Messenger called out to him saying, “O Abu Sufyan, is this really what you have come for? “Yes,” he replied. But this was not at all convincing. Thus, God’s Messenger asked, “Or has there been an incident on your side?” All the same, Abu Sufyan exclaimed, “God forbid! We are still true to the agreement and pact we signed at Hdaybiya. We will neither alter our stance, nor abandon it.”

He was doing nothing other than stalling, and he said nothing beyond these words. He seemed not to be the same Abu Sufyan who had heard the anguish of the Khuza’a, sat with his associates in Mecca and made an assessment of the situation, spoke his final words and sent the Messenger’s envoy back to Medina, subsequently voiced his concern regarding the violation of the treaty, and who came to Medina purely for the sake of consolidating it. God’s Messenger turned to him and declared, “It is we who are true to the Treaty of Hdaybiya, and we have neither altered it, nor violated it.

God’s Messenger was presumably disturbed by the indifference of Abu Sufyan who merely kept repeating the same things and refused to get to the point. Even if he himself was not complicit, those who perpetrated this crime were subject to his authority and there was no way that he could extricate himself from the situation. While now, he was still speaking of the truce but would not come to the issue of the breach. There was no point continuing the conversation and so as not to waste any more time, God’s Messenger preferred to go back into the mosque.<sup>516</sup>

Doors were now being shut on Mecca’s formidable leader. Nonetheless, he attempted forcing open other doors and the first door to which he went was that of Abu Bakr. He reiterated similar things to him and asked Abu Bakr to persuade the Messenger of God on his behalf. But this door was closed also. On that day Abu Sufyan went to all the leading members of the Emigrants and Medinan natives one by one, including ‘Umar, ‘Uthman, ‘Ali, and Sa’d ibn ‘Ubada, but to no

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<sup>514</sup> Vākidi, *Megâzi* 532-533

<sup>515</sup> The incident that took place between Abu Sufyan and his daughter Umm Habiba was discussed in detail in the section entitled “Ties of Kinship”.

<sup>516</sup> Vākidi, *Megâzi* 536

avail.<sup>517</sup> He went to ‘Ali one last time and said, “O Abu Hasan, I see that I am in a most hapless situation. Can you not advise me?”

“By God, I do not know what will help you in your present circumstances,” ‘Ali began. “Are you not the chief of Banu Kinana?” “Indeed, I am,” Abu Sufyan replied. ‘Ali then advised him the following:

“Why do you not declare publicly that you have granted protection to the Banu Kinana, then return home?”

“Do you suppose this might well do me some good?” Abu Sufyan had no hope, but he had no other choice. He was desperate. ‘Ali was well aware of this, and he replied, “No, but I do not think that there is anything else that you can do.”

The Abu Sufyan who threw down the gauntlet at Uhud, sought to meet in battle once again at Badr, hired an assassin in the hope of killing God’s Messenger, and who gathered all their mobs at Khandaq to mount an attack against the Messenger, had collapsed. He came to mosque once again in one last hope and, making one final effort, called out to the people: “O People, “I guarantee protection between our men. By God, I do not think that there is anyone who will contravene my word in this matter.”

He then came to the Messenger of God one last time. “O Muhammad,” he said. “I have guaranteed protection between our men.”

He still failed to voice his innermost convictions and thinking only of the Quraysh, wanted to be certain of their fate. But there was still the blood of twenty-three people that had not been avenged. For a long time now, there had already been too many chiefs in Mecca. Thus God’s Messenger turned to him and said, “Only you so, O Abu Hanzala!” This was his final word.

The Meccans’ plan had not succeeded. From this point on, Abu Sufyan had nothing left to do but to return to Mecca bent double beneath the burden of what might transpire, and so he mounted his camel and headed for Mecca.<sup>518</sup>

### **The Journey to Hope**

The Meccans who had turned down the demands of God’s Messenger and obtained no result from the diplomatic moves on which they had pinned their hopes, were left with no other option than to wait. Each passing day for them meant added anxiety, for they had no knowledge of developments in Medina and could not foresee what kinds of surprises were in store for them. They supposed that they would be called to account for what they had done, but had no indication as to

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<sup>517</sup> Despite all the doors being shut on him, he did not lose hope. Instead, he went to the Fatima the daughter of God’s Messenger and the wife of ‘Ali and appealed to her to arrange an opportunity for him to meet with her father. This, too, was to prove fruitless. Such was his desperation on the day that he even hoped for help to come from her son Hasan who was then but in his infancy. Ībn-i Hişâm, *Sîre* 2/247; Taberî, *Târih* 2/154; Ībn-i Kesîr, *Bidâye* 4/302; Ībn-i Seyyidinnâs, *Uyûnu’l-Eser* 2/214; Süheylî, *Ravdu’l-Unf* 4/148

<sup>518</sup> Difficult days were in store for Abu Sufyan who returned to Mecca to brief the Meccans on developments in Medina. They had were already uneasy because of his delay, presuming that he too had embraced Islam. When he related the situation to them, as it stood, they voiced their displeasure, leaving Abu Sufyan in a bind. Despair was now billowing through the streets of Mecca, and they said to him: "You have consented to something that no one will settle for. You come back with an outcome of avail neither to you nor us. By God, your protection means nothing, and it is easy for them to violate it! As for 'Ali, he has merely toyed with you!" Vâkîdî, *Megâzî* 538; Halebî, *Sîre* 3/9; Ībn-i Kesîr, *Bidâye* 4/302-304; *Sîre* 3/534; Ībn-i Kayyım, *Zâdu’l-Meâd* 3/347; Câmi’ 190